

THE EFFECTS OF ANTICIPATED DOMESTIC EQUALITY ON
UNDERGRADUATE WOMEN'S CAREER AMBITIONS

by

JANELL CORA FETTEROLF

A thesis submitted to the

Graduate School-New Brunswick

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

Graduate Program in Psychology

written under the direction of

Dr. Laurie Rudman

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

January, 2013

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Effects of Anticipated Domestic Equality on Undergraduate Women's Career Ambitions

By JANELL CORA FETTEROLF

Thesis Director:

Dr. Laurie Rudman

Previous research has found that young women consistently anticipate “the second shift” (Hochschild, 1989) in their future marriages, defined as disparities in domestic work that disadvantage them, even when they envision situations that should facilitate domestic equality (e.g., earning more money than their spouse; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012). The present study examined (1) the influence of information about marital trends on young women's expected domestic equality, and (2) the influence of young women's expected domestic equality on their future career ambitions. Participants, who were undergraduate women, read one of three different newspaper articles indicating trends in the distribution of domestic work: (1) domestic equality as the new norm, (2) stalled progress toward domestic equality, or (3) a reversal of inequality, with men responsible for more of the domestic work than women. Participants then indicated their plans for their future careers, as well as their expectations for domestic equality in their own future marriages. Surprisingly, the domestic trends in the articles did not have much of an influence on participants' expected domestic or paid labor. Across all conditions, participants expected to do a larger proportion of the housework than their spouse, and to

earn less money for their work, while also working the same number of hours outside the home as their spouse (except in the stalled condition, where they expected to work less hours in paid employment). Additionally, participants' anticipated domestic labor was negatively correlated with their anticipated work hours, although it was not associated with other future career outcomes (e.g., salary). Overall, the present study suggests that domestic inequality is entrenched in young women's expectations. The implications for gender equality are discussed.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Appendices	viii
Introduction.....	1
Employment and Domestic Equality	1
Career-Family Conflict	3
Psychological Factors Influencing Domestic Equality	4
Young Women’s Expectations for Their Future Lives.....	5
Overview and Hypotheses	7
Method	11
Participants.....	11
Materials and Procedure	12
Relative Domestic Responsibilities	12
Domestic Entitlement.....	13
Traditional Gender Roles	13
Career Aspirations	13
High-Status Job Index.....	14
Work Values	14

Results.....	15
Plans For Future Family Life	15
Anticipated Domestic Work	16
Moderation Analyses	17
Career Aspirations	18
Expectations for Self and Spouse	19
Discussion	21
Limitation and Future Directions.....	23
Conclusion	24
Appendices.....	26
References.....	38

Lists of Tables

Table 1: Means for Domestic and Paid Labor Variables by Condition42

Table 2: Correlations between Domestic and Paid Labor Variables43

List of Figures

Figure 1: Article for equality condition	44
Figure 2: Article for stalled progress toward equality condition	45
Figure 3: Article for reversal of inequality condition	46

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Articles for Experimental Conditions	26
Appendix B: Article Evaluation.....	30
Appendix C: Possible Future Writing Task	31
Appendix D: Relative Domestic Responsibilities.....	32
Appendix E: Domestic Entitlement Scale.....	33
Appendix F: Traditional Gender Roles Scale	34
Appendix G: Career Ambitions	35
Appendix H: High-Status Job Index	36
Appendix I: Work Values Scale	37

Introduction

Although women in the United States have made impressive strides toward gender equality, there remain disparities in the experiences of women and men in both the workplace and the home. Women have increased their presence and status in the workforce, but still have a lower overall participation rate (59% vs. 71% for men), and among full-time employed workers, women earn 20% less than men (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Similarly, the gender discrepancy in domestic work has lessened since the 1960s, but women still complete 70% of the housework and over 60% of the childcare on their own (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Previous research with undergraduate women has found that young women are aware of and expect domestic inequality in their own futures, regardless of employment status, educational attainment, or income relative to their spouse (Askari, Liss, Erchull, Staebell, & Axelson, 2010; Erchull, Liss, Axelson, Staebell, & Askari, 2010; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012). Because undergraduate women consistently anticipate a larger domestic burden than their future spouses, it is possible that they limit their career ambitions in order to more easily reconcile their family and occupational roles in their future lives. The present study will examine the influence of young women's anticipated domestic equality on their future career goals.

Employment and Domestic Equality

Young women are continually increasing their presence in educational programs at both the undergraduate and graduate level. In 2009, 59% of students entering graduate programs in the U.S. were women (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011) and research suggests that the majority of undergraduate women plan on attending graduate

school (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Zhou, 2006). In general, women receive 60% of the master's degrees and 52% of the doctoral degrees conferred (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011), and, in addition to enrolling in undergraduate and graduate programs in larger numbers than men, women are often performing better than men as well (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005).

At the advanced level, women's educational attainment is important because people who attain advanced degrees are often viewed as superior job candidates and therefore improve their career prospects (Blau & Kahn, 2007; Raley, Mattingly, & Bianchi, 2006). Following from women's achievement in undergraduate and graduate education, they are now occupying more powerful and lucrative positions in the workforce than previous generations of women. As of 2010, 51.5% of all professional and managerial roles were filled by women, and 29% of working women earned more than their husbands (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). Yet, on average, women tend to work fewer hours each week compared to men (36 vs. 42 for men; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). This phenomenon is likely due to limited resources, especially time, because women's varied childcare and household duties may make longer work hours difficult for them.

The American Time Use Survey (ATUS) found that married women spent an average of 12.7 hours each week in 2003-2006 caring for children (defined as physical care, education, or play as the primary activity completed at the time), compared to men's 7.1 hours per week (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). In addition to completing 64% of the childcare, women are also responsible for nearly 70% of the household chores. Research using time-diary data has found that married women spend around 20.3 hours

per week on household chores, compared to men's 9.5 hours (Bianchi et al., 2006; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). This means that, in general, the average married woman spends 33 hours each week on housework and childcare combined – more than twice that of men (who spend 16.6 hours combined). Although full-time employment lessens the time women report spending on domestic responsibilities, married women who work full-time still spend 24.5 hours each week on domestic work, the equivalent of a part-time job (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). For this reason, Hochschild (1989) termed women's domestic burden the *second shift*, because full-time working women actually spend as much time doing housework and childcare as they would at a second, part-time job.

Career-Family Conflict

For most women, being responsible for a large percentage of the housework and childcare while at the same time establishing a career can lead to substantial stress. Family commitments can cause a career to suffer because high-status careers often call for long hours, sometimes substantially more than 40 hours per week, including working weekends and late nights (e.g., Bertrand, Goldin, & Katz, 2009; Brett & Stroh, 2003; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Although some studies find that men and women experience work-to-family conflict (i.e., work interfering with family time or goals) at similar levels (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010), women tend to show significantly more family-to-work conflict (Blair-Loy, 2001), and gender differences in both types of conflict are especially common among parents (as opposed to general population samples; Byron 2005). In addition, research has found that far more women than men experience exhaustion, or

“burnout,” due to conflict between their career and family (Demerouti, Bakker, & Shaufeli, 2005; Peeters, Montgomery, Bakker, & Shaufeli, 2005).

Psychological Factors Influencing Domestic Equality

Although factors such as income and employment hours often influence the distribution of domestic labor in a home, individual differences, such as attitudes toward gender roles and housework in general, necessarily play a role as well. One important factor that influences women’s contribution to the housework is their support for traditional gender roles (e.g., men as breadwinners and women as caretakers). Although women are less likely than men to endorse traditional gender roles (Davis & Greenstein, 2009), women who show more support for these roles tend to complete more of the housework and childcare themselves and therefore, experience less equality (Greenstein, 2000; Mannino & Deutsch, 2007; Stevens, Kiger, Riley, 2001). Research has found that egalitarian women are especially likely to achieve a balanced division of labor if they are married to similarly minded men, because both partners in the relationship are working toward the same relational goal (Greenstein, 1996).

Another factor that may influence women’s domestic contribution is their sense of entitlement to an equal distribution of housework. Because women’s roles in the home (i.e., wife and mother) have traditionally been linked with housework and childcare, women may not feel they have to right to decrease those responsibilities. Conversely, men’s traditional breadwinner role may promote a sense of entitlement to eschew domestic work. Consistent with this view, research has found that men are more likely than women to report that an equal distribution of domestic work is unfair for them (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994) and many women consider the distribution to be fair even

if they are responsible for nearly 70% of the work (Lennon & Rosenfield, 1994; Major, 1993). A recent study with undergraduate students examining expectations for domestic work found that women were significantly less likely than men to feel entitled to avoid housework, and this entitlement partially mediated the gender differences in anticipated domestic responsibilities (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012).

In general, the women in the previously mentioned study did not feel entitled to do less domestic work than their spouse, even if they envisioned contributing 70% of the household income. It is possible, however, that if the majority of women were responsible for less housework than their husbands, women would then feel entitled to follow suit. In fact, both men and women use social comparison to determine if the amount of domestic work they are doing is reasonable, and women, more than men, look to their friends' relationships to gauge their own level of contribution (Himsel & Goldberg, 2003). The present research tested this possibility by exposing women to news articles espousing that gender roles were stable, equal, or beginning to reverse, in order to examine their impact on women's projected marital life.

Young Women's Expectations for Their Future Lives

Young women, looking ahead to their future lives as married mothers, almost uniformly expect to experience domestic inequality (Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012). Askari et al. (2010) found that although women ideally wanted equality in their future marriages, they actually expected to complete 70% of the housework and childcare themselves. Fetterolf and Eagly (2011) and Fetterolf and Rudman (2012) utilized a possible selves procedure to examine women's expectations for domestic equality in varying employment (i.e., full-

time, part-time, no employment) and relative income (i.e., contributing 70%, 50%, 30% of the household income) scenarios. Although full-time employment lessened the magnitude of the female-male division of domestic labor, women anticipated completing significantly more housework and childcare than their future husbands across all employment conditions. The same pattern was true for relative income, whereby young women anticipated doing more housework when they earned more money than their husbands, even though married women who made more money than their husbands reported an equal distribution of domestic work. Thus, even in situations that should, and actually do, facilitate equality in the home, young women believe they will be responsible for the majority of the domestic burden in their future marriages.

It is important to consider how women's expectations for domestic equality, or inequality, may influence their plans for other aspects of their future lives. If young women expect that they will be responsible for a large proportion of the domestic labor in their future lives, this anticipated inequality may make high-status or high-powered careers seem less attainable for women due to time constraints. Undergraduate women may view their future careers as more malleable than their domestic responsibilities because housework continues to be viewed as "women's work." In fact, research using implicit measures, such as the Implicit Association Test, has consistently found a strong automatic link between women and family (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002; Park, Smith, & Correll, 2010). Furthermore, undergraduate women's expected contribution to the household is often much higher than their ideal contribution, suggesting that women feel as though they have little control over domestic equality even in their own lives (Askari et al., 2010; Ferber & Young, 1997). Limiting their career ambitions in college

may lead to conditions which are especially conducive to domestic inequality in their future lives (e.g., having a less-advanced, lower paying career than their spouse), and thus women's expectations and plans may in fact facilitate the inequality they anticipate.

Overview and Hypotheses

Although previous research has demonstrated the effects of education, employment, and income on women's expectations for domestic equality, the present study will consider how young women's expectations for domestic equality may influence their career plans. Because undergraduate women consistently anticipate a greater domestic burden than their future spouse, regardless of their employment or contribution to the household income (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012), it is possible that this anticipated burden leads women to lower their career ambitions. A high-powered career may seem daunting or simply unlikely in addition to their expected responsibilities at home. In the current study, I attempted to manipulate women's expected distribution of domestic work by providing articles about trends in domestic equality. Participants read one of three different articles and learned (1) that men are starting to do more housework than women, (2) that men and women share the domestic load equally, or (3) that women continue to do more housework than men. Female participants then indicated their plans for their future career and family life. Control participants did not read any article. Based on previous research with undergraduate women examining their plans for the future, I expect to find that the majority of the participants want to get married and have children (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Zhou, 2006).

Overall, I predict that because young women consistently expect domestic inequality in their future lives (Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012), control participants, who are not given specific information about domestic trends, should not differ from participants in the domestic inequality condition. Thus, my hypotheses concern differences between these two conditions as compared to the domestic equality and gender role-reversed conditions.

To begin, I predict that participants' expected distribution of domestic work in their future will reflect the information presented to them in the articles: Thus, participants who read about women doing less housework should expect to be responsible for less domestic work than their spouses, participants who read about domestic equality should predict an equal distribution of domestic work for themselves and their husbands, and participants who read about women doing more than men, should anticipate being responsible for the majority of the housework in their future lives (Hypothesis 1). However, following Fetterolf and Rudman (2012), I expect the effect of condition on participants' anticipated housework to be moderated by their support for traditional gender roles and domestic entitlement. Specifically, women who endorse traditional gender roles should expect to do a larger proportion of the housework and childcare than their spouse, regardless of the trends reported in the articles, and women who do not endorse these roles should anticipate a division of domestic labor that is consistent with the article they read (Hypothesis 2a). Conversely, women who feel entitled to doing less domestic labor than their spouse should actually anticipate doing less, regardless of the articles they read (Hypothesis 2b).

Hypothesis 3 predicts that the articles will influence women such that as women's average contribution to the household decreases, participants' career aspirations should increase. Specifically, participants who read about women's smaller domestic contribution relative to men should (a) show a greater interest in high-status careers, (b) anticipate greater educational attainment, (c) anticipate a higher salary, and (d) expect to work longer hours than participants who read about equality or about women doing more housework than men (Hypotheses 3a-3d). Furthermore, because people who are interested in high-status careers also tend to place greater importance on status-enhancing values (e.g., gaining personal prestige; Pratto, Stallworth, Sidanius, & Siers, 1997), I predict that female participants will place greater emphasis on status-enhancing work values as women's average proportion of household work decreases (i.e., a main effect of article condition; Hypothesis 4).

With respect to their reported educational attainment, salary, and work hours, I predict that women will anticipate disparities in their expectations for themselves and their husbands. Because women are entering graduate school in larger numbers than men, I expect that women will anticipate completing more years of graduate education than their husbands (Hypothesis 5). On average, I also expect participants will anticipate (a) earning less money and (b) working shorter hours than their husbands (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011). However, these gender disparities should decrease as women's contribution to the household decreases (Hypotheses 6a and 6b).

In summary, women who read about equal marriages or gender role-reversed marriages should anticipate a future that affords them more domestic equality (provided they feel entitled to it and do not endorse gender norms that promote inequality). As

expected domestic equality increases, women should anticipate more equal opportunity in the workplace and demonstrate more professional ambition, including stronger interest in high status careers, a larger expected income, longer work hours, and greater endorsement of status-enhancing values. Moreover, women's ambitions should be reflected in the gender gap between self and spouse's projected earning power by increasing the gap in women's educational aspirations but decreasing the gap in their expected salary and work hours. If so, the expected causal influence of domestic equality on women's career aspirations will be supported.

Method

Participants

Participants were female undergraduate students from the Introductory Psychology participant pool who completed the experiment either in the laboratory or online in exchange for credit toward their research participation requirement. Participants who did not identify as heterosexual ($n = 11$) or who failed the manipulation check ($n = 30$) were removed from the analyses, resulting in a final sample of 218 women.

Participants' mean age was 19.37 ($SD = 1.44$). The ethnic composition of the sample was as follows: 45.40% White, 19.30% Asian, 13.30% South Asian, 7.80% Black/African American, 7.30% Latino, 2.30% multi-racial, and 4.60% indicated another ethnicity.

Materials and Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: three experimental and one control. In each experimental condition, they read a fictitious newspaper article reporting either (1) domestic equality as the new norm (Figure 1), (2) stalled progress toward equality (Figure 2), or (3) a reversal of inequality, with men's domestic responsibilities surpassing women's (Figure 3; also see Appendix A for all experimental articles). After reading the article, participants indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very*) how clear, persuasive, interesting, informative, and easy to understand the article is ($\alpha = .71$; see Appendix B). As a first manipulation check, participants had to indicate the domestic trend described in the article they read. If they answered incorrectly, they were reminded of the main point of the article before being allowed to move on. The second, identical manipulation check appeared at the end of the study, and it is this measure that resulted in participants' inclusion or exclusion. Because 30 women were excluded, most

of whom were in the reversed role condition, I will address this limitation in the Discussion.

To induce participants to think about their future in the context of the equality condition they were in, participants wrote about the possible future life they would expect after reading the newspaper article (see Appendix C). In the control condition, participants did not read an article and proceeded directly to the writing task in which they described a day in the life they envisioned for themselves. All participants then responded to the career measures, followed by the domestic labor measures (materials are presented here in the opposite order for ease of interpretation). Finally, as noted, participants were again asked to indicate the domestic labor trend described in the article they read.

Relative domestic responsibilities. In order to examine the relationship between women's career ambitions and their expected relationship with their spouses and children, participants responded to several questions about their plans for their future personal lives. First, women in the study indicated whether or not they expect to get married and have children, as well as the number of children they would like to have. Participants then reported their expected division of domestic labor for their future marriages by indicating the percentages of childcare and housework (e.g., doing dishes and laundry) both they and their spouses will be responsible for (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012; see Appendix D). Participants were instructed to ensure their percentages for themselves and their spouses summed to 100, although 15 (6.60%) participants did not do so. As a correction for these participants, I converted every participant's reported percentages to proportions (Linville, Fischer, & Salovey, 1989). Participants' anticipated

proportion of housework and childcare were positively correlated, but only moderately so, $r(224) = .42, p < .001$. Therefore, I kept housework and childcare as two separate variables and did not create a combined index.

Domestic entitlement. The domestic entitlement scale consists of six items assessing participants' perceived entitlement to complete less than half of the housework and childcare in their marriage ($\alpha = .86$). Participants indicated how justified they would feel doing less domestic work than their spouse on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much so*). Sample items are, "In your future marriage, how justified would you feel doing less than half of the housework?" and "In your future marriage, would you feel comfortable doing less than housework and childcare than your spouse?". For the complete scale, see Appendix E.

Traditional gender roles. Participants indicated their support for traditional gender roles related to domestic work and income by responding to items such as: "Do you think that wives should be responsible for more of the housework than their husbands?" and "Do you agree that husbands should generally make more money than their wives?" ($\alpha = .91$). Participants reported their level of agreement for each of the four items on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*very much so*). For the full measure, see Appendix F.

Career aspirations. As a measure of participants' career ambitions, the women in the study indicated their expected years of education (including undergraduate), salary, and hours per week of work. Because high-powered careers often require greater educational attainment and longer work weeks, and result in higher salaries, larger values for each of these items are likely indicative of loftier career ambitions. In addition,

participants indicated their expected educational attainment, salary, and hours per work week for their future spouse. See Appendix G for questions for both the self and the spouse.

High-status job index. The high-status job index (Rudman & Heppen, 2003) measures participants' self-reported interest in prestigious careers (i.e., jobs that endow people with social and economic status). Participants rated their interest in 14 different careers on a scale of 1 (*no interest*) to 6 (*strong interest*). Participants' level of interest in the following careers were averaged to create the index: business executive, stock broker, corporate lawyer, and politician ($\alpha = .65$). See appendix H for the complete measure.

Work values. The work values scale (Pratto et al., 1997) measures the importance participants place on both status-enhancing and status-attenuating career values. Participants rated their interest in 14 different work values on a scale of 1 (*not at all important*) to 6 (*very important*). Examples of status-enhancing values include: having a high income, gaining personal prestige, and working with the elite (7 items, $\alpha = .87$). Examples of status-attenuating values include: working with the disadvantaged, serving the community, and being a mentor (7 items, $\alpha = .81$). See Appendix I for the full measure.

Results

Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations for each dependent variable, split by condition. To begin with, I conducted an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to compare participants' evaluations of the articles in the three experimental conditions (i.e., stalled progress, equality, and reversal of inequality). Participants evaluated all three articles similarly, $F(2,165) = 2.44, p = .091$. It should be noted, though, that the number of participants who failed the manipulation check was not similar in all three conditions. The reversal of inequality condition (in which men are reported to do more domestic work than women) is the least consistent with women's expectations in previous studies (e.g., Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012), and therefore may be more difficult for women to recall at the end of the experiment. In order to determine if women in the reversal of inequality condition were more likely than women in the other two experimental conditions to fail the manipulation check, I combined the equality and stalled progress toward equality conditions and conducted a Chi-square analysis. A larger percentage of participants in the reversal of inequality condition (30.20%) failed the manipulation check, compared to the other experimental conditions (8.70%), $\chi^2(1) = 14.44, p < .001$. For the purposes of the following analyses, only those participants who passed the final manipulation check were included.

Plans for Future Family Life

As predicted, the vast majority of participants expected to get married (93.00%) and have children (91.70%). Most women anticipated having two or three children; 4.80% reporting wanting one child, 39.50% reported wanting two children, 37.30%

reported wanting three children, 8.80% reported wanting four children, 1.30% reported wanting 5 children, and 0.40% reported wanting six or more children. Exploratory Chi-square analyses were conducted to determine if the experimental condition influenced participants' expectations for marriage and children, but were not significant.

Anticipated Domestic Work

Hypothesis 1 stated that women's expectations for domestic responsibilities would reflect the situations presented to them in the articles they read, such that women in the stalled condition should expect to do more housework and childcare than their spouse, and women in the reversal condition should expect to do less. To test this hypothesis, I conducted two ANOVAs: one with participants' own anticipated housework as the dependent variable, and one with anticipated childcare as the dependent variable. Proportions for the spouse were dependent upon participants' expectations for themselves, and are therefore not included in the analyses.

The anticipated effect of condition was only marginally significant, $F(3,224) = 2.50, p = .060$. Exploratory t-tests indicated that participants in the stalled progress condition expected to complete a significantly larger proportion of the housework than participants in the reversal of inequality condition, $t(104) = 2.13, p = .035$, or in the equality condition, $t(119) = 2.51, p = .014$. The stalled progress condition was not different from the control condition and, of importance, the control condition was not different from the equality or reversal conditions, all $ts \leq 1.00, ps > .300$. A one-sample t-test comparing women's anticipated proportion of housework overall to an equal distribution (i.e., .50) was significant, $t(226) = 10.25, p < .001$. Thus, women in every condition expected to do significantly more than half of the housework.

A similar pattern emerged for childcare. The anticipated effect of condition was, again, only marginally significant, $F(3,222) = 2.56, p = .055$. Participants in the stalled progress condition anticipated completing a larger proportion of the childcare compared to participants in the reversal of inequality condition, $t(103) = 2.08, p = .040$, or in the equality condition, $t(119) = 2.51, p = .014$. The stalled progress condition was not different from the control condition, and again, the control condition did not differ from the equality or reversal condition, all $ts < 1.00, ps > .400$. Overall, participants' expected contribution to the housework was significantly greater than .50, $t(225) = 10.03, p < .001$.

Moderation analyses. Participants' own support for traditional gender roles and their perceived entitlement to do less domestic work than their spouse were predicted to moderate the relationship between women's average contribution to the household division of labor and participants' expected future housework and career. Because support for traditional gender roles and domestic entitlement were not correlated, $r(226) = -.02, p = .724$, I conducted separate ANOVAs to test for the interaction of condition with support for traditional gender roles and domestic entitlement. The expected interactions were not significant for either housework or childcare, all $Fs < 1.5, ps > .200$, and thus I did not find support for Hypotheses 2a or 2b. However, there was a main effect of support for traditional gender roles on participants' anticipated housework, $F(1,220) = 67.50, p < .001$, and childcare, $F(1,218) = 28.18, p < .001$. Thus, women who endorsed traditional gender roles (e.g., females as caretakers) expected to do more housework and childcare themselves in their future marriages, $r(226) = .51$ and $r(224) = .33$, respectively. With respect to domestic entitlement, only the effect on participants' anticipated housework was found to be significant, $F(1,22) = 19.52, p < .001$. Women

who felt as though they had a right to do less domestic labor than their spouse actually expected to do less housework, $r(226) = -.30$, but this sense of entitlement did not affect the proportion of childcare they expected in their future marriages ($F < 1, p > .800$).

For exploratory purposes, I examined whether the articles affected women's support for traditional gender roles or perceived entitlement to do less housework than their spouse. Results showed that there was no significant effect of condition on participants' support for traditional gender roles, $F(3,224) = 0.64, p = .588$, or domestic entitlement, $F(3,224) = 1.30, p = .260$.

Career Aspirations

Hypothesis 3, which states that participants should show loftier career ambitions as women's average contribution to the housework (as reported in the articles) decreases, was not supported. Condition did not affect participants' (a) interest in high status careers, $F(3,224) = 0.32, p = .810$; (b) educational attainment, $F(3,224) = 1.29, p = .279$; (c) expected salary, $F(3,224) = 0.82, p = .487$; or (d) work hours, $F(3,224) = 1.86, p = .138$. Thus, there was no support for Hypothesis 3a-d. Similarly, I did not find any support for Hypothesis 4, which stated that participants would place greater emphasis on status-enhancing work values as women's contribution to the household decreases because condition did not influence participant's interest in status enhancing values, $F(3,224) = 1.88, p = .134$.

To further examine the relationship between participants' anticipated domestic and paid labor, I investigated the correlations between women's domestic responsibilities (their expected proportion of housework and childcare) and the number of hours they expected to work in paid employment, their projected earnings, and number of years of

education they expect to attain. Results for the whole sample are shown in Table 2. As can be seen, participants' expected housework and childcare are negatively correlated with their anticipated work hours. Thus, women expect to work fewer hours as their contribution to the childcare and housework increases. Additionally, women who expect to attain higher levels of education anticipate working longer hours, and earning a higher salary, but educational attainment and salary, while in the expected negative direction, were not significantly related to anticipated housework or childcare.

Expectations for self and spouse. In order to compare participants' expectations for their own future selves with their expectations for their future spouse, I conducted repeated measures ANOVAs for each of the career ambition variables. Hypothesis 5 predicted that women would report a higher educational attainment than their spouse. Analyses provided support for Hypothesis 5. In general, participants anticipated greater educational attainment ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.03$) than their spouse ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 0.97$), $F(1,224) = 10.85$, $p = .001$.

Hypothesis 6a stated that women would report lower salaries than their spouses, but self-spouse discrepancies would decrease as women's average contribution to the home, as reported in the articles, decreased. I found partial support for this hypothesis. Women anticipated smaller salaries ($M = 7.05$, $SD = 2.13$) than their spouse ($M = 7.36$, $SD = 1.95$), $F(1,224) = 7.93$, $p = .005$, but the anticipated interaction with condition was not significant, $F(3,224) = 1.95$, $p = .123$. Hypothesis 6b, which predicted the same pattern for work hours as the previous hypothesis, was again only partially supported. The main effect of the repeated measures variable was not significant, $F(1,224) = 1.46$, $p = .229$, but the interaction with condition was, $F(3,224) = 3.04$, $p = .030$. Participants in

the stalled condition expected to work fewer hours ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 0.86$) than their spouse ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 0.77$), but women in every other condition expected to work the same number of hours ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 0.95$) compared to their spouse ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 0.80$). Participants never expected to work longer hours than their spouse.

Discussion

Although I predicted that women's average contribution to the housework, as reported in the articles, would influence participants' expectations for both domestic and paid labor, results showed that the articles had almost no influence on participants' responses. Yet, participants rated each article as equally informative and persuasive, and participants included in analyses were able to correctly recall the domestic trend reported in the article. Thus, while women may accept that other women are doing half, or less than half of the housework, they do not see this trend as likely for their own future lives, nor do they feel entitled to expect it. Instead, women in every condition anticipated completing significantly more housework and childcare than their spouse. Furthermore, the participants in this study expected to earn less money than their spouse, even though they believed they would have a higher educational attainment, and anticipated working the same number of hours as their spouse in every condition except for the stalled condition. Thus, it appears that women have rather pessimistic expectations for their future lives: working just as hard as their husbands in paid employment, but earning less despite more years of education, and carrying more domestic responsibilities regardless of what they earn or how much education they have.

On a more optimistic note, although women expected to do a larger proportion of the domestic work than their spouse, women's estimates for both housework and childcare were under 60% (58.29% and 56.93%, respectively). Although this is somewhat consistent with American women's actual childcare responsibilities (64%), it is a smaller proportion of housework than women actually experience (70%; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Perhaps this is a small step toward equality, with young

women expecting their domestic burden to lighten compared to current wives and mothers. However, it may also reflect biased expectations for positive future outcomes, or unrealistic optimism (Armor, Massey, & Sackett, 2008). Another instance of unrealistic optimism concerns projected earnings. Research on U.S. wages has found that women with at least a bachelor's degree earn an annual salary of less than \$52,000 if they are employed full-time (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012), but participants in this study expected to earn around \$76,000. Nonetheless, despite women's overestimations of their future earnings, they still expect domestic inequality.

Why is it so difficult to promote expectations of equality in women? The expectation of domestic inequality is reliable (Askari et al., 2010; Erchull et al., 2010; Ferber & Young, 1997) and persists even when women envision full-time employment, attaining an advanced degree (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011), and earning more money than their spouse (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012). It appears that laboratory manipulations designed to encourage women to feel more entitled to equal marriages are not enough to shift the expectations women have for their future lives. The reason why this study focused solely on women is because women are potentially more likely than men to consider how domestic work will be incorporated into their future lives. Women's roles of wife and mother are historically, and seemingly inextricably, linked to housework and childcare in a way that men's roles are not (Nosek et al., 2002; Park et al., 2010). It may be precisely because women have already considered their future contribution to domestic labor that it is difficult for them to change their expectations. Additionally, the notion that men are not responsible for housework or childcare is implicit in the idea that women are. Women may perceive men as reluctant to contribute more and may expect to

do more themselves not because they believe women should be responsible for domestic work, but because they assume they will need to make up for men's domestic shortcomings.

It is interesting to note that even though participants evaluated all three experimental articles similarly, women in the reversal of inequality conditions were more likely to fail the manipulation check. Again, this suggests that domestic inequality is a pervasive and persistent expectation for young women. Thinking about women doing less domestic labor than men appears to be so inconsistent with women's actual expectations that they cannot recall this trend in domestic labor at the end of the experiment. It is also possible that even women who were able to recall the trend described in the article may have had a particularly difficult time imagining this trend for their own futures, which may account for the limited results we found. In future studies, it would be helpful to ask participants to rate the likelihood of, or even their perceived difficulty in imagining, the possible situation for their own futures.

Limitations and Future Directions

One factor the present study does not address is women's evaluations of their possible future lives. While research suggests that more equal distributions of domestic work are beneficial for women's levels of personal and marital distress (Claffey & Mickelson, 2009; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994), little is known about the effect of men's greater relative contribution to the household on women's distress. It is possible that some women may feel discomfort being less involved in domestic work, and even specifically housework, because it is so strongly associated with motherhood (Park et al., 2010). Future studies should consider how women experience, or expect to experience,

nontraditional distributions of household work, and how those feelings might influence the roles they choose in their lives.

Additionally, for future research, it is important to examine the potential psychological factors that keep men from contributing more to domestic work. Research has found that gender differences in feelings of domestic entitlement mediated gender differences in expected domestic work (Fetterolf & Rudman, 2012). It would be beneficial to examine why men feel entitled to doing less housework than their spouse, while women do not. It is also possible that men feel that doing housework will cause people to view them as feminine or weak, a proscribed trait for men (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Consistent with this view, men who request a family leave to care for an ailing relative are viewed as “weak” and therefore, penalized economically (Rudman & Mescher, in press).

Conclusion

The women in the current study reported expectations for their own futures that were indicative of gender inequality, but also similar to women’s actual experiences. Young women obviously base their expectations on what they perceive and believe to be attainable. Yet, the fact that equality, and particularly domestic equality, seems wholly unattainable for young women is very problematic. If women expect to experience inequality in their future lives, it is very likely that they will. I had expected to encourage women to feel entitled to doing less domestic work than they typically expect to do by having them read about trends in domestic labor that advantage women. However, these expectations were unsupported and women’s beliefs about their own lives were not influenced by the societal trends in domestic labor reported in the experimental articles.

Because the future of gender equality depends, in part, on women being able to devote as much time and resources to their career as men do and thus, on experiencing domestic equality (Jackson, 1998), it is important for future research to determine what might help women to feel they deserve equal partnerships with men.

Appendix A

Articles for Experimental Conditions

Equality Condition

Mop required, Pearls optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.

In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to 40% and recent research suggests that they will soon be completing, on average, half of the work that needs to be done in the home. Much of this shift in household responsibilities, according to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, is a result of men and women's changing roles in the workforce. "Women today are too busy with their careers to devote as much time to housework as previous generations of women have. Men have had to increase their contribution so that partners are able to work together to maintain their household and raise their children," said Wright.

According to U.S. Census data, last year marked the first time in history that men and women have been employed in equal numbers. The recent economic crisis, or "mancession" as it has been termed, is likely a large factor in the closing of the gender gap in employment. Due to the devastating influence of the recession on male-dominated professions, many men, but fewer women, have lost their jobs. Now that the number of stay-at-home dads is on the rise, these men are taking responsibility for an increasing number of household duties. Many of them, like Bradley Polk of South Orange, New Jersey, have enthusiastically embraced their new roles as full-time fathers.

"When I first got laid off from my job, I wasn't sure what I was going to do with my time. I was never very involved in the day-to-day happenings at home, so it was a bit of a struggle when I first started out. But being able to spend time with my son, Eddie, makes it all worthwhile. He loves to turn chores, like doing laundry or cleaning the family room, into a game," said Polk. He added, "As long as we can afford to live off of my wife's salary, I can see myself staying home with Eddie for a while."

Polk's wife, Julie Brennan, a lawyer in one of New York City's largest firms, is equally excited about the change in their household dynamic. "It's such a relief to not have to worry about all of the chores that need to get done on top of my case load at work. And seeing his dad get involved at home has actually made Eddie more excited about helping out, too. I basically get twice the amount of help I used to." Situations like

Polk's and Brennan's, according to Wright, demonstrate why men's current contribution to the household may have long lasting effects on equality in the future. "Domestic equality is not a phase that will disappear once the recession is over. Men and women are already getting used to these egalitarian roles, and their children will model the behavior that they see now when they get older."

It appears that men are starting to learn what women already knew in the sixties. You do not have to wear a fancy dress in order to do housework. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for children is no longer the job of a woman like Donna Reed, but simply a job that too frequently needs to get done, by anyone able to do it. As Mr. Polk laughingly states, "Keeping up with all the housework is a lot harder than I thought it would be, but it's not any worse than my old job."

Stalled Progress Condition

Mop required, Pearls optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful party dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.

In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to 30% but recent research suggests that further progress toward domestic equality may be stalled. In fact, women are starting to do more housework and childcare than in the recent past. According to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, women's increased emphasis on domestic work may be a result of the new wave of mommy wars. "Although originally an argument between working mothers and stay-at-home moms about which situation was best for their children, the mommy wars have grown to encompass so many different battles: cloth vs. disposable diapers, breast feeding vs. bottles, homemade vs. store-bought food, and so on," said Wright. "What it means to be the perfect mother and wife is a passionately debated notion, but more and more people expect perfection, whatever their definition is."

With such high expectations for women, it is not surprising that the vast majority of mothers are not able to do everything and end up feeling guilty about the tasks that get pushed aside. In a report entitled "What Moms Choose," the Working Mother Research Institute found that the main thing women feel guilty about is how untidy their houses are. In fact, 50% of working moms and stay-at-home moms feel guilty about messy homes and both groups of women believe that others judge them on the basis of their house's cleanliness, more so than anything else. Julie Brennan, a working mother from

South Orange, New Jersey, believes the guilt many women feel comes from the popular idea that women can literally do it all when it comes to being a career woman, mother, and wife. “We always see women on TV or in films trying to have a finger in every pie and somehow doing everything better than us. We think that’s the way our life should be and believe that there must be something wrong with us if our life doesn’t work out the same way. It’s just not realistic,” says Brennan.

The women in the study also reported doing more housework than their husbands and some, like Meg Lillian from Binghamton, New York, pointed to their husbands’ lower standards as a reason why. “I don’t think I am especially picky when it comes to cleaning, but I swear my husband doesn’t realize that the coffee table needs to be cleaned until you can’t see the top of it under all the dust, pet hair, and clutter. I can’t live with that type of mess, but it doesn’t bother him at all” Lillian says. Perhaps women are hyper aware of clutter or dirt because things like dust on the coffee table may be taken as a sign of their incompetence as both mothers and wives. Domestic work, including taking care of children and the household, is an integral part of mothers’ self-worth. For fathers, it is often irrelevant.

Fifty years after the Donna Reed Show, we as a culture may look back and wonder if things have changed at all. To some extent, they have. Outside of the home, women are still working toward and demanding equality. More women than ever before are attending university at both an undergraduate and advanced level, pursuing demanding careers, and earning six-figure salaries. Inside the home, however, modern women are surprisingly similar to the housewives of the ‘60s – just a party dress and pearls away from living the life of Mrs. Stone.

Reversal of Inequality Condition

Mop required, Pearls optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.

In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to over 40% and recent research suggests that the average man will soon be completing the majority of the work that needs to be done in the home. Much of this shift in household responsibilities, according to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, is a result of men and women’s changing roles in the workforce. “Women today are too busy with their careers to devote as much time to housework as previous generations of women have. Men have had to increase

their contribution so that partners are able to work together to maintain their household and raise their children,” says Wright. “In the growing number of couples with female breadwinners, men’s increase in household duties has really been substantial, and it is likely to increase so that men may be doing more housework than women in the near future,” she adds.

According to U.S. Census data, women are close to outnumbering men in the workforce for the first time in history, and almost a third of wives earn more salary than their husbands. The recent economic crisis, or “mancession” as it has been termed, is likely a large factor in the gender reversal of the employment gap. Due to the devastating influence of the recession on male-dominated professions, many men, but fewer women, have lost their jobs. Now that the number of stay-at-home dads is on the rise, these men are taking responsibility for the majority of household duties. Many of them, like Bradley Polk of South Orange, New Jersey, have enthusiastically embraced their new roles as full-time fathers.

“When I first got laid off from my job, I wasn’t sure what I was going to do with my time. I was never very involved in the day-to-day happenings at home, so it was a bit of a struggle when I first started out. But being able to spend time with my son, Eddie, makes it all worthwhile. He loves to turn chores, like doing laundry or cleaning the family room, into a game,” said Polk. He added, “As long as we can afford to live off of my wife’s salary, I can see myself staying home with Eddie for a while.”

Polk’s wife, Julie Brennan, a lawyer in one of New York City’s largest firms, is equally excited about the change in their household dynamic. “It’s such a relief to not have to worry about all of the chores that need to get done on top of my case load at work. By the time I get home from work, Bradley’s taken care of them. And seeing his dad get involved at home has actually made Eddie more excited about helping out, too.” Situations like Polk’s and Brennan’s, according to Wright, demonstrate why men’s current contribution to the household may have long lasting effects on equality in the future. “The recent reversal in domestic work, with men frequently completing more housework than women, is not a phase that will disappear once the recession is over. Men and women are already getting used to these different roles, and their children will model the behavior that they see now when they get older.”

It appears that men are starting to learn what women already knew in the sixties. You do not have to wear a fancy dress in order to do housework. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for children is no longer the job of a woman like Donna Reed, but simply a job that too frequently needs to get done, by anyone able to do it. As Mr. Polk laughingly states, “Keeping up with all the housework is a lot harder than I thought it would be, but it’s not any worse than my old job.”

Appendix B

Article Evaluations

Directions: Please rate the previous article on the followings traits. To what extent was the article...

	Not At All				Very Much So	
Clear	1	2	3	4	5	6
Informative	1	2	3	4	5	6
Interesting	1	2	3	4	5	6
Persuasive	1	2	3	4	5	6
Easy to understand	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix C

Possible Future Writing Task

Experimental Condition

Directions: Keeping in mind the information you just read, please take a moment to think about your future life (e.g., as a parent, spouse, and/or employee). Imagine that the domestic trend described in the article is what you will actually experience in your future life. In the space provided, please write about a normal day in the life you are imagining. Who are you interacting with (e.g., spouse, child, coworker, boss)? What are you doing and how do you feel about it? Be as specific as you can be.

Control Condition

Directions: Keeping in mind your life's goals, please take a moment to think about your future life (e.g., as a parent, spouse, and/or employee). In the space provided, please write about a normal day in the life you are imagining. Who are you interacting with (e.g., spouse, child, coworker, boss)? What are you doing and how do you feel about it? Be as specific as you can be.

Appendix D

Relative Domestic Responsibilities

Directions: For the following questions, respond by indicating a percentage, but do not include a percent sign. Only enter numbers. Your responses for yourself and your future spouse should add up to 100.

1. What percentage of the childcare would you do yourself?
2. What percentage of the childcare would your spouse do?
3. What percentage of the housework (e.g., doing dishes, laundry, vacuuming) would you do yourself?
4. What percentage of the housework (e.g., doing dishes, laundry, vacuuming) would your spouse do?

Appendix E

Domestic Entitlement Scale

	Not at all				Very much so	
In your future marriage, how justified would you feel doing less than half of the housework?	1	2	3	4	5	6
In your future marriage, how justified would you feel doing less than half of the childcare?	1	2	3	4	5	6
In your future marriage, would you feel comfortable doing less housework and childcare than your spouse?	1	2	3	4	5	6
In your future marriage, can you imagine feeling entitled to doing less housework and childcare than your spouse?	1	2	3	4	5	6
Would you feel pride if you did less housework and childcare than your spouse?	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, do you feel you would have the right to do less housework than your spouse?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix F

Traditional Gender Roles Scale

	Not at all				Very much so	
Do you think that wives should be responsible for more of the housework than their husbands?	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you think that wives should be responsible for more of the childcare than their husbands?	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you think that husbands should make more money than their wives (i.e., be the primary provider)?	1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you agree that husbands should generally make more money than their wives?	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix G

Career Ambitions

Expectations for Self

How many years of post-high school education (including undergrad) do you plan to achieve?

1	2	3	4	5	6
< 4	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	>11

How many hours do you expect to work each week in your future career?

1	2	3	4	5	6
<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60

In thousands of dollars, how much money do you (on your own) expect to earn annually?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	41-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100	>100

Expectations for Spouse

How many years of post-high school education (including undergrad) do you expect your spouse to achieve?

1	2	3	4	5	6
< 4	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-11	>11

How many hours do you expect your spouse to work each week?

1	2	3	4	5	6
<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60

In thousands of dollars, how much money do you expect your spouse to earn annually?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<20	21-30	31-40	41-50	41-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100	>100

Appendix H

High-Status Job Index

Directions: Please rate how interested you are in the following occupations:

	No interest				Strong interest		
Business executive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stock broker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Corporate lawyer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Doctor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dentist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Politician	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Psychiatrist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Therapist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Social worker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Counselor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Artist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Reporter	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Physician's assistant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I

Work Values Scale

Directions: Please rate how important each thing is for your future occupation.

	Not At All Important					Very Important	
Having a high income	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gaining personal prestige	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gaining personal power	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Having high social status	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Opportunities for advancement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Working with the elite	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Becoming famous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aiding subordinate coworkers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helping others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Working with the disadvantaged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Helping the underprivileged	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Serving the community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Being a mentor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Working with kind people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

References

- Armor, D. A., Massey, C., & Sakett, A. M. (2008). Prescribed optimism: Is it right to be wrong about the future? *Psychological Science, 19*, 329-331.
- Askari, S. F., Liss, M., Erchull, M. J., Staebell, S. E., & Axelson, S. J. (2010). Men want equality, but women don't expect it: Young adults' expectations for participation in household and child care chores. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34*, 243-252.
- Bertrand, M., Goldin, C., & Katz, L. F. (2009). Dynamics of the gender gap for young professionals in the financial and corporate sectors. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 2*, 228-255.
- Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72*, 705-725.
- Bianchi, S. M., Robinson, J. P., & Milkie, M. A. (2006). *Changing rhythms of American family life*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2001). Cultural construction of family schemas: The case of women finance executives. *Gender and Society, 15*, 687-709.
- Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2007). The gender pay gap: Have women gone as far as they can? *Academy of Management Perspectives, 21*, 7-23.
- Brett, J., & Stroh, L. (2003). Working 61 plus hours a week: Why do managers do it? *Journal of Applied Psychology, 88*, 67-78.
- Byron, K. (2005). A meta-analytic review of work-family conflict and its antecedents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 67*, 169-198.
- Claffey, S. T., & Mickelson, K. D. (2009). Division of household labor and distress: The role of perceived fairness for employed mothers. *Sex Roles, 60*, 819-831.
- Davis, S. D., & Greenstein, T. N. (2009). Gender ideology: Components, predictors, and consequences. *Annual Review of Sociology, 35*, 87-105.
- Demerouti, E., Bakker, A. B., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2005). Spillover and crossover of exhaustion and life satisfaction among dual-earner parents. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 67*, 266-289.
- Erchull, M. J., Liss, M., Axelson, S. J., Staebell, S. E., & Askari, S. F. (2010). Well . . . she wants it more: Perceptions of social norms about desires for marriage and children and anticipated chore participation. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 34*, 253-260.

- Ferber, M. A., & Young, L. (1997). Student attitudes toward roles of women and men: Is the egalitarian household imminent? *Feminist Economics*, 3, 65-83.
- Fetterolf, J. C., & Eagly, A. H. (2011). Do young women expect gender equality in their future lives? An answer from a possible selves experiment. *Sex Roles*, 65, 83-93.
- Fetterolf, J. C., & Rudman, L. A. (2012). *Gender inequality in the home: The role of relative income, sex norms, and perceived entitlement*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Glass, J., & Fujimoto, T. (1994). Housework, paid work, and depression among husbands and wives. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 35, 179-191.
- Greenstein, T. (1996). Husbands' participation in domestic labor: Interactive effects of wives' and husbands' gender ideologies. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 58, 585-595.
- Greenstein, T. (2000). Economic dependence, gender, and the division of labor in the home: A replication and extension. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62, 322-335.
- Himself, A. J., & Goldberg, W. A. (2003). Social comparisons and satisfaction with the division of housework: Implications for men's and women's role strain. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24, 843-866.
- Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. New York: Viking.
- Jackson, R. M. (1998). *Destined for equality: The inevitable rise of women's status*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jacobs, J. & Gerson, K. (2004). Understanding changes in American working time: A synthesis. In C. F. Epstein & A. L. Kalleberg (Eds.), *Fighting for time: Shifting boundaries of work and social life* (pp. 25-45). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lennon, M. C., & Rosenfield, S. (1994). Relative fairness and the division of housework. *American Journal of Sociology*, 10, 506-531.
- Linville, P. W., Fischer, G. W., & Salovey, P. (1989). Perceived distributions of the characteristics of in-group and out-group members: Empirical evidence and a computer simulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 165-188.
- Major, B. (1993). Gender, entitlement, and the distribution of family labor. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 141-159.
- Mannino, C. A., & Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Changing the division of household labor: A negotiated process between partners. *Sex Roles*, 56, 309-324.

- National Center for Educational Statistics. (2011). *Digest for education statistics: 2010*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011015.pdf>
- National Center for Educational Statistics. (2005). *Trends in educational equity of girls and women: 2004*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/equity>
- Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Harvesting implicit group attitudes and beliefs from a demonstration website. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 6, 101-115.
- Park, B., Smith, J. A., & Correll, J. (2010). The persistence of implicit behavioral associations for moms and dads. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46, 809-815.
- Peeters, M. C. W., Montgomery, A. J., Bakker, A. B., & Schaufeli, W. B. (2005). Balancing work and home: How job and home demands are related to burnout. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 12, 43-61.
- Pratto, F., Stallworth, L. M., Sidanius, J., & Siers, B. (1997). The gender gap in occupational role attainment: A social dominance approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72, 37-53.
- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269-281.
- Raley, S. B., Mattingly, M. J., & Bianchi, S. M. (2006). How dual are dual-income couples? Documenting change from 1970 to 2001. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 11-28.
- Rudman, L. A., & Heppen, J. B. (2003). Implicit romantic fantasies and women's interest in personal power: A glass slipper effect? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 1357-1370.
- Rudman, L. A., & Mescher, K. (in press). Penalizing men who request a family leave: Is flexibility stigma a femininity stigma? *Journal of Social Issues*.
- Rudman, L.A., Moss-Racusin, C. A., Phelan, J. E., & Nauts, S. (2012). Status incongruity and backlash effects: Defending the gender hierarchy motivates prejudice against female leaders. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 48, 165-179.
- Stevens, D., Kiger, G., & Riley, P. J. (2001). Working hard and hardly working: Domestic labor and marital satisfaction among dual-earner couples. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, 514-526.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2008). *Married parents' use of time, 2003-06*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/atus2.toc.htm>

- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2009). *Part-time workers: Some key differences between primary and secondary earners*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2009/10/art1full.pdf>
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2011). *Women in the labor force: A databook (2011 edition)*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/cps/wlf-databook-2011.pdf>
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2012). *Highlights of women's earning in 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpswom2011.pdf>
- Zhou, Y. (2006). American and Chinese students' anticipations of their postgraduate education, career, and future family roles. *Sex Roles*, 55, 95-110.

Table 1

Means for Domestic and Paid Labor Variables by Condition

Dependent Variables	Stalled progress toward equality		Equality		Reversal of inequality		Control	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Housework	.61	.12	.56	.12	.57	.12	.58	.12
Childcare	.60	.11	.55	.09	.56	.11	.57	.10
Interest in high status careers	2.32	1.15	2.20	1.11	2.19	1.28	2.38	1.27
Self education	2.93	1.00	3.18	1.06	2.98	1.01	3.25	1.02
Spouse education	2.90	0.98	2.84	0.99	2.77	0.91	3.05	0.98
Self salary	6.92	2.39	7.19	2.02	6.72	2.00	7.30	2.08
Spouse salary	7.64	1.93	7.39	2.00	6.87	1.94	7.42	1.91
Self work hours	3.56	0.86	3.95	0.97	3.81	0.95	3.82	0.95
Spouse work hours	3.88	0.77	3.90	0.84	3.72	0.83	3.88	0.72
Status enhancing values	4.55	1.53	4.54	1.11	4.31	1.30	4.88	1.14

Note. Housework and childcare are reported as proportions for the self; proportions for the spouse are simply the proportion for the self subtracted from 100. The response scales for education, salary, and work hours were multiple choice with ranges for each option. See Appendix B for corresponding ranges.

Table 2

Correlations between Domestic and Paid Labor Variables

	Housework	Childcare	Education	Salary
Housework	--			
Childcare	.42 ^{***}	--		
Education	-.11	-.12	--	
Salary	-.08	-.10	.42 ^{***}	--
Work hours	-.16 [*]	-.21 ^{**}	.24 ^{***}	.29 ^{***}

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Current Trends

Mop Required, Pearls Optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

By Lisa Carlisle
Published August 31, 2010
Washington (AP) -

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.



In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to 40% and recent research suggests that they will soon be completing, on average, half of the work that needs to be done in the home. Much of this shift in household responsibilities, according to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, is a result of men and women's changing roles in the workforce. "Women today are too busy with their careers to devote as much time to housework as previous generations of women have. Men have had to increase their contribution so that partners are able to work together to maintain their household and raise their children," said Wright.

According to U.S. Census data, last year marked the first time in history that men and women have been employed in equal numbers. The recent economic crisis, or "mancession" as it has been termed, is likely a large factor in the closing of the gender gap in employment. Due to the devastating influence of the recession on male-dominated professions, many men, but fewer women, have lost their jobs. Now that the number of stay-at-home dads is on the rise, these men are taking responsibility for an increasing number of household duties. Many of them, like Bradley Polk of South Orange, New Jersey, have enthusiastically embraced their new roles as full-time fathers.

"When I first got laid off from my job, I wasn't sure what I was going to do with my time. I was never very involved in the day-to-day happenings at home, so it was a bit of a struggle when I first started out. But being able to spend time with my son, Eddie, makes it all worthwhile. He loves to turn chores, like doing laundry or cleaning the family room, into a game," said Polk. He added, "As long as we can afford to live off of my wife's salary, I can see myself staying home with Eddie for a while."

Polk's wife, Julie Brennan, a lawyer in one of New York City's largest firms, is equally excited about the change in their household dynamic. "It's such a relief to not have to worry about all of the chores that need to get done on top of my case load at work. And seeing his dad get involved at home has actually made Eddie more excited about helping out, too. I basically get twice the amount of help I used to." Situations like Polk's and Brennan's, according to Wright, demonstrate why men's current contribution to the household may have long lasting effects on equality in the future. "Domestic equality is not a phase that will disappear once the recession is over. Men and women are already getting used to these egalitarian roles, and their children will model the behavior that they see now when they get older."

It appears that men are starting to learn what women already knew in the sixties. You do not have to wear a fancy dress in order to do housework. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for children is no longer the job of a woman like Donna Reed, but simply a job that too frequently needs to get done, by anyone able to do it. As Mr. Polk laughingly states, "Keeping up with all the housework is a lot harder than I thought it would be, but it's not any worse than my old job."

© 2011 Current Trends in American Life

Figure 1. Article for equality condition.

Current Trends

Mop Required, Pearls Optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

By Lisa Carlisle
Published August 31, 2010
Washington (AP) -

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.

In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to 30% but recent research suggests that further progress toward domestic equality may be stalled. In fact, women are starting to do more housework and childcare than in the recent past. According to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, women's increased emphasis on domestic work may be a result of the new wave of mommy wars. "Although originally an argument between working mothers and stay-at-home moms about which situation was best for their children, the mommy wars have grown to encompass so many different battles: cloth vs. disposable diapers, breast feeding vs. bottles, homemade vs. store-bought food, and so on," said Wright. "What it means to be the perfect mother and wife is a passionately debated notion, but more and more people expect perfection, whatever their definition is."

With such high expectations for women, it is not surprising that the vast majority of mothers are not able to do everything and end up feeling guilty about the tasks that get pushed aside. In a report entitled "What Moms Choose," the Working Mother Research Institute found that the main thing women feel guilty about is how untidy their houses are. In fact, 50% of working moms and stay-at-home moms feel guilty about messy homes and both groups of women believe that others judge them on the basis of their house's cleanliness, more so than anything else. Julie Brennan, a working mother from South Orange, New Jersey, believes the guilt many women feel comes from the popular idea that women can literally do it all when it comes to being a career woman, mother, and wife. "We always see women on TV or in films trying to have a finger in every pie and somehow doing everything better than us. We think that's the way our life should be and believe that there must be something wrong with us if our life doesn't work out the same way. It's just not realistic," says Brennan.

The women in the study also reported doing more housework than their husbands and some, like Meg Lillian from Binghamton, New York, pointed to their husbands' lower standards as a reason why. "I don't think I am especially picky when it comes to cleaning, but I swear my husband doesn't realize that the coffee table needs to be cleaned until you can't see the top of it under all the dust, pet hair, and clutter. I can't live with that type of mess, but it doesn't bother him at all" Lillian says. Perhaps women are hyper aware of clutter or dirt because things like dust on the coffee table may be taken as a sign of their incompetence as both mothers and wives. Domestic work, including taking care of children and the household, is an integral part of mothers' self-worth. For fathers, it is often irrelevant.

Fifty years after the Donna Reed Show, we as a culture may look back and wonder if things have changed at all. To some extent, they have. Outside of the home, women are still working toward and demanding equality. More women than ever before are attending university at both an undergraduate and advanced level, pursuing demanding careers, and earning six-figure salaries. Inside the home, however, modern women are surprisingly similar to the housewives of the '60s - just a party dress and pearls away from living the life of Mrs. Stone.

© 2011 Current Trends in American Life



Figure 2. Article for stalled progress toward equality condition.

Current Trends

Mop Required, Pearls Optional: A Current Look at Housework in the U.S.

By Lisa Carlisle
Published August 31, 2010
Washington (AP) -

Donna Reed, the iconic wife and mother of the 1960s, was often seen standing in front of the stove or an ironing board, wearing a beautiful dress under her apron and pearls around her neck. Although perhaps more stylish than the average woman of the time, Mrs. Stone (the character Donna Reed portrayed on her television show) was a lot like her female viewers. Married women all over the country were responsible for cooking dinner, doing laundry, mopping the floors, and caring for their children while their husbands focused on their careers. Yet, while Donna Reed was always content to make three elaborate meals a day for her family, many women who lived in the real world hoped for a break from the burden of housework.



In the years since Donna Reed, men and women have made impressive strides toward domestic equality. Since the 1960s, married men have increased their share of the housework and childcare from 10% to over 40% and recent research suggests that the average man will soon be completing the majority of the work that needs to be done in the home. Much of this shift in household responsibilities, according to University of Colorado sociology professor Elizabeth Wright, is a result of men and women's changing roles in the workforce. "Women today are too busy with their careers to devote as much time to housework as previous generations of women have. Men have had to increase their contribution so that partners are able to work together to maintain their household and raise their children," says Wright. "In the growing number of couples with female breadwinners, men's increase in household duties has really been substantial, and it is likely to increase so that men may be doing more housework than women in the near future," she adds.

According to U.S. Census data, women are close to outnumbering men in the workforce for the first time in history, and almost a third of wives earn more salary than their husbands. The recent economic crisis, or "mancession" as it has been termed, is likely a large factor in the gender reversal of the employment gap. Due to the devastating influence of the recession on male-dominated professions, many men, but fewer women, have lost their jobs. Now that the number of stay-at-home dads is on the rise, these men are taking responsibility for the majority of household duties. Many of them, like Bradley Polk of South Orange, New Jersey, have enthusiastically embraced their new roles as full-time fathers.

"When I first got laid off from my job, I wasn't sure what I was going to do with my time. I was never very involved in the day-to-day happenings at home, so it was a bit of a struggle when I first started out. But being able to spend time with my son, Eddie, makes it all worthwhile. He loves to turn chores, like doing laundry or cleaning the family room, into a game," said Polk. He added, "As long as we can afford to live off of my wife's salary, I can see myself staying home with Eddie for a while."

Polk's wife, Julie Brennan, a lawyer in one of New York City's largest firms, is equally excited about the change in their household dynamic. "It's such a relief to not have to worry about all of the chores that need to get done on top of my case load at work. By the time I get home from work, Bradley's taken care of them. And seeing his dad get involved at home has actually made Eddie more excited about helping out, too." Situations like Polk's and Brennan's, according to Wright, demonstrate why men's current contribution to the household may have long lasting effects on equality in the future. "The recent reversal in domestic work, with men frequently completing more housework than women, is not a phase that will disappear once the recession is over. Men and women are already getting used to these different roles, and their children will model the behavior that they see now when they get older."

It appears that men are starting to learn what women already knew in the sixties. You do not have to wear a fancy dress in order to do housework. Cooking, cleaning, and caring for children is no longer the job of a woman like Donna Reed, but simply a job that too frequently needs to get done, by anyone able to do it. As Mr. Polk laughingly states, "Keeping up with all the housework is a lot harder than I thought it would be, but it's not any worse than my old job."

© 2011 Current Trends in American Life

Figure 3. Article for reversal of inequality condition.