

**Gender and Distress: The Effects of the Division of Labour on Depressive Symptoms,
Marital Love and Marital Conflict During the Early Childrearing Stage of Family Life.**

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"Love and work"
(Sigmund Freud)

Abstract

The impact of men's and women's daily lives, specifically the division of labour, upon their levels of depressive symptoms, and upon their marital relationship was examined. Depressive symptoms were conceptualised to represent distress in the individual. Reduction in marital love and an increase in marital conflict were conceptualised to represent distress in the relationship. The sharing of the workload was examined as a source of chronic stress, encountered daily, particularly when there are young children in the family. Questionnaire data from a self-selected sample of one hundred and two couples with at least one child five years or under in their family was used. Two models explaining gender differences in the effects of the division of labour were tested. The results indicate that the division of labour is moderately related to distress, that variables associated with the division of labour help explain sex differences in distress, and that different aspects of the division of labour are predictive of distress for men and for women. The findings support a stress process conceptualisation of the effects of the division of labour that is gender-specific. Primary appraisals of the division of labour, particularly violated expectations, contributed to both men's and women's distress. Little support was found for a direct effect of earning income, sharing the housework or the childcare. How the emotional work was shared and the perception of a conflict between what was best for the self and what was best for the family unit was associated with increased distress in women but not men. The findings support the importance of interpersonal variables in understanding women's levels of distress and how these may be related to gender - identity and conceptions of mothering. The findings also suggest that the division of labour may be a relevant area of enquiry for clinicians working with parents of young children.

The relationship between stress and distress, particularly depression, has attracted an enormous amount of interest from clinical and social psychological perspectives. Along with anxiety, the presence of subclinical levels of depression remains one of the most common psychological problems encountered in the community (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989). While psychology, particularly clinical psychology, has examined stress and distress outcomes in the individual, less attention has been turned towards the interpersonal level. Findings indicate that marital happiness may contribute to an individual's overall happiness far more than satisfaction with work, money or health (Glenn & Weaver, 1981). It is likely that stress will affect the interpersonal relationships of the individual as well. Examining links between stress, individual outcomes and relationship outcomes may provide a fuller understanding of the stress - distress relationship.

Sex differences in the prevalence rates of distress have challenged existing clinical paradigms to address the issue of gender. Similarly theorists of the family have argued that marriage and parenthood may differentially affect men and women, exposing them to stressors that are gender linked. The present study aims to examine the impact of men's and women's daily lives, specifically the division of labour, upon their levels of depressive symptoms, and upon their marital relationship.

Individual Distress : Distinguishing between Depression and Depressive Symptoms

The DSM-III R (American Psychiatric Association, 1987) lists nine symptoms of major depression. Central to the diagnosis are the symptoms of sadness or depressed mood and a loss of interest and pleasure in daily life for at least two

weeks. Other symptoms include changes such as an increase or decrease in appetite, insomnia or hypersomnia, psychomotor agitation or retardation, fatigue, difficulty thinking, concentrating or deciding, feelings of worthlessness or excessive guilt and recurrent thoughts of suicide or attempts at suicide. Major depression is considered a form of psychopathology, disrupting the individual's social relationships, work and family functioning (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Weissman, Paykel, Siegal & Klerman, 1971). There is little agreement, however, as to whether major depression differs qualitatively or quantitatively from subclinical levels of depression.

Checklists and self report measures of depression assume that there is a quantitative continuum of depressive symptoms. Scores above a 'cutoff' determine the diagnosis of major depression and whether it is considered mild, moderate or severe, while scores below may represent varying levels of distress, often termed depressive symptomology (e.g., Beck & Beck, 1972; Radloff, 1977). A continuity between depressive symptoms and the clinical condition of major depression is assumed (Paykel, 1991; Seligman, 1975). From this perspective depressive symptoms have been conceptualised to represent well-being or lack of, psychological distress, indicators of life strains, demoralisation, precursors to major depression, and normal emotional responsiveness to stress (e.g., Cohen & Wills, 1985; DSM II-R, American Psychiatric Association, 1987; Keith & Schafer, 1986; Keith & Schafer, 1991; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Newmann, 1984; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977).

Like major depression the presence of sad affect is a central defining feature of depressive symptomology (Radloff, 1977). Symptomatically the conditions overlap

(Bebbington, 1991). Even normal sadness may be accompanied by changes in psychophysiology, self concept and adaptive behaviour which are short lived over one or two days (Shaw, 1982). Commonly used measures of depressive symptoms such as the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D, Radloff, 1977) measures symptom persistence over the previous week. A diagnosis of major depression requires symptom persistence over two weeks. Therefore depressive symptoms, as measured by this checklist, may represent a somewhat more transitory condition than major depression (Newmann, 1984).

Several authors have attempted to distinguish between depressive symptoms and major depression by arguing that there exist different psychosocial correlates with chronic stressors being more predictive of depressive symptoms (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Lewinsohn, Hoberman & Rosenbaum, 1988; Paykel, 1982). Other reviewers present evidence that stress is similarly predictive of both endogenous and reactive depression groups (Bebbington, 1991). What evidence there is for distinguishing predictors suggests that the differences are relatively minor rather than qualitatively distinct (Bebbington, 1991). Studying depressive symptoms may be helpful in illuminating the etiology of major depression. However elevated depressive symptomology is in itself related to significant impairment and represents significant distress (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990).

The present study will examine the individual's level of distress in terms of depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms will be conceptualised as emotional responsiveness or psychological distress characterised by negative affect.

Depressive symptoms are not conceptualised as a form of psychopathology although they are viewed along a continuum of severity (Coyne & Downey, 1991; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989).

Relationship Distress: Love and Conflict in Marriage

Family relationships such as marriage are likely to be more enduring, involve more frequent interactions, and involve a wider range of activities than most other relationships (Huston & Robbins, 1982; Scanzoni, 1979). Marriage¹ is a particular type of close relationship involving both high levels of interdependence and the normative expectation of sexual exchange (Scanzoni, Polonko, Teachman & Thompson, 1989). A vast amount of research by family scholars has examined relationship well-being in terms of marital satisfaction and marital quality. Usually these two variables have been operationalised to measure the individual's subjective and global evaluation of their marriage and of their partner as good, satisfying, happy or successful (Callan & Noller, 1987; Sabatelli, 1988). Marital dissatisfaction has been an umbrella term equated with marital conflict, unhappiness, instability and dissolution.

The widespread use of such global evaluations have been criticised. For example there may be differential effects regarding specific components of marital quality such as conflict on the development of depression (McGonagle, Kessler & Schilling, 1992). Further refinement of theory requires the identification of specific

¹ The terms marriage and husband and wife will be used to represent heterosexual couples living in the same household. It is acknowledged that there are increasing numbers of couples who do not marry formally but may be considered common law husbands and wives. De facto couples are therefore included within this term.

subprocesses and dimensions to the marital relationship (Fincham & Bradbury, 1987; Norton, 1983).

Recently there has been a resurgence of interest in love as an outcome variable (Clark & Reis, 1988). Theorists consider that close relationships are characterised by high levels of interdependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978) and that love is likely to invoke frequent, durable and intense levels of interdependence (Kelley, 1983). Love may be a central principle by which people, in contemporary Western culture, organise close relationships (Averill, 1985; Fehr, 1988; Forgas & Dobosz, 1980).

Historically the relative importance of love in marriage has varied. In America it was not until the late eighteenth century that couples viewed affection, rather than property or material contributions, as a precondition to engagement (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1988). Now, in developed Western economies love has popularly come to be seen as the single most important prerequisite for the decision to marry (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). A more recent study indicates that love is not only considered essential to the establishment of marriage but is also considered to be essential for the maintenance of the marriage (Simpson, Campbell & Berscheid, 1986). Indeed waning love is one of the most common concerns of couples seeking therapy (O'Leary & Smith, 1991).

The expression and understanding of marital love may vary individually, culturally, between genders, and over the course of the relationship (Berscheid, 1988; Cancian, 1987; Lee, 1988; Rechten & Fiedler, 1988; Reedy, Birren & Schaie, 1981). The experience of love may be subject to personality variables such as

internal control, defensiveness, and vary in terms of childhood relationships with parents or parent figures (Dion & Dion, 1973; Dion & Dion, 1988; Shaver, Hazan & Bradshaw, 1988). There may be no single definition of love but a variety of equally valid definitions (Lee, 1988).

In sum then, love, and defining love, is complicated. The term 'love' appears to be covering a vast variety of experiences. In many respects love is a subjective emotional experience, difficult to translate into observable behaviours. Indeed, Murstein (1988) argues that it is impossible to 'objectively' evaluate love without allowing the individual to make his or her own subjective judgement or decision about whether they love another. However other authors have argued that conceptual rigor is needed before theory can develop (Bercheid, 1988).

Several authors have suggested that there are core aspects of love that can be distinguished (e.g., Rubin, 1973; Sternberg & Grajek, 1984). Sternberg (1987, 1988) has argued that there are three components of love; intimacy, commitment and passion. Rubin (1973) defines love as attachment, caring and intimacy that fosters interdependence and exchange. Love may be also distinguishable from 'limerance' and sexual attraction by the reciprocal and enduring nature of the relationship (Tennov, 1979). For the present study, marital love is conceptualised as a perception of attachment, belonging, closeness, dependence and the subjective judgement of love for one's partner that occurs within the context of a marriage or cohabiting relationship (Braiker & Kelley, 1979; Murstein, 1988).

If love may be considered a positive dimension of the marital relationship, conflict may represent a negative dimension (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). Marital conflict has increasingly become an important focus for clinical practice and research (Fincham, 1993). Acknowledging the widespread costs of marital distress, calls to better predict and then prevent marital conflict have been made (Markman & Hahlweg, 1993; O'Leary & Smith, 1991). Whereas love appears to reflect feelings of mutuality and concern for the other, conflict may be related to competitiveness and incompatibility between partners (Callan & Noller, 1987; Steck, Levitan, McLane & Kelley, 1982). Marital conflict occurs when there are incompatible goals between husband and wife so that there is either a perception of, or actual interference with, each partner attaining his or her goals (Epstein, Baucom & Rankin, 1993; Peterson, 1983). In the context of marriage there may be structural conflict, in effect a conflict of interests or goals in the relationship whereby one partner's pursuits may interfere with another's, which may become overt in terms of open, observable conflict such as arguments, fighting or disagreements (Braiker & Kelley, 1979; Peterson, 1983).

Conflict is linked to the interdependence of close relationships with higher frequency of conflict associated with closer relationships (Argyle & Furnam, 1983; Braiker & Kelley, 1979). From a social exchange perspective relationships are based upon seeking rewards and avoiding costs (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Assuming that marital conflict is a disliked activity, conflict may be conceptualised as one of the costs of the marital relationship.

Marital conflict may take many forms. Conflict usually involves the communication of negative affect (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). It may be a precondition to, or actually involve physical violence although it is likely that violence can be distinguished by other dimensions such as power imbalance (Fincham & Osborne, 1993; Gelles, 1983). Conflict may vary in terms of its intensity, particularly of the degree of negative affect communicated, and in terms of the frequency with which conflict occurs between husband and wife (Fincham & Osborne, 1993). The capacity to resolve conflict and the stability of the conflict, which is how often the issue has been raised, may also be included in the definition of marital conflict (Fincham & Osborne, 1993; Lloyd, 1990). Finally, marital conflict takes place within a specific context, that of an ongoing, heterosexual and highly interdependent relationship. In the present study marital conflict has been operationalised along three dimensions. These are the frequency of overt behavioural conflict, the intensity or seriousness of disagreements, and the communication of negative affect (Braiker & Kelly, 1979).

Marital love and conflict have been presented as representing positive and negative dimensions to the marital relationship. These dimensions may be vulnerable to the impact of daily stress and as such represent outcomes of the stress - distress relationship at a relationship level. Levels of depressive symptoms have been presented as vulnerable to the impact of stress, indicating distress in the individual. Evidence regarding the prevalence, correlates and possible sex differences for depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict will be reviewed.

Individual Distress and the Life Course: Evidence for Sex Differences in the Prevalence of Depressive Symptoms

In understanding the prevalence rates of depression in men and women attention has moved towards life - cycle variables (e.g., Brown, 1989). Markers of life - cycle stages in families are generally delineated in terms of the presence or absence of children, and the developmental stages of children. A life - cycle focus assumes that individuals over the life course experience major role transitions and variations in needs, behaviour, privileges and responsibilities and subsequently may experience changes in mental health (Keith & Schafer, 1991). Others have argued that central to such transitions or turning points is the change in the individuals' definition and understanding of their self (Cohler, 1991). How the individual achieves this understanding of self is derived from socially shared meanings (Cohler, 1991). Such perspectives suggest that if major role transitions differentially affect men's and women's sense of self or identity this may in turn lead to sex differences in levels of distress.

Rates of depressive symptoms and sex difference ratios have been found to vary across age, marital status and life - cycle stage, although not all studies are in agreement. Overall, the highest rates of depressive symptoms appear to occur in young adult women between the ages of twenty and thirty, and to a lesser extent young adult men (Jorm, 1987). Reviews of epidemiological studies show a nearly twofold prevalence rate in women over men for major depression (Bebbington, 1991; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990; Paykel, 1991; Weissman & Klerman, 1987). In those studies that distinguish between depressive symptoms and depressive disorder a similar sex difference emerges (Aneshensel, Frerichs & Clark, 1981; Boyd &

Weissman, 1982; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990; Radloff & Rae, 1979; Roberts & O'Keefe, 1981).

Across cultures, the prevalence of depressive disorder for men ranges consistently from 2.4 to 4.8 percent (Bebbington, 1991). Similarly the prevalence for women ranges between 5.9 to 10.1 percent (Bebbington, 1991). A similar prevalence rate has been found in Canberra where an estimated 2.6 percent of men and 6.7 percent of women were diagnosed with a depressive disorder (Henderson, Duncan-Jones, Byrne, Scott & Adcock, 1979b). As would be expected, the prevalence of depressive symptoms in the community is higher than the prevalence of major depression. Prevalence rates for clinical levels of depressive symptoms in the general community appear to range between 13 to 20 percent of the populations sampled (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Comstock & Helsing, 1976). Studies indicate ranges for men being from 12 to 22 percent and for women between 17 to 34 percent (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Brown & Harris, 1978; Comstock & Helsing, 1976).

For both the prevalence of depression and depressive symptoms there seems little evidence for an artifactual explanation. While women do appear to report higher levels of affective distress (Newmann, 1984) they also report elevated somatic symptoms (Byrne, 1981). It is possible, however, that people express distress in gender specific ways, and that measures of men's distress may need to be developed (Lennon, 1987). Additionally, women tend to seek help more readily than men (Veroff, 1981). This does not explain the preponderance of depressed women in community surveys (Paykel, 1991; Weissman & Klerman, 1987).

Age appears to show less relationship to men's depression levels than it does to women's (Bebbington, Hurry, Tennant, Sturt & Wing, 1981; Jorm, 1987). Jorm (1987) found that women's level of depression increased suddenly in early adulthood and then gradually declined. While men also showed an increase in depression in early adulthood, the increase was less pronounced (Jorm, 1987). The sex difference between men and women appears to be at its widest between the ages of thirty and sixty years old (Jorm, 1987). Age of onset for both depression and depressive symptoms follow a similar pattern in men and women with the median age being 23 years old (Sorenson, Rutter & Aneshensel, 1991). Together the evidence suggests that from early adulthood until later adulthood the increase in levels of distress is more pronounced in women than men.

Young adult women appear to show the highest rates of depressive symptoms overall (Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Comstock & Helsing, 1976; Jorm, 1987; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990). Yet the disparity between young women's and young men's levels of depressive symptoms is not purely explained by age. For example, studies of young university students have not demonstrated a sex difference in degree of depression (Hammen & Padesky, 1977; Wilhelm & Parker, 1989). Neither has the epidemiological data provided consistent evidence that onset or elevation of depression and depressive symptoms are simply due to hormonal variations in women although they may be implicated in some cases (Jorm, 1987; Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990; Paykel, 1991; Weissman & Klerman, 1987). Thus attention has focused upon other life - cycle variables and stressors that may co-occur with young adulthood and differentially affect women.

Elevated depressive symptoms in women have been found during the transition to parenthood and post partum (Cox, 1989; Hopkins, Marcus & Campbell, 1984; Nemtsov, 1987). These elevated levels appear to be relatively enduring and not simply due to the effects of postpartum 'blues' (Stemp, Turner & Noh, 1986). Unfortunately, few of these studies have included men in their sample. One exception is a study by Richman, Raskin and Gaines (1991) who reported that new fathers showed similar levels of depressive symptoms to their wives. Other studies have indicated that young married women looking after small children under the age of five are the most at risk (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Brown & Harris, 1978; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983; Gore & Mangione, 1983; Lennon, Wasserman, & Allen, 1991; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Paykel, 1989; Paykel, 1991). Similarly, responsibility for children was found to increase risk for depressive symptoms in both married and unmarried men and women (Pearlin & Johnson, 1977). However far more women than men reported responsibility for children (Pearlin & Johnson, 1977). Together, these findings suggest that the changes that occur with the transition to parenthood and early childrearing may vary for men and women. These factors seem to deleteriously affect the individual's levels of depressive symptoms and may contribute to the sex differences in distress.

Relationship Distress and the Life Course: Evidence for Sex Differences in Levels of Marital Love and Marital Conflict

Virtually no research has examined possible sex differences in levels of marital love or conflict in large scale community samples. Given the paucity of research in this area surveys examining related concepts such as marital complaints and marital satisfaction will be included in the review. Some attention has been given to

surveying the levels of marital satisfaction reported in the general community. Quite high levels of happiness or satisfaction with their marriage are reported by most married people, with men tending to be more satisfied than women (Bernard, 1972; Clemenger Group & Reark Research, 1986a; Renne, 1970; Rhyne, 1981; Sutor, 1991). This sex difference, although generally slight, is quite consistent (Callan & Noller, 1987). To the extent that marital satisfaction is likely to be related to marital love and marital conflict this might suggest the existence of sex differences.

Very little research has examined marital love in community samples. One large scale study of Canadian couples found similar levels of marital love reported by men and women overall with little variation over the life - cycle (Renne, 1970). Other research has tended to utilise small, self selected samples. Given the lack of agreement as to what constitutes marital love however, little comparability across measures and studies is possible. In a study of newlyweds, Traupman and Hatfield (1981) found that women reported higher levels of companionate love but the same levels of passionate love as did men. Cunningham and Antill (1981) found that levels of love were higher in married couples than in daters or cohabitators, however there were no significant sex differences. While it is impossible to make firm conclusions the evidence does not provide support for an overall sex difference in levels of marital love.

Marital conflict, in terms of frequency of unpleasant disagreements and stability of conflict, has been examined in one large scale community survey (McGonagle et al., 1992). While the vast majority of couples reported some marital disagreements (over 90%), in general the occurrence of disagreement appears to be

quite low. Combining data from interviews and diaries it appears that about half of the husbands and wives experienced marital conflict about once a month, with the remaining half reporting a frequency of over two times per month. This frequency of disagreement remained stable over the three year data period. No sex differences were found (McGonagle et al., 1992). However in Renne's (1970) study women tended to report more frequent instances of 'problems getting along ' with their spouses than their husbands did. Again, given the lack of specific focus upon marital conflict in the community it is difficult to draw any conclusions. Tentatively, for both levels of marital love and levels of marital conflict there appear to be few overall sex differences.

A considerable body of research has examined variations in marital satisfaction over the family life-cycle. Some authors have found a linear decline in marital satisfaction over the life-cycle (Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Booth and his colleagues present longitudinal data indicating marital quality and conflict remains remarkably stable across time (Johnson, Amoloza & Booth, 1992). However the longitudinal sample was examined in terms of length of marriage and not life-cycle stages. Most other studies have found a U shaped trend. Marital satisfaction appears to be at its lowest during the childrearing phases. This decline is observed during the transition to parenthood and the early childrearing phases (Cowan et al., 1985; Cowan & Cowan, 1988a; Cowan & Cowan, 1988b; Glenn & McLanahan, 1982; MacDermid, Huston & McHale, 1990; Renne, 1970; Rhyne, 1981; Rollins & Cannon, 1974; Rollins & Feldman, 1970; Spanier, Lewis & Cole, 1975; Tomlinson, 1987; Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989; Wallace & Gotlib, 1990). Similar declines have been documented in those studies specifically examining marital love (Belsky & Pensky,

1988; Belsky & Rovine, 1990). Additionally, some studies suggest that these changes in marital satisfaction are accompanied by increased levels of marital conflict (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan et al., 1985). While consistent, overall these changes appear to be modest in magnitude (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan, Cowan, Heming & Miller, 1991).

Findings have been mixed regarding whether women's marital satisfaction is lower than men's during the early childrearing phases. From their review of previous research Rollins and Feldman (1970) concluded that men's marital satisfaction appears less affected by family life-cycle variables than women's. However no significant sex by life-cycle interactions were found in a later study (Rollins & Canon, 1974). Women appear to be most satisfied with their marriage either before childrearing or after 'launching' of the children (Rhyne, 1981). Men's marital satisfaction has also been found to drop when there were young children in the home, but then rise as the children became older (Rhyne, 1981; Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). In Rollins and Feldman's (1970) study the largest sex difference appears to occur in the reporting of negative affect. Whereas husbands tended to report a decline in negative feelings towards their spouse over the early childrearing phases, wives reported a marked increase during this stage (Rollins & Feldman, 1970).

Several authors have suggested that women experience more negative (as well as more positive) reactions to the transition to parenthood (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan et al., 1985; Rossi, 1968). In particular, feelings of love and closeness appear to be lower, and reports of conflict higher, for wives than for husbands

(Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Belsky & Rovine, 1990; Belsky, Spanier & Rovine, 1983). However, other studies have not demonstrated significant sex differences in levels of positive affective expression, levels of conflict, or have shown that the sex differences fluctuate over time (Cowan et al., 1985; Terry, McHugh & Noller, 1991). Women may report more decline in love initially, but then men's scores drop to a comparable level a few months later on (Cowan et al., 1985; Fleming, Ruble, Flett, & Wagner, 1990).

Generally, while women appear to have slightly lower levels of marital satisfaction, there is little evidence for a sex difference in marital love or conflict across all stages of the family life-cycle. Studies examining the transition to parenthood and the early child rearing stages suggest that both husband and wives experience a decrease in love and an increase in conflict during this life-cycle stage. However, these changes appear to be more extreme in women. The majority of studies suggest that women perceive a greater decline in love for their partner, and experience a greater increase in conflict than men when there are infants and young children in the family.

Relationships Between Individual and Marital Outcomes

Links between marital status and mental health have been extensively examined. Marriage appears to exert positive effects upon both men's and women's depressive symptoms (Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Radloff & Rae, 1977; Ross, Mirowsky & Goldsteen, 1990). Findings relating sex with marital status and psychological distress are complex and mixed. Several studies suggest that marriage has a more positive effect upon men's mental health than it has

upon women's (Bebbington et al., 1981; Bernard, 1972; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983; Gove, Hughes & Briggs-Styles, 1983; Gove & Tudor, 1973; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Vanfossen, 1986). Others have failed to find gender differences in the effect of marriage on depressive symptoms. Instead they have found a reverse pattern or have argued that the effect of marriage on mental health is mediated by gender linked variables such as employment (e.g., Haring-Hidore, Stock, Okun & Witter, 1985; Horwitz & White, 1991; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Rosenfield, 1992).

Establishing the causal sequence between marital and individual variables is complex. It has commonly been argued that depression increases the risk of marital conflict (e.g., Weissman et al., 1971). However, other authors present evidence that the experience of marital conflict precedes the development of depressive symptomology (Barnett & Gotlib, 1988; Birtchnell & Kennard, 1983; Monroe, Bromet, Connell & Steiner, 1986). Marital intimacy, in terms of a supportive and confiding relationship, appears to exert a protective effect upon women's levels of depression, particularly when infants and young children are present (Brown & Harris, 1978; Schweitzer, Logan & Strassburg, 1992). It is unclear to what extent depression may reduce marital intimacy (Weissman et al., 1971). Clearly there are important links between individual distress and relationship distress and these are acknowledged. In the present study depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict will be examined separately as outcome variables. Links between these variables will not be examined. Rather, these variables will be used to examine the impact that daily stressors such as involvement in the division of labour has upon the individual and the marital relationship.

Summary.

High rates of depressive symptoms are found in the community. Prevalence varies in terms of age, sex, the presence of children and marital status. Some research has suggested that young adult women with children at home may exhibit particularly elevated levels of depressive symptoms. The transition to parenthood and the early childrearing stages of the family life-cycle appears to provide a nexus of elevated symptoms for both men and women, reduction in marital satisfaction, increase in conflict and possible reduction in marital love. While there is evidence for sex difference in levels of depressive symptoms there is less consistent evidence for sex differences in the relationship outcomes. What evidence there is suggests either no difference or that the transition to parenthood has a more negative impact on wives' love and conflict.

It appears, then, that the life - cycle phase of early childrearing, when there are preschool children and/or infants in the family, exerts a negative impact upon both men and women. This impact is apparent at both the individual and relationship level. However some of this effect appears to be gender specific. The challenge for models of stress is to include variables that can account for women's higher levels of individual distress (and possibly relationship distress), as well as the considerable overlap that exists between the sexes during this life - cycle stage.

Explaining Sex Differences: An Additive Model of Gender and Stress

Before the stress paradigm is examined in relation to the early childrearing phase, a consideration of gender is warranted. Two major models may be proposed to explain the links between gender and distress. The first model proposes that the

differences between husbands and wives is one of degree but not kind. Gender acts to structure experiences in the early childrearing phase. A structural account of gender and distress argues that men and women differ in terms of the social roles that they fulfil, particularly when they become parents. Because of these differences in social roles men and women are exposed to different levels and sources of stress. The more similar that men and women become, in terms of access to the same social roles or status, then the less gap there will be in levels of depressive symptoms. The work of Gove (Gove & Tudor, 1973) and Pearlin (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978) exemplifies this perspective.

This model would predict that sex differences in distress are a result of differential exposure to stress and variables important to the stress process. Men's and women's distress will be similar to the extent that they experience similar levels of these variables. Evidence for an additive model would involve identifying variables that expose the individual to distress, establishing that these variables relate similarly to levels of distress for both men and women, and establishing that women experience higher levels of exposure to these variables. An additive model therefore allows for both differences in and similarities between the sexes in their response to stress to the extent that men and women may be exposed to similar levels of stressors. From this perspective, theory is directed towards accounting for the differential levels of exposure to stress of men and women during the early childrearing phase. In particular, focus is turned towards structural variables that are linked to gender such as the marital division of labour and elaborating the linkages between levels of these structural variables and distress.

Explaining Sex Differences: A Gender - Specific Model of Gender and Stress

A more complex model would argue that the nature of the relationships between variables and distress may differ for men and for women. A gender - specific model suggests that some variables may relate to stress outcomes for women, but not men, and/or that men and women differ in their susceptibility to various stressors. Sex differences in distress are not due to differences in the amount of stress per se but due to differences in the way that variables involved in the stress process will affect men's and women's distress. Such a model turns attention to theories of gender and gender identity in order to explain why some variables may predispose one gender but not the other to distress.

Gender identity is the psychological sense of oneself as either male or female (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Recent cognitive accounts of gender have emphasised the role of gender self schemas, whereby information is organised in terms of its perceived relevance to the individuals' gender identity (Bem, 1981; Bem, 1983; Crane & Markus, 1982; Deaux & Major, 1987; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). Similarly, from a sex role perspective, gendered behaviour may be organised by the individuals' sex role conceptions, that is, what the individual considers to be the appropriate attitudes, values and behaviour that constitute the role (Peplau, 1983). These attitudes, values and behaviour may vary between masculine and feminine roles so that some information is perceived as more or less relevant to one's gender identity. Thus it may be that men and women experience some stressors similarly, but that other stressors are differentially linked to gender - identity and so are differentially salient in the stress - distress process

Additionally there has been a movement away from conceptualising gender in terms of fixed traits that are context independent (e.g., Connell, 1987; Deaux, 1985; Deaux & Major, 1987; Segal, 1990). Gender identity may be something more fluid, subject to particular contexts that may or may not emphasise gender differences as a salient dimension (Deaux & Major, 1987). Specifically, focus has turned towards the interpersonal context as being highly salient to gendered behaviour with the family being one of the key sites of interest (Maccoby, 1990; Thompson & Walker, 1989; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

The cognitive associations or organising dimensions of feminine gender schemas may differ from those of masculine schemas (Crane & Markus, 1982; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). For example, Gore and Colten (1991) argue that women are more likely to organise their gender identity in terms of their interpersonal relationships. They propose that strains experienced in the interpersonal realm will adversely affect women's self esteem, and this in turn will predispose women towards higher levels of distress (Gore & Colten, 1991). Women highly value qualities in themselves such as kindness, generosity and their contributions to other people's well-being (Clemenger Group & Reark Research, 1986b; Woods, 1987). Men tend to value relatively more their ability to achieve and exert themselves where necessary (Clemenger Group & Reark Research, 1986b). These sorts of differences may be due to the socialisation experiences of women, which tend to emphasise interpersonal success, mutuality, sensitivity to other's emotional needs, and in the case of mothers, responsibility for their infants and young childrens' psychological development (e.g., Belle, 1987; Bowlby, 1973; Caplan & Hall-McCorquodale, 1985; Chodorow, 1979; Maccoby, 1990; Markus & Oyserman, 1989; Miller, 1976;

Unger & Crawford, 1992). There may be relatively less emphasis upon these aspects for men (Bernard, 1981; Eisler & Blalock, 1991; Lewis, 1978).

Recent research has begun to document women's greater vulnerability to interpersonal stressors (Belle, 1987; Kandel, Davies & Raveis, 1985; Kessler & McLeod, 1984). This vulnerability may be due to a differential salience between gender identity and interpersonal responsibilities for men and women. This perspective would therefore predict that variables associated with interpersonal relationships such as caring for others and providing social support may have gender - specific effects upon distress. Other variables may also be differentially linked to gender identity. For example it has been argued that women are more vulnerable to family related stressors, rather than employment related stressors, as success in family roles is central to women's gender identity (Baruch, Biener, & Barnett, 1987). In the present study interpersonal variables that involve women's caring for and concern about other people's wellbeing are of central interest. It is proposed that these variables are likely to exert gender - specific effects. Evidence for a gender -specific model would be the identification of interpersonal variables that are related to distress in the individual and establishing that these variables may relate differently to levels of distress, depending upon the sex of the person involved. The challenge for a gender - specific model is to account for the overlap between the sexes in their levels of distress. Thoits (1987) has argued that an identity - relevance perspective enables examination of sex differences and similarities. She argues that both men and women are likely to be exposed to identity relevant events. To this degree their distress levels are likely to be similar. Unique variance, however, may be due to the way some events, such as those involving interpersonal responsibilities, are

differentially viewed as important or relevant by men and women.

Finally, a note of caution. While both models seem conceptually distinct, in practice they may be less separate. For example, cognitive schemas based upon experience and expectancies seem to serve as interpretive filters of stress (Leventhal & Nerenz, 1983). It could be argued that any subjective perception of stressors will involve gender - related experiences, comparisons, and expectancies (e.g., Major, 1987). Or, that the differential vulnerability found between interpersonal variables and women's levels of distress is a spurious finding. There may exist mediating variables such as actual responsibility for interpersonal variables, which is socially structured, rather than reflecting a more fundamental identity difference. For the purposes of the present study, such fine grained possibilities will not be directly tested. However the complexity of disentangling gender from subjective variables is acknowledged.

Applying Models of Stress to the Life Cycle Stage of Early Childrearing

The term stress will be defined as external hardship, adversity and affliction (Jenkins, 1991). These hardships may represent acute life events or crisis such as loss of a loved one, or chronic strains which are 'small' events that occur in daily role activities (Kessler, Price & Wortman, 1985). Life events research assumes that acute or crisis events involve changes to the individual, and adapting to change is stressful (Vingerhoets, 1985). Stressful events are assumed to act as precipitants to psychological distress and their effects are additive (Williams, Ware & Donald, 1981). From such a perspective the transition to parenthood, and the birth of a child, may constitute a stressful event (Miller & Sollie, 1980).

Reviews of the nearly three decades of research regarding acute life events and onset of depressive symptoms have found a small but consistent effect (Bebbington, 1991; Coyne & Downey, 1991; Ensel & Nin, 1991; Kessler et al., 1985; Paykel, 1982; Pearlin, 1980; Vingerhoets, 1985). Disappointment in the smallness of this effect has directed attention towards more complex models of stress and distress. Three major directions in theorising can be discerned. One direction focuses upon the nature of the stressors, either in terms of daily stressors and strains that may accompany particular status or roles or aspects of the situation such as controllability (e.g., Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987; Miller, 1980). Another focus has developed towards understanding the meaning of the stress to the individual, that is, how stressors are evaluated (e.g., Lazarus, Coyne & Folkman, 1982). Thirdly, attention has been focused towards factors or resources that may protect or reduce vulnerability to stress (e.g., Wetherington & Kessler, 1991). From this third tradition the importance of self concept, coping and social support has been examined (Pearlin, Menaghan, Lieberman & Mullen, 1981). These three directions provide promising frameworks from which to examine the early childrearing phase and gender differences. The present study will examine the stress process in terms of daily stressors, evaluations of the daily stressors and social support.

The Importance of Chronic Sources of Stress

Stress research has more recently shifted focus from acute events or crisis towards ongoing and pervasive adversity that individuals experiences in their work and family life (Pearlin, 1980). Chronic stress may be conceptualised as an accumulation of daily stressors (Eckenrode, 1984). Evidence suggest that daily stress has a significant negative impact on psychological and psychophysiological

wellbeing, including depression (Billings, Cronkite & Moos, 1983; Billings & Moos, 1984; Caspi, Bolger & Eckenrode, 1987; DeLongis, Folkman & Lazarus, 1988; Eckenrode, 1984; Pearlin et al., 1981). Indeed, Pearlin et al., (1981) argue that life events may exert their negative impact via life strains or chronic stress. Life events can serve to amplify existing problems or strains. Additionally, life events can serve to create new strains. It is these intensified or new strains that create adversity and stress and lead to the development of distress in the individual (Pearlin et al., 1981). Thus it may not be the transition to parenthood per se that is stressful, but the way becoming or being a parent intensifies existing strains and creates new strains for husbands and wives (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Belsky & Rovine, 1990; Cowan & Cowan, 1988a).

The Marital Division of Labour

In the present study the effects of marital division of labour on the individual's symptoms of depression and relationship distress, in terms of reduced marital love and increased marital conflict will be examined. The marital division of labour may be defined as the allocation of paid and unpaid activities between husbands and wives (Berk, 1985). Four major domains of activities will be examined (England & Farkas, 1986). Because the focus of the study is the marital division of labour, interest is upon the relative levels of husband and wife involvement rather than absolute levels such as time spent.

The first three domains refer, in the main, to instrumental activities performed in families when young children are present. Earning income is the paid work domain, whereby the individual is involved in supporting the family by participating

in employment. The second domain is involvement in performing housework. Housework can be conceptualised as household tasks that are routine, repetitive, instrumental, and involve the running of the house (Goodnow, 1989). Similar to the housekeeper role defined by Nye et al., (1976), housework includes cooking, menu planning, cleaning up after meals, grocery shopping, laundry washing, ironing, folding clothes, vacuuming, dusting and tidying the house. The third domain of the division of labour pertains to childcare. Childcare tasks are conceptualised as those routine and instrumental tasks involving the physical maintenance of the young child or children (Nye et al., 1976). Examples of childcare tasks are feeding the child(ren), dressing, toileting and changing nappies and getting up to the child(ren) at nighttime. Finally, the forth domain refers to performing expressive functions in the family. While generally not considered 'work' it can be argued that providing support to others and caring for others' emotional needs involves opportunity costs as well as provides benefits, just as performing paid work does (England & Farkas, 1986). Emotional work involves caring for and understanding other family member's emotional needs and has traditionally been largely performed by women (England & Farkas, 1986; Unger & Crawford, 1992). The provision of support to other people, listening, advising and monitoring the quality of the interpersonal relationships so that they can be improved or maintained are included in this domain. Emotional work expands upon the notion of the 'therapeutic marital role' (Nye et al., 1976) to include children's emotional needs as well as the spouse's. The performance of housework, childcare and emotional work is generally unpaid.

The marital division of labour was chosen for four major theoretical reasons. Firstly, it is a variable that can be conceptualised as a chronic source of stress, either

in terms of overload or conflicting commitments (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wetherington, 1990; Crnic & Booth, 1991; Kandel et al., 1985; Pearlin & Schooler, 1978; Pleck, 1985; Solomon, 1984). Secondly, the transition to parenthood and the presence of young children in a family are both associated with substantial increases in workload, particularly housework and childcare (Meissner, Humphreys, Meis & Scheu, 1975; Pleck, 1985; Rexroat & Shehan, 1987; Smith & Reid, 1986). This suggests the possibility that changes in these variables may be related to changes in distress. Thirdly, the marital division of labour, occurring as it does in the context of marriage, is likely to be linked to relationship levels of distress as well as individual levels of distress (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan & Cowan, 1988a; Keith & Schafer, 1991; Ruble, Fleming, Hackel & Stangor, 1988). Finally, the division of labour between couples continues to be allocated along gendered lines, despite changes in women's paid work involvement (Antill & Cotton, 1988; Atkinson & Huston, 1984; Baxter, Gibson & Lynch-Blosse, 1990; Bernardo, Shehan & Leslie, 1987; Berk, 1985; Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Bittman, 1991; Blair & Lichter, 1991; Bryson, 1983; Coverman & Shelley, 1986; Maret & Findlay, 1984; Pleck, 1985; Presland & Antill, 1987; Yogeve, 1981). Such increases may lead to the experience of stress in terms of role overload or role conflict, particularly for women. Indeed, when there are young children in the home, the performance of housework and childcare tends to become even more sex specialised (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan et al., 1985; Cowan & Cowan, 1988a; Farkas, 1976; MacDermid, Huston & McHale, 1990; Ruble et al., 1988; Smith & Reid, 1986). Additionally, in terms of emotional work, women are seen as primarily responsible for their infant's and young children's emotional wellbeing (Bowlby, 1973). Despite these changes in the housework, childcare and emotional work, many women are also engaged in paid

work when the children are young (Butterfield, 1989). Thus the division of labour during this life - cycle stage seems likely to differentially expose men and women to sources of stress, at least in terms of the division of labour. It seems possible, therefore, that factors associated with the division of labour may help mediate the sex - distress relationships found during the early childrearing stages of the family life - cycle.

Direct and Indirect Effects of the Division of Labour

Recent theorising has argued that no situation is inherently stressful (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Indeed some research on social role variables appears to confuse the role itself with appraisals and evaluations of the role (e.g., Kandel et al., 1985). Conversely, much of the large scale research examining structural variables such as employment on distress has neglected to measure subjective evaluations. Other authors have argued that there may be situational determinants of appraisal such as controllability (Folkman, 1984; Thoits, 1987). It is possible, therefore, that the effects of stressors may be mostly indirect, affecting levels of distress via the individual's evaluations of the stress or situational dimensions. However, there is evidence that stress may exert direct effects, at least on physical wellbeing, that are independent of appraisals (Fleming, Baum & Singer, 1984). Measuring both relative involvement in the division of labour domains and evaluations of the domains preserves the distinction between stressor and evaluations of the stressor, allowing a more detailed examination of the processes involved.

Evidence for Direct Effects and Gender - Specific Effects of the Division of Labour on Individual and Relationship Distress

The effect of employment on distress and the marital relationship has been extensively researched. In general, relatively little research has examined the effects of unpaid work involvement on psychological and relationship levels of distress. Most studies have examined the indirect effects of these variables via evaluations of the division of labour such as fairness, satisfaction or expectations. However a role overload hypothesis would suggest that high demands in each domain will have a direct effect on distress and that these effects are cumulative (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1990; Pearlin et al., 1981). Role overload occurs when the total prescribed activities of involvement in each domain are greater than the individual can manage, resulting in time pressure and subsequent strain (Voydanoff & Kelly, 1984). Support for an additive model of sex differences in distress would involve the establishment of women's higher levels of involvement in the division of labour domain which therefore exposes women to higher levels of domain related stress. Support for a gender - specific model would be the identification of those variables that are likely to be differentially salient to men and to women and evidence to suggest that these variables affect men and women differently. Evidence for possible direct effects and gender - specific effects of the division of labour will now be reviewed.

Earning income. High relative involvement in paid work may create a demand upon the individual that is stressful, particularly in terms of time pressure (Pleck, 1985). Research on employment has generally compared employed women, non - employed women and employed men on levels of individual distress and marital satisfaction. Findings regarding the relationship between individual distress, marital

satisfaction and employment have been mixed (Lennon, 1987). In general, studies indicate that employment reduces psychological distress, particularly in married women (Repetti, Mathews, & Waldron, 1989; Ross et al., 1990). While the focus of most studies have been on women, studies of unemployment and men's psychological health show a similar pattern (Aubry, Tefft & Kingsbury, 1990). Employed women appear to exhibit less depressive symptoms than do full time homemakers (Gore & Mangione, 1983; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Warr & Parry, 1982). Some evidence suggests that wives' employment may increase husband's levels of distress either directly or indirectly via their participation in housework, although not all studies are in agreement (Fendrich, 1984; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Roberts & O'Keefe, 1981; Rosenfield, 1980; Rosenfield, 1992). While early studies on wives' employment and the marital relationship found that there may be a slight negative effect on marital quality more recent reviews have suggested that employment either exerts no direct effect or improves marital happiness (Barling, 1990; Spitze, 1988; Nye, 1974). This pattern of findings suggests that while employment may be stressful in terms of time pressure, the benefits and costs to the individual and upon the marital relationship appears to depend upon other variables. In particular it may be that high relative involvement in paid work is less stressful than high relative involvement in housework or childcare. The reduction in psychological stress may also be due to the relative reduction in involvement in these unpaid domains, and the benefits of an increased income.

Other studies have found that the effect of employment depends upon the other demands facing the individual such as housework and childcare (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983; Gore & Mangione, 1983; Krause, 1984; Ross &

Mirowsky, 1988; Ross, Mirowsky & Huber, 1983). This suggests that the demanding or stressful effects of employment may only become apparent if other concurrent demands are examined (Aneshensel & Pearlin, 1987). For example, dual earner women report more daily stressors than do women at home (Alpert & Culbertson, 1987). Similarly, findings suggest that employment may exert negative effects on the marriage when other demands are high (Vannoy & Philliber, 1992). For example, Vannoy and Philliber (1992) found that husbands' marital quality was reduced when the wife was employed and there were young children in the family. Conversely, Simpson and England (1981) found that wives' employment when there were young children in the family improved husbands' marital satisfaction but not wives'. Thus the direct effects of each division of labour may be additive or interactive, calling for multivariate analysis that includes the relative demands from each domain. This allows the effect of earning income to be examined in the context of participation in the other division of labour domains. Given that housework and childcare demands are extremely high when the children are young, it is hypothesised that the effects of involvement in earning income may be additive, with high relative involvement increasing levels of depressive symptoms, reducing marital love and increasing levels of marital conflict. It is possible that the effects of employment are conditional upon involvement in unpaid work, rather than additive. Thus an additional hypothesis proposes that high relative involvement will exert a more deleterious effect upon depressive symptoms, marital love and conflict when the individual is also highly involved in the unpaid division of labour domains.

Gender differences in the effects of paid employment are inconsistent. Men have traditionally been associated with earning income and providing for the family

(e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Nye et al., 1976; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Variables associated with paid work such as job satisfaction may exert gender-specific effects on men's marital satisfaction but not women's (Terry & Scott, 1987). However this effect was not found if women were highly committed to paid work (Terry & Scott, 1987). Additionally, Pleck (1985) reports that men whose wives are also in paid employment are more psychologically involved in the family roles than they are in their paid work roles, and that satisfaction in family roles were better predictors of men's wellbeing. Some women in dual earner couples appear to experience high levels of attachment to their work role (Potuchek, 1992). In one study of dual earner couples women reported the same levels of work commitment as their husbands (Vannoy-Hiller & Dychouse, 1987). The increasing participation of women in the workforce may therefore involve the increasing salience of paid work to women's sense of self and the increasing salience of family work to men's sense of self, at least in dual-earner couples (Bernard, 1981). Therefore no gender-specific effects of this variable are predicted.

Housework. High relative involvement in performing housework may be a direct source of stress. Isolation and the boring nature of housework may be destructive to mental health (Bernard, 1972). The time consuming nature of housework may also place considerable time pressure upon husbands and wives (Bittman, 1991; Pleck, 1985). Levels of employment and childcare demands has been found to predict husbands' and wives' relative participation in housework (Biernat & Wortman, 1991; Coverman, 1985; Presland & Antill, 1987). Yet the evidence for a direct effect of housework on individual wellbeing is complex and mixed.

Women who have full responsibility for both childcare and housework are more depressed and anxious than those women whose husbands share the work (Houseknecht & Macke, 1981; Ross et al., 1983; Woods, 1987). Women appear to evidence less depressive symptoms when their husband is relatively more involved in performing housework (Keith & Schafer, 1991; Ross et al., 1983), particularly if they are employed (Krause & Markides, 1985). Yet studies have not found evidence that increases in housework negatively affects men's depressive symptoms, although men's sense of demoralisation may increase (Keith & Schafer, 1991; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Rosenfield, 1992; Ross et al., 1983). Keith and Schafer (1986), and Lennon et al., (1991) found little evidence for a direct effect of housework on depressive symptoms. Housework appeared to exert mostly indirect effects on distress via disagreements (Keith & Schafer, 1986). Similarly, Golding (1990) found that the effects of housework on depressive symptoms was indirect, via evaluations of housework which she termed strain. In sum, there is conflicting evidence regarding the nature of the effect of housework on levels of depressive symptoms. It is likely that housework will exert indirect effects upon depressive symptoms, particularly in terms of how the sharing of housework is evaluated. The present study also hypothesises that high relative involvement in housework will exert a direct effect, and increase depressive symptoms for both men and women.

There is very little research examining the direct effects of housework on marital variables. Most research has examined indirect effects of housework via evaluations of housework. None-the-less there is some evidence that high levels of involvement in housework may have a direct effect upon marital conflict and reduce feelings of marital love, at least in wives (Belsky, Lang & Huston, 1986; Keith &

Schafer, 1986). Increased sharing of housework between husbands and wives is related to increased marital happiness (Antill & Cotton, 1988; Yogev & Brett, 1985). However Cowan et al., (1985) found no direct effects of housework on marital satisfaction. In the present study it is hypothesised that high relative involvement in housework will reduce marital love and increase marital conflict.

One study has examined gender - specific effects of housework. Variables associated with housework appear to be more influential for wives' well-being than for husbands' (Schooler, Miller, Miller & Richtand, 1984). However it is difficult to compare husbands and wives as they perform substantively different types of household work (Schooler, et al., 1984). In the present study husbands and wives will be compared across the same aspects of housework. While it is likely that women perform more housework than men, no predictions are made regarding gender - specific effects of this variable.

Childcare. The presence of children, particularly young children, may either directly increase psychological distress or have no effect on wellbeing (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Brown & Harris, 1978; Cleary & Mechanic, 1983, Gore & Mangione, 1983; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Lennon et al., 1991; Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Ross et al., 1983). Parenting hassles have been found to be an important source of stress (Crnic & Booth, 1991; Crnic & Greenburg, 1990; Killien & Brown, 1987). Ross and Mirowsky (1988) found that when childcare was shared between husbands and wives, the negative effect on women's depressive symptoms is reduced. However Lennon et al., (1991) found no evidence of a direct effect of husband participation, for either employed or nonemployed wives. The large amount of childcare

performed by women with young children at home has, however, been related to elevated depressive symptoms (Krause & Geyer-Pestello, 1985). Responsibility for children has been associated with increased levels of depressive symptoms in both men and women, mediating the relationship between sex and levels of depressive symptoms (Pearlin & Johnson, 1977). Together these studies provide suggestive evidence for a direct effect of relative involvement in childcare upon levels of depressive symptoms. In the present study it is hypothesised that high relative involvement in childcare will increase depressive symptoms in both men and women.

Very little research has examined relative involvement in childcare (as opposed to evaluations such as dissatisfaction with involvement) and marital variables. Cowan and Cowan (1988b) found that involvement in childcare had no relationship to fathers' marital satisfaction at eighteen months after the birth. However women were less stressed as parents and more satisfied with their marriage if their husbands participated more in housework and childcare activities (Cowan & Cowan, 1988b). Others have found that the spouse who was less involved in childcare evidenced higher marital satisfaction (Yogev & Brett, 1985). Fathers in marriages where the wife is employed tend to do more childcare. However, this increased involvement appears to reduce their feelings of love for their wives, and to increase negative interactions with their wives (Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston & McHale, 1987). From these studies it appears that high levels of involvement in childcare has a deleterious effect upon the marital relationship and that this effect is likely for both men and women. In the present study it is proposed that higher relative involvement in childcare will directly increase conflict and reduce love for both husbands and

wives. No gender - specific hypotheses will be made.

Emotional work. At present there is little research specifically examining either the sharing of and/or the impact of performing emotional work in families. However other people's well-being and psychological development, particularly children's has commonly been the responsibility of women (Unger & Crawford, 1992). Indeed attributing children's and adult's psychological functioning to the qualities of their mother and her care is ubiquitous in the clinical literature (Caplan & Hall-McCorquodale, 1985). Women tend to perform more of this relationship oriented activity (England & Farkas, 1986; Unger & Crawford, 1992; Vanfossen, 1981, 1986). A vast literature exists on related constructs such as marital intimacy and spouse support. These variables encompass the emotional caring, support and relationship monitoring provided between spouses but do not include similar processes directed towards children's emotional wellbeing. Additionally, spouse support and marital intimacy have often been treated as synonymous with marital quality and satisfaction (e.g., Renne, 1970). Thus specification of the links between these variables is difficult to review.

Spouse support and intimacy have been linked to psychological distress. Lack of intimacy with a husband or boyfriend has been conceptualised as a vulnerability factor for the onset of depression in women and found to prospectively predict levels of depressive symptoms in women (Brown & Harris, 1978; Monroe et al., 1986; O'Hara, 1986). Similarly, D'Arcy and Siddique (1984) found that lack of spouse support was a better predictor of wife's distress than was lack of community social support if there were preschool aged children in the family.

O'Hara (1986) tracked women longitudinally during pregnancy and post partum. Women who became postnatally depressed reported a loss of husband's emotional support after the birth of their child (O'Hara, 1986). This loss was not reported by the non-depressed women and prior to the birth there had been no difference between the two groups in terms of levels of spouse support. The change in the amount of emotional intimacy provided by husbands and wives' subsequent depression suggests a causal relationship between these two variables (O'Hara, 1986). Aspects of the emotional work such as spouse support may therefore be important to women's psychological well-being, particularly at the early childrearing stage of the family life-cycle (Blood & Wolfe, 1960).

Less research has examined links between men's psychological distress and spouse support. There is some evidence to suggest that men rely more than women do on the support provided by their spouses (Gerstel, Reissman, & Rosenfield, 1985; Richman, et al., 1991). Husband's satisfaction with their wife's supportive behaviour correlated significantly with their mental and physical wellbeing (Burke & Weir, 1977). No significant relationship was found between these variables for women (Burke & Weir, 1977). Remission from a depressive episode for both men and women has been predicted from levels of spouse intimacy (Waring & Patton, 1984). Overall, it appears that both men and women develop higher levels of depressive symptoms if they receive little emotional support from their spouse (Vanfossen, 1981).

Interestingly, one study has examined the child directed aspects of emotional work. Lennon et al., (1991) measured husbands' relative involvement in

disciplining children, playing with children and taking the children on outings. This may reflect aspects of the emotional work such as emotional support, monitoring, maintenance and involvement with children. Greater husband involvement in these activities reduced their wives' levels of depressive symptoms. Unfortunately, Lennon et al., (1991) did not report possible effects upon husband's levels of depressive symptoms. Taken together, the preceding studies suggest that how the emotional work is shared is important, likely to exert direct effects upon both men's and women's levels of psychological distress, particularly when there are young children in the family. In the present study it is hypothesised that high involvement in the emotional work of the family will directly increase depressive symptoms in men and women.

The relationship between sharing the emotional work and marital well-being is less clear cut. Bernard (1981) has argued that women provide more social support to other family members than they in turn may receive. Laws (1971) argues that both spouses' functioning in the expressive domain is important to marital wellbeing, particularly for wives. Some research suggests that the affective quality of the marriage is more important to women than to men and that wives desire more intimacy from their husbands (Gove et al., 1983; Hawkins, Weisberg & Ray, 1980; Wills, Weiss & Patterson, 1974). However, in a study by Burke and Weir (1977) both husband's and wife's marital satisfaction was similarly related to their satisfaction with their spouse's support. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions regarding the effects of involvement in the emotional work from the preceding literature for two reasons. Firstly, as already noted, there are no comparable studies examining emotional work directed at both partners and children and its effects on

marital love and conflict. Secondly, even those studies examining marital support have included subjective evaluations such as satisfaction with spouse support in their measures (e.g., Burke & Weir, 1977). Such measurement does not examine possible direct effects of this variable as a source of stress. The literature on spouse support, however, suggests that it is an important determinant of satisfaction with the marriage. Therefore it is proposed that relatively high levels of involvement in the emotional work will directly act to increase levels of marital conflict and reduce levels of marital love for both men and women.

Gender - identity theory would propose that the emotional work is especially salient to women's gender identity (Gore & Colten, 1991; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). Studies on interpersonal interactions suggest that women are more likely to decode other's affective meanings, produce more expressive and harmonising nonverbal behaviours, and respond more readily to subtle changes in group inclusion and exclusion (Aries, 1987; Hall, 1987). This suggests that women may monitor emotional exchanges with others to a greater extent than men do (Flaherty & Richman, 1989). Not only are women more likely to be involved in performing emotional work, they may also be more likely to perceive problems associated with caring for others as their responsibility. For example a considerable body of child development and psychological literature emphasises the role of the mother in the development of a psychologically healthy child (Bowlby, 1973). This emphasis upon maternal separation informs parents' worries about maternal employment (Greenburger & O'Neil, 1990). There appear to be no equivalent concerns expressed about paternal employment and its effects upon children. Additionally, women's sense of self is more psychologically invested in their identity as a parent

than is men's (Simon, 1992). Therefore it is proposed that the effect of high self involvement in the emotional domain will be greater for women, exerting a more deleterious effect upon women's levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict than upon men's.

Indirect Effects of the Division of Labour

The way in which the division of labour affects individual and relationship distress is expected to operate in both a direct and an indirect manner. Indirect effects are likely to be exerted by the manner in which the individual evaluates the division of labour and how it is shared. It is hypothesised that high self involvement in the domains of earning income, housework, childcare or emotional will result in the individual evaluating the divisions of labour more negatively. Evidence for an indirect effect of the division of labour at a bivariate level would be positive correlations between high self involvement in each domain, and negative evaluations of the division of labour. At a multivariate level, evidence for an indirect effect of the division of labour would be a drop in the beta weights for the division of labour variables when the evaluation variables are entered into equations predicting depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict.

Appraisals and Meaning: Evidence for Direct Effects of Evaluations of the Division of Labour on Distress

Cognitive appraisal is an evaluative process that focuses upon the meaning and significance of events (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Primary appraisal is where the individual evaluates whether, and to what extent, the stress is relevant to his or her commitments, values, goals, health or wellbeing (Folkman, Lazarus, Dunkel-

Schetter, DeLongis & Gruen, 1986). Secondary appraisal involves the evaluation of the stress in terms of changing the situation, overcoming the situation , or preventing harm (Folkman et al., 1986). These two sorts of appraisals determine the degree of stress and the quality of the emotional response (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Lazarus and Folkman (1984) propose that evaluations are guided by cognitive structures which serve to orient the person to relevant and salient dimensions of their experiences. These cognitive filters or structures are based, to some extent, on social experiences as well as instinctive responses, and they give meaning to the experiences as they are perceived (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Increasingly, theorists of the stress paradigm have emphasised the importance of the meaning that events have to individuals (Lazarus et al., 1982), and the variations in meanings that occur among individuals (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). As suggested earlier, gender - identity theory would suggest that there may be variations in the meaning of events that are gender linked. Research on the division of labour and the transition to parenthood have also called for a closer look at how individuals evaluate the changes, the variations that may occur among new parents, and the different meanings that the division of labour may represent (Belsky & Pensky, 1988; Cowan & Cowan, 1988a; Goodnow & Bowes, 1992).

As noted previously, the marital division of labour occurs within the context of a close, ongoing and highly interdependent relationship. It is likely then that important evaluations of stressors such as the division of labour will involve values, goals and commitments pertaining to the relationship and to the family, as well pertaining to the self (Boss, 1987). Additionally, the way the division of labour is shared, particularly when young children are present, is strongly gender linked. It is

expected that women will report higher levels of involvement in the domains of housework, childcare and emotional work and therefore will be more likely to evaluate the division of labour more negatively than men. In the present study, two sets of evaluations will be examined. The first set of evaluations involve whether the current division of labour was expected and whether it is considered fair or equitable. The first evaluation may be regarded as pertaining to individual goals, values and commitments. The latter pertains to relationship goals, values and commitments.

Similar to Lazarus et al's, (1986) notion of secondary appraisals, a second set of evaluations will also be examined. These evaluations may be conceptualised as perceived constraints on changing the current division of labour. Here the possibility of changing the division of labour (control) and a perceived conflict between goals (what the self desires versus what the family desires) will be examined. The presence of both primary and secondary evaluations may act upon the individual in an additive or cumulative manner. It is proposed that more evaluations that are negative regarding the division of labour will lead to more distress than a single negative evaluation would lead to. The effect of both negatively evaluating the division of labour, feeling unable to change the division and in conflict over whose interests or goals to pursue will additively lead to further distress. Findings regarding the relationship between these two sets of evaluation variables and distress outcomes will be reviewed.

Violated expectations. Expectations about another's behaviour are an integral part of interpersonal relations (Miller & Turnbull, 1986). Individuals may evaluate outcomes in their relationship in terms of actual to expected outcomes, in terms of

norms, and in terms of principles such as equity (Mirowsky & Ross, 1989; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). To some extent the concepts overlap. Expectations about outcomes may become the basis for determining equity or fairness, however the basis for developing expectations may include individual experiences as well as normative standards such as sex role attitudes (Belsky, et al., 1986; Ferree, 1991; Koopman-Boyden & Abbott, 1985; Miller & Turnbull, 1986; Molm, 1991; Sabatelli, 1984). Violated expectations for the division of labour may be conceptualised as a discrepancy between expectations regarding the division of labour developed prior to marriage and the actual division of labour now.

Stress or problems that are unexpected may be associated with increased distress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). However the effects of violated expectations has only recently been examined. Ruble et al., (1988) found that violated expectations regarding the division of labour were important predictors of a drop in marital satisfaction postpartum. Belsky (1985) in his sample of first time parents found that the greater the discrepancy, or violation, of expectations, the more likely wives were to report less love and more conflict with their husbands. However, for husbands violated expectations did not affect their levels of marital love or conflict (Belsky, 1985). The transition to parenthood often involves a change to a more traditional division of labour, with men becoming relatively more involved in earning income, while women increase their share of housework and childcare. Women, particularly those with egalitarian ideals, may not have expected this gender - linked specialisation. Interestingly, interviews with new parents suggest that women had expected more emotional support from their husbands (Cowan et al., 1985). However their husbands were highly involved in earning income during this period

(Cowan et al., 1985). It is therefore expected that women will evidence higher levels of violated expectations than men regarding the division of labour.

The effect of violated expectations is not only found in the post partum period. Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber (1989) found that expectations regarding the division of labour were more important predictors of marital quality than socioeconomic variables or life-cycle variables in married couples. Like Belsky (1985), expectations regarding the division of labour appeared to exert a stronger effect upon wives' marital quality than husbands (Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989). The possible impact of violated expectations regarding the division of labour on depressive symptoms has not been examined in previous research. If an individual's expectations regarding the division of labour is violated, then it is proposed that this will lead to elevated depressive symptoms, reduced marital love, and increased marital conflict. Furthermore, given the change to more traditional arrangements, it is proposed that women will evaluate the division of labour as more unexpected than men will. Finally, while not suggested by gender - identity theory, the empirical findings suggest that violated expectations regarding the division of labour may affect women more than men. On the basis of the empirical findings it is expected that violated expectations may exert gender - specific effects, exerting a more deleterious effect upon women's levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict.

Fairness. An equitable or fair relationship is said to exist when there is an evaluation that both partners' relative gains and costs are equal (Hatfield, Traupmann, Sprecher, Utne & Hay, 1985). According to equity theory, inequitable

relationships will distress both people involved (Hatfield, et al., 1985). Fairness, and judgments about fairness may be central principles in peoples' intimate relationships, particularly in regards to sharing the division of labour (Goodnow & Bowes, 1992; Hatfield et al., 1985; Pleck, 1985). Mirowsky and Ross (1986; 1989) argue that experiencing inequity increases malaise, anxiety and depression.

Perceptions of inequity appear to vary across the life -cycle stages, depending upon the way the division of labour is shared between husbands and wives. Women tend to feel underbenefitted during the middle years of their marriages, particularly when there are children at home (Schafer & Keith, 1981; Traupmann & Hatfield, 1983). During the early childrearing years, the increased performance of housework and childcare by wives led to increased perceptions of unfairness by both spouses (Keith & Schafer, 1991). Husbands' contribution to housework appears to increase wives' feelings of fairness (Blair & Johnson, 1992).

Sprecher (1986) argues that reactions to inequity may vary by sex. Specifically, she found that men tend to react with feelings of anger, while women tend to feel sad (Sprecher, 1981). Such a proposition would suggest that evaluating the division of labour may increase levels of depressive symptoms, at least for women. However, evidence linking fairness to depressive symptoms for either men or women is inconsistent. For example, Vanfossen (1981) found a relationship between inequity and depressive symptoms only for employed wives. The perception of inequity was unrelated to distress for either husbands or nonemployed wives (Vanfossen, 1981). Similarly, unfairness regarding childcare was found to increase wives, but not husbands' depressive symptoms (Steil & Turetsky, 1987).

However Schafer and Keith (1980) found no sex difference in the strength of the relationship between fairness of marital roles and depressive symptoms. The perception of unfairness in terms of cooking, housework, earning income, parenting and companionship increased both husband's and wives depressive symptoms (Schafer & Keith, 1980). In the present study it is proposed that the perception of the division of labour as unfair will increase both men's and women's levels of depressive symptoms.

Evaluations of unfairness have also been related to declines in husband's and wife's marital satisfaction during the transition to parenthood (Tomlinson, 1987). Perceptions of being underbenefitted tends to be associated with the lowest marital satisfaction and happiness and perceptions of being overbenefitted with the next lowest scores (Traupmann, Petersen, Utne, & Hatfield, 1981). Highest levels of marital satisfaction are associated with the perception of fairness for both husbands and wives (Traupmann et al., 1981). While gender - specific effects of fairness on marital variables have also been found, they are inconsistent (Quinn & Davidson, 1986; Tomlinson, 1987). In the present study it is proposed that the perception of the division of labour as unfair will reduce marital love and increase marital conflict for both men and women. As women are likely to be performing the major share of the housework, childcare and emotional work, it is proposed that women will report that the current division of labour is more unfair than men will.

Constraints on Changing the Division of Labour

Control over the division of labour. Perceived control is defined as the individual's expectation that they can control, alter, or effectively change the

situation (Ross, 1991). A learned helplessness and attributional account of control emphasises the importance of both current and future control in the development of psychopathology (Abramson, Garber & Seligman, 1980; Pagel, Becker & Coppel, 1985). A substantial body of literature attests to the deleterious effects of exposure to uncontrollable events (Mineka & Hendersen, 1985). Additionally, distinctions have been made between personality based perceptions of control and situationally based perceptions of the controllability of events (Folkman, 1984) although one may influence another. Control over a situation may provide the individual with the capability to reduce or minimise aversiveness to themselves. This in turn may create a sense of self as able to control stressful events (Miller, 1980). No support has been found for consistent sex differences in locus of control or perceptions of control (Frieze, Whitley, Hanusa & McHugh, 1982; Miller & Kirsh, 1987).

No studies have specifically examined the relationship between perceived control over the division of labour, depressive symptoms or marital love and conflict. However it has been argued that women's family roles, particularly their involvement in caring and supporting others, combines high levels of demands with low control (Baruch, et al., 1987). This combination might be expected to increase the stressfulness of family work and involvement (Baruch, et al., 1987). Several studies have examined the effect of perceived control in general on depressive symptoms. Perceptions of control and mastery over one's life appear to reduce depressive symptoms (Mirowsky & Ross, 1990; Pearlin et al., 1981; Ross & Mirowsky, 1989). Interestingly, marriage appears to reduce women's sense of control, but not men's (Ross, 1991).

Rosenfield (1989) argues that control may mediate the effects of role overload and depressive symptomology. She argues that the contradictory findings regarding employment, overload and women's levels of depression can be explained by trade-offs in control. Employment and financial independence may increase women's sense of control, but overload caused by performing the majority of housework and childcare tasks may serve to reduce feelings of control. In support of an overload hypothesis she found that women who worked fulltime with children exhibited the highest levels of depressive symptoms of all groups. This apparent sex difference was explained by the amount of childcare that the women performed and the amount of general control the women perceived they had in their lives (Rosenfield, 1989). In support of an additive model, Rosenfield (1989) argued that the division of labour, at least regarding the sharing of childcare, exposed women to more stress, decreased women's perceptions of control and so placed women at risk for increased depressive symptoms. It is therefore proposed that evaluating the self as unable to control the division of labour may constrain possible solutions or changes to the division of labour. This will lead to increases in distress at an individual and relationship level. While it is proposed that the evaluation of having little control over the current division of labour will lead to increased levels of depressive symptoms, reduced feelings of marital love and increased marital conflict for both men and women, it is expected that women will report feeling less control over the division of labour than men.

Conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family. Most research on stress appraisal assumes that there is a straightforward perception by the individual regarding their goals and commitments. However, it is quite likely that in

the context of families, individuals have to juggle conflicting demands and goals between family members. If the individual judges that achievement of their goal will conflict with or hamper achievement of another's goal they may be forced to prioritise needs. Conflict between self and family goals may create difficulties deciding which goal should be pursued. Ambivalence or guilt over achieving one's goal at the expense of others may result (Shaw & Burns, 1993). To some extent this construct is similar to a role conflict perspective.

Role conflict occurs when fulfilling demands in one domain may interfere with fulfilling demands in another (Piechowski, 1992; Wortman, Biernat & Lang, 1991). Role conflict has been associated with increased depression, irritation and anxiety (Greenglass, Pantony & Burke, 1988). However, role conflict research does not examine the notion of conflicting goals between individuals or family members specifically. Miller (1987) argues that women prioritise family wellbeing over personal wellbeing. She argues that the act of caretaking or nurturing involves acting to promote the wellbeing of others. Women may define acting only upon their own goals as selfish, as not fulfilling their nurturing role in relation to young children and in opposition to their sense responsibility for other's well-being (Miller, 1987). Such a possibility suggests that a perception of conflict between the self and the family's interests may particularly constrain women's attempts to change the division of labour more than it may constrain men's.

Additionally, research has suggested that involvement in the paid work domain by mothers may be perceived as costly to their child's wellbeing, particularly when the children are young (Greenberger, Goldberg, Crawford & Granger, 1988;

Miller & Sollie, 1980; Thompson, 1980). Parents of young children who believed that maternal employment was deleterious to children's development suffered from elevated depressive symptoms when the wife was employed (Greenberger & O'Neil, 1990). Hock and DeMeis (1990) have found that mothers commonly believe that the maternal separation involved in employment is harmful to a young child's development. Women who subsequently stayed at home, but would have preferred employment, experienced the highest levels of depressive symptoms (Hock & DeMeis, 1990). Yet there is evidence to suggest that, while women do interrupt their paid employment to nurture young children, their commitment to their career does not change (Bielby & Bielby, 1984; Faver, 1981). Interestingly, Brown (1989) presents evidence that marked commitment to areas such as employment and parenting increases the saliency of the loss of this commitment. In turn, he argues that the experience of loss increases women's risk for developing depression (Brown, 1989). These studies suggest that when the children are young conflict between self and family goals and well-being may be perceived, particularly by women.

In the present study it is predicted that women will perceive higher levels of conflict between what is best for themselves and what is best for their family in regards to their involvement in earning income, housework, childcare and emotional work. The perception of a conflict between what is best for the family and what is best for the self (regarding the division of labour) is hypothesised to increase distress, resulting in increased depressive symptoms, reduced love and increased conflict for both men and women. However, as this variable involves consideration of family members' well-being, as opposed to the self's well-being, and may also

involve perceived losses either in terms of self or of family members, it is proposed that this variable will exert gender - specific effects. The perception of a conflict between what would be best for the self and what would be best for the family regarding the division of labour is proposed to exert more deleterious effects upon women's levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict than upon men's.

Reducing Vulnerability to Stress: Evidence for a Direct Effect of Social Support on Distress

A third linkage in the stress - distress paradigm involves how the individual may cope with sources of stress. This aspect examines the individual's reactions and resources that they bring to the stressful situation, the impact these may have on amounts, duration or types of stress, and the subsequent reductions in levels of distress (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Social support variables will be examined in the present study. A substantial literature has related social support to stress outcomes, particularly depression. Secondly, the importance of social support was highlighted in the pretest for the present study. Almost every woman interviewed mentioned the importance of her women friends in balancing the stresses that she was experiencing.

Social support can be defined as support performed for a distressed person by friends, family, colleagues, neighbours and relatives (Thoits, 1986). This support may be in terms of doing things for the other (instrumental support), emotional support such as affection, sympathy, and love, and providing advice, information or ideas (Kessler, et al., 1985; Thoits, 1986). Social support may also exert a direct

effect by changing the meaning or appraisal of the stress by the individual (Pearlin, 1980; Wetherington & Kessler, 1986). In many respects, then, social support may reduce the occurrence of distress by influencing how the individual copes (Thoits, 1986).

Perceived social support refers to the individual's perception that they are 'reliably connected' to supportive others (Barrera, 1986, p.416). Perceived support can be assessed along two dimensions - the extent to which social relationships are available and the extent to which they are adequate or satisfactory (Henderson, Byrne & Duncan-Jones, 1981; Sarason, Levine, Basham & Sarason, 1983). Social support availability is a quantitative measure of the respondent's perceived potential to interact with other adults (Braithwaite, 1990). Social support satisfaction is a measure of the qualitative aspects of the respondent's available social relationships (Sarason et al., 1983).

Theoretically, both these aspects of social support may be important. Availability refers to the potential sources of help that may be called upon. As such it provides a relatively direct measure of social support levels. Satisfaction however, taps an important dimension of social support, namely whether these interpersonal relationships are operating in a positive, or in a deleterious manner. Assumptions that all social contact will be positive are not warranted although they are commonly made (Coyne & Downey, 1991; House, Umberson & Landis, 1988). However, satisfaction may be confounded by personality factors, interpersonal behaviours, and cognitive attributions that are also associated with distress (Braithwaite, 1990; Dooley, 1985; Henderson, 1984; Henderson, Duncan-Jones, Byrne, Adcock &

Scott, 1979a; Morgado, Smith, Lecrubier, & Widlocher, 1991). Spurious relationships between social support satisfaction and distress may result. Because interpretation of satisfaction with social support is problematic, in the present study only social support availability will be examined.

A direct effects model assumes that social support will generally enhance wellbeing, independent of levels of stress that the person may be experiencing (Cohen & Wills, 1985). A considerable amount of research has also examined possible interactive effects of social support. This model, commonly termed a stress buffering model, posits that social support may attenuate or alleviate the deleterious affects of stress on the individual (Cohen & Wills, 1985). The beneficial effects of social support are evident only under conditions of stress. Recent reviews provide evidence for both buffering and direct effects of social support on psychopathology (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Kessler et al., 1985). Longitudinal and cross sectional studies provide evidence that social support is prospectively and directly related to psychological distress, including elevated depressive symptoms (Aneshensel, 1986; Aneshensel & Stone, 1982; Barrera, 1986; Billings, Cronkite & Moos, 1983; Billings & Moos, 1984; Caspi, et al., 1987; Loscocco & Spitze, 1990; Solomon, 1986; Turner, 1981; Williams, et al., 1981). The effects have also been demonstrated in samples of mothers and fathers with young children in the family (D'Arcy & Siddique, 1984; Ladewig, McGee & Newell, 1990; Richman et al., 1991). Social support appears to directly improve perceptions of parenting stress and self esteem, and reduce reports of psychological distress and somatic complaints (Koeske & Koeske, 1990). For mothers who were worried about their children's level of development, social support also appeared to exert a buffering effect

(Koeske & Koeske, 1990).

Some authors have suggested that women at home are more isolated than those people in employment, and that the transition to parenthood may involve losses in social support for these women (Cowan et al., 1985). Others, however, present evidence that women mobilise support networks and seek help in times of need more readily than do men (Belle, 1987; Veroff, 1981). Social support availability may be an extremely important variable during transitions in the family life - cycle (Unger & Power, 1980). Power and Parke (1984) argue that the transition to parenthood involves an increased need for support when both parents are likely to feel less able to provide support for each other. Thus the role of available others in providing support may be especially important during this transition. In the present study, it is hypothesised that higher levels of social support availability will be directly associated with lower depressive symptoms for both men and women. Because of the buffering hypotheses, additional hypotheses predict that there will be an interaction between involvement in the division of labour and levels of social support on depressive symptoms.

While there has been extensive research on the effect of social support on individual distress, very little research has examined relationship outcomes. In many studies spouse support is often conceptualised as synonymous with social support making examination of the links impossible. However, one study has examined the relationship between marital and outside distress, social support of outsiders and marital adjustment (Julien & Markman, 1991). In this study, mobilisation of outsiders' support reduced marital adjustment. Julien and Markman (1991) argued

that the reduction in marital adjustment occurred because use of outside social support reduces the opportunity for intimacy and communication in the marriage. Methodologically, the study is difficult to interpret as marital distress was conceptualised as a stressor, yet is likely to be highly confounded with marital adjustment. Contrary to this it a stress overload perspective would argue that support provided by others will reduce the demands upon the individual and the demands upon the spouse. This in turn may exert a beneficial effect on relationship well-being as well as individual well-being. Therefore it is hypothesised that high levels of social support will be associated with increased marital love and reduced marital conflict. Again, additional analyses will examine possible buffering effects, whereby at high levels of involvement in the division of labour social support will have a stronger effect on the relationship variables.

Flaherty and Richman (1989) argue that the orientation of women to interpersonal variables results in women both providing more social support to others, and depending more upon social support for their psychological wellbeing. Women are more likely to report having more confidants than men are (Dykstra, 1990). Additionally, emotional support may be more available to women than to men (Nestmann & Schmerl, 1991). In general, women appear to provide more social support than men do (Dykstra, 1990; House et al., 1988; Nestmann & Schmerl, 1991). From this perspective it could be expected that women are more affected by social support, or lack of. On the other hand, it has been argued that not only may social support increase rewards by providing more intimate and richer interactions with others, the provision of social support may place more costs upon women (Belle, 1987; Dykstra, 1989; House et al., 1988). For example, women

appear to report more network related stressful events than men do (Wetherington, McLeod & Kessler, 1987). These stressful events occur across a wider range of people whereas men tend to report network events regarding only immediate family and friends (Wetherington et al., 1987). Sex differences in vulnerability to life events appears to be mediated by involvement in social networks, particularly in terms of the provision of support (Wetherington et al., 1987). For women, social support may involve more reciprocal relationships that bring with them their own sources of stress (Nestmann & Schemrl, 1987). This perspective would thus suggest that social support availability will benefit men more than women. Thus from a gender - identity perspective conflicting predictions regarding the gender - specific effects of social support are yielded. Therefore in the present study predictions regarding gender - specific effects of social support availability will not be made.

Summary

Elevated levels of depressive symptoms are found in young adult women, particularly those with young children at home. Sex differences in the prevalence of depressive symptoms appear to be at their widest during this period. Similarly some evidence suggests that while both men's and women's levels of marital love drops, and levels of marital conflict increases during this life - cycle stage, the changes are more pronounced for women. Depressive symptoms are conceptualised to represent distress at the individual level. Reduction in marital love and increase in marital conflict are conceptualised to represent distress at the relationship level. Other changes associated with this life - cycle stage include changes in division of labour whereby women tend to perform more housework, childcare and emotional work,

while men tend to be more responsible for earning income. The division of labour was conceptualised as a source of chronic stress, in terms of role overload. As the changes associated with the division of labour are gender - linked, it was proposed that these variables may mediate the link between sex and distress during this life - cycle stage.

Two models were proposed to explain the links between sex and distress. The additive model proposed that women are exposed to more stress, in terms of more involvement in more domains of the divisions of labour. Thus the differences between men and women are seen in terms of degree. Evidence for this model would be the finding that women are exposed to higher levels of stress than men. Thus women are more likely to be involved in more domains, and subsequently evaluate them more negatively. A general additive model is proposed in Figure 1.

This model proposes that sex differences in distress are explained by the indirect effect of sex upon the division of labour. Involvement in the division of labour is proposed to exert direct effects upon the dependent variables. The divisions of labour is also proposed to exert indirect effects in terms of how the division of labour is appraised. Two types of appraisals were proposed. The first set, similar to primary appraisals involves how much the current division of labour violates the individual's prior expectations, and how unfair or inequitable the individual considers the divisions of labour to be. The second set of appraisals involves perceived constraints on changing the situation. Lack of control and conflict between what is best for oneself and what is best for the family regarding the division of labour are proposed to additively increase levels of distress. Finally

the model proposes that social support availability will act as a resource to directly reduce levels of distress in the individual.

The additive model proposes that the relationship between stressors, appraisals, social support and the dependent variables are cumulative and similar for men and for women. If this model holds then no interaction effects between sex and any of the independent variables is expected. The difference between men and women in levels of individual and relationship distress is simply due to different levels of exposure to stressors. The effects of the independent variables are cumulative and irrespective of the sex of the respondent.

A gender - specific model examined notions of gender identity, particularly recent theorising which suggests that interpersonal variables are particularly salient to women's sense of self. This model would propose that differences between men and women are ones of kind, whereby stressors associated with interpersonal variables are more likely to increase distress in women than in men. Evidence for this model would be the finding that interpersonal variables exerted stronger effects upon women's distress than upon men's. Two interpersonal variables were proposed to exert gender - specific effects. These variables are involvement in the emotional work and the perception of a conflict between what is best for the self and best for the family regarding the division of labour. While a gender - specific model proposes that the division of labour, and how it is evaluated is likely to be stressful for both men and women, it is proposed that the interpersonal variables will exert gender - specific effects in addition to direct effects upon the dependent variables. Additionally, based upon empirical evidence, it is proposed that violated expectations regarding the division of labour may affect women more than men. Evidence for

gender - specific effects of the division of labour would be the presence of significant interactions of these variables with sex.

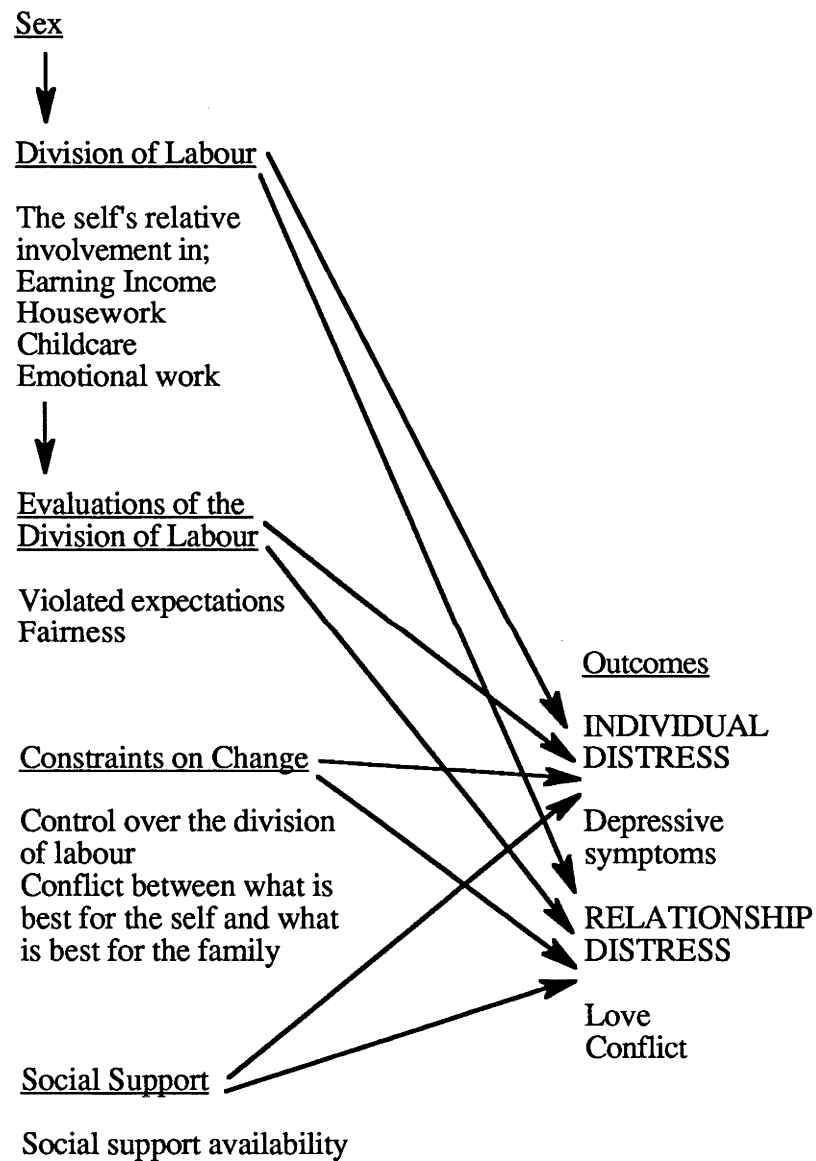


Figure 1. Additive Model of the Effects of the Division of Labour.

General Hypotheses

It is proposed that the division of labour will affect both the individual's psychological well-being, and his or her relationship with their partner. Sex differences in depressive symptoms, experience of conflict and feelings of love for ones' partner are proposed. The main analyses tests two competing models to explain the sex differences. Additional analyses will test whether social support may exert moderating effects and whether the effects of unpaid work is conditional upon involvement in paid work.

Additive Model

Individual distress and relationship distress.

1. Women are more likely to experience higher levels of depressive symptoms, less love for their partner and more conflict with their partner than men.
2. Sex will exert an indirect effect upon depression, marital love and marital conflict via involvement in unpaid and paid division of labour domains. Women are more likely to report higher levels of involvement across more domains.
3. The more the individual is involved, relative to their partner, in either a paid or unpaid labour domain the more likely he or she is to experience depressive symptoms, reduced marital love and increased marital conflict. The effect is additive, more involvement across more domains increases the risk of experiencing depressive symptoms, increases the negative effect upon love for

one's partner and increases the experience of conflict with one's partner.

4. Involvement in the division of labour domain will exert an indirect effect on depression via the evaluations of the division of labour variables. It is proposed that the self's relative involvement in the division of labour will directly effect evaluations of the division of labour and these evaluations will in turn effect the levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict experienced. The effect upon evaluations of the division of labour is additive. The more domains that the individual is involved in the more negatively they will evaluate the division of labour.

5. The more negatively the division of labour is evaluated the more likely the individual is to experience depressive symptoms, less love for their partner and more conflict with their partner. The effect is additive. If the division of labour is evaluated as both unexpected and unfair then there is an increased risk of experiencing depressive symptoms, less marital love and more marital conflict.

6. If the individual's capacity to change the division of labour is constrained then it is more likely that he or she will experience depressive symptoms, less marital love and more marital conflict. The effect is additive. If the individual perceives low control over the division of labour, and perceives a conflict over what would be best for the family and what would be best for themselves, then he or she is at increased risk for experiencing depressive symptoms, less love and more conflict.

7. If social support is less available then the individual is more likely to experience depressive symptoms, less marital love and more marital conflict.

Gender - Specific Model

Individual distress and relationship distress.

8. The more the individual is involved, relative to their partner, in emotional work the more likely he or she is to experience depressive symptoms, less marital love and more marital conflict. The effect is interactive with sex.

More involvement in emotional work increases women's risk of experiencing depressive symptoms, less love and more conflict more than it increases men's.

9. The perception of a conflict over what would be best for the family and what would be best for themselves regarding the division of labour will interact with sex. A large discrepancy between self and family interests will increase women's depressive symptoms, reduce women's levels of marital love and increase women's levels of marital conflict more than men's.

10. Violated expectations regarding the division of labour will interact with sex. The evaluation of the division of labour as violating prior expectations increases women's risk of experiencing depressive symptoms, less love and more conflict more than it increases men's.

Additional Analyses

Interactive effects of paid and unpaid work involvement.

11. Paid work involvement will improve individual and relationship well-being if there is low involvement in the unpaid work domains. The combination of high involvement in both paid and unpaid work domains will have the most deleterious effects upon the individual and the relationship, over and above an additive effect.

Moderating effects of social support.

12. Social support may moderate the negative effects of the division of labour, evaluations of the division of labour and constraints on change variables on depressive symptoms and experience of love for one's partner. If social support is less available, then the effects of this variable on depressive symptoms and relationship wellbeing will be greater when the individual is highly involved in earning income, housework, childcare, emotional work, evaluates the division of labour negatively, or perceives constraints on changing the divisions of labour.

METHOD

Sample

Sampling Procedure

The sample consisted of 102 couples who had at least one child five years or under in their family. Participation in the study was completely voluntary. Respondents were recruited in three ways. Firstly, flyers advertising the research were distributed in childcare centres, occasional care centres, community health centres, community centres, community women's organisations, via employers in the private sector, nursing mothers groups and the homebirth society. Care was taken to ensure that all major areas of Canberra had flyers placed in some public location. Secondly the research was advertised in a Canberra wide community newspaper and on the local ABC radio. Thirdly a 'snowball' technique was used whereby respondents were asked to give flyers to other couples who had at least one child five years or under.

The research flyer asked for both partners to complete a questionnaire on work and family commitments, explained the scope of the questionnaire, the time involved and the confidentiality of the research. The flyer invited interested parents to contact the researcher. A sample flyer is provided in Appendix B. Couples who agreed to participate completed a consent form. The consent form is appended in Appendix C.

Social desirability is a concern with self report measures. Questionnaires appear to provoke less desirable responses than telephone interviews in marital research (Gano-Phillips & Fincham, 1992). An additional concern for respondents

in research with couples may be that one's partner may see one's responses. Again this may lead to desirable responding (Mugford, 1988). In order to minimise these sources of bias, and to protect respondent confidentiality, a number of procedures were used. Couples were requested to complete the questionnaire separately. Questionnaires were anonymous and unmarked. Couples were also requested not to look at each other's questionnaires and to place their questionnaires into separate envelopes when completed. Three couples who agreed initially to complete questionnaires did not return them. The questionnaire appears in Appendix D.

Questionnaires were collected by the researcher at an agreed date. Respondents were encouraged to discuss the questionnaire and issues raised by participation. Counselling agencies in Canberra had been informed of the research and respondents were advised that referral could be made if they wished. However no respondent requested referral for issues arising from the questionnaire.

Sample Characteristics

It is likely that considerable self-selection occurred due to the sampling procedure. This self selection is likely to limit the generalisability of the findings. For example, the use of a 'snowball technique' is likely to bias the sample in terms of those couples with friends and therefore social support (Kitson et al., 1982). Thus the sample cannot be considered representative of the Australian population.

Demographic data gathered in the questionnaire included the respondent's age, sex, education level, occupation, hours per week performing paid work, number of children in the family, age of children in the family, years married to or living with

current partner, the respondent's religion and how often he or she attended religious ceremonies over the previous year. Where available sample characteristics will be compared with data for the Canberra region from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Butterfield, 1989; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 1986).

There were 102 men and 102 women in the sample, comprising 102 couples currently living together with at least one child five years or under. Slightly over six percent of the families sampled were blended, with children from a previous marriage living in the household. The number of children living at home ranged from one to four. Most families (seventy five percent) had either one or two children living at home. Length of marriage or living together ranged from one year to over fifteen years. The average length of marriage for the sample was between five and seven years. Most men and women in the sample were aged between 31 to 35 years old.

There was no significant difference between women and men in attendance of church or religious ceremonies. On average both men and women reported that they attended church or ceremonies about once a year. More than half of the men and women nominated themselves as holding no religious beliefs. About fifteen percent of the sample nominated themselves as Catholic, and about ten percent as belonging to the Uniting Church. The remaining eight percent of the sample comprised Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Jewish and Buddhist religions.

While a wide range of educational attainment and occupation was sampled, there was a preponderance of highly educated and higher occupational status respondents. The educational attainments for the sample ranged from less than Year

10 to postgraduate qualifications. However over half of the men and women sampled had attained a Bachelors degree or postgraduate qualification. The level of education in the sample can be compared to the level reported for the general Canberran community. Census data indicate that 18% of Canberran men and 10.6% of Canberran women had achieved qualifications of a Bachelors degree or higher (Butterfield, 1989). Percentages of men and women across educational level are presented in Figure 2.

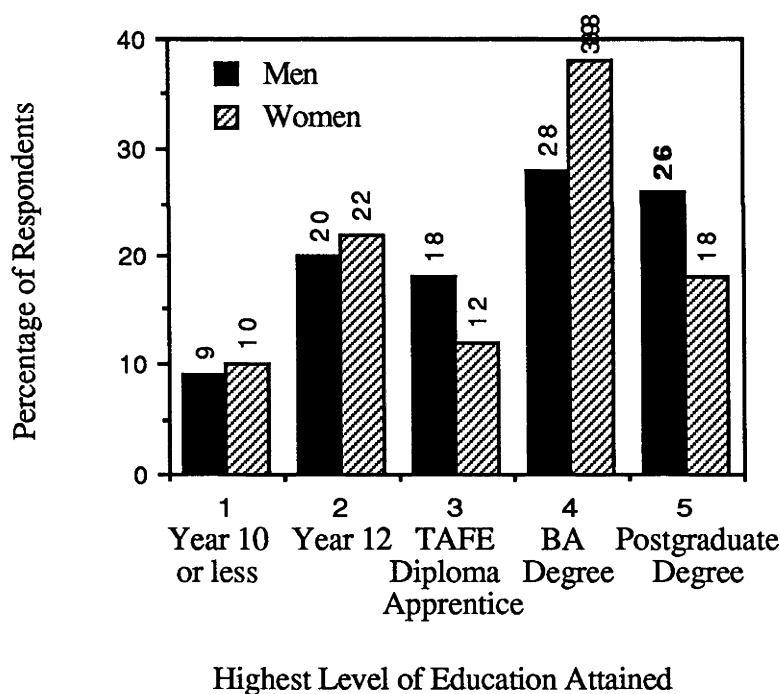
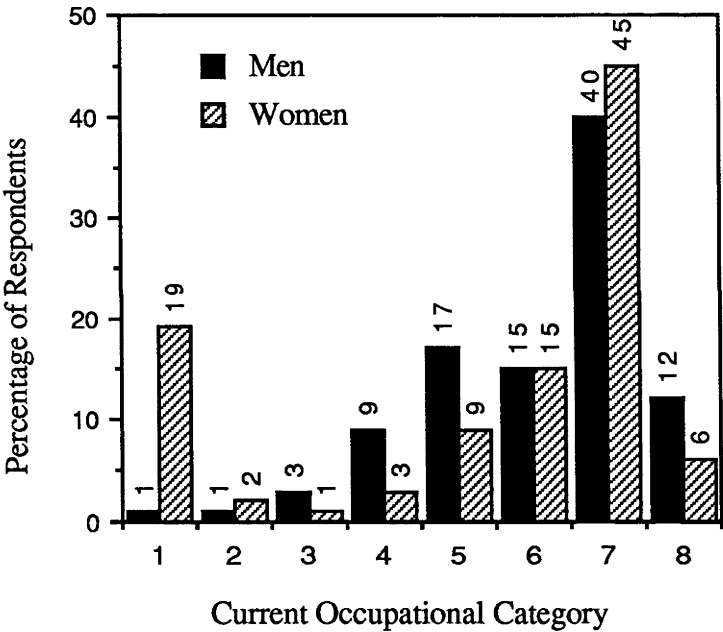


Figure 2. Percentages of men and women across levels of educational attainment.

Men and women in the sample reported a wide range of current occupations, covering such categories as home duties, unemployed, unskilled, semiskilled, skilled, clerical, professional and managerial. Percentages of men and women across current occupational level are presented in Figure 3. Fifty three percent of the men in the sample described their occupation as either professional or managerial. Similarly, 54% of women described their occupation as either professional or managerial.



Labels for Occupational Categories: 1=Home Duties; 2=Unemployed, student, pension; 3=Unskilled; 4=Semiskilled; 5=Skilled; 6=Clerk; 7=Professional; 8=Managerial.

Figure 3. Percentages of men and women across occupational categories.

Census data on employed persons in Canberra indicate that the proportion of men and women occupying these categories are much lower in the general community. According to Census data 35% of men and 22% of women occupy managerial or professional occupation groups (Butterfield, 1989). Therefore it appears that the sample for the present study is more highly educated and is drawn from higher levels of occupation than the general Canberran community.

Percentages of work hours by sex are presented in Figure 4. Virtually all the men sampled were in paid work, with the majority of men in full time employment.

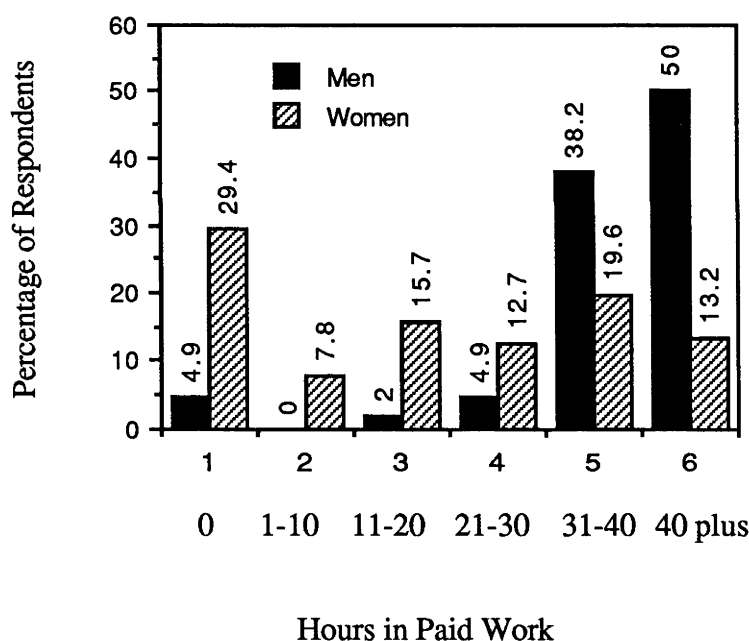


Figure 4. Percentage of men and women respondents in different paid work hour categories.

Seventy one percent of the women sampled were in paid work with twenty nine percent in unpaid work. Employed men tended to work for longer hours than did the employed women in the sample. Men's scores were significantly different from women's ($t(101) = 8.29; p < .01$). This difference is likely to be because only one third of the employed women sampled were in full time jobs, the rest occupied part time jobs.

The range of paid work hour combinations within the sample couples was compared to the Canberran population. Australian Bureau of Statistics data was obtained for couples in the Canberra region with a child aged between zero to four in the family (Butterfield, 1989). While the categories were somewhat different, for the Canberran population 35% of couples both worked a thirty five hour plus week. Only 11% of the couples sampled in the present study both worked forty hours or more. If the category was expanded to include couples where both worked over 31 hours per week then about 30% of the sample fell within this category. The combination of husband in full time work and the wife at home comprised 8% of the ABS Canberran sample. In the present study 19% of the couples sampled comprised husbands in full-time work and wives at home. Thus it appears that the sample of couples in the present study under represents dual earner couples and over represents couples in traditional arrangements where the husband is the main breadwinner.

Couples were categorised in terms of combinations of paid and unpaid work. The percentage of respondents, as reported by men and by women, for each of these categories is presented in Figure 5. Paid work was defined as earning income, while unpaid work was defined as including both housework and childcare duties.

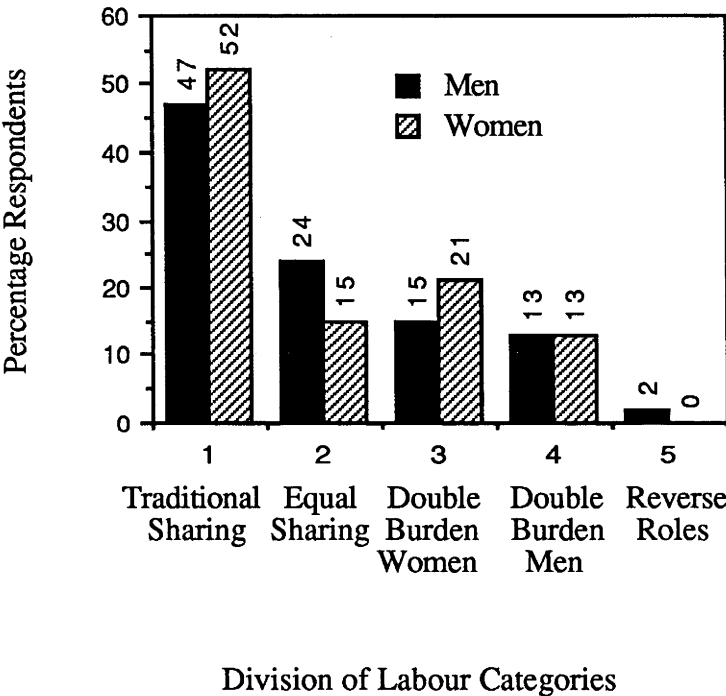


Figure 5. Percentage of respondents, based on men's and women's reports, in different marital division of labour categories.

Five types of divisions were possible. A traditional division of labour is where the husband had primary responsibility for paid work while the wife had primary responsibility for the unpaid work. This category contained the highest percentage of

respondents. Equal sharing is where both husband and wife share equally (approximately so) across both paid and unpaid work. This category had the next highest percentage of respondents. Double burden for women is where the wife had at least equal share in the paid work and was doing more than equal share of the unpaid. This category contained the third highest percentage of respondents. Double burden for men was where the husband had at least equal share in paid work and was doing more than equal unpaid work. The smallest category is termed reverse roles. Here the wife has primary responsibility for the paid work and the husband primary responsibility for the unpaid work. Two men reported a reverse role arrangement. However no women reported a reverse role division of labour. The biggest discrepancies between husband and wife reports were in the equal and double burden for women categories. Men reported more equal sharing while women reported a relatively higher level of self's involvement in unpaid work.

Summary. One hundred and two couples with children under the age of five completed questionnaires in the final study. The sample was voluntary and self selected. Comparisons with census data indicates that the sample overrepresents men and women who are more highly educated and who are in higher levels of occupation. In addition the sample in the present study overrepresents couples in more traditional arrangements, where the husband is in full time work and the wife is at home full time. Dual earner couples where both husband and wives were in paid work for over thirty five hours a week were underrepresented in the present sample.

Measures

Scale Development

Scale Selection Outline. Scales were selected for the final analysis on the basis of their reliability, whether they met assumptions of statistical normality, and if they were empirically distinguishable. All scales were examined separately for each sex. Scale reliability means and skewness will be reported for each sex. As the sample comprises dependent pairs of data, the degrees of freedom for the t-tests are based on the number of couples.

Correlations between partner's reports will also be reported for the division of labour domains. These variables demanded the estimation of a position or contribution relative to the partner. Correlations within couples for these variables are of methodological and theoretical interest (Douglas & Wind, 1978). Firstly, within couple correlations may reflect the ease of estimating relative input, and hence reliability of the measures. Secondly within couple correlations may also suggest important areas of convergence and divergence of perceptions between the genders regarding the sharing of the family workload.

Depressive symptoms, social support availability, marital love and conflict were measured using scales developed by previous researchers. These scales were initially selected if they met at least one of the following criteria; a demonstrated high internal consistency; if they had been developed or used on either a representative sample or a sample similar to that in the present study; if the items appeared to sample the construct domain adequately and; if the scales had demonstrated either known groups validity or convergent validity. Given the importance of keeping the

questionnaire as brief as possible, the length of the scale was also a selection criteria. Previously reported reliability data will be presented and compared to reliability data obtained in the present study for each of these variables where available.

Division of housework, childcare and emotional work variables, perceived fairness, violated expectations for division of labour and control over the division of labour were measured using multiple-item scales developed by the researcher. Earning income was assessed with one item. Items for all scales used in the main study are presented in Appendix A. The questionnaire used in the main study is appended in Appendix D.

Overview. Following DeVellis (1991) scales measuring division of labour variables, evaluations of division of labour variables and control over the division of labour were developed in four stages. Firstly items were generated from theory, a review of the literature and of existing scales. The initial item pool was then reviewed by experts. Next, a pretest was conducted. On the basis of these three procedures the final questionnaire was developed for the major study. The fourth stage involved examining item and scale distributions.

Pretest. A pretest was conducted with five couples. The aim of the pretest was fourfold: 1) to trial and develop questionnaire items; 2) to qualitatively gather data regarding the validity of research constructs (for example the four divisions into financial, emotional, childrearing and housework for division of labour); 4) to ensure proper sampling of content for the research constructs, and; 3) to refine the research procedure.

The pretest respondents were married and had at least one child under the age of five years in their family. Pretest respondents were relatively well educated, having completed at least six years of secondary education. Length of relationship ranged from four years to over fifteen years. All of the wives in the pretest were currently at home full time and their husbands were either in employment or full time studies. Informed consent was obtained from pretest respondents. The pretest consent form, questionnaire and instructions appear in Appendix E.

The pretest involved husbands and wives separately completing and discussing questionnaires with the researcher. Draft versions of scales being developed or refined were used in the pretest. These scales measured the division of labour in four domains, financially, emotionally, housework and childcare, the perceived fairness of the division of labour, and the violation of prior expectations that each respondent had regarding the division of labour.

Qualitative data regarding respondent's motives and reasons for the current division of labour were gathered in order to further develop theory and measures. Pretest respondents were asked to write down reasons for why they do the share that they do of financial and emotional activities. Respondents were then asked why they thought their partners took the share that they did of the financial and emotional activities. These qualitative questions were also included in the final questionnaire. Throughout the pretest procedure respondent's comments and responses to questions were recorded. Qualitative findings from the major study are presented in the results section.

Based on pretest findings questionnaire instructions and items were revised for maximum clarity. For example pretest respondents reported difficulty with a number of reverse worded items, particularly in the fairness and violated expectation scales. These items were subsequently revised to be consistently either positively or negatively worded across the four division of labour domains. Format was altered and a seven point likert scale replaced the five point scale for division of labour items. The importance of social support was raised by the majority of pretest participants and this variable was subsequently included in the final study.

Criteria for scale selection for statistical analyses. Reliability for all scales used in the analysis was assessed using Cronbach's coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951). Alpha is an indication of the proportion of variance in the scale items' scores that is due to the true score. It is a measure of the scale's quality (DeVellis, 1991). Cohen and Cohen (1982) argue that unreliable measures place more constraints on correlational analyses than do violations of the normal distribution. Unreliable measures tend to result in conservative correlation coefficients (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Similar to DeVellis (1991), scales with an alpha of above .60 were considered acceptable and alphas between .70 and .90 desirable.

Scales were also inspected for departures from the normal distribution. The size of the sample was judged to be sufficiently large to tolerate a significant skewness without distorting the analysis (Havlicek & Peterson, 1977). If the degree of skewness was below -2 or above +2 then the scale was judged sufficiently skewed to justify exclusion. All scales and measures used in the final analysis were considered to have acceptable distributions.

The inter-item correlations for each scale were examined so that the internal consistency of the scale could be assessed. In addition, the standard deviations of items within each scale were examined. Large differences in variance across items may result in differential weighting of items upon the total scale score. Standard deviations for all scales used in the final analysis were considered acceptable.

Finally, intercorrelations among division of labour variables, among predictor variables and among dependent variables were examined. High intercorrelations within these sets of variables would suggest that the measures are not empirically distinct. Firstly, variables measuring the division of labour across the four domains of earning income, housework, childcare and emotional work were intercorrelated for men and women separately (see Table 1). Cronbach's alpha for each scale is presented along the diagonal. Correlations between division of labour variables were inspected and were considered to be empirically distinct for both men and women.

Intercorrelations among the evaluations of the division of labour, constraints on changing the division of labour, and social support availability for men and for women are presented in Table 2. The low to modest correlation coefficients among the variables for men reveals that these measures can be considered empirically distinct. However for women a high intercorrelation was found between violated expectations and the perceived fairness of the division of labour. Given the strong theoretical distinction between these two constructs, the reasonable reliability of the scales, the face validity of the items and the low correlation found for men it was decided to retain these two variables in the analysis.

Table 1

Correlations Among Division of Labour Variables

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.
Men				
1. Earning income	<i>a</i>	-.48**	-.50**	-.29**
2. Housework		(.60)	.44**	.16
3. Childcare			(.73)	.46**
4. Emotional work				(.60)
Women				
1. Earning income	<i>a</i>	-.37**	-.41**	-.09
2. Housework		(.65)	.36**	.23*
3. Childcare			(.77)	.40**
4. Emotional work				(.68)

Note. Reliability coefficients in parentheses along main diagonals.

Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

a Cronbach's alpha not computed for single item scale.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Table 2

Correlations Among Measures of Predictor Variables

Measure	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Men					
1. Violated expectations	(.72)	-.23*	.02	.03	-.19
2. Fairness		(.64)	-.38**	.07	.10
3. Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family (discrepancy)			(.30)	-.06	-.12
4. Control over division of labour				(.85)	.11
5. Social support availability					(.82)
Women					
1. Violated expectations	(.80)	-.68**	.06	-.39**	-.23*
2. Fairness		(.77)	.04	.57**	.21*
3. Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family (discrepancy)			(.27)	-.11	-.26*
4. Control over division of labour				(.87)	.16
5. Social support availability					(.80)

Note. Reliability coefficients in parentheses along main diagonal.

Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Dependent variables were also intercorrelated for men and women. Intercorrelations for men and women are presented in Table 3. Contrary to the findings of the scale authors (Braiker & Kelley, 1979), there was a moderately high correlation between marital love and marital conflict measures, particularly for men. As both these scales also evidenced quite high reliability it was considered justified to include them in the analyses. The remaining intercorrelations for both men and women were considered sufficiently modest to justify inclusion.

Table 3
Correlations Among Dependent Variables

Measure	1.	2.	3.
Men			
1. Depressive symptoms	(.88)	-.40**	.42**
2. Marital love		(.94)	-.66**
3. Marital conflict			(.72)
Women			
1. Depressive symptoms	(.93)	-.38**	.55**
2. Marital love		(.95)	-.52**
3. Marital conflict			(.82)

Note. Reliability coefficients in parentheses along main diagonals.

Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Predictor Variables

Division of Labour Variables.

Earning Income. A single item asked respondents to score their involvement, relative to their partner, in earning family income. There were seven response categories. Response categories ranged from 7=self does all, to 4=both about equal, to 1= partner does all. Men reported more relative involvement in earning income than women. Mean scores for men ($M = 5.18$; $S.D. = 1.4$) and women ($M = 2.64$; $S.D. = 1.8$) were significantly different ($t(100) = -9.42$; $p < .01$). Skewness for earning income was -0.46 and for men and 0.51 for women respectively. There was an extremely high correlation between husband's and wives reports for earning income ($r = .91$; $p < .01$).

Housework. Housework was conceptualised as household tasks that are routine, repetitive, instrumental, and involved the running of the house. Similar to the housekeeper role defined by Nye et al., (1976), housework included cooking, menu planning, cleaning up after meals, grocery shopping, laundry washing, ironing, folding clothes, vacuuming, dusting and tidying the house. The scale was comprised of five items asking respondents to indicate their relative involvement in the housework. The seven response categories ranged from 7=self does all, to 4=both about equal, to 1= partner does all.

Scale scores were computed from the mean of the five items. Skewness for men was 0.10 and for women was -0.24. Cronbach's alpha for men was .60 and for women was .65. Overall, women reported a higher level of involvement in the housework than did men. Mean score for men on the scale was 3.20 ($S.D. = 0.94$).

Women's mean score was 5.18 (S.D. = 0.99). This was significantly different from men's mean scores ($t(100) = -10.80$; $p < .01$). There was a high correlation between partner's reports ($r = .83$; $p < .01$).

Childcare. Childcare tasks were conceptualised as those routine and instrumental tasks involving the physical maintenance of the child or children, particularly when the child is young. Items for this scale were based upon the definition of the childcare role by Nye et al., (1976) and from a childcare scale developed by Baxter (1991). Seven items assessed the relative involvement of the respondent for the following tasks: changing nappies and toileting; bathing; preparing meals and feeding the children; child minding and playing; getting up to the child at night; teaching the child self care such as dressing and; looking after the child if he or she was sick. The seven response categories ranged from 7=self does all to 4=about equal to 1=partner does all. Scale scores were computed from the mean of the seven items. There was a high correlation of .78 between partner's reports ($p < .01$).

Skewness for the childcare measure was -0.37 for men and 0.12 for women. For men, the Cronbach's alpha was .73. The Cronbach's alpha for women was .77. Women reported a higher level of involvement than did men ($t(100) = -10.89$; $p < .01$). Mean score for men on the childcare scale was 3.25 (S.D. = 0.77). Women's mean score was 4.96 (S.D. = 0.91) respectively.

Emotional work. This scale measured the relative involvement of the respondent in doing family emotional work. Emotional work involves caring for

and understanding other family member's emotional needs and maintaining family harmony (England & Farkas, 1986; Unger & Crawford, 1992). Six items measured the relative involvement of the respondent in terms of: setting and enforcing standards for children's behaviour; giving emotional support to children and partner such as listening, being understanding and comforting; helping partner or children with problems and; doing things to improve or maintain the marital relationship. The seven response categories ranged from 7=self does all to 4=about equal to 1=partner does all. Skewness of the scale was -1.02 for men and 0.61 for women.

Cronbach's alpha for men on the emotional work scale was .60. The Cronbach's alpha for women was .68. Scale scores were computed from the mean of the six items. Men's mean score for emotional work was 3.66 (S.D. = 0.77). Women's mean score was 4.48 (S.D. = 0.91). There was a higher level of involvement for women in performing family emotional work than for men ($t(99) = -9.88$; $p < .01$). There was a surprisingly low correlation between partners reports of their contribution to the family emotional work ($r = .32$; $p < .01$).

Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables.

Violated expectations for the division of labour. Violated expectations were defined as the difference between expectations regarding the division of labour developed prior to marriage and the division of labour now. The scale had four items, each referring to either the financial, housework, childcare or emotional division of labour - e.g., 'The way we share the childcare now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together'. Respondents rated how much they agreed with the statement on six response categories. The categories ranged

from 1=strongly disagree to 6=strongly agree. Scale scores were computed from the mean of the four items. High scores on this scale were interpreted to indicate a larger difference between prior expectations and the current division of labour.

Skewness for the scale was 0.48 for men and 0.28 for women. Cronbach's alpha was .72 and .80 for men and women respectively. There was no significant difference between men and women in terms of degree of violated expectations for the division of labour. The mean score for men was 2.89 (S.D. = 0.88). Women's mean score was 2.95 (S.D. = 1.03).

Perceived fairness of the division of labour. Drawn from equity theory (e.g. Hatfield et al., 1985) perceived fairness is based upon the respondent's evaluation of their inputs and outcomes relative to the other person's inputs and outcomes in the relationship (Schafer & Keith, 1981). This scale measured the respondent's evaluation of fairness, relative to their partner, regarding the four domains of the division of labour (earning income, housework, childcare and emotional work).

Fairness was measured by four items. The respondent was asked much she or he agreed with the following statement - 'The way my partner and I share the financial/housework/childcare/emotional work is completely fair'. Each item had six response categories ranging from strongly agree, agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, disagree, strongly disagree. The final scale was computed from the mean of the four items. Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the scale was .64 for men and .77 for women. There was no significant difference in how fair men and women, on average, evaluated the current division of labour. Men's mean score for fairness

was 3.96 (S.D. = 0.72). Women's mean score was 3.88 (S.D. = 0.96).

Constraints on Change Variables.

Perceived control over the division of labour. Perceived control was defined as the individual's expectation that they can control, alter, or effectively change the current division of labour. This scale measured both perceptions of current control and future control across the four domains of the division of labour. Perceived control over the division of labour was measured by eight items. For example the respondent was asked how much they agreed or disagree with the statement 'right now I could change the way we share the housework if I wanted to' (current control). An example of a future control item is 'I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the housework activities if I wanted to.' There were six response categories ranging from 1= strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree. Total score scores were computed from the mean of the eight items.

Cronbach's alpha for the perceived control scale for men and women was .85 and .87 respectively. Skewness for this scale was -0.59 for men and 0.26 for women respectively. There was no significant difference between men's and women's perceptions of control over the division of labour. Mean score for men on the scale was 4.04 (S.D. = 0.80). Women's mean score on this scale was 3.84 (S.D. = 0.88).

Conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family. This variable is a discrepancy score. It was computed between respondent's reports of what is best for his or her self and what he or she considers is best for the family

unit regarding how the division of labour should be shared across the four domains. The absolute value of the differences between each item of the division of labour for self and for family were summed. The resulting discrepancy is seen to represent the amount of perceived conflict between what the respondent sees as best for his or her self versus what the respondent sees as best for the family unit.

This discrepancy measure evidenced low reliability. Cronbach's alpha for men and women was .30 and .27 respectively. As this discrepancy score was computed from measures across all four division of labour domains this scale was not expected to be highly internally consistent. The low reliability of this variable is likely to result in a loss of statistical power and so underestimate the strength of the relationships between the variables (Aiken & West, 1991). Skewness for this variable was 1.77 for men and 1.03 for women. There was no significant difference between men's and women's level of conflict between self and family over the desired division of labour. Mean score for men was 1.55 (S.D. = 1.39). Women's mean score on this variable was 1.71 (S.D. = 1.60).

Social support.

Social support availability. Social support availability is a quantitative measure of the respondent's potential to interact with other adults (Braithwaite, 1990). A subscale of the The Interview Schedule for Social Interaction (ISSI) measures social support availability (Henderson et al., 1981). This scale was developed on a randomly selected Canberra population and was considered to demonstrate good test retest reliability and construct validity (Henderson et al., 1979).

A secondary analysis of the ISSI was performed by Braithwaite (1990). Six items were selected by her from the original 18 on the basis of achieving maximum internal consistency and in terms of face validity for a sample of carers, most of whom were at home. Braithwaite (1990) reports that the Cronbach's alpha for the revised scale was .71 which is the same as the original reliability coefficient reported by Henderson et al., (1981). An additional item referring to the number of friends the respondent felt they could visit was added to Braithwaite's six items. This decision was based on the pretest data. The seventh item was drawn from the original ISSI (Henderson et al., 1981). Thus a seven item scale was used in the present study.

Respondents circled the number of people from particular social relationship categories with whom he or she had current contact. Two examples of the categories covered are; people with whom the respondent shares similar interests and; people that he or she could talk frankly to. The numbers ranged from zero to 9 or more. Scale scores were computed from the mean of the seven items. The maximum possible score indicating a high level of availability was five, while the minimum possible score was one. On average, men and women reported the same level of social support availability. The mean score for men was 3.57 (S.D. = 0.78). Women's mean score was 3.55 (S.D. = 0.71). The Cronbach's alpha for men on this scale was .82. The Cronbach's alpha for women was .80. The skewness was -0.58 for men and -0.18 for women.

Dependent Variables

Depressive symptoms. A community based, rather than a clinically based, measure of depression was considered to be the most appropriate for a survey design (Shaver & Brennen, 1991). The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was chosen (Radloff, 1977). The CES-D scale was designed to measure current level of depressive symptomatology in the general community (Radloff, 1977). Depressive symptoms were conceptualised as psychological distress characterised by negative affect. There are twenty items in the CES-D. While the emphasis of the scale is on depressed mood, items assess the other major components of depressive symptomatology. Thus the scale also assesses feelings of guilt and worthlessness, loss of appetite, psychomotor retardation, sleep disturbance and feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. The score range for the scale is from 0 to 60. A cut off point of sixteen has been proposed for the detection of clinical depression (Radloff, 1977). However other research has suggested that this may be too high (Boyd, Weissman, Thompson & Myers, 1982).

The CES-D scale has been used extensively in the literature examining family roles and mental health (e.g., Aneshensel, 1986; Krause, 1984; Ross et al., 1983; Richman et al., 1991). The CES-D been examined for gender bias, educational attainment and ethnic bias (Golding, Aneshensel & Hough, 1991; Radloff, 1977). The scale appears to have good internal reliability, known groups validity and split-half reliability (Boyd et al., 1982; Radloff, 1977; Shaver & Brennen, 1991). In the present study Cronbach's alpha was found to be .88 for men and .93 for women. Radloff (1977) reports a reliability for both sexes of .85 in her community sample.

The twenty items were averaged to compute the scale score with a maximum

possible score of four. In the present study women reported significantly more depressive symptoms than did men ($t(101) = -3.75; p < .01$). Women's mean score was 0.66 ($S.D. = 0.05$). Men's mean score was 0.46 ($S.D. = 0.04$). Using the cutoff point suggested by Radloff (1977), three percent of the men and seven percent of the women in the sample could be considered depressed. Skewness for the scale was 1.46 for men and 1.02 for women respectively.

Marital Love. For the present study, marital love was conceptualised as a perception of attachment, belonging, closeness, dependence and the subjective judgement of love as defined by the respondent in their relationship with their spouse (Braiker & Kelley, 1979; Murstein, 1988). A ten item measure of marital love was used in the present study (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). Originally developed upon a sample of newly married couples (married less than three years), items had been selected if they remained highly intercorrelated over three major stages in the marital relationship (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). There were seven response categories for each item. For example, the item 'how close do you feel to your partner' had a response category range of 1=not at all to 4=close to 7=extremely close. While the original authors did not report reliabilities, other studies indicate that the scale is reliable and has construct validity (Belsky et al., 1986; Belsky & Rovine, 1990; MacDermid et al., 1990). In the present study the Cronbach's alpha was found to be .94 for men and .95 for women.

Scale scores were computed from the mean of the ten items. The highest possible score was seven and the lowest possible score was one. On average both men and women reported a similar level of love for their partners. The mean score

for men was 5.71 (S.D. = 1.02). Women's mean score was 5.70 (S.D. = 1.13). Skewness for the marital love scale was -1.13 for men and -0.94 for women.

Marital conflict. Marital conflict was conceptualised as a negative dimension to the marital relationship that includes both overt conflict and the individuals' perceptions of the conflict and its significance (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). Conflict was measured globally and was operationalised as overt behavioural conflict, communication of negative affect, frequency of disagreements, seriousness of disagreements and attempts to change the other partner (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). The five item scale developed by Braiker & Kelley (1979) was used. Like the love scale, the conflict scale had been developed on a sample of newly married couples and then subjected to factor analysis. While the original authors did not report the reliability of the scale, Belsky and Rovine (1990) report that the scale performed reliably on their sample of parents with young infants. In the present study, Cronbach's Alpha for men was found to be .72, and for women .82 respectively.

There were seven response categories for each item. For example, for the question 'how often do you and your partner argue with each other?' response categories ranged from 1=never through to 4=regularly through to 7=almost all the time. The scale score was the mean of the summed item scores. A score of seven would be interpreted as indicating very high levels of conflict, a score of four as indicating a moderate level of conflict, while a score of one would indicate little or no conflict. Women reported higher levels of conflict than men ($t(100) = -5.02$; $p < .01$). Women's mean score was 3.10 (S.D. = 0.89). Men's mean score was 2.72 (S.D. = 0.60). The skewness for men and women was 0.69 and 1.25.

RESULTS

Bivariate Correlations

Overview

Firstly, a series of bivariate analyses examined eight demographic variables that were not included in the proposed model. These analyses were performed to ascertain whether the effects of demographic variables would need to be controlled for in the regression equations. Additionally, demographic relationships may be important for understanding the context of the findings. A summary of correlations between demographic and each predictor and dependent variable for both men and women is presented. A full description of the bivariate relationships, and tables, are included in Appendix F. Correlations between sex and demographic variables are presented in Appendix G.

The hypothesised relationships between the variables were then examined. As sex was proposed to exert indirect effects, and predictions had been made regarding sex differences in mean scores, a series of t-tests were performed. Qualitative data detailing men's and women's explanations for the current division of labour was coded. Then, separate correlation analyses for men and for women were examined to test the remaining hypotheses. A separate analysis for each gender allowed a richer description of the data, particularly with respect to the gender - specific determinants proposed by the interactive model. Correlations between division of labour variables and the evaluation variables were examined for men and for women. Then, bivariate relationships between all proposed predictor variables and dependent variables for men and for women were examined.

Demographic Variables

The effects of eight demographic variables were examined. These variables were age, religious attendance, education, occupation, hours in paid work per week, number of years married, number of children at home, and the age of the youngest child (between 0 to 5 years old). These were selected upon the basis of previous research and theorising as possibly relevant to the variables in the present study. For example, time available has been considered an important determinant of household labour (e.g., Presland & Antill, 1987). Paid workhours may be considered to operationalise time available. Religiosity, as measured by attendance to religious ceremonies in the previous year, has been associated with attitudes towards division of labour (e.g., Blood & Wolfe, 1961). Life cycle variables such as number of children and the presence of young children have been associated with men's and women's division of labour (e.g., Rexroat & Shehan, 1987). Dependent variables have also been linked to demographic variables in previous research. For example lower marital love has been associated with length of marriage (Berscheid, 1988; Reedy et al., 1981). Being employed has been proposed to reduce depression in women (e.g., Kessler & McRae, 1982; Warr & Parry, 1982).

In general, few relationships were observed between demographic variables and variables in the proposed model. Those relationships that emerged as significant were modest in the strength of association. Sex was significantly associated with several demographic variables. Women in the sample tended to be younger than the men ($r = -.22$; $p < .01$). Women were less likely to be in paid work than men, and men were more likely to work longer hours in paid work ($r = -.54$; $p < .01$). Men tended to be in higher occupational levels than women ($r = -.14$; $p < .05$).

When examining the data separately for men and women demographic variables revealed different patterns of association with predictor variables. The relative share of paid and unpaid (housework and childcare) work was affected by women's time in paid work but not by men's. For men the correlations between paid work hours and childcare and paid work hours and housework was $r = -.05$ and $r = -.19$ respectively, which were nonsignificant. For women the correlations between time in paid work and childcare was ($r = -.27$; $p < .05$). The correlation between women's time in paid work and their relative share of the housework was ($r = -.32$; $p < .05$). However the sharing of the emotional work was independent of the time spent in paid work for both men ($r = -.04$; N.S.) and women ($r = -.14$; N.S.). Traditional patterns of sharing, whereby men took primary responsibility for the paid work and women the unpaid work appeared to be more likely if there were more children in the family.

Several relationships were observed between demographic variables and the dependent variables. The more religious the man was, the more likely he was to feel less depressive symptoms ($r = -.25$; $p < .05$). For women, depressive symptoms were not related to any demographic variable examined. Age, but not length of marriage, was related to how much love men and women felt for their partner. Correlations between age and marital love for men were $-.28$ ($p < .51$) and for women $-.37$ ($p < .05$) respectively. Women's marital love was also more likely to be lower as the youngest child approached the age of five years old ($r = -.25$; $p < .05$). Men's levels of marital love were more likely to be higher the more often he attended religious occasions ($r = .22$; $p < .05$). There were no correlations observed between any of the demographic variables and marital conflict for either

men or women. These demographic variables were therefore controlled for in the regression equations for depressive symptoms and marital love.

Differences Between Mean Scores for Men and Women on Dependent Variables

Hypothesis one predicted that women would evidence higher levels of depressive symptoms, less marital love and more marital conflict than men. Mean scores, standard deviations and significance tests for men's and women's responses are presented in Table 4. One tailed significance tests were used because specific predictions had been made. As predicted, women were more likely to evidence higher levels of depressive symptoms and marital conflict than men. However, there was no support for the hypothesis that women would report lower levels of love for their partners than men.

Table 4

Men's and Women's Mean Scores and Standard Deviations: Dependent Variables

Dependent	Men		Women		t	p
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Depressive symptoms	.46	.39	.66	.52	3.73	.000
Marital love	5.73	1.01	5.70	1.14	-.21	.837
Marital conflict	2.71	.58	3.10	.89	5.02	.000

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n 's varied slightly because of missing data.

Mean Differences and Correlations Between Sex, Division of Labour Variables,
Evaluation Variables and Constraints on Change Variables

Hypothesis two predicted an indirect effect of sex on the dependent variables via high levels of involvement across division of labour domains. That is, it was proposed that the division of labour would be gender - linked in its allocation, with women reporting higher levels of involvement across more division of labour domains, particularly the unpaid domains of housework, childcare and emotional work, than men. In turn, levels of involvement were expected to exert indirect effects upon depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict. Thus it was expected that women would evaluate the division of labour as more unexpected, more unfair, perceive less control over the division of labour and report higher levels of conflict between what they saw as best for themselves and what they saw as best for the family. While the nature of the indirect effects cannot be evaluated at a bivariate level differences between men's and women's mean scores and correlations between sex and these variables can be examined. Means and standard deviations for men and women on these variables are presented in Table 5. Because specific predictions were made one tailed significance tests were used.

Men were more highly involved in earning income than women ($t(101) = -9.42$; $p < .01$; $r = -.68$; $p < .01$),. Women were more likely to report higher levels of involvement across the other three domains. Women were more highly involved in doing the housework ($t(101) = 10.80$; $p < .01$; $r = .72$; $p < .01$), childcare ($t(101) = 10.89$; $p < .01$; $r = .71$; $p < .01$) and emotional work ($t(100) = 9.88$; $p < .01$; $r = .62$; $p < .01$). Little support was found for the proposed relationship between sex and evaluations of the division of labour.

Table 5

Men's and Women's Mean Scores and Standard Deviations: Predictor Variables

Predictor	Men		Women		t	p
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>		
Earning income	5.18	1.4	2.64	1.8	-9.42	.000
Housework	3.20	0.94	5.18	0.99	10.80	.000
Childcare	3.25	0.77	4.96	0.91	10.89	.000
Emotional work	3.66	0.77	4.48	0.91	9.88	.000
Violated expectations	2.89	0.88	2.95	1.03	.52	.605
Fairness	3.96	0.72	3.88	0.96	-.65	.515
Control over the division of labour	4.04	.80	3.84	.88	-1.67	.098
Conflict between what is best for self and family	1.71	1.60	1.55	1.40	-.72	.476
Social support	3.57	.78	3.53	.70	-.43	.669

Note. Maximum $n = 102$: n 's varied slightly because of missing data.

There was no relationship observed between sex and level of violated expectations, or sex and the perceived fairness of the division of labour. Similarly unexpected, women did not report more conflict between what was best for

themselves and what was best for their family. However, consistent with predictions, women reported lower levels of control over the division of labour than men did ($t(102) = -1.67$; $p < .05$; $r = -.12$; $p < .05$).

Qualitative Data: Men's and Women's Reasons for the Current Division of Labour

In order to aid interpretation of results, particularly regarding the gender-linked division of labour, respondents were asked to write down what they saw as the most important reason for the current division of labour. This data aimed to assess the context of the marital division of labour, that is, respondents' motives and reasons for why tasks were shared the way they were. Beliefs about gender and parenting and structural difficulties managing paid work and family life were the major constructs of interest. Responses were initially reviewed by the researcher and sixteen descriptive categories of reasons were developed. The percentage frequency of these categories for men and for women are presented in Table 6.

A commitment to fairness and equality and time availability were the most frequently cited reasons for the current division of labour given by men and women. However, several other frequently cited reasons provided by the respondents were gender-specific, in particular referring to the role of the mother and the perception that young children needed their mother at home. In addition, the notion that performing the unpaid work was a form of exchange for financial support was also relatively frequently cited, particularly by women. Structural difficulties such as job hour inflexibility and earning differentials were less commonly cited.

Table 6

Main Reason for Current Division of Labour Given by Men and by Women

Reason Category	Percentage Men	Percentage Women
Fairness & equity	21.6	15.7
Time available	17.6	11.8
Financial needs	6.9	7.8
Children need mother most	4.9	7.8
Unpaid work exchange for partner doing paid work	3.9	7.8
What is best for the children	0	6.9
Personal fulfillment	5.9	4.9
Improves marriage	3.9	4.9
Showing love	1.0	4.9
Traditional sex roles	1.0	4.9
Expertise	2.9	2.9
Avoiding conflict	2.9	2.0
Family wellbeing & harmony	2.0	2.9
Earning-power differences	1.0	2.0
Job hour inflexibility	1.0	0
Habit	0	1.0

Note. Maximum $n = 80$ (couples)

Percentage points do not total to 100 due to missing data and rounding.

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Dependent Variables

Hypothesis three predicted that the current division of labour would have a direct effect upon the individuals' well-being, and upon relationship well-being. It was predicted that the more involved, relative to their partner, the individual was in each domain the more likely he or she would experience depressive symptoms, feel less love for his or her partner and experience more conflict with his or her partner. Correlations between each domain of the division of labour and the dependent variables are presented in Table 7 for men and women.

Contrary to expectations, there was no support found for the predicted relationships between division of labour variables and men's level of depression, love or conflict. A nonsignificant tendency was observed between high involvement in the housework and reduced marital love for men. Additionally, there was a tendency for high relative involvement in earning income to be related to marital love in the opposite direction to what was predicted; the more involved the man was the more love for his partner he tended to report. This relationship was also nonsignificant using a two tailed test.

There was no direct effect found for women's involvement in earning income, housework or childcare on depressive symptoms or feelings of love. Contrary to the case for men there was a tendency for women who were more involved in earning income to report reduced love for their partners. Involvement in childcare had a direct effect, however, upon women's levels of marital conflict. The more the women was involved in the childcare the more conflict with her partner she experienced.

Table 7

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Dependent Variables

Dependent	Division of Labour			
	Earning Income	Housework	Childcare	Emotional Work
Men				
Depressive symptoms	-.06	.11	.01	-.12
Love	.17	-.16	-.05	.02
Conflict	-.05	.06	.07	-.02
Women				
Depressive symptoms	.03	-.00	.11	.37**
Love	-.16	-.06	-.12	-.40**
Conflict	.03	.06	.21*	.58**

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed tests; correlation in predicted direction).

Clear support for the direct effects of division of labour were found regarding emotional work. High levels of involvement in the emotional work were related to higher levels of depressive symptoms, feeling less love for her partner, and experiencing more conflict with her partner for women. The different patterns of

relationships observed for men and for women in the effects of emotional work suggests support for the gender - specific predictions made in hypothesis eight. The opposite tendencies observed regarding the effect of relatively high involvement in earning income upon love suggest that this variable may also exert gender - specific effects.

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables

Hypothesis four predicted that the current division of labour would exert an indirect effect upon the dependent variables via the individual's evaluations of the division of labour. Direct relationships between division of labour variables and evaluations of the division of labour variables were examined first. Then, direct relationships between the evaluations of the division of labour variables and the dependent variables were examined. Correlations between each domain of the division of labour and the two evaluations of the division of labour are presented in Table 8 for men and women.

For men, direct effects of involvement in the division of labour on evaluations of the division of labour were observed for only two domains. As predicted, the more involved husbands were in earning income, relative to their partner, the less fair they considered the division of labour to be. The more involved men were in performing housework, the more they reported the division of labour as violating their prior expectations. Contrary to the hypotheses, involvement in childcare and emotional work did not effect men's evaluations of either fairness or expectations.

Table 8

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables

Evaluations	Division of Labour			
	Earning Income	Housework	Childcare	Emotional Work
Men				
Violated expectations	-.06	.25*	.12	.01
Fairness	-.20*	.04	.03	.11
Women				
Violated expectations	-.08	.14	.24*	.52**
Fairness	.08	-.25*	-.27*	-.59**

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed tests; correlations in predicted direction).

For women, relative involvement in the unpaid work domains, but not earning income, directly affected their evaluations of the division of labour. All significant relationships observed were consistent with predictions. The more involved women were in the housework the more likely they were to evaluate the division of labour as unfair. However, high levels of involvement in housework were not related to women's prior expectations. High involvement in childcare and emotional work

contributed to women evaluating the current division of labour as both violating their expectations and unfair. Overall, partial support was found for a direct relationship between involvement in the division of labour domains and how the division of labour is evaluated by women. The weak support for this hypothesis found for men suggests that there may be gender - specific effects of the division of labour variables as they relate to evaluations of the division of labour.

Correlations Between Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables and Dependent Variables

Hypothesis five proposed that the more negatively the individual evaluated the division of labour the more likely they were to experience elevated depressive symptoms, reduced marital love and increased marital conflict. Correlations between evaluations of the division of labour and the dependent variables are presented in Table 9 for men and women. Men were more likely to report higher levels of depressive symptoms, less love and more conflict if the current division of labour was different to what they had expected, and if they considered the division to be unfair. As noted earlier, these evaluations appear to be primarily related to men's involvement in earning income and in housework.

All predictions regarding the direct effects of evaluations of the division of labour and women's individual and relationship well-being were supported. Women were more likely to experience higher levels of depressive symptoms, feel less love and experience more conflict if they evaluated the division of labour as unfair and unexpected. For women, this pattern of results provides support for the predicted indirect effect of involvement in the division of labour, particularly childcare and

emotional work upon the dependent variables. Higher involvement in the childcare and emotional work were correlated with women's evaluations of fairness and violated expectations.

Table 9

Correlations Between Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables and Dependent Variables

Dependent	Evaluations of Division of Labour	
	Violated Expectations	Fairness
Men		
Depressive symptoms	.28*	-.17*
Love	-.49**	.22*
Conflict	.45**	-.34**
Women		
Depressive symptoms	.38**	-.33**
Love	-.36**	.33**
Conflict	.54**	-.55**

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed tests; correlations in predicted direction).

Finally, hypothesis ten proposed that evaluating the division of labour as violating prior expectations would affect women more than men. This hypothesis does not appear to be supported by the bivariate findings. The pattern of correlations between violated expectations and the three dependent variables indicated in Table 9 appear to be similar for both men and women. Because the model proposed multiple predictors that were interrelated, formal testing of this hypothesis will be conducted in the multivariate analyses.

Correlations Between Constraints on Change Variables, Social Support

Availability and Dependent Variables

Predictions that constraints on the capacity to change the division of labour would adversely affect individual and relationship well-being were examined for men and for women (see Table 10). Neither control over the division of labour or conflict between what is seen as best for the self and best for the family affected men's level of depressive symptoms, love or marital conflict. Support was found for the direct relationship between the constraints on change variables and women's level of depression. Low control over the division of labour was related to more depressive symptoms in women. Low control over the division of labour was also related to women experiencing less love and more conflict. Conflict between what the women saw as best for themselves and as best for their families was found to be associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms although no relationship was observed between this variable and women's marital love or conflict.

Table 10

Correlations Between Constraints on Change Variables, Social Support Availability and Dependent Variables

Predictors	Dependent Variables		
	Depressive Symptoms	Love	Conflict
Men			
Control over the division of labour	-.12	-.00	-.09
Conflict between what is best for self and family	.02	-.00	.00
Social support availability	-.40**	.35**	-.23*
Women			
Control over the division of labour	-.17	.19*	-.31*
Conflict between what is best for self and family	.35**	-.15	.12
Social support availability	-.32**	.23*	-.22*

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed tests; correlation in predicted direction).

Hypotheses nine proposed a gender - specific effect of conflict between what is seen as best for self and what is seen as best for the family. The results provide suggestive evidence for this proposition. However, the results also suggest that control over the division of labour may be related to women's well-being, but not men's. A gender - specific effect for control was not proposed by the model. Partial support for the predicted direct relationship for social support availability and the dependent variables was found. Men and women who had more social support were more likely to report less depressive symptoms, feel more love for their partner, and experience less conflict with their partner.

Summary of Bivariate Analysis

Bivariate analyses were performed to examine hypotheses regarding direct relationships between variables. Partial support was found for a direct effect of sex upon the dependent variables. Women were more likely to report higher levels of depressive symptoms and experience more conflict with their partners than men. No support was found for the direct effect of sex upon feelings of love. Sex was also directly related to involvement in the division of labour. While men were more likely to have higher involvement in earning income, women were more likely to be highly involved in performing housework, childcare and the emotional work. Qualitative data suggests that an ideology of fairness and time available were important reasons for the current division of labour. However, gender-specific reasons that referred to the importance of mothers and the role of women when there were young children in the family were also relatively frequently cited.

Little support was found for the hypothesised direct relationship between involvement in the division of labour domains and women's and men's level of depressive symptoms, feelings of love and conflict with their partner. However, high involvement in the emotional domain was related to higher levels of depressive symptoms, less love and more conflict being experienced by women, although not by men. This suggests support for the proposed gender - specific effects of involvement in the emotional work on all dependent variables.

Partial support was found for a direct relationship between division of labour variables and evaluations of the division of labour for women. Only very weak support was found for a direct relationship between these variables for men. The pattern of correlations also suggests that different aspects of the division of labour may inform men's and women's evaluations. Again, involvement in the emotional work and childcare consistently related to women's evaluations but not men's. Involvement in the housework affected different evaluations for men and women. High involvement in the housework was related to men's evaluations of the division of labour as violating their prior expectations. Women's involvement in the housework was related to women's evaluations of fairness. Involvement in earning income was also related to men evaluating the current division of labour as more unfair. However there was no relationship observed between women's involvement in earning income and their evaluations of the division of labour.

Partial support was also found for the hypothesis that evaluations of the division of labour would be directly related to the dependent variables. Men's evaluations of the division of labour in terms of fairness and their prior expectations

were significantly related to men's levels of depressive symptoms, feelings of love and conflict with their partner. Support was found for the hypothesised direct relationship between evaluations of the division of labour and all dependent variables for women.

Finally, the hypothesised direct relationships between constraints on change variables, social support availability, and dependent variables were examined for men and women. For men, social support availability, but not constraints on change variables correlated as predicted with the dependent variables. Some support was found for the effects of the constraints of change variables and women's individual and relationship wellbeing. Feelings of control over the division of labour directly affected women's level of depressive symptoms, love and conflict. Conflict between what is considered to be best for oneself and best for the family was related to women's level of depressive symptoms but not the marital variables of love or conflict. Support was found for the predicted direct relationship between social support availability and women's individual and relationship distress. Overall, the pattern of relationships observed between independent variables and the dependent variables appeared to differ for men and women. The bivariate results suggest little support for an additive model of the effects of the division of labour, indicating instead that a gender - specific model may be more appropriate.

Regression Analysis

Overview

Because the model proposed multiple predictors, with interrelationships and interactions among them, a multiple regression procedure was used to test hypotheses. Multiple regression analyses allowed the assessment of the relative contribution of each predictor variable to the dependent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1983). Additionally, multiple regression procedures allowed the partialling out of constituent variable variance from interaction terms so that they could be tested for significance and interpreted (Cohen & Cohen, 1982). Following Aiken and West (1991) all independent variables in the regression were standardised before entry into the equation. This reduced problems of multicollinearity and interpretation when interaction terms were analysed (Aiken & West, 1991; Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Standardisation does not affect variable relationships at a bivariate level.

Both the additive and the gender - specific models have proposed partially causal relationships among independent variables. A hierarchical procedure, whereby variable sets were entered according to their proposed causal sequence or theoretical importance was followed (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). Thus in the separate sex analyses the division of labour variables were entered first, followed by the evaluation variables, constraints on change variables and social support. In the pooled analyses sex was entered first with the other variables following in their respective sets.

Type I error was controlled using a setwise procedure (Cohen & Cohen,

1983). Each set of variables was entered and the change in R^2 examined for significance at the .05 level. If there was no significant change then examination of the specific variables in that set was not undertaken. If there was a significant change in the R^2 analysis of individual variables in that set proceeded (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). As data was obtained from couples the sample is considered dependent (Terry, 1991). Therefore the degrees of freedom for significance testing in all analyses was based upon the number of couples. The residuals of each equation were examined for violations of the assumptions of normality, homoscedasticity, linearity and the presence of outliers. Following the guidelines suggested by Cohen and Cohen (1983), no serious violations of assumptions were detected.

Multiple regression testing for gender differences was in two stages. From the bivariate results, the differing pattern observed for men and women suggested the presence of gender - specific effects of the independent variables. Therefore, regression equations were run for men and women separately in order to examine these differences at a multivariate level. These equations were used to examine for possible differences in the predictors between men and women, the proposed indirect effects of the division of labour, and to reduce the number of predictors used in the pooled model. Then the data was pooled so that the significant variables could be interpreted in terms of their direct effects or their gender - specific effects. Variables that had been significantly related to the dependent variables for either men or for women in the separate sex analyses were entered hierarchically. To test for gender - specific effects of the variables, gender by predictor interaction terms were entered in a set at the final step of the equations and examined for significance.

Separate Regression Analyses for Men and Women

The proposed model was examined for men and women separately. The additive model proposed that the independent variables would exert significant direct effects upon individual and relationship distress for both men and women. The direct effect of each independent variable was estimated by the regression of the dependent variable on the independent variable (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). The final beta weight when all other variables with direct effects are entered into the equation is the size of the direct effect (Cohen & Cohen, 1983).

Involvement in the division of labour was proposed to exert indirect effects upon the dependent variables. The regression coefficient when the variable first enters the equation is its total effect. The difference between the total effect and the direct effect (the final value of the coefficient when all other causal variables have been entered) is the sum of the indirect effects of that variable. Inspection of the change to the beta weights reveals how these indirect effects may be operating (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). However there is no formal significance test of indirect effects (Cohen & Cohen, 1983). In order to examine the final effect of the variables and possible direct and indirect effects of the variables, the beta weight on entry into the equation and the beta weight after all variables have been entered into the equation will be presented in the tables for the separate analyses.

Initial and final beta weights (after all variables have been entered) of the predictor variables, R^2 change for each predictor set, Multiple R and Adjusted R^2 for depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict are shown for men and for women in Table 11, Table 12 and Table 13 respectively. As can be seen somewhat

different sets of variables are prominent in predicting the outcome variables for men and women in all analyses. For all three dependent variables, and contrary to the hypotheses, violated expectations appears to affect men more than women. However, consistent with gender - specific predictions, higher involvement in the emotional work significantly predicted outcomes for women, but not for men.

Depressive symptoms. Contrary to expectations there appeared to be no direct effects of the division of labour variables on levels of depressive symptoms for men. For men, elevated depressive symptoms appear to be best predicted by violated expectations regarding the division of labour and low availability of social support. There was no significant effect of fairness, discrepancy from what was best for oneself, control or conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family on men's levels of depressive symptoms. Overall, the proposed model accounted for 19% of the variance in men's depressive symptoms.

A different pattern emerges for women. While there was no support found for the direct effects of housework, childcare or earning income, involvement in emotional work directly predicted women's levels of depressive symptoms. The more women were involved in emotional work the more likely they were to have elevated depressive symptoms. Elevated depressive symptoms were also predicted if women perceived a conflict between what would best suit themselves and what would best suit their family. Availability of social support, evaluations of the division of labour and the perception of low control over the division of labour bore no relationship to women's levels of depression.

Table 11

Regression Analyses for Men's and for Women's Depressive Symptoms

Predictor Sets	Men		Women	
	Initial Beta	Final Beta	Initial Beta	Final Beta
Earning income	.05	.05	.04	.02
Housework	.19	.06	-.10	-.10
Childcare	.08	.04	.09	.01
Emotional work	-.10	-.05	.41**	.23*
R ² Change for Set	.04		.19††	
Violated expectations	.36**	.28*	.18	.13
Fairness	-.16	-.18	-.05	-.12
R ² Change for Set	.17††		.03	
Control over the division of labour	-.02	.00	-.03	-.02
Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family	-.02	-.08	.31**	.27**
R ² Change for Set	.00		.09†	
Social support availability	-.29*	-.29*	-.13	-.13
R ² Change	.07†		.01	
Multiple R	.53**		.57**	
Adjusted R ²	.19**		.25**	

Note. n=77 for men, n=88 for women, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

It was proposed that the division of labour variables would exert indirect effects upon depressive symptoms via evaluation variables. Although the division of labour variables failed to reach significance for men, the beta weight for involvement in housework, which was initially .19 was observed to reduce to .07 on entry of violated expectations. This finding suggests a weak indirect effect of involvement in housework on men's levels of depressive symptoms. For women, however, this proposal is partially supported by inspection of the beta weights for emotional work. On entry, the beta weight for involvement in the emotional work was .41 ($p < .01$; one-tailed test). When violated expectation was entered into the equation the beta weight dropped to .30 ($p < .01$; one tailed test). A further drop to .22 ($p < .05$; one tailed test) in the beta weight for emotional work was also observed after entry of constraints on change variables. Conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family regarding the division of labour significantly predicted depression for women. From Table H-1 in Appendix H it can be seen that emotional work involvement correlated positively with this perceived conflict ($r = .21$; $p < .05$; two-tailed test). The final beta weight for emotional work, after all variables has been entered was .23 ($p < .05$; one-tailed test). This pattern of findings suggests that, for women, the effect of involvement in the emotional work upon depressive symptoms is partially indirect through violated expectations and through conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family. Twenty five percent of the variance of women's depressive symptoms was accounted for by the proposed model, which is more than the amount accounted for by men.

Marital love. Direct effects of some division of labour variables on marital love were supported for women, but not for men. Similar to the findings for depressive

symptoms, involvement in the emotional work directly reduced women's levels of love but did not affect men. Contrary to predictions, no direct effects of housework or childcare were evident for either men or women. However, unexpectedly, men's relatively higher involvement in earning income was related to higher levels of marital love in the opposite direction to women, although the beta did not reach significance at the two tailed level. For women higher levels of involvement in earning income was significantly related to reduced marital love which was consistent with predictions. Excepting these two division of labour variables no other variables were directly related to women's levels of love for their partner. However, as predicted, the more that the division of labour matched men's prior expectations, and the more social support was available, the more love men felt for their wives.

Again, the pattern of findings suggests that there are gender - specific effects of involvement in the emotional work, involvement in earning income and violated expectations. The proposed model accounted for a greater proportion of variance in men's levels of love than for women's. Overall, the model accounted for 32% of the variance in men's levels of marital love for their partners. Twenty one percent of the variance in women's marital love was accounted for respectively.

As men's involvement in the division of labour did not significantly predict love it was not possible to examine the data for the predicted indirect effects for men. While there was observed a slight tendency for men's involvement in earning income to predict marital love, this effect appears to be direct as the beta weights did

Table 12

Regression Analyses for Men's and for Women's Marital Love

Predictor Sets	Men		Women	
	Initial Beta	Final Beta	Initial Beta	Final Beta
Earning income	.21	.20	-.23**	-.25**
Housework	-.10	.06	-.07	-.10
Childcare	.09	.14	-.06	-.01
Emotional work	-.01	-.08	-.39**	-.23*
R ² Change for Set	.06		.21††	
Violated expectations	-.48**	-.39*	-.15	-.11
Fairness	.11	.13	.13	.16
R ² Change for Set	.25††		.04	
Control over the division of labour	.01	-.01	-.04	-.05
Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family	.02	.10	-.10	-.06
R ² Change for Set	.00		.01	
Social support availability	.32**	.32**	.17	.17
R ² Change	.08†		.02	
Multiple R	.63**		.53**	
Adjusted R ²	.32**		.21**	

Note. n=77 for men, n=88 for women, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

not change when evaluation variables were entered. The proposed indirect effect of involvement in the division of labour via evaluations of the division of labour are evident for women in the case of violated expectations. The beta weight for the involvement in the emotional division of labour dropped from $-.39$ ($p < .01$) to $-.25$ ($p < .01$) when the evaluations of the division of labour as violating expectations and as unfair were entered. The final beta weight when all other variables were entered was $-.23$ ($p < .05$). The beta weight for women's involvement in earning income did not change with the entry of the evaluation variables. This suggests that women's evaluations regarding the division of labour are primarily in respect to their involvement in the emotional work. It should be noted, however, that the beta weights for violated expectations and unfairness did not reach significance. This pattern of findings provides some support for an indirect effect of emotional work upon levels of marital love through evaluations of the division of labour for women.

Marital conflict. Regression analyses for men's and women's marital conflict are presented in Table 13. Contrary to predictions, the division of labour variables did not exert direct effects upon men's levels of marital conflict. In contrast, and consistent with the findings for depressive symptoms and marital love, relatively higher involvement in the emotional work predicted higher levels of conflict for women. No support was found for direct effects of involvement in earning income, housework or childcare for either men or women upon their levels of marital conflict. Again contrary to predictions no support was found for the direct effects of the constraints on change variables, or for direct effects of social support availability on men's and women's marital conflict. For women marital conflict appears to be best predicted by relatively high involvement in the emotional work and the

evaluation of the division of labour as unfair and as violating prior expectations. Men's evaluations of the current division of labour as unfair and as violating expectations predicted their levels of marital conflict. The proposed model accounted for more variance in women's levels of marital conflict than it did for men's. Adjusted R^2 for women was 41%, whereas for men the adjusted R^2 accounted for 20% of the variance.

For men there was little evidence of any indirect effects of the division of labour variables upon levels of marital conflict. For women some support was found for an indirect effect of the division of labour on marital conflict. The beta weight for women's involvement in the emotional work dropped from .59 ($p < .01$) on entry to .35 ($p < .01$) when the evaluations of the division of labour variable set was entered. Inspection of Table 7 for women indicates that at a bivariate level emotional work is strongly related to both these evaluation variables. From this pattern of relationships it appears that the indirect effect of the division of labour on women's levels of marital conflict is largely comprised of the indirect effect of involvement in the emotional work.

Summary of separate sex analyses. Separate sex analyses were performed to examine the utility of the model for men and for women and to examine the data for the predicted gender - specific effects. Inspection of the beta coefficients revealed somewhat different patterns of predictors for all three dependent variables. Involvement in emotional work, as predicted, was related to all three dependent variables for women, but unrelated to any dependent variable for men. Additionally, involvement in the emotional work also exerted indirect effects via

Table 13

Regression Analyses for Men's and for Women's Marital Conflict

Predictor Sets	Men		Women	
	Initial Beta	Final Beta	Initial Beta	Final Beta
Earning income	.01	-.04	.08	.09
Housework	.08	-.05	-.01	-.03
Childcare	.04	-.02	.03	-.01
Emotional work	.02	.04	.59**	.35**
R ² Change for Set	.01		.36††	
Violated expectations	.46**	.41**	.21*	.19*
Fairness	-.17	-.20*	-.25**	-.23*
R ² Change for Set	.25††		.11††	
Control over the division of labour	-.07	-.06	-.03	-.02
Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family	-.08	-.11	.05	.03
R ² Change for Set	.01		.00	
Social support availability	-.11	-.11	-.07	-.07
R ² Change	.01		.00	
Multiple R	.53**		.69**	
Adjusted R ²	.20**		.41**	

Note. $n=77$ for men, $n=88$ for women, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

the evaluation variables upon all three dependent variables for women. Again, however, this indirect effect of involvement in the emotional work upon individual or relationship distress was not observed for men.

Social support availability predicted love and depressive symptoms for men, but bore no relationship to outcomes for women. Violated expectations were also directly related to men's depressive symptoms, love and conflict. For women, violated expectations were only significantly predictive of marital conflict. This finding is contrary to predictions made regarding the gender - specific effects of violated expectations regarding the division of labour. It was expected that women would be more affected by violated expectations. While there was little support for the direct effects of the constraints on change variables the predicted gender - specific effects regarding depression was observed. Women who perceived a conflict between what would be best for themselves regarding the sharing of the division of labour, and what would be best for the family, had higher levels of depressive symptoms. No effect of this perceived conflict between the preferred division of labour arrangements was apparent for men, although men, on average, perceived the same amount of conflict as the women. Finally involvement in earning income was significantly related to women's levels of marital love. While not quite significant, this variable appeared to exert an opposite effect on men's levels of marital love.

The model's success in predicting the dependent variables varied for men and for women. More variance in women's, as compared to men's, levels of depressive symptoms and marital conflict was accounted for by the proposed model. Conversely, more variance in men's levels of marital love, when compared to

women's, was accounted for by the model. Again, the different pattern of findings for men and for women support a gender -specific model of the effects of the marital division of labour.

Testing for Direct Effects and Gender - Specific Effects of the Independent Variables

To analyse further whether the pattern of predictors observed in the separate sex analyses were significantly different for men and women, and to examine the indirect effects of sex, data for men and women was combined. Variables that had been significant in the separate sex analyses were entered first². After these variables have been entered into the equations product terms of independent variables and gender were entered. In the pooled model evidence for a direct effect of an independent variable upon the dependent variable is the presence of a significant beta coefficient and the absence of a significant interaction effect of that variable with gender. Evidence for the gender - specific effects of the variable would be if the beta coefficients of the product term was significantly greater than zero and if the increase in R² is significant (Zedeck, 1971).

The interpretation of lower order variables in the presence of a significant interaction followed the guidelines recommended by Aiken and West (1991) and Cleary and Kessler (1982). When a significant interaction with gender is present, the lower order term can no longer be considered in terms of direct effects as its effect is conditional upon the sex of the individual. Following Aiken and West

² Demographic variables that significantly correlated with the dependent variables at a bivariate level were controlled for initially.

(1991), significant interactions were probed by plotting the regression slope of each dependent variable for men and for women. The b coefficients after all other variables had been entered were used. This allowed examination of the respective interactions after the effects of the other variables had been controlled for. Interactions were plotted at one standard deviation above and below the mean for the predictor variables. The dependent variable was not standardised so that the interaction could be meaningfully interpreted (Aiken & West, 1991).

Depressive symptoms. From the separate sex analyses involvement in emotional work and conflict between what is considered best for the self and best for the family predicted depressive symptoms for women. The evaluation of the division of labour as violating prior expectations and social support availability predicted depressive symptoms for men. These variables were therefore included in the additive equations and then tested with gender by predictor interaction terms. Table 14 presents the beta weights on entry, R^2 change and final beta weights for each set of variables entered for the prediction of depressive symptoms.³

There were no significant interactions observed between gender and violated expectations or social support. It appears then that violated expectations regarding the current division of labour, and low social support availability account for both men's and women's levels of depressive symptoms in an additive manner. However the variables involvement in the emotional work and conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family significantly interacted with sex.

³ Entry of religious attendance initially into the equation did not affect beta weights.

Table 14

Regression Analyses for Direct Effects and the Significance of Gender Differences for Depressive Symptoms

Predictor Sets	Beta on Entry	R ² Change	Final Beta
Sex	.22**	.05††	.13
Emotional work	.35**	.07††	.13
Violated expectations	.33**	.09††	.25**
Conflict between what is best for self and best for the family	.17*	.03†	.13*
Social support availability	-.22**	.04††	-.19**
Gender by emotional work	.15*	.04††	.15*
Gender by violated expectations	-.07		-.07
Gender by conflict between what is best for self and family	.15*		.15*
Gender by social support	.02		.02
Multiple R			.57**
Adjusted R ²			.29**

Note. N=90 couples, *df* based on number of couples, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

Figure 6 illustrates the nature of the interaction between gender and relative involvement in the emotional work on level of depressive symptoms. The scaling of depressive symptoms is not standardised. The maximum possible score is four, the minimum possible score is zero with the cutoff score for clinical levels of depressive symptoms 1.6 as shown in Figure 6. High involvement in the emotional work exerts a more deleterious effect upon women's levels of depressive symptoms than upon men's, supporting the proposed prediction of the gender - specific effects of emotional work. The more women are involved in the emotional work, the more depressive symptoms they report. However involvement in the emotional work exerts virtually no effect upon men's levels of depressive symptoms.

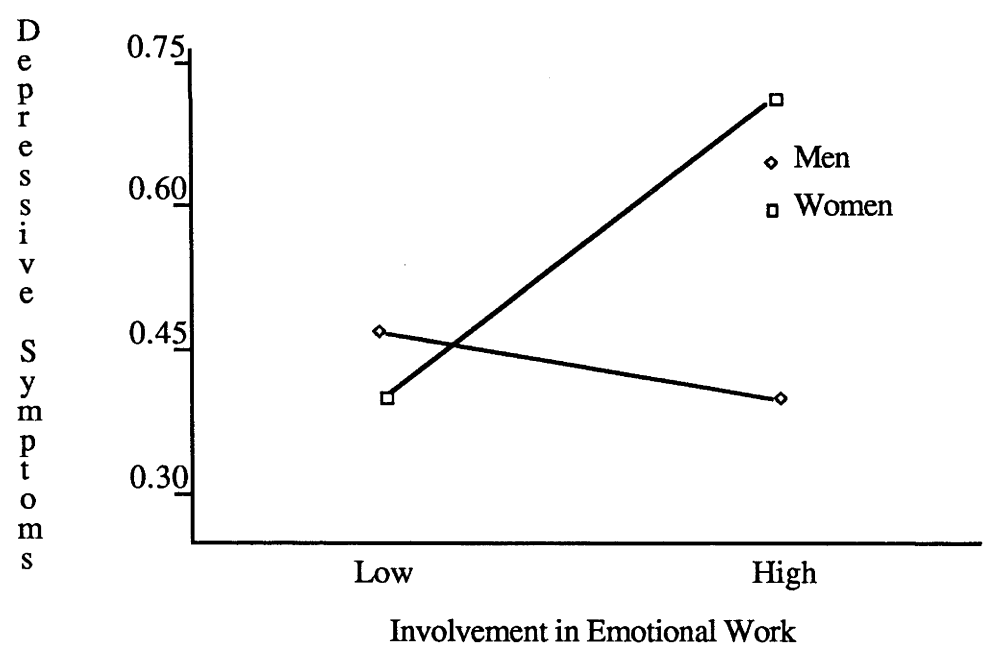


Figure 6. Interaction of gender and relative involvement in emotional work on depressive symptoms.

Figure 7 shows the interaction between gender and perceived conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family regarding the division of labour. From Figure 7 it appears that there is no relationship between men's perception of a conflict between what is best for the self regarding the division of labour, and what is best for the family and depressive symptoms. For women, however, this perception is associated with increased depressive symptoms. Examination of bivariate correlations between conflict over what is best for the self and best for the family and division of labour variables showed that for women this variable was related to higher levels of involvement in the emotional work ($r = .21$; $p < .05$) but not to other domains.

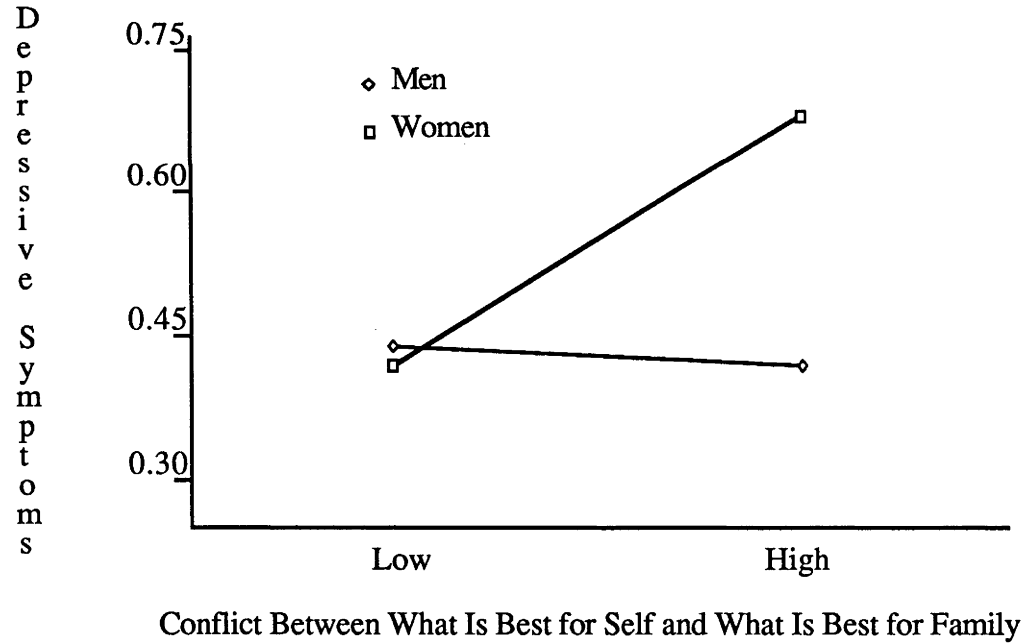


Figure 7. Interaction of gender and conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family regarding the division of labour on depressive symptoms.

Addition of the gender - specific terms increased the amount of variance explained by an additive model by four percent. Overall, the direct effects and gender - specific effects of the predictor variables accounted for twenty nine percent of the variance in men's and women's levels of depressive symptoms.

Marital love. From the separate sex analyses support was found for significant effects of involvement in earning income, involvement in the emotional work, violated expectations and social support availability upon levels of marital love. These variables were therefore entered directly and then tested for gender - specific effects on the pooled data. Table 15 presents the beta weights on entry, R^2 change and final beta weights for each set of variables entered. Age, religious attendance and age of the youngest child which had correlated with marital love at the bivariate level for both men and women were entered first as controls. As no a priori predictions had been made, these demographic variables were tested for significance using two-tailed tests.

The R^2 change for the set of gender by predictor interaction terms just failed to reach significance at the .05 level ($p < .06$). Since the failure to reach significance for the set was so marginal, tentative exploration of the interaction terms was undertaken. Within the set two interaction terms, gender by emotional work and gender by earning income, were significant at the .05 level. In the separate sex analyses emotional work in particular was consistently predictive of women's distress. Clearly, while interpretation of these interaction terms must be considered tentative, probing of the interactions was performed in order to compare the direction of effects of these variables.

Table 15

Regression Analyses for Direct Effects and the Significance of Gender Differences for Marital Love

Predictor Sets	Beta on Entry	R ² Change	Final Beta
Age	-.23††	.13††	-.20††
Religious attendance	.19†		.13
Age of youngest child	-.11		-.03
Sex	-.13	.02	-.03
Earning income	-.07	.07††	-.12
Emotional work	-.36**		-.24**
Violated expectations	-.30**	.07††	-.25**
Social support availability	.19**	.03††	.19**
Gender by earning income	-.14	.04	-.14
Gender by emotional work	-.15		-.15
Gender by violated expectations	.11		.11
Gender by social support	-.01		-.01
Multiple R			.60**
Adjusted R ²			.31**

Note. N=90 couples, *df* based on number of couples, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

Figure 8 shows the interaction of gender with relative involvement in earning income on love. The original scale of the dependent variable, marital love was retained. The highest possible score for this variable was seven, with the lowest possible score being one. This figure illustrates that men report higher levels of love for their wives if they were more highly involved in earning income. However the opposite effect is observed for women. There is a tendency for higher involvement in earning income to reduce women's love for their husbands.

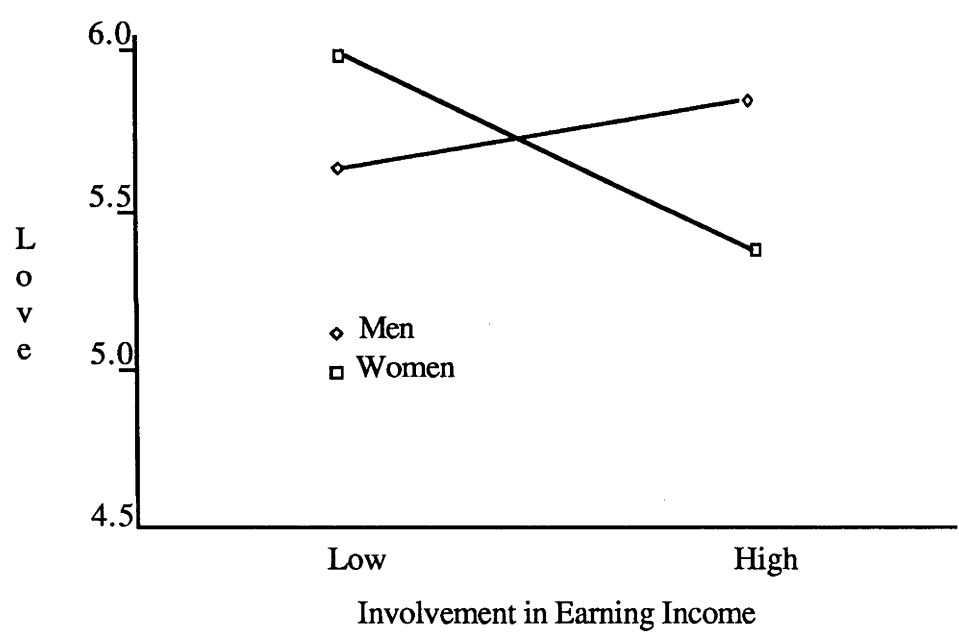


Figure 8. Interaction of gender and relative involvement in earning income on marital love.

The interaction of emotional work and gender on marital love was probed in Figure 9. Again, while interpretation must be tentative, high levels of involvement in emotional work appears to be reducing women's marital love, but not men's.

This deleterious effect of higher involvement in emotional work upon women is consistent with findings for the other dependent variables.

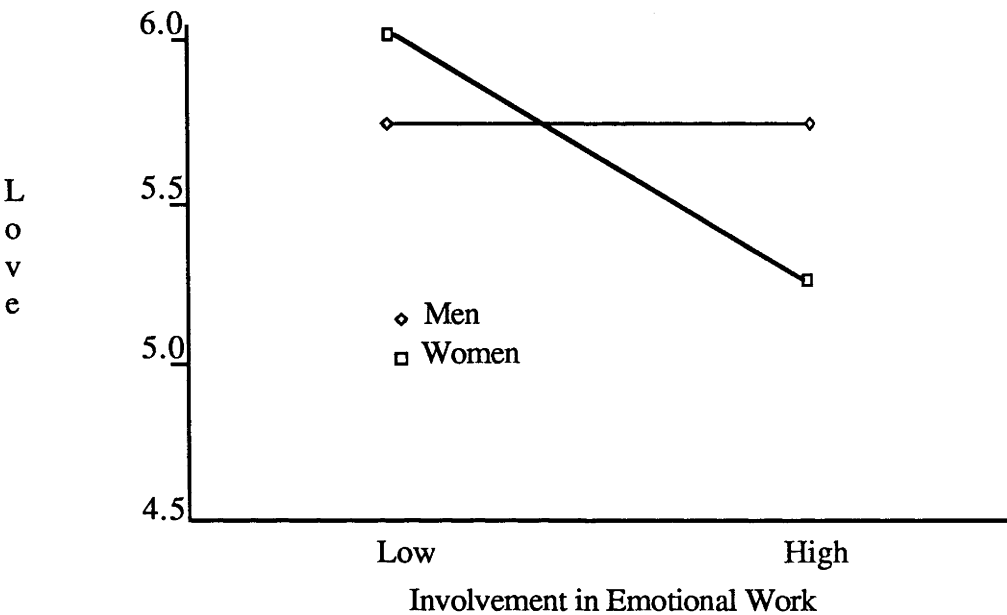


Figure 9. Interaction of gender and relative involvement in emotional work on marital love.

No support was found for the proposed gender - specific effects of violated expectations on marital love. Similarly no evidence was found for the gender - specific effects of social support on marital love that were suggested by the separate sex analyses. However, as these interactions were predicted they are included in the final model with the lower order terms (Aiken & West, 1991). It appears that age, violated expectations and social support availability exert direct effects upon men's and women's levels of marital love. Gender - specific effects of involvement in

emotional work and earning income were also apparent. Overall, these variables accounted for thirty one percent of the variance in men's and women's levels of marital love.

Marital conflict. Direct effects of division of labour variables, evaluations of the division of labour variables, constraints on change and social support on levels of marital conflict experienced by the individual were proposed in the additive model. Additionally gender - specific effects of involvement in emotional work, violated expectations and conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family were also proposed. However, from the separate sex analyses, only involvement in the emotional work, violated expectations and fairness were significantly predicting conflict. These variables were therefore tested for direct or gender - specific effects on the pooled data. Table 16 presents the beta weights on entry, R^2 change for the two sets of variables entered, and the final beta weights for these variables.

No support was found for gender - specific effects of the evaluation variables. However support was found for the predicted gender - specific effect of involvement in emotional work upon levels of marital conflict. Addition of the interaction terms increased the amount of variance explained by the additive model by three percent. The significant gender by emotional work interaction was probed by plotting in Figure 10.

Table 16

Regression Analyses for Direct Effects and the Significance of Gender Differences for Marital Conflict

Predictor Sets	Beta on Entry	R ² Change	Final Beta
Sex	.26**	.07††	.07
Emotional work	.54**	.17††	.26**
Violated expectations	.32**	.18††	.22**
Fairness	-.22**		-.22*
Gender by emotional work	.19**	.03†	.19**
Gender by violated expectations	-.07		-.07
Gender by fairness	-.05		-.05
Multiple R			.66**
Adjusted R ²			.42**

Note. N=90 couples, *df* based on number of couples, missing data deleted listwise

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (one-tailed test)

†† $p < .01$; † $p < .05$ (two-tailed test)

Marital conflict was not standardised in order to facilitate interpretation of the graph. The highest possible score for conflict was seven, while the lowest possible score was one. From Figure 10 it appears that high levels of involvement in the emotional domain exerts a strong effect upon marital conflict for women. The more involved women are, relative to their husbands, in the emotional work, the more marital conflict they report. However involvement in emotional work appears to exert no effect upon men's levels of marital conflict.

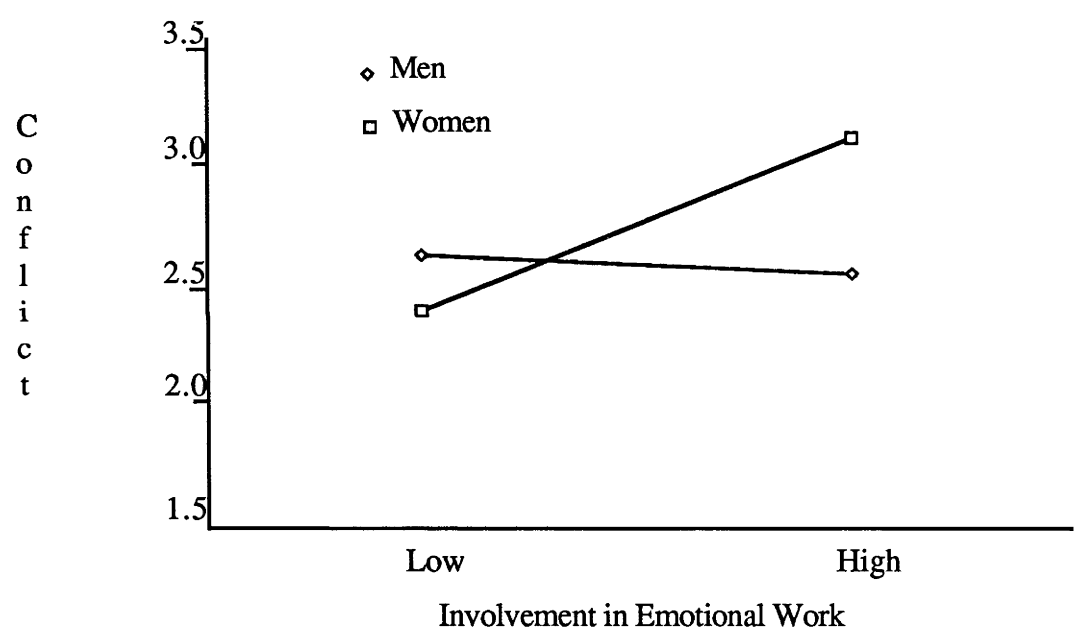


Figure 10. Interaction of gender and relative involvement in emotional work on marital conflict.

Overall, the evaluations of the division of labour as violating prior expectations and as unfair predict both men's and women's levels of marital conflict

in an additive manner. Involvement in the emotional work exerts gender - specific effects upon marital conflict. The model containing both direct and gender - specific effects of the predictor variables accounted for forty two percent of men's and women's levels of marital conflict.

Explaining the Relationship Between Sex and Distress

Indirect effects of sex were proposed for levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict. Finally, the proposed utility of the model in explaining the relationship between sex and the dependent variables was examined in the pooled model containing both direct and gender - specific variables. Evidence for an indirect effect of sex is a drop in the initial beta weight of sex in the prediction of the dependent variables after the other predictor variable and interaction terms were entered. The final beta weight should be nonsignificant. The beta weight on entry and final beta weight for sex for predicting depressive symptoms are shown in Tables 14, for predicting marital love in Table 15 and for predicting marital conflict in Table 16 respectively.

Some support was found for the proposed indirect effect of sex upon levels of depressive symptoms. The initial beta weight for sex on depressive symptoms was significant. However, after all direct effects and interactive effects of the variables had been entered, the beta weight for sex dropped to .13 which was nonsignificant at the .10 level. There was no significant relationship observed between the initial beta weight for sex and marital love in Table 15. Therefore the proposed indirect effects of sex were not able to be examined. However, as observed in Table 16, a the significant relationship between sex and marital conflict was reduced to

nonsignificance after entry of the variables. Thus some support was found for the proposed utility of the model in explaining the relationship between sex, levels of depressive symptoms and levels of marital conflict in the present study.

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses were performed to test the hypotheses that the deleterious effects of housework, childcare and emotional work would be conditional upon level of involvement in earning income. These analyses were performed for men and women separately. Error rate was protected using the setwise procedure. It should be noted, however, that the large number of terms present in the equations considerably reduced power. Product terms of involvement in earning income by housework, earning income by childcare and earning income by emotional work were entered in a set after all significant terms had been entered.

There was no support found that the combination of paid work and unpaid involvement added to the explanation of variance in any of the dependent variables for men. For women, a significant interaction was found between earning income and housework upon levels of marital conflict (see Figure 11). The Beta weight for this interaction in the equation for women was .27 which was significant at the .01 level. Figure 11 shows the effect of women's relative involvement in housework at high and low levels of relative involvement in earning income. From the figure it appears that the effects of high involvement in housework is conditional upon the levels of involvement in earning income. At high levels of involvement in earning income, high levels of involvement in housework increases women's level of marital conflict. At low levels of involvement in earning income, women's high

involvement in the housework results in lower levels of marital conflict.

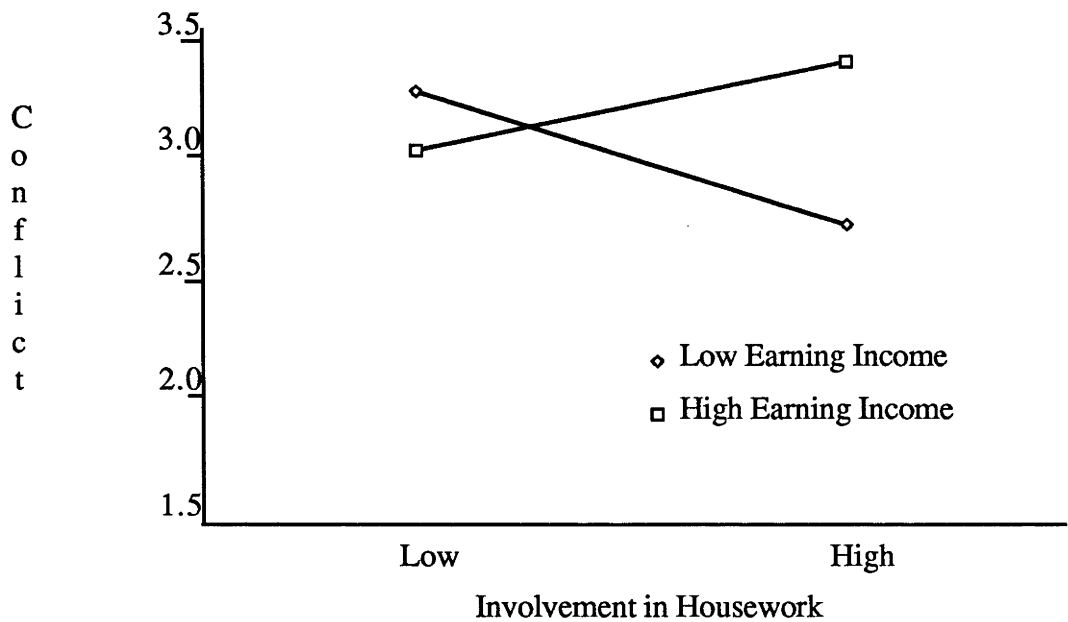


Figure 11. Interaction of relative involvement in housework and relative involvement in earning income on women's marital conflict.

Analyses were also performed to examine the moderating effect of social support for men and women. Product terms of social support availability by the division of labour variables, by the evaluations of the division of labour variables and by the constraints on change variables were entered in one set for each of the dependant variables in turn. There was no support found for a moderating effect of social support availability on individual and relationship distress for either men or women.

Summary of Regression Analyses

The initial separate sex analyses revealed different patterns of predictors for men and for women. No evidence was found for either men or women of direct effects of performing housework or childcare upon the dependent variables. Similarly no evidence was found for the effect of control over the division of labour for any of the dependent variables. However, for women, high involvement in housework, when combined with high involvement in earning income, significantly predicted marital conflict. Additionally, involvement in the emotional work consistently predicted outcomes for women but not for men. Conversely, violated expectations predicted all outcomes for men, but only predicted marital conflict for women. Inspection of the bivariate correlations between violated expectations and the division of labour revealed different relationships for men and women. For men, violated expectations regarding the division of labour appears to be based upon involvement in the housework. Women's violated expectations were strongly related to involvement in the emotional work and to a lesser extent the sharing of the childcare. Conflict over what is best for the self and best for the family was predictive of women's depressive symptoms. This conflict was related to women's involvement in the emotional work. For men, conflict over what is best for self and family bore no relation to depressive symptoms. Finally, social support availability predicted men's levels of depressive symptoms and marital love. Social support availability did not predict any outcomes for women.

Variables that significantly predicted the dependent variables for men and women formed the basis of further analyses testing additive effects and gender-specific effects. Only the emotional work domain of the division of labour affected

both the individual and relationship distress outcomes. The effect of involvement in emotional work was found to be consistently gender - specific, affecting women's depressive symptoms and marital conflict. A similar trend was observed in the prediction of marital love. While the set of gender by predictor interaction terms did not reach significance, within the set involvement in the emotional work and earning income both appeared to exert gender - specific effects upon marital love.

Direct effects of violated expectations were observed for the prediction of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict for both men and women. As noted previously, inspection of the bivariate relationships between violated expectations and the sharing of the division of labour revealed differing patterns for men and for women. Thus, while this variable predicted outcomes for both men and women, the domains of the division of labour upon which this evaluation is based appears to be gender - specific. In general, the effect of the division of labour appears to be mostly indirect via the evaluation of the division of labour as violating prior expectations. The evaluation of the division of labour as unfair also predicted increased levels of conflict.

The perception of a conflict between what was best for the self and what was best for the family appears to exert gender - specific effects upon depressive symptoms, but not levels of love or marital conflict. The more the discrepancy between what women saw as best for themselves and best for their family regarding the division of labour, the more depressive symptoms they experienced. There was no relationship between this variable and men's levels of depressive symptoms. Partial support was found for the direct effect of social support upon the dependent

variables. When predicting both depressive symptoms and levels of marital love social support availability was significant for both men and women. Social support availability did not directly predict marital conflict. There was no evidence of a gender - specific effect of social support availability for depressive symptoms or marital love. Possible moderating effects of the social support variable were also not supported.

Sex differences in levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict were proposed. Women reported higher levels of depressive symptoms and higher levels of marital conflict than men. There were no sex differences in the levels of marital love. The utility of the model for explaining the significant relationship between sex and depressive symptoms and sex and marital conflict was supported. After entry of the proposed variables sex did not significantly predict depressive symptoms or marital conflict. These findings suggest that the proposed variables reduced the relationship observed between sex and distress.

DISCUSSION

The impact of the way the division of labour is shared upon men's and women's experience of depressive symptoms and upon the quality of the marriage was the focus of the present study. Depressive symptoms were conceptualised to represent distress in the individual. Reduction in marital love and an increase in marital conflict were conceptualised to represent distress in the relationship. The sharing of the workload, both paid and unpaid, was examined as a source of chronic stress, encountered daily, particularly when there are young children in the family. In summary, the results indicate that the division of labour is related to distress, that variables associated with the division of labour help explain sex differences in distress, and that different aspects of the division of labour are predictive of distress for men and for women. The findings provide support for a stress process conceptualisation. The way in which husbands and wives share and evaluate the division of labour are moderately related to men's and women's levels of depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict during the early childrearing stages of family life. The models developed in the study explained twenty nine percent of the variance in depressive symptom levels, thirty one percent of the variance in marital love levels and forty two percent of the variance in levels of marital conflict.

Of special interest in the present study were gender differences in individual and relationship distress among parents with young children. During the transition to parenthood and early childrearing stages the literature suggested that women were more distressed than men, both individually and in terms of the marital relationship. The present study sampled one hundred and two couples in the early childrearing and

transition to parenthood stage. In this sample women were significantly more depressed and reported higher levels of marital conflict than men. Women and men did not differ, however, in terms of the level of love that they reported for their partner. When variables associated with the division of labour were entered into regression equations, the significant relationships between sex and depressive symptoms and sex and marital conflict were reduced to nonsignificance. Variables associated with the division of labour helped explain these women's greater distress during the early childrearing stages.

Moreover, the pattern of relationships between variables differed for men and for women, providing support for the importance of gender - identity in formulations of stress and distress. Research on gender - identity has proposed the central importance of interpersonal variables to women's well-being (e.g., Gore & Colten, 1991). For women in the present study, but not men, high involvement in the emotional work consistently predicted higher levels of depressive symptoms, reduced marital love and increased marital conflict. The more imbalance there was between wife's performance of the emotional work and their husband's performance of emotional work, that is where the wives provided relatively more of the relationship oriented activities such as emotional support, listening, giving advice and help to their children and partners, the more distress these wives reported. These findings reinforce recent calls to integrate notions of gender and stress in families (e.g., Thompson & Walker, 1989). Findings from the present study also suggest that issues surrounding the division of labour may be a relevant area of enquiry for clinicians treating marital problems and depression in parents of young children.

Before discussing the findings in detail the nature of the present study and its limitations must be considered. The design was cross-sectional and correlational. Therefore, while there were strong theoretical reasons for proposing that the division of labour, evaluations and constraints on change variables preceded and caused changes in distress, it is possible that a reverse relationship exists. For example, it is possible that people with high levels of depressive symptoms are more likely to evaluate the division of labour negatively. Or, that the experience of marital conflict and discord leads to more negative evaluations and colours the perceived relative involvement of self and partner in the family work. These possibilities cannot be directly examined in the present study. If, however, distress was acting to systematically distort reports of involvement in the division of labour it might be expected that all, or most, domains and all negative evaluations, would be significantly related to either depressive symptoms levels or marital conflict or reduced marital love. This was not the case. Indeed, there appear to be quite specific patterns of predictors which varied in relation to gender and to the dependent variables. However it is acknowledged that the nature of causality cannot be established in the present study. While interpretation of these variables is based upon theory, the results cannot be considered proof of the causal relationships.

Another limitation of the present study was the self-selected nature of the sample. Men and women in the present study differed from the general population in several respects. The sample was better educated and proportionally more respondents fell in higher ranges of occupational categories than the general Canberra population. The sample over-represented traditional arrangements with men as the primary breadwinner. Because of their relatively higher occupational status it is likely

that couples in the present study were more financially able to afford this arrangement. Neither education or occupation were significantly correlated with any of the dependent variables.

The sample in the present study also evidenced less individual distress than epidemiological studies would predict. Epidemiological studies report a combined prevalence rate for elevated depressive symptoms of between thirteen and twenty percent (Aneshensel et al., 1981; Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Comstock & Helsing, 1976). Henderson et al., (1979) found an overall prevalence rate for major depression in a representative Canberra sample of just under ten percent. This classification was based upon stricter diagnostic criteria than those used in the present study. For the present study the overall prevalence rate of elevated depressive symptoms was ten percent. The lower overall rate for depressive symptoms may be due to the self-selected nature of the sample. It may be that respondents experiencing high levels of distress were less likely to volunteer. Moreover, given the proportionally higher levels of education and occupation found in the sample, respondents in the present study may be under relatively less financial strain than is usual. Therefore any generalisations made regarding the data must be cautious, acknowledging the non-representativeness of the sample.

The pattern of findings regarding sex difference ratios for depressive symptoms were quite consistent with previous research. Using the conservative cutoff point suggested by Radloff (1977) three percent of the men and seven percent of the women in the sample could be considered depressed. Epidemiological evidence shows a twofold prevalence rate for women over men for major depression

and depressive symptoms (e.g., Aneshensel et al., 1981; Bebbington, 1991; Boyd & Weissman, 1982; Henderson et al., 1979; Jorm, 1987; Nolen - Hoeksema, 1990; Paykel, 1991; Radloff & Rae, 1979, Roberts & O'Keefe, 1981; Weissman & Klerman, 1987).

Women and men in the present study reported moderate to low levels of marital conflict and relatively high levels of marital love. These levels are also consistent with previous research on levels of conflict, and on positive dimensions to the marriage such as love and satisfaction (e.g., Belsky & Rovine, 1990; Bernard, 1972; McGonagle et al., 1992; Renne, 1970; Rhyne, 1981; Sutor, 1991). The pattern of increased marital conflict reported by wives, but not by husbands, is consistent with the changes reported in the marriages of new parents (e.g., Belsky & Rovine, 1990; Rollins & Feldman, 1970). In view of the sex differences found for both depressive symptoms and marital conflict it was expected that marital love would also be lower for women, consistent with a conceptualisation of these three variables as reflecting distress. However no support was found for women experiencing lower levels of marital love than men.

There are several possible explanations for this discrepancy. It may be that women experience a greater decline in love, but their baseline level of love, prior to the early childrearing stage, is higher than men's (e.g., Belsky & Rovine, 1990). In the present study, which used a cross - sectional design, this possibility cannot be evaluated. Alternatively there may be other factors that contribute to marital love, particularly women's, which are less responsive to the effects of chronic stress. The proposed model accounted for more variance in men's levels of love than women's.

Possibly, variables that may mitigate women's decline in love or variables which are more important to women's conceptions of love were omitted. Finally, the measure of love used in the present study may be tapping other aspects of the marital relationship. For example, one of the items refers to degree of commitment felt by respondents towards their marriage. Several other items refer to feelings of dependency upon the partner. It is possible that when there are young children in the family women feel highly dependent upon their partner and committed to the relationship. Women's scores on these aspects of the measure may have inflated their overall love score. While it is difficult to tease out dependency and commitment from feelings of love, future refinement of a measure of love that does not include these related constructs is needed.

In the present study the division of labour variables did, however, contribute to both men's and women's levels of love, suggesting that these chronic sources of stress affect love to some extent. However, the variables involved were quite different for each gender. For men, social support and whether or not their expectations were violated regarding the division of labour predicted love. For women, the sharing of the emotional and paid work predominated. Perhaps, as Cancian (1989) suggests, men and women conceptualise love differently. She argued that men express their love in more instrumental ways, by doing something for the loved other. Women focus more upon the emotional calibre of the relationship (Cancian, 1989). Excepting the emotional work, the division of labour variables may be more instrumental in their scope and thus provide more relevance to men's conceptions of love than women's. This possibility may also explain why, for men, there was a tendency for high levels of involvement in earning income to be related to

increased love. Men may feel that being the breadwinner is another manifestation of their love for their wives. Yet the opposite was true for women who were employed. Perhaps because of her share in the paid work, these women's attention may focus less upon what their husbands do as an indicator of love and more upon the emotional quality of the marriage. It may also be that gender - identity subtly informs the experience of love in couples. In marriages where there is a more gender-linked differentiation of roles, men's heterosexual attraction may be heightened by the perception of difference. For women, gender-identity may be less concerned with difference and therefore sexual attraction and love may be influenced by different factors such as the emotional quality of the relationship (Chodorow, 1979). Women who are in paid work may also feel less dependent upon their husbands and so appraise the relationship more realistically. As noted in the literature review, the findings regarding sex differences in marital love were more equivocal than findings regarding sex differences in either depressive symptoms or marital conflict when the children are young. It is clear that there are several possible explanations of the patterns of variables that may underly these findings. Further research, examining gender - linked conceptions and correlates of love in a detailed and qualitative manner would be the first step in explaining these inconsistencies and complexities.

Previous research suggested that the transition to parenthood and the early childrearing stages provided a nexus of elevated depressive symptoms, reduction in marital satisfaction and love and increases in marital conflict for both men and women. The deleterious impact, however, appeared to be greatest for women. In order to explain these changes, as well as the gender differences, the marital division of labour was examined in detail. During the transition to parenthood and the early

child rearing stages there is a substantial increase in the workload overall. This increase is coupled with a shift towards women performing relatively more of the unpaid work and men performing relatively more of the paid work. Because of the gender - linked allocation of the division of labour it was proposed that these variables may help explain the impact of the transition to parenthood and the gender differences in individual and relationship distress.

Four domains of the marital division of labour were examined. These were earning income, housework, childcare and emotional work. Earning income was conceptualised as being in paid employment that supports the family. Housework was conceptualised as performing routine and repetitive tasks such as cooking, cleaning and tidying. Childcare involved instrumental tasks associated with rearing young children such as feeding, toileting, getting up at night and teaching self help skills. Finally emotional work or responsibility involved providing support, listening, giving advice, helping with problems and doing things to improve or maintain relationships.

Firstly the findings reinforce the gender - linked allocation of the division of labour, particularly when the children were young. Men were indeed more highly involved in earning income relative to their wives. Women did more of the housework, childcare and the emotional work. Men in the sample worked longer hours in paid work than women. However there were no significant relationships observed between men's paid work hours and their relative share of the housework, childcare or emotional work. For women, the more time they were engaged in paid work the lower their relative share in housework or childcare. Time spent in paid

work was unrelated to women's share of the emotional work. Together these findings suggest that sharing of the unpaid work, at least the housework and the childcare, is responsive to women's time in paid work, but less so to men's (e.g., Antill & Cotton, 1988; Baxter et al., 1990; Bernardo et al., 1987; Berk, 1985; Bittman, 1991; Bryson, 1983; Coverman & Shelley, 1986; Maret & Findlay, 1984; Pleck, 1985; Presland & Antill, 1987; Yogeve, 1981). However the sharing of the emotional work, which women perform more of, appears to be impervious to time in paid work. While these findings establish the gender-linked basis of the division of labour, changes that occurred in the way men and women perform the paid and unpaid work were not able to be examined. Particularly in the case of the emotional work, research incorporating a longitudinal design would enable examination of shifts in sharing and possible shifts in meaning of the division of labour as couples become parents.

Qualitative data regarding how men and women explained the current division of labour suggests that there exist gender-linked pressures and obligations that inform the way the division of labour is shared. Time available and an ideology of equality between the sexes were important considerations for many couples in the sample. However, for other couples in the sample quite gender-specific reasons were proposed and these referred mostly to women's greater involvement in the unpaid work. Women in particular tended to report that children needed their mother most, that they took the share that they did because it was better for their children, and that their arrangement was due to a belief in traditional sex roles. No respondent mentioned, specifically, the role or responsibility of fathering as the most important reason for the sharing of the work. Together these reasons, and omissions, suggest

that when the children are young the significance of mothering is highly salient.

The division of labour appears to refer not simply to amount or type of work, but to symbolise people's conceptions about their relationships, particularly their mothering or fathering. Mothering, in turn, appears to refer to an obligation or responsibility to others' psychological needs, especially those of their young children (e.g., Bowlby, 1979). Women may perceive that their young children need them and could suffer if separated (e.g., Greenberger et al., 1988; Miller & Sollie, 1980; Thompson, 1980). Clearly women's felt responsibility for other's psychological needs would influence the sharing of the emotional work. Of interest, however, is how the other more instrumental domains such as childcare, earning income and housework become linked to conceptions of mothering. Further research examining women's and men's conceptions of mothering, and fathering, and tracing the links between these explanations and the sharing of the domains of the division of labour would be helpful.

The central reason why the division of labour was examined was because it may help explain the gender differences in distress. While the findings generally support this proposition not all variables in the model were predictive of the dependent variables. Of the four domains, it was involvement in the emotional work that consistently predicted outcomes, at least for women. Perceived control over the division of labour, either in terms of now or in the future, was unrelated to any dependent variable. This contradicts Rosenfield's (1989) thesis that the effect of women's work and family roles upon their distress is mediated by the perception of control.

The impact of the division of labour was mostly indirect. The sharing of the housework and childcare did not directly relate to depressive symptoms, marital love or marital conflict. Similarly, excepting the prediction of women's levels of love for their partner, involvement in earning income was not directly related to the dependent variables. These findings are inconsistent with research directly linking involvement in earning income and housework to depression, marital love and marital conflict (e.g., Belsky et al., 1986; Gore & Mangione, 1983; Keith & Schafer, 1991; Ross et al., 1983; Warr & Parry, 1982; Yogeve & Brett, 1985). Additionally, little support was found for a double burden effect of the division of labour on distress. Only for women did the combination of high involvement in earning income and housework significantly predict increased marital conflict.

On the other hand, evaluation variables, particularly violated expectations, were more consistently predictive of the dependent variables. The importance of how stressors are appraised and understood has been emphasised by theorists such as Lazarus and Folkman (1984). The evaluation of the division of labour as unfair was also related to greater marital conflict. However women and men draw upon their involvement in the division of labour differently to reach these evaluations. Men's greater than anticipated involvement in the housework is the principal aspect of the division of labour in which their expectations are violated. Women's violated expectations related to a greater than anticipated involvement in the emotional work and childcare. Evaluations of fairness of the way earning income is shared influences men's perceptions whereas for women the sharing of all three unpaid domains, but not the paid, are judged as being unfair. Thus the sharing of the division of labour works through these evaluations of the division of labour to affect distress.

Excepting the sharing of the emotional work, it seems that the amount of work done in each domain is less predictive of distress than how the sharing of the work is understood and appraised. Within this the basis of these appraisals are gender-linked. Again this pattern of findings points to the importance of the meanings, attributions and appraisals of the sources of stress and that these may vary in terms of gender.

Two models were proposed to explain the links between gender, the division of labour and distress. The first model, the additive model, proposed that the difference between husbands and wives was one of degree but not kind. This model proposed that because women are more highly involved across more domains of the division of labour they are more stressed, so that they will evaluate the division of labour more negatively and will therefore suffer more distress. However the strength of the effect upon individual and relationship distress for these variables will be the same for men and for women. In effect this model suggests that men and women perceive and are affected similarly by stressors.

Very little support was found for this conceptualisation of gender and distress. Women did perform relatively more of the unpaid work, and men performed relatively more paid work. Yet women's evaluations of the division of labour were not more negative as a result. In addition, the evaluation variables that did predict outcomes in an additive manner varied by gender in terms of their basis. As noted previously, violated expectations regarding the division of labour predicted depressive symptoms, marital love and conflict in an additive manner for both men and women but this was based upon differing domains. Similarly the perception of the division of labour as unfair increased both men's and women's marital conflict. Again, this

evaluation was based upon different domains. In relation to the division of labour women and men seem to differ in degree and in kind.

Support was therefore found for a more complex model. The findings suggest that some variables may relate to stress outcomes for women, but not men, and that perceptions of stressors may differ in terms of gender. Sex differences in distress appear not be due to differences in the amount of stress per se but due to differences in the way that the variables affect men and women. Recent research has proposed that some variables, particularly those involved in interpersonal relationships, are differentially linked to gender - identity and so are differentially salient (e.g., Belle, 1987; Kessler & McLeod, 1984; Markus & Oyserman, 1989). The present study supports the central importance of interpersonal variables for women's well - being.

Three variables were proposed to exert gender - specific effects. These were the emotional work, a perceived conflict between what was best for the family and what was best for the self, and violated expectations regarding the division of labour. The first two variables referred to the interpersonal realm, and on the basis of gender - identity theory were expected to affect women more than men (Gore & Colten, 1991). The third variable, violated expectations regarding the division of labour, was predicted to affect women more than men on the basis of previous empirical findings.

The sharing of the emotional work affects women but not men. The sharing of the emotional work also provided the context for women's perceptions of the division of labour as violating their expectations and as unfair. Women who were more involved than their partner in providing support, listening, giving advice,

helping with problems and doing things to improve or maintain relationships in the family had higher levels of depressive symptoms and more marital conflict. A similar, although not quite significant effect, was observed in the prediction of women's love for their partner. For men, however, their relative involvement in the emotional work was unrelated to either individual or relationship distress. In addition, involvement in the emotional work was unrelated to men's evaluations of the division of labour. Thus not only were men less involved in the emotional work than women, but how the emotional work was shared appears to be unrelated to men's perceptions of the division of labour or to men's distress. Women did more of the emotional work and were distressed by their higher involvement. This finding is central to the present study, implicating theories of gender - identity, interpersonal variables and distress (Belle, 1987; Gore & Colten, 1991; Kandel et al., 1985; Kessler & McLeod, 1984)..

Before examining this finding in detail alternative interpretations of the link between emotional work and distress need to be considered. It could be that the existence of less love, more conflict, and/or elevated depressive symptoms might cause women to become more highly involved in the emotional work. This would suggest that women become relatively more emotionally involved, more supportive, listen more to their children and partner's problems as a result of being distressed or being in a marriage that is high in discord and low in love. While this possibility is unable to be empirically examined in the present study, results from others studies do not support this direction of causality. For example, while not specifically examining the emotional work as defined in the present study, a recent review of longitudinal research concluded that low marital support is involved in the etiology of depression

rather than the reverse (Barnett & Gottlieb, 1988). In respect to marital conflict and less marital love, it seems unlikely that in response to negative feelings and arguments with their husbands women would become more supportive towards their husbands and their children. An additional factor making the interpretation that distress causes more involvement or at least the perception of more involvement less likely is that no such relationship was found for men.

Another possible explanation of this finding is that women's levels of depressive symptoms and marital conflict caused their husbands to reduce their involvement in the emotional work, thus, by default, increasing women's relative share of the emotional work. This would suggest a complex interplay of withdrawal on the behalf of husbands in response to their wife's distress and conflict. None-the-less it is still distress that is causing the levels of involvement in the emotional work not vice versa. In order to examine this, a series of correlations were performed examining the relationship between husband's involvement in the emotional work and their wife's levels of depressive symptoms and conflict. No significant relationship was found between these variables. The correlations between husband's levels of involvement in the emotional work and their wife's levels of depressive symptoms and marital conflict were $r = -.14$ (N.S.) and $r = -.10$ (N.S.) respectively. Thus, at least in the present study, the interpretation that wife's distress caused their husband to do less of the emotional work which then might lead to an increase in the wife's relative share is not supported.

The finding of the gender - specific impact of the emotional work is consistent with research regarding women's greater sensitivity towards, and monitoring of,

emotional exchanges with others (Aries, 1987; Flaherty & Richmen, 1989; Hall, 1987). Caring for others is likely to provide considerable benefits, especially feelings of closeness and intimacy with others. However caring for others also involves opportunity costs, and the likelihood that problems associated with caring for others is seen as women's responsibility (Belle, 1987). At high levels of involvement in the emotional work the potential costs may be magnified, interacting with the central place that the interpersonal realm takes in women's gender - identity. This in turn may affect women's self esteem and so predispose women to higher levels of distress (Gore & Colten, 1991).

The finding that involvement in the emotional work is unrelated to men's distress was unexpected. Previous studies have suggested that men rely on the emotional support provided by their wives (e.g., Burke & Weir, 1977; Gerstel et al., 1985; Richman et al., 1991; Vanfossen, 1981). It was expected that men would be affected, albeit to a lesser extent than women by high involvement in the emotional work. However, in the present study emotional work was conceptualised in relation to both partner and children. It is therefore difficult to compare findings with those studies which have examined the emotional work directed to the spouse only. Additionally in the sample only four percent of the men reported performing more of the emotional work than their wives did (this compares to forty seven percent of women reporting that they performed more of the emotional work than their husbands). It seems that very few men are in the position of performing relatively more of the emotional work than their wives. While the analyses examined men in terms of one standard deviation above the average it is possible that there were too few men falling in the high levels of involvement in the emotional work for the

deleterious impact to be detected. Further research that aims to specifically sample families where husbands are performing more emotional work than their wives may illuminate whether men too are affected by high levels of involvement in the emotional work. As they stand the results indicate that the emotional work is very much women's work. Teasing out whether the gender- specific effect reflects mediating variables such as women's responsibility for interpersonal concerns, or a more fundamental identity difference is not possible from the current data. Again, a richer and more fine grained analysis is needed that specifically examines women's and men's conceptions of themselves, their priorities, the basis of their self esteem and their interpersonal responsibilities when the children are young.

In explaining the deleterious impact upon women it is likely that other factors are also involved, particularly in terms of the effect of the emotional work on the marriage. Women in this sample did not expect their higher involvement in the emotional work, nor did they consider it fair. Higher involvement in the emotional work may imply a loss of reciprocity in these women's marriages. They may find that they are providing support and caring for their husbands without receiving the same for themselves. This imbalance, which may be very salient to women, then leads to women's dissatisfaction with the marriage (Bernard, 1981; Gove et al., 1983; Hawkins et al., 1980; Laws, 1971; Wills et al., 1974). A tension may exist between feeling responsible for other's emotional needs, valuing this as important, and therefore valuing and desiring emotional reciprocity from others. This suggests why women's conceptions of violated expectations and fairness were drawn largely from their involvement in the emotional work. Again, a more fine grained analysis that examines the links between aspects of the emotional work that are related to

parenting, to the marriage and to women's and men's conceptions of the self would clarify the processes involved.

Whereas the first interpersonal variable, involvement in the emotional work, exerted a consistent effect upon women's distress, the effect of the second interpersonal variable was more specific. When women perceived a conflict between what would be best for the self and what would be best for her family elevated depressive symptoms were observed. Similar levels of discrepancy between what is best for the self and family did not affect men. This finding is intriguing. Firstly, as men did have scores in similar ranges to women for this variable, but were not affected, this finding supports the earlier interpretation that the other interpersonal variable, the emotional work, is exerting gender - specific effects rather than due to an artifact of the data. Secondly, the finding suggests that at least when the children are young, women may experience considerable ambivalence prioritising their goals at the expense of others in the family. In some respects the impact of this variable may be intertwined with women's involvement in the caring and nurturing work. In the present study women's perception of a conflict between self and family were related to higher levels of involvement in the emotional work whereas men's perception of a conflict between self and family was related to high involvement in earning income. Perhaps, as Miller (1989) has argued, caring for others orients women towards the well - being of others. This, in turn, may serve to reinforce a perception of selfishness if women act only upon their own goals. Ambivalence or guilt over achieving women's personal goals at the expense of others may then result (Shaw & Burns, 1993).

The effect on women of the perception of conflict between the self and the family did not affect women's relationship with their partners, only their levels of depressive symptoms. The perceived discrepancy may refer more to what would suit their children's needs, rather than what would suit their husband's needs. Husbands may not be considered responsible for the perceived needs of young children and so the marriage is not implicated. Perhaps, linking back to the literature on beliefs about maternal separation, this variable may be capturing a subset of women whose commitment to paid work is high, but who also believe that maternal employment may adversely affect their children (e.g., Greenberger & O'Neil, 1990; Hock & DeMeis, 1990). As such these women may be experiencing considerable loss regarding their commitment to employment, and/or loss regarding their commitment to their mothering. The experience of loss has been considered one of the hallmarks of depression (e.g., Brown, 1989). This might explain why this variable increased women's distress at an individual level but not in terms of their relationship. Unfortunately, in the present study, the measure used did not distinguish between conflict regarding what is best for children and what is best for women's partners. Additionally the measure used in the present study was a discrepancy measure which had low reliability, resulting in conservative estimates of the beta coefficient. A more specific and reliable measure of beliefs regarding maternal separation and the experience of loss, such as the measure developed by Greenberger et al., (1988) is needed. With these more specific measures it may then be possible to elucidate the nature of the conflict of interests between self and others and how it relates to depressive symptoms. Similarly, the direction of causality cannot be established in the present study. However, the gender - specific impact of this variable again points to the importance of interpersonal variables when explaining women's distress.

The third variable that was predicted to exert gender - specific effects was violated expectations regarding the division of labour. Previous research had indicated that for women violated expectations regarding the division of labour were more stressful, exerting stronger effects upon their perception of the marital relationship than upon men's (e.g., Belsky, 1985; Ruble et al., 1988; Vannoy-Hiller & Philliber, 1989). No support was found in the present study for the predicted gender-specific effects. Women were not more affected by violated expectations regarding the division of labour than men. However, as noted earlier, the basis of men's and women's evaluations differed in respect to the domains of the division of labour. That is, men's violated expectations referred more to greater involvement in the housework while women's referred more to greater involvement in the emotional work and the childcare. Thus this variable does appear to have gender-specific meanings and bases. Interestingly, the results from the separate sex analyses indicate that violated expectations are more important to men's depressive symptoms, marital love and marital conflict rather than women's. It may be that increased involvement in the housework, implying a movement away from the traditional gender-linked division of labour is stressful for men, involving adjustment in men's conceptions of themselves and their marriage. These gender differences did not, however, reach statistical significance in the pooled analyses. It may be that further research that examines men's perceptions of the housework and samples more men in non-traditional division of labour arrangements is needed to explain the impact of violated expectations upon men's distress.

The findings of the present study support the important role of expectations in psychological distress. Violated expectations regarding the division of labour

emerged as a consistent and important predictor of distress. The stressfulness of how the paid and unpaid work is shared is magnified if the arrangement was unexpected. Violated expectations predicted both men's and women's depressive symptoms, feelings of love for their partner and marital conflict. The negative impact upon the marriage regarding violated expectations is consistent with previous research. The more men's and women's expectations were violated in terms of sharing the paid and unpaid work the less love they felt for their partner, and the more conflict they experienced. No previous research has examined the impact of violated expectations upon levels of depressive symptoms. The present study indicates that this evaluation was a better predictor of depressive symptoms than all other variables, including social support availability. Clearly this finding warrants replication. However the findings suggest that how men and women evaluate the division of labour is important to their individual psychological health as well as to their marriage. With respect to violated expectations, the division of labour may be a legitimate area of enquiry for clinicians working with parents of young children and researchers examining postpartum depression.

The present study has examined the effects of the division of labour upon variables that represented distress at the individual and relationship level. In the separate sex analyses, the proposed model included the four domains of the division of labour, evaluations of the division of labour, constraints on changing the division of labour and social support availability. The models developed were moderately successful in explaining levels of depressive symptoms, levels of marital love and levels of marital conflict. While the findings generally support the importance of interpersonal variables for women's well-being, and the importance of violated

expectations for both men and women, the ability of the model to explain the dependent variables varied in terms of gender and in terms of the specific outcomes. For depressive symptoms and marital conflict, the two dependent variables that exhibited a sex difference in levels, the proposed model accounted for more variance in women's scores than in men's. The proposed model accounted for twenty five percent of the variance in women's levels of depressive symptoms, as compared to only nineteen percent of men's. With respect to marital conflict, forty one percent of women's levels of marital conflict was explained by the model as compared to twenty percent of men's. This pattern of results suggest that the division of labour and variables related to the division of labour are very relevant to women's distress, at least in terms of depressive symptoms and marital conflict. While the model did explain some of the variance in men's levels of depressive symptoms and marital conflict the proposed variables appear to be of less relevance to men's distress. However, this is not to say that the division of labour is irrelevant to men's well-being. Particularly in the case of marital love, the model accounted better for men's levels of love than for women's (32% for men and 21% for women respectively). Violated expectations regarding the division of labour was the best predictor of men's levels of marital love. Thus the way in which husbands and wives share and evaluate earning income, housework, childcare and emotional responsibilities affects their marriage and their psychological health. The division of labour in families is relevant to the clinical perspective. Whether in terms of treating parents who have high levels of depressive symptoms, or parents of young children seeking marital therapy, the division of labour may be a legitimate area of clinical inquiry.

The proposed model examined the division of labour using a stress framework. The four division of labour domains were conceptualised to represent sources of chronic stress. Violated expectations and fairness reflected the individual's primary appraisal of the stressors. Primary appraisal of stress is where the individual evaluates whether and to what extent the stress is relevant to his or her goals, values, commitments health or well-being (Folkman et al., 1986). Expectations referred mostly to the individual's goals whereas fairness referred more to relationship values and goals. A second set of evaluations was also examined. Perceived control over the division of labour and the perception of a conflict between what is best for the self and best for the family were conceptualised to represent secondary appraisal of stressors. Secondary appraisals refer to evaluating the stress in terms of changing the situation, overcoming the situation or preventing harm (Folkman et al., 1986). It was proposed that if the capacity to change the division of labour was constrained then the individual would be more distressed. Perceived control referred to the possibility of changing the division of labour now or in the future. Conflict between self and family refers to conflict between goals, which it was argued would make overcoming the situation more difficult. Finally the availability of social support, representing the resources that the individual may muster in times of stress was included in the proposed model.

In general, the results support the importance of primary appraisals in the explanation of distress, particularly in terms of violated expectations and, in the case of marital conflict, fairness. In the case of direct, chronic sources of stress, it appears that a high level of involvement in the emotional work exerted very deleterious effects, but only upon women. Very little support overall was found for the impact of

the other direct sources of chronic stress, constraints on changing the situation, or social support availability on the dependent variables. There were some exceptions, regarding the effects of involvement in earning income on men's and women's marital love, social support availability in the case of both men's marital love and depressive symptoms, and conflict between what is best regarding the self and family for women's depressive symptoms. Thus it appears that some aspects of the stress paradigm are more distressing than others, at least in relation to the effects of the division of labour. What is also apparent is that the effects of these variables vary by gender.

The present study has implications both for clinical practice and the development of models of stress and distress. Firstly, as noted earlier, the division of labour may be a legitimate focus for clinical practice. As such the sharing of the family work deserves further research and attention by clinicians working with parents of young children. Women and men seem to find different aspects of the division of labour stressful. Women and men appear to appraise and evaluate the division of labour differently. These findings call for a sensitivity on behalf of clinicians to the differing experiences and understandings of stress that men and women may have. Finally, the links between gender and distress need to be developed in relation to theories of gender and gender-identity. The interplay between men's and women's conceptions of their self and their relationships when they become parents, the structuring of the unpaid work and the paid work in the family, and cultural influences on gender needs to be better understood. In depth examination of the division of labour, particularly the emotional work, will serve to add to the literature examining gender, stress and distress.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

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Appendix A

Items for Scales Used in Main Study

Number of items and estimated scale reliability (Cronbach's Alpha) for men and women appear after each scale name. Item-total correlation for men and for women in parentheses after each item. Items reverse coded are indicated with an R. Questionnaires available upon request from the author.

Predictor Variables

Earning Income. One item. Respondents instructed to write the number that best shows how they share the financial activities now. Response categories ranged from one to seven; 1=she does all through to 4=we both do this about equally through to 7=he does all. Women's scores were reverse coded. High scores indicate high self involvement relative to partner.

Who does what now: Earning income-supporting partner and children.

Housework. Five items. Cronbach's Alpha men .60, women .65. Respondents instructed to write the number that best shows how they share the housework activities now. Response categories ranged from one to seven; 1=she does all through to 4=we both do this about equally through to 7=he does all. Women's scores were reverse coded. High scores indicate high self involvement relative to partner.

Who does what now: Cooking and menu planning (Men .44, Women .55)

Who does what now: Cleaning up after meals (Men .25, Women .29)

Who does what now: Grocery shopping (Men .50, Women .42)

Who does what now: Laundry-washing, ironing, folding
(Men .33, Women .42)

Who does what now: Vacuuming, dusting, tidying up house
(Men .26, Women .36)

Childcare. Seven items. Cronbach's Alpha men .73, women .77.

Respondents instructed to write the number that best shows how they share the childcare activities now. Response categories ranged from one to seven; 1=she does all through to 4=we both do this about equally through to 7=he does all. Women's scores were reverse coded. High scores indicate high self involvement relative to partner.

Who does what now: Changing nappies &/or toileting (Men .52, Women .57)

Who does what now: Bathing child(ren) (Men .31, Women .40)

Who does what now: Child(ren)'s meals - cooking and feeding
(Men .46, Women .42)

Who does what now: Child minding and playing, reading etc.
(Men .54, Women .54)

Who does what now: Getting up to child(ren) at night (Men .46, Women .40)

Who does what now: Teaching & helping child(ren) with self care
(e.g. brushing teeth/dressing) (Men .58, Women .63)

Who does what now: Looking after child(ren) if sick (Men .40, Women .58)

Emotional work. Six items. Cronbach's Alpha men .60, women .68.

Respondents instructed to write the number that best shows how they share the childcare activities now. Response categories ranged from one to seven; 1=she does all through to 4=we both do this about equally through to 7=he does all. Women's scores were reverse coded. High scores indicate high self involvement relative to partner.

Who does what now: Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s
behaviour (Men .22, Women .33)

Who does what now: Giving emotional support to your child(ren);
being understanding, listening, comforting (Men .44, Women .41)

Who does what now: Helping partner with problems, advising
(Men .40, Women .48)

Who does what now: Helping child(ren) with problems, advising
(Men .55, Women .51)

Who does what now: Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship
(Men .30, Women .34)

Who does what now: Giving emotional support to partner; being understanding
listening, comforting (Men .20, Women .41)

Violated expectations for the division of labour. Four items. Cronbach's Alpha men .72, women .80. Respondents rated how much they agreed with the statement on six response categories; 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=slightly agree, 4=slightly disagree, 5= disagree, 6= strongly disagree.

- R The way we share the financial activities now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together. (Men .40, Women .54)
- R The way we share the housework now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together. (Men .50, Women .58)
- R The way we share the childcare now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together. (Men .57, Women .62)
- R The way we share the social/emotional activities now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together.
(Men .59, Women .69)

Perceived fairness of the division of labour. Four items. Cronbach's Alpha men .64, women .77. Respondents rated how much they agreed with the statement on six response categories; 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=slightly agree, 4=slightly disagree, 5= disagree, 6= strongly disagree.

- R The way my partner and I share doing the financial activities is completely fair. (Men .39, Women .52)
- R The way my partner and I share doing the housework is completely fair. (Men .38, Women .58)
- R The way my partner and I share doing the childcare is completely fair. (Men .40, Women .57)
- R The way my partner and I share doing the social/emotional activities is completely fair. (Men .52, Women .61)

Perceived control over the division of labour. Eight items. Cronbach's Alpha men .85, women .87. Respondents rated how much they agreed with the statement on six response categories; 1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=slightly agree, 4=slightly disagree, 5= disagree, 6= strongly disagree.

- R Right now I could change the way we share the financial activities if I wanted to. (Men .45, Women .52)
- R I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the financial activities if I wanted to. (Men .51, Women .45)
- R Right now I could change the way we share the housework if I wanted to. (Men .65, Women .75)
- R I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the housework if I wanted to. (Men .65, Women .68)
- R Right now I could change the way we share the childcare if I wanted to. (Men .63, Women .68)
- R I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the childcare if I wanted to. (Men .63, Women .70)
- R Right now I could change the way we share the social/emotional activities if I wanted to. (Men .61, Women .61)
- R I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the social/emotional activities if I wanted to. (Men .67, Women .67)

Conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family.

Cronbach's Alpha for men .30, for women .27. This variable is a discrepancy score. Respondents indicated which way would it best suit their family unit and their self. Response categories ranged from one to seven; 1=she does all through to 4=we both do this about equally through to 7=he does all. Women's scores were reverse coded. High scores indicate high self involvement relative to partner. Scores were computed from summing the absolute value of the differences between each item for each of the four domains of the division of labour. As items for earning income, housework, childcare and emotional work are shown above, items comprising this discrepancy score will not be detailed further. Correlations between each the sum of each domain's discrepancies and the total score are indicated.

Discrepancy earning income (self vs family)	(Men .17, Women .15)
Discrepancy housework (self vs family)	(Men .40, Women .13)
Discrepancy childcare (self vs family)	(Men .40, Women .26)
Discrepancy emotional work (self vs family)	(Men .40, Women .22)

Social support availability. Seven items. Cronbach's Alpha men .82, for women .80. Respondents were informed that the questions refer to those they are close to, their family, friends, workmates and neighbours as well as people that they usually meet from day to day. Respondents were then instructed to circle the number on each scale that best shows how it is. Response categories were 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 or more. High scores were interpreted to represent high levels of social support availability. Items for this scale were selected from the Interview Schedule for Social Interaction (ISSI), Copyright 1981 by Academic Press, Australia.

Reproduced from *Neurosis and the Social Environment* (Henderson et al., 1981).

These days how many people with similar interests to you do you have contact with? (Men .60, Women .61)

In an ordinary week how many people whom you know would you say you had contact with? (Men .45, Women .37)

How many friends do you have who could come to your home at any time and take things as they find them e.g. They wouldn't be embarrassed if things were untidy. (Men .68, Women .67)

How many friends do you have whom you could visit at any time without waiting for an invitation? (e.g. You could arrive without being expected and still be sure you would be welcome?) (Men .70, Women .74)

Among family and friends, how many people are there whom you can contact at any time and talk to frankly, without being guarded? (Men .56, Women .48)

How many people are there who depend upon you particularly for help, or guidance or advice in day - to - day life? (Not counting your children) (Men .17, Women .24)

How many people are there from whom you could easily ask small favours? Such people you know well enough to borrow tools or things for cooking? (Men .77, Women .60)

Dependent Variables

Depressive symptoms (CES-D). Twenty items. Cronbach's Alpha men .88, women .93. Respondents instructed to circle the number next to the statement in each group that best shows how often they have felt this way in the past week, including today. Response categories; 0=Rarely or none of the time (less than one day), 1=Some or a little of the time (1-2 days), 2=Occasionally, or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days), 3=Most or all of the time (5-7 days). Minimum score is zero, maximum score is 60. Radloff (1977) proposes that a score of 16 or above indicates the presence of depression.

I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.	(Men .39, Women .57)
I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	(Men .21, Women .29)
I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.	(Men .72, Women .82)
R I felt that I was just as good as other people.	(Men .22, Women .54)
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	(Men .49, Women .59)
I felt depressed.	(Men .68, Women .84)
I felt that everything I did was an effort.	(Men .56, Women .73)
R I felt hopeful about the future.	(Men .42, Women .62)
I thought my life had been a failure.	(Men .55, Women .45)
I felt fearful.	(Men .47, Women .46)
My sleep was restless.	(Men .39, Women .42)
R I was happy.	(Men .71, Women .77)
I talked less than usual.	(Men .54, Women .39)
I felt lonely.	(Men .65, Women .65)

People were unfriendly.	(Men .43, Women .40)
R I enjoyed life.	(Men .55, Women .78)
I had crying spells.	(Men .35, Women .71)
I felt sad.	(Men .70, Women .70)
I felt that people disliked me.	(Men .26, Women .54)
I could not 'get going'.	(Men .54, Women .65)

Marital Love. Ten items. Cronbach's Alpha men .94, women .95. Scale developed by Braiker and Kelley, (1979). Respondents were informed that the statements were about their marriage / de facto relationship. Respondents were instructed to circle the number underneath each statement or question that best shows how they see it. There were seven response categories, with high scores indicating high levels of marital love. Wording of response categories were slightly altered to fit the context of each question. Examples of the response categories are; 1=not at all, 2=a little bit, 3=somewhat, 4=quite a bit, 5=a lot, 6=a very great deal, 7=couldn't do without; 1=not at all, 2=a little bit, 3=somewhat, 4=close, 5=fairly close, 6=very close, 7=extremely close.

How attached do you feel towards your partner?	(Men .73, Women .77)
How sexually intimate are you with your partner?	(Men .45, Women .67)
How much do you need your partner at this stage?	(Men .65, Women .81)
How close do you feel to your partner?	(Men .78, Women .85)
How committed do you feel towards your partner?	(Men .76, Women .91)
To what extent do you feel that your relationship is special compared to others that you have been in?	(Men .77, Women .83)

To what extent do you feel that the things that happen to your partner also
affect or are important to you? (Men .61, Women .68)

To what extent do you love your partner at this stage? (Men .81, Women .92)

How much do you feel you give to the relationship? (Men .68, Women .66)

To what extent do you have a sense of 'belonging' with your partner?
(Men .60, Women .86)

Marital Conflict. Five items. Cronbach's Alpha men .72, women .82. Scale developed by Braiker and Kelley, (1979). Respondents were informed that the statements were about their marriage / de facto relationship. Respondents were instructed to circle the number underneath each statement or question that best shows how they see it. There were seven response categories, with high scores indicating high levels of marital conflict. Wording of response categories were slightly altered to fit the context of each question. Examples of the response categories are; 1=never, 2=hardly ever, 3=occasionally, 4=regularly, 5=often, 6=very often, 7=almost all the time; 1=trivial, 2=of little importance, 3=of some importance, 4=serious, 5=quite serious, 6=very serious, 7=extremely serious.

How often do you and your partner argue with each other?
(Men .57, Women .69)

To what extent do you try to change things about your partner that bother you
(e.g. Behaviour, attitudes, etc?) (Men .49, Women .71)

How often do you feel angry or resentful towards your partner?
(Men .71, Women .76)

When you and your partner argue how serious are the problems or argument?

(Men .16, Women .42)

To what extent do you communicate negative feelings towards your partner

(e.g. Anger, frustration, dissatisfaction etc?) (Men .61, Women .56)

WORK COMMITMENTS & FAMILY COMMITMENTS.

What do you do when there is a young child in the family?

*I am Lyndall Strazdins, a researcher from the Australian National University. I am asking parents with one or more young children (5 years or under) to participate in this study. It is important for both the husband (or de facto husband) and the wife (or de facto wife) to participate so that I can understand both points of view.

*Coping with the demands of young children, earning money and running the house is not easy. Nowadays there are no hard and fast rules about how to best manage the commitments to work, home and family. Each family has to find their own solution. I am interested in finding out from both of you what your solution is at the moment, why you share things the way that you do, and what are some of the pros and cons about how you now share things. Some questions will also be about how you see yourself, your relationships and your wellbeing.

*Information from questions like these will help other Australian families who are trying to find a solution that suits them. Information from this study will also help counsellors working with parents and couples who are having difficulties in these areas.

*Each person will be asked to complete a questionnaire. No names will be used. The research is strictly confidential. Participants are requested not to discuss the questionnaire with their partner until both have been completed. The questionnaire can be completed in your time, at home. Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Total time commitment for each person is usually about one hour.

If you and your partner would be able to participate in this study, or if you would like more information, please 'phone Lyndall Strazdins on 2479 357. If there is an answering machine on please leave your name, number and the best times to ring back. I will return your call as soon as possible. Thank you.

Appendix C

Consent Form for Main Study

WORK & FAMILY COMMITMENTS STUDY.

What do you do when there is a young child in the family?

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

*Thank you for considering being a participant in this research. Your participation will benefit other families who are wanting to work out a balance between work and family commitments. You are under no obligation to sign the form nor does signing this form compel you to participate if you later change your mind. At any time during the research you may withdraw or refuse to answer any question. Please feel free to ask me about the research and what is involved.

*Participating in this research involves answering a questionnaire about how you and your partner share the commitments to earning money, running the household and looking after young children. Some questions will ask about who makes decisions, how you feel and think about yourself, your relationships and the way you share the family activities.

*This study is strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on any questionnaire. No person other than the researcher will have access to any material with identifying features.

*If at any point you feel distressed during this research, or feel that some issue has been raised by participation please let me know. I will provide you with a list of agencies you can contact. You are also most welcome to contact me and make a time to talk about your concerns.

*All volunteers must sign this form before beginning participation.

I, the undersigned, have read the above information and volunteer to participate in this study on work and family commitments.

signed..... date.....1992

Appendix D
Questionnaire for Main Study
WORK & FAMILY COMMITMENTS.

Thank you for participating in this study. As discussed earlier this study is completely confidential. Please do not write your name on the questionnaire. Please do not discuss this questionnaire or your answers with your partner until both of you have completed it. If you are unsure about any part of the questionnaire then please give me a ring, or discuss it with me.

1. Which age range are you in? (Please circle)
20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50
2. Are you male or female? (Please circle)
Male Female
3. What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (Please circle the number)
 1. Less than Year 10/School Certificate or equivalent
 2. Year 12/Higher School Certificate or equivalent
 3. Associate Diploma/TAFE qualification/apprenticeship
 4. Bachelor's Degree/Diploma
 5. Post Graduate Degree
 6. Other (Please write) _____
4. Are you currently doing paid work? (Please circle)
Yes No

If yes, about how many hours per week do you do paid work (including work that you take home)? (Please circle)
0-10 11-20 21-30 31-40 40+
5. What is your occupation (please write the exact term if possible)?

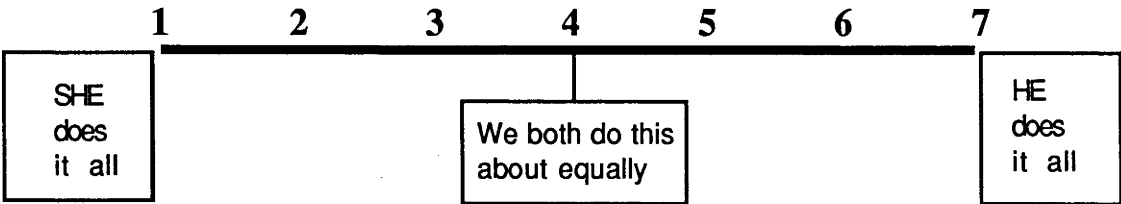
6. Currently, how many children are living in your household? (Please circle)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8+
7. Are any children from a previous relationship/marriage (either yours or your partner's) currently living in your household? (Please circle)
Yes No
8. What are the ages of the children living in your household?

9. What is the age of the youngest child living in your household? (Please circle)
1-12months 1-2years 3-4years 5-6years 7-8years 8+
10. How long have you been married, in a defacto relationship, &/or lived with your current partner?
1-4years 5-7years 8-10years 10-14years 15years+
11. Which religion do you follow? (please write your religion below - if you do not follow a religion then please write N/A) _____
12. Approximately how often did you attend a religious service during the last year? (Please circle)
never once a year less than every month more than every month every week every day

The rest of the questionnaire will ask you about how you share the family activities, how you feel about this, the way you and your partner share making decisions and some questions about yourself and your relationships. There are no right or wrong answers. What is important is your view of the way it is. Please answer the questions as honestly as you can. If you do not want to answer a question then skip it, you are under no obligation to complete the questionnaire.

WHO DOES WHAT? FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS.

Please show how you and your partner share the FINANCIAL activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes financial activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows WHO DOES WHAT NOW in the left hand column for all the activities. On the right hand side there are three columns. Using the scale please write in the number that best shows which way of sharing the financial activities would SUIT YOUR PARTNER BEST, SUIT YOUR FAMILY AS A UNIT BEST and SUIT YOURSELF BEST in the three right hand columns for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.



WHO DOES WHAT NOW	FINANCIAL	WHICH WAY WOULD IT BEST SUIT . . .		
		MY PARTNER	MY FAMILY UNIT	MYSELF
	Earning income - supporting partner & children			
	Makes major purchases - house, car, furniture etc.			
	Paying bills			
	Managing money - insurance, loans, tax returns, investments, bank accounts etc.			
	Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)			

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT FINANCIALLY.

The next six questions are about the way you share all those financial activities listed on the previous page. Please circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you see it.

1. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the financial activities.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. The way we share the financial activities now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. The way my partner and I share doing the financial activities is completely fair.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. Right now I could change the way we share the financial activities if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the financial activities if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. Please answer the next question two times. Answer 6(A) for "me by myself" and then answer 6(B) for "me and my child(ren)". Circle the number (1, 2, 3 or 4) next to the one statement that best shows how you see it. Please note, 'financial activities' are all those activities listed on the previous page.

6(A) "Me by myself"

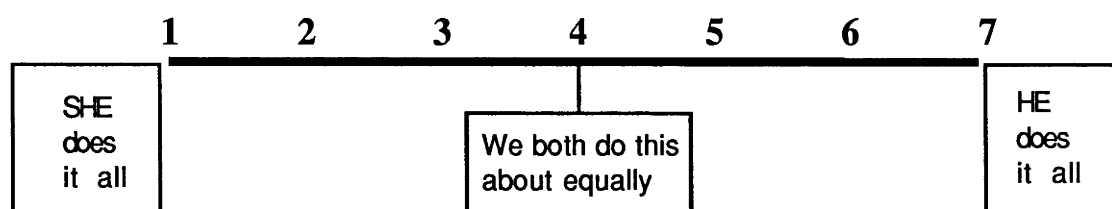
1. I would not manage at all without my partner's share of the financial activities.
2. I would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the financial activities.
3. I would manage without my partner's share of the financial activities.
4. I would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the financial activities.

6(B) "Me and my child(ren)"

1. We would not manage at all without my partner's share of the financial activities.
2. We would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the financial activities.
3. We would manage without my partner's share of the financial activities.
4. We would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the financial activities.

WHO DOES WHAT? SOCIAL & EMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES.

Please show how you and your partner share the SOCIAL and EMOTIONAL activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes social and emotional activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows WHO DOES WHAT NOW in the left hand column for all the activities. On the right hand side there are three columns. Using the scale please write in the number that best shows which way of sharing the emotional activities would SUIT YOUR PARTNER BEST, SUIT YOUR FAMILY AS A UNIT BEST and SUIT YOURSELF BEST in the three right hand columns for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.



WHO DOES WHAT NOW	SOCIAL & EMOTIONAL	WHICH WAY WOULD IT BEST SUIT . . .		
		MY PARTNER	MY FAMILY UNIT	MY SELF
	Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour			
	Giving emotional support to your child(ren); being understanding, listening, comforting			
	Helping partner with problems, advising			
	Helping child(ren) with problems, advising			
	Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship.			
	Giving emotional support to partner - being understanding, listening, comforting			
	Keeping in contact with friends or relatives			

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT SOCIALLY & EMOTIONALLY.

The next six questions are about all those social and emotional activities listed on the previous page. Please circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you see it.

1. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the social/emotional activities.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. The way we share the social/emotional activities now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. The way my partner and I share doing the social/emotional activities is completely fair.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. Right now I could change the way we share the social/emotional activities if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the social/emotional activities if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. Please answer the next question two times. Answer 6(A) for "me by myself" and then answer 6(B) for "me and my child(ren)". Circle the number (1, 2, 3 or 4) next to the one statement that best shows how you see it. Please note, 'social/emotional' activities refers to all those listed on the previous page.

6(A) "Me by myself"

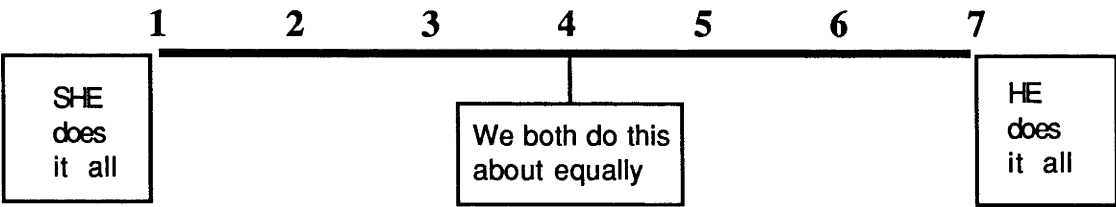
1. I would not manage at all without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
2. I would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
3. I would manage without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
4. I would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.

6(B) "Me and my child(ren)"

1. We would not manage at all without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
2. We would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
3. We would manage without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.
4. We would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the social/emotional activities.

WHO DOES WHAT?
RUNNING THE HOUSEHOLD.

Please show how you and your partner share the family activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes housework activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows **WHO DOES WHAT NOW** in the left hand column for all the activities. On the right hand side there are three columns. Using the scale please write in the number that best shows which way of sharing the housework activities would **SUIT YOUR PARTNER BEST, SUIT YOUR FAMILY AS A UNIT BEST** and **SUIT YOURSELF BEST** in the three right hand columns for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.



WHO DOES WHAT NOW	HOUSEWORK	WHICH WAY WOULD IT BEST SUIT ...		
		MY PARTNER	MY FAMILY UNIT	MYSELF
	Cooking and menu planning			
	Cleaning up after meals			
	Grocery shopping			
	Laundry- washing, ironing, folding			
	Outdoor maintenance - gardening, house repairs			
	Car maintenance			
	Vacuuming, dusting, tidying up house			

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT HOUSEWORK.

The next six questions are about all those housework activities listed on the previous page. Please circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you see it.

1. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the housework.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. The way we share the housework now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. The way my partner and I share doing the housework is completely fair.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. Right now I could change the way we share the housework if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the housework if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. Please answer the next question two times. Answer 6(A) for "me by myself" and then answer 6(B) for "me and my child(ren)". Circle the number (1, 2, 3 or 4) next to the one statement that best shows how you see it. Please note, 'housework' refers to those activities listed on the previous page.

6(A) "Me by myself"

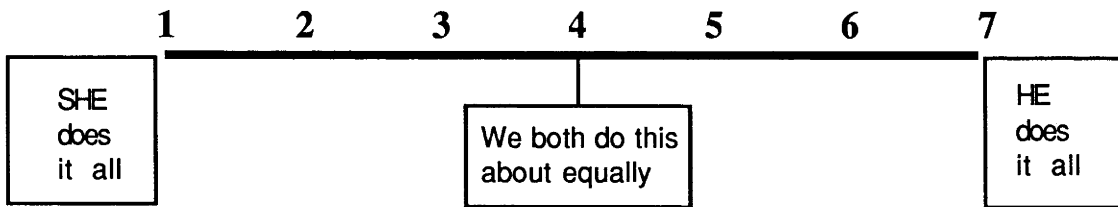
1. I would not manage at all without my partner's share of the housework.
2. I would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the housework.
3. I would manage without my partner's share of the housework.
4. I would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the housework.

6(B) "Me and my child(ren)"

1. We would not manage at all without my partner's share of the housework.
2. We would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the housework.
3. We would manage without my partner's share of the housework.
4. We would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the housework.

WHO DOES WHAT? LOOKING AFTER CHILDREN.

Please show how you and your partner share the CHILDCARE activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes childcare activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows WHO DOES WHAT NOW in the left hand column for all the activities. On the right hand side there are three columns. Using the scale please write in the number that best shows which way of sharing the childcare would SUIT YOUR PARTNER BEST, SUIT YOUR FAMILY AS A UNIT BEST and SUIT YOURSELF BEST in the three right hand columns for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.



WHO DOES WHAT NOW	CHILDCARE	WHICH WAY WOULD IT BEST SUIT . . .		
		MY PARTNER	MY FAMILY UNIT	MY SELF
	Changing nappies &/or toileting			
	Bathing child(ren)			
	Child(ren)'s meals - cooking and feeding			
	Child minding & playing, reading etc.			
	Getting up to child(ren) at night			
	Teaching & helping child(ren) with self care (e.g. brushing teeth/dressing)			
	Looking after child(ren) if sick			

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT CHILDCARE.

The next six questions refers to all those childcare activities listed on the previous page.
Please circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you see it.

1. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the childcare.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. The way we share the childcare now is very different to what I'd expected before we married/lived together.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. The way my partner and I share doing the childcare is completely fair.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. Right now I could change the way we share the childcare if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. I am confident that in the future I could change the way we share the childcare if I wanted to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. Please answer the next question two times. Answer 6(A) for "me by myself" and then answer 6(B) for "me and my child(ren)". Circle the number (1, 2, 3 or 4) next to the one statement that best shows how you see it. Please note, 'childcare' refers to all those activities listed on the previous page.

6(A) "Me by myself"

1. I would not manage at all without my partner's share of the childcare.
2. I would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the childcare.
3. I would manage without my partner's share of the childcare.
4. I would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the childcare.

6(B) "Me and my child(ren)"

1. We would not manage at all without my partner's share of the childcare.
2. We would find it very difficult without my partner's share of the childcare.
3. We would manage without my partner's share of the childcare.
4. We would not notice much difference without my partner's share of the childcare.

WHY DO YOU TAKE THE SHARE YOU DO?

1. There are often many reasons and factors that determine how the family work is shared. Why do you take the share that you do, right now, of the financial activities, emotional activities, childcare and housework. It is likely that there is more than one reason, so please write down all that you consider important.

FINANCIAL-

EMOTIONAL-

HOUSEWORK-

CHILDCARE-

2. Why do you think your partner takes the share that he or she does of the financial activities, emotional activities, childcare and housework? If you think that there is more than one reason then please write them all down.

FINANCIAL-

EMOTIONAL-

HOUSEWORK-

CHILDCARE-

3. You have listed why you and your partner share the family activities the way you do at the moment. What is the most important reason or factor overall? Why?

PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING.

In every family somebody has to decide such things as where the family will live and so on. Many couples talk such things over first, but the final decision often has to be made by the husband or the wife. The following questions are about eight different situations. For each situation there are two questions asked. The first question (PART A) asks who usually makes the final decision? Circle the number on the scale underneath that best shows how decisions are made now. The second question (PART B) asks how you would prefer that decision to be made. Circle the number on the scale underneath that shows the way that you would prefer.

Who usually makes the final decisions about these eight situations?

1. Husband's job?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

2. What car to get?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

3. About whether or not to buy some life insurance?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING.

Please circle the number on the scale underneath PART A that best shows how final decisions are made now. The second question (PART B) asks how you would prefer that decision to be made. Circle the number on the scale underneath that shows the way that you would prefer.

4. About what house or unit to take?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

5. About whether or not the wife should go to work or quit work?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

6. About how much money your family can afford to spend per week on food?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING.

Please circle the number on the scale underneath PART A that best shows how final decisions are made now. The second question (PART B) asks how you would prefer that decision to be made. Circle the number on the scale underneath that shows the way that you would prefer.

7. About what doctor to have when someone is sick?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

8. About where to go for your holidays?

PART A. Who usually makes the final decisions now? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

PART B. Your preference? (please circle number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

ABOUT YOURSELF

Here are some descriptions of the way people may feel or think about things in their life. How strongly do you agree or disagree with these statements? Please circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you feel or think.

1. What happens to me in the future mostly depends upon me.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. There really is no way I can solve some of the problems I have.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. I have little control over the things that happen to me.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. I can do just about anything I really set my mind to.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. I feel that I have control over the direction my life is taking.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

ABOUT YOURSELF.

Below is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved over the past week, including today. Please circle the number (0, 1, 2 or 3) next to the one statement in each group that best shows how often you have felt this way during the past week.

A. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

B. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

C. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

D. I felt that I was just as good as other people.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

E. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

F. I felt depressed.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

G. I felt that everything I did was an effort.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

ABOUT YOURSELF

H. I felt hopeful about the future.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

I. I thought my life had been a failure.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

J. I felt fearful.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

K. My sleep was restless.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

L. I was happy.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

M. I talked less than usual.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

N. I felt lonely.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

O. People were unfriendly.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

ABOUT YOURSELF

P. I enjoyed life.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

Q. I had crying spells.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

R. I felt sad.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

S. I felt that people disliked me.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

T. I could not 'get going'.

- 0 Rarely or none of the time. (less than one day)
- 1 Some or a little of the time. (1-2 days)
- 2 Occasionally or a moderate amount of time. (3-4 days)
- 3 Most or all of the time. (5-7 days).

ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIPS.

The next questions ask you about the number of people in your life at the moment, and how satisfactory these relationships are for you. The questions ask about those you are close to - your family, friends, workmates and neighbours as well as people you usually meet from day to day. Please circle the numbers on each scale that best show how it is.

1. PART A: These days, how many people with similar interests to you do you have contact with? (Please circle)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these people? (Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

2. PART A: In an ordinary week how many people whom you know would you say you had contact with? (Please note: family members included and contact means speak with)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these people that you know?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

3. PART A: How many friends do you have who could come to your home at any time and take things as they find them e.g. They wouldn't be embarrassed if things were untidy.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIPS.

4. PART A: How many friends do you have whom you could visit at any time, without waiting for an invitation? (e.g. You could arrive without being expected and still be sure you would be welcome)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

5. PART A: Among family and friends, how many people are there whom you can contact at any time and talk to frankly, without being guarded?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these friends?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

6. PART A: How many people are there who depend upon you particularly for help, or guidance or advice in day -to-day life? (Not counting your children)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these people?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

7. How many people are there from whom you could easily ask small favours? Such people you know well enough to borrow tools or things for cooking?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

PART B: How satisfied are you with the quality of your contact with these people?

1	2	3	4	5	6
Very	Satisfied	Mildly	Mildly	Dissatisfied	Very
Satisfied		Satisfied	Dissatisfied		Dissatisfied

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR PARTNER

These next questions or statements are about your marriage / de facto relationship. Underneath each question or statement is a scale. Please circle the number on each scale (from 1 to 5) that best shows how you see it.

1. If you were to marry (or decide to live together) again, would you want to marry (or live with) the same person?

1	2	3	4	5
No	No	Unsure	Yes	Yes
definitely not	probably not		probably	definitely

2. I was much happier before I married (lived together) than I am now.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree

3. Our relationship is not really a success.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree

4. I think we have problems in our marriage (de facto relationship).

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Most of the time	All of the time

5. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your marriage (de facto relationship)?

1	2	3	4	5
Very dissatisfied	A little dissatisfied	Fairly satisfied	Very satisfied	Completely satisfied

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR PARTNER

These next questions or statements are also about your marriage / de facto relationship. Underneath each question or statement is a scale. Please circle the number on each scale (this time from 1 to 7) that best shows how you see it.

6. Which of you is more likely to do favours for the other even when they are not asked for?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

7. Who has altered his or her interests, goals and ambitions in life more to please the other?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband totally	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife totally

8. Which of you is more likely to give in to the other's wishes even when one of you wants to do something the other does not want to do?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
husband always	husband mostly	husband more than wife	husband & wife exactly the same	wife more than husband	wife mostly	wife always

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR PARTNER

Please circle the number on each scale (from 1 to 7) that best shows how you see it.

9. Who has altered his or her habits, and ways of doing things more to please the other?

- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| husband
totally | husband
mostly | husband
more than
wife | husband &
wife exactly
the same | wife
more than
husband | wife
mostly | wife
totally |

10. How often do you and your partner argue with each other?

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Never | hardly
ever | occasionally | regularly | often | very
often | almost all
the time |

11. To what extent do you try to change things about your partner that bother you (e.g. behaviour, attitudes, etc?)

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| never | hardly
ever | occasionally | regularly | often | very
often | almost all
the time |

12. How often do you feel angry or resentful towards your partner?

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| never | hardly
ever | occasionally | regularly | often | very
often | almost all
the time |

13. When you and your partner argue how serious are the problems or argument?

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| trivial | of little
importance | of some
importance | serious | quite
serious | very
serious | extremely
serious |

14. To what extent do you communicate negative feelings towards your partner (e.g. anger, frustration, dissatisfaction, etc?)

- | | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|--------------|-----------|----------|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| never | hardly
ever | occasionally | regularly | often | very
often | almost all
the time |

15. How attached do you feel towards your partner?

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| not
at all | a little
bit | somewhat | attached | fairly
attached | very
attached | extremely
attached |

16. How sexually intimate are you with your partner?

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| not
at all | a little
bit | somewhat | intimate | fairly
intimate | very
intimate | totally
intimate |

17. How much do you need your partner at this stage?

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| not
at all | a little
bit | somewhat | quite a
bit | a
lot | a very
great deal | couldn't
do without |

18. How close do you feel to your partner?

- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| not
at all | a little
bit | somewhat | close | fairly
close | very
close | extremely
close |

ABOUT YOU AND YOUR PARTNER

Please circle the number on each scale (from 1 to 7) that best shows how you see it.

19. How committed do you feel towards your partner?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	committed	quite committed	very committed	extremely committed

20. To what extent do you feel that your relationship is special compared to others that you have been in?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	special	quite special	very special	extremely special

21. To what extent do you feel that the things that happen to your partner also affect or are important to you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	important to me	quite important	very important	extremely important

22. To what extent do you love your partner at this stage?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	a lot	deeply	very deeply	totally

23. How much do you feel that you give to the relationship?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	a fair amount	a lot	a very great deal	totally

24. To what extent do you have a sense of 'belonging' with your partner?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all	a little bit	somewhat	a lot	deep sense	very deep sense	totally

WHAT SHOULD AUSTRALIAN MEN AND WOMEN DO?

Until now the questionnaire has been about you and your own family. To finish, I'd like your opinion about what is best for Australian men and women in general. Please read the statements below. How strongly do you agree or disagree with these statements? Circle the word from under each statement that best shows how you feel or think.

1. It is better for the family if the husband is the principal breadwinner outside the home and the wife has primary responsibility for the home and children.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. If both husband and wife work they should share equally in the housework and childcare.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. Ideally there should be as many women as men in important positions in government and business.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

4. A women who works simply cannot be as good a mother as one who does not.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5. It would be better for Australian society if fewer women worked in jobs outside the home.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

6. Men should do an equal amount of work in the home.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

7. There should be satisfactory childcare facilities so that women can take jobs outside the home.

YES!!!	YES!	YES	NO	NO!	NO!!!
Strongly agree	Agree	Slightly agree	Slightly disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Thank you very much for your effort and generosity in filling out these questionnaires. The information you have given about yourself, and your family life will be of great help. Now that you have finished, please put the questionnaire in the envelope and seal it. Please do not discuss the questionnaire with your partner until both of you have completed it, otherwise your answers may influence each other. If you have any questions or concerns about any part of the questionnaire, then please talk to me about it. Again, thank you.

Appendix E

Pretest Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Decision making patterns in marriage study.

*Before you participate in this study please read the information for participants sheet carefully. You are under no obligation to sign the form nor does signing this form compel you to participate if you later change your mind. At any time during the study you may withdraw or refuse to answer and there will be no questions asked.

*This study is strictly confidential. Your name will not appear on any questionnaire or interview transcript. Audio cassettes will be wiped after they have been transcribed. No person other than the researcher will have access to any material with identifying features.

*The interview will be audiotaped with a cassette player. If you are concerned about this please discuss this with me before you consent to participate.

*If at any point you feel distressed during this study, or feel that some issue has been raised by participation please let me know. I will provide you with a list of agencies you can contact. If you are already seeing a counsellor then I recommend that you discuss these issues further with him or her. You are also most welcome to contact me and make a time to talk about your concerns.

*All volunteers must sign this form before beginning participation.

I, the undersigned, have read the above information and the participant's information sheets, and volunteer to participate in this study on decision making in marriage. I understand that participation will involve filling out questionnaires and the audiotaping of an interview.

signed..... date.....1991

Appendix E

Pretest Questionnaire

PATTERNS OF DECISION MAKING IN MARRIAGE.

Thankyou for participating in this research. As discussed earlier this research is completely confidential. Please do not write your name on any of the questionnaires.

Q1) Which age range are you in? (Please circle)

20-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-45 46-50

Q2) Are you male or female? (Please circle)

Male Female

Q3) What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (Please circle)

Year 10/School Certificate

Year 12/Higher School Certificate

Associate Diploma

Diploma

Bachelor's Degree

Honors/Graduate Diploma

Post Graduate Degree

Others (Please write)_____

Q4) Are you currently in paid work? (Please circle)

Yes No

If yes, about how many hours per week do you work? (Please circle)

0-10 11-20 21-30 31-40 40+

Q5) Currently, how many children are living in your household? (Please circle)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Q6) What is the age of your youngest child? (Please circle)

1-12months 1-2years 3-4years 5-6years 7-8years 8+

Q7) How long have you been living together, married or in a defacto relationship with your current partner?

0-1year 1-4years 5-7years 8-10year 10-14years 15years+

WHO DOES WHAT?

Please show how you and your partner share the family activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows HOW IT IS NOW in the left hand column for all the activities. Then write in the number that best shows HOW YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO BE in the right hand column for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.

1

2

3

4

5

SHE
does
it all

We both do this
about equally

HE
does
it all

HOW IT IS NOW	FINANCIAL	HOW I WOULD LIKE IT TO BE
	A. Earning income-supporting partner & children	
	B. Makes major purchases- house, car, furniture etc	
	C. Paying bills	
	D. Managing money- insurance, loans, tax returns, investments, bank accounts etc	
	E. Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)	
	EMOTIONAL	
	F. Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship	
	G. Keeping in contact with friends or relatives	
	H. Giving emotional support to partner- being understanding, listening, comforting	
	I. Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour	
	J. Giving emotional support to your child(ren)- being understanding, listening, comforting	
	K. Helping partner with problems, advising	
	L. Helping child(ren) with problems, advising	

WHO HAS RESPONSIBILITY?

The person who takes responsibility for an activity may be different from the person who actually does that activity. Thinking about when and how an activity needs doing, pointing out that the activity needs to be done and checking that it gets done, are ways of taking responsibility. Please show how the responsibility for these activities in your household is shared. Using the numbers from the scale below, show **HOW IT IS NOW** down the left hand column. Then show **HOW YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO BE** down the right hand column. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.

	1	2	3	4	5
SHE does it all	We both do this about equally				HE does it all

HOW IT IS NOW	FINANCIAL	HOW I WOULD LIKE IT TO BE
	A. Earning income-supporting partner & children	
	B. Makes major purchases- house, car, furniture etc	
	C. Paying bills	
	D. Managing money- insurance, loans, tax returns, investments, bank accounts etc	
	E. Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)	
	EMOTIONAL	
	F. Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship	
	G. Keeping in contact with friends or relatives	
	H. Giving emotional support to your partner- being understanding, listening, comforting	
	I. Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour	
	J. Giving emotional support to your child(ren)- being understanding, listening, comforting	
	K. Helping partner with problems, advising	
	L. Helping child(ren) with problems, advising	

WHO DOES WHAT?

Please show how you and your partner share the family activities listed on this page. Each line in the box describes activities that many families do. Using the numbers from the scale below, write the number that best shows **HOW IT IS NOW** in the left hand column for all the activities. Then write in the number that best shows **HOW YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO BE** in the right hand column for all the activities. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.

	1	2	3	4	5	
SHE does it all						HE does it all
	We both do this about equally					

HOW IT IS NOW		HOW I WOULD LIKE IT TO BE
	HOUSEWORK	
	M. Cooking and menu planning	
	N. Cleaning up after meals	
	O. Grocery shopping	
	P. Laundry- washing, ironing, folding	
	Q. Outdoor maintenance - gardening, house repairs	
	R. Car maintenance	
	S. Vacuuming, dusting, tidying up house	
	CHILDREARING	
	T. Changing nappies &/or dressing child(ren)	
	U. Bathing child(ren)	
	V. Child(ren)'s meals - cooking and feeding	
	W. Child minding & playing, reading etc.	
	X. Getting up to child(ren) at night	
	Y. Teaching & helping child(ren) with self care (e.g. brushing teeth)	
	Z. Looking after child(ren) if sick	

WHO HAS RESPONSIBILITY?

The person who takes responsibility for an activity may be different from the person who actually does that activity. Thinking about when and how an activity needs doing, pointing out that the activity needs to be done and checking that it gets done, are ways of taking responsibility. Please show how the responsibility for these activities in your household is shared. Using the numbers from the scale below, show HOW IT IS NOW down the left hand column. Then show HOW YOU WOULD LIKE IT TO BE down the right hand column. If neither of you do this activity then please write N/A in the columns.

1

2

3

4

5

SHE
does
it all

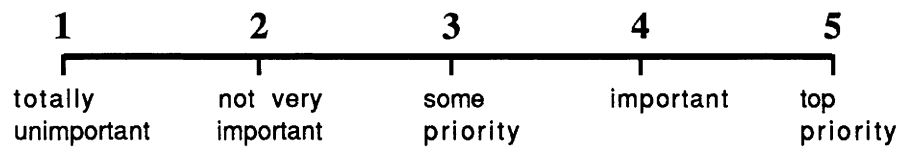
We both do this
about equally

HE
does
it all

HOW IT IS NOW	HOUSEWORK	HOW I WOULD LIKE IT TO BE
	M. Cooking and menu planning	
	N. Cleaning up after meals	
	O. Grocery shopping	
	P. Laundry- washing, ironing, folding	
	Q. Outdoor maintained - gardening, house repairs	
	R. Car maintained	
	S. Vacuuming, dusting, tidying up house	
	CHILDREARING	
	T. Changing nappies &/or dressing child(ren)	
	U. Bathing child(ren)	
	V. Child(ren)'s meals - cooking and feeding	
	W. Child minding & playing, reading etc.	
	X. Getting up to child(ren) at night	
	Y. Teaching & helping child(ren) with self care (e.g. brushing teeth)	
	Z. Looking after child(ren) if sick	

WHAT PRIORITY?

Most people give some family activities more priority than others. Please show which activities are the most important to get done. Using the numbers from the scale below (from 1 to 5) show how much priority you give each activity. Write the number from the scale in the left hand column headed HOW MUCH PRIORITY?



HOW MUCH PRIORITY?	
	A. Earning income- supporting partner & children
	B. Making major purchases: house, car, furniture etc.
	C. Paying bills
	D. Manage money- insurance, loans, tax returns, investments, bank accounts
	E. Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)
	F. Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship
	G. Keeping in contact with friends or relatives
	H. Giving emotional support to partner- being understanding, listening, comforting
	I. Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour
	J. Giving emotional support to your child(ren)- being understanding, listening, comforting
	K. Helping partner with problems, advising
	L. Helping child(ren) with problems, advising

Q1) Overall, which family activity has the highest priority? Please describe why.

Q2) Overall, which family activity has the lowest priority? Please describe why.

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT FINANCIALLY?

Now I am interested in some of the feelings and thoughts that you have about who does what and who takes responsibility for what. Please show HOW TRUE EACH STATEMENT IS FOR YOU by circling a word from the list under each statement.

A REMINDER THAT FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES INVOLVE...

- A. Earning income-supporting partner & children
 - B. Makes major purchases- house, car, furniture etc.
 - C. Paying bills
 - D. Managing money- insurance, loans, tax returns, investments, bank accounts etc.
 - E. Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)
-

YES!! means that the statement is very true for you

YES means that the statement is mostly true for you

?? means that the statement is neither true nor false for you

NO means that the statement is mostly not true for you

NO!! means that the statement is definitely not true for you

Q1. The way my partner and I share doing financial activities is fair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q2. Its not the amount, but the types of financial activities that I do which is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q3. The way we share the responsibility for the financial activities is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q4. I am doing less of the financial activities than I expected.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q5. I am taking the amount of responsibility for financial activities that I expected to take.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q6. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the financial activities.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q7. I am satisfied with the amount of responsibility for financial activities that I take now.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT EMOTIONALLY?

Again, please show HOW TRUE EACH STATEMENT IS FOR YOU by circling a word from the list under each statement.

A REMINDER THAT EMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES INVOLVE...

- F. Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship
 - G. Keeping in contact with friends or relatives
 - H. Giving emotional support to partner- being understanding listening, comforting
 - I. Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour
 - J. Giving emotional support to your child(ren)- being understanding, listening, comforting
 - K. Helping partner with problems, advising
 - L. Helping child(ren) with problems, advising
-

YES!! means that the statement is very true for you

YES means that the statement is mostly true for you

?? means that the statement is neither true nor false for you

NO means that the statement is mostly not true for you

NO!! means that the statement is definitely not true for you

Q8. Emotional activities are fairly shared between my partner and I.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q9. Its not the amount, but the types of emotional activities that I do which is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q10. The way we share the responsibility for emotional activities is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q11. I am doing less of the emotional activities than I expected.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q12. I am taking the amount of responsibility for emotional activities than I expected to.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q13. I am satisfied with the way we share doing the emotional activities.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q14. I am satisfied with the amount of responsibility for emotional activities that I take now.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT OVERALL?

The questions on this page are about all areas of shared work and responsibility in your marriage. This includes how each of you share actually doing & share the responsibility for the housework, the childrearing, the financial and the emotional activities. Please show **HOW TRUE EACH STATEMENT IS FOR YOU** by circling a word from the list under each statement.

ALL FAMILY ACTIVITIES **FINANCIAL & EMOTIONAL & HOUSEWORK & CHILDREARING**

YES!! means that the statement is very true for you

YES means that the statement is mostly true for you

?? means that the statement is neither true nor false for you

NO means that the statement is mostly not true for you

NO!! means that the statement is definitely not true for you

Q15. Overall the way my partner and I share doing all the family activities is fair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q16. Its not the amount of family activities I do but the types that I do which is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q17. Overall, the way my partner and I share all the family responsibilities is fair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q18. Its not the types of responsibility I take but the amount I take, compared to my partner, that is unfair.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q19. What is unfair is that my partner takes responsibility for activities that I do.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q20. What is unfair is that I end up taking responsibility for activities that my partner does.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q21. I think I get the best deal out of the way we share the family activities and responsibilities.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

ABOUT WHO DOES WHAT OVERALL?

The questions on this page are about all areas of shared work and responsibility in your marriage. This includes how each of you share the housework, the childrearing, the financial and the emotional activities. Please show **HOW TRUE EACH STATEMENT IS FOR YOU** by circling a word from the list under each statement.

YES!! means that the statement is very true for you

YES means that the statement is mostly true for you

?? means that the statement is neither true nor false for you

NO means that the statement is mostly not true for you

NO!! means that the statement is definitely not true for you

ALL FAMILY ACTIVITIES FINANCIAL & EMOTIONAL & HOUSEWORK & CHILDREARING

Q22. The way my partner and I share doing the family activities is how I expected it to be.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q23. I didn't expect to be doing the amount of family activities that I am now.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q24. I didn't expect to be doing the types of family activities that I am now.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q25. The way my partner and I share the family responsibilities is how I expected it to be.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q26. Overall, I am satisfied with the way my partner and I share responsibilities for the family activities.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q27. I am satisfied with the way my partner and I share doing all the family activities.

YES!! YES ?? NO NO!!

Q28. Please describe the activity that you think is the most satisfying to do. _____

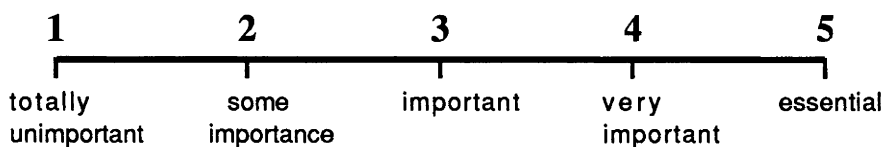
Q29. Please describe the activity that you think is the least satisfying to do. _____

HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR PARTNER'S CONTRIBUTION?

Some activities are more essential to a person than others. However what the most important activities are, and how much a person relies upon their partner to get them done may vary. For each activity there will be four questions.

1. The first question asks you how important is your partners contribution
2. The second question asks how important your contribution is to your partner- in your opinion
3. The third questions asks you how difficult it would be for you to replace your partner's contribution
4. Finally the fourth question asks you how difficult it would be for your partner to replace your contribution

For each question there will be a box. Write in the number (1 to 5) that best shows how you see it in each box. If neither you or your partner does the activity then please write N/A in the first box.



FOR EXAMPLE:

ACTIVITY	HOW IMPORTANT TO YOU IS YOUR PARTNER'S CONTRIBUTION	HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO YOUR PARTNER	HOW DIFFICULT WOULD IT BE TO REPLACE YOU PARTNER'S CONTRIBUTION	HOW DIFFICULT WOULD IT BE FOR YOUR PARTNER TO REPLACE YOUR CONTRIBUTION
A.Earning income- supporting partner & children				

1 2 3 4 5
 |-----|-----|-----|-----|
 totally some important very essential
 unimportant importance important

ACTIVITY	HOW IMPORTANT TO YOU IS YOUR PARTNER'S CONTRIBUTION	HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO YOUR PARTNER	HOW DIFFICULT WOULD IT BE TO REPLACE YOU PARTNER'S CONTRIBUTION	HOW DIFFICULT WOULD IT BE FOR YOUR PARTNER TO REPLACE YOUR CONTRIBUTION
A.Earning income- supporting partner & children				
B.Making major purchases: house, car, furniture etc				
C.Paying bills				
D.Manage money- insurance, loans, tax returns,investments, bank accounts				
E.Family budgeting (weekly or fortnightly)				
F.Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship				
G.Keeping in contact with friends or relatives				
H.Giving emotional support to partner - being understanding, listening, comforting				
I.Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour				
J.Giving emotional support to your child(ren) - being understanding, listening, comforting				
K.Helping partner with problems, advising				
L.Helping child(ren) with problems, advising				

WHY DO YOU TAKE THE SHARE YOU DO?

A person may have different reasons, or more than one reason, for why she or he does, does some of, or doesn't do a particular activity. This page will be asking you about the share that you take in doing financial activities.

Q1) Firstly, please circle how much you do overall of the financial activities.

all most some a little none

A REMINDER THAT THE FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES INVOLVE...

- A. Earning income- supporting partner & children
 - B. Making major purchases- house, car, furniture etc.
 - C. Paying bills
 - D. Managing money- insurance, loans,
tax returns, investments, bank accounts
 - E. Family budgeting - weekly or fortnightly
-

Q2) Please write down your reasons for taking the share that you do of the financial activities. It is likely that there is more than one reason, so please write down all that you consider important.

Q3) Why do you think your partner takes the share that he or she does in the financial activities? Again, if you think that there is more than one reason then please write them down.

Q4) These are some reasons given by other people about why they have taken the share that they have. Please show how important these reasons are for you. Rate each reason using the scale below (from 1 to 5).

1	2	3	4	5
TOTALLY IRRELEVANT& UNIMPORTANT	SOME RELEVANCE BUT NOT VERY IMPORTANT	RELEVANT REASON	IMPORTANT REASON	VERY IMPORTANT REASON

REASONS	HOW IMPORTANT?
1. Because it is fair to my partner	
2. Because I have more time to do it	
3. Because I prefer this to doing other tasks	
4. Because I show my love by doing it	
5. Because we would have a fight if I didn't	
6. Because I'm better at those things I do than my partner	
7. Because its part of my duty as a good husband/wife	
8. Because it is better for others if I do it	
9. Because my partner doesn't want to do it	
10. Because I feel better about myself if I do it	
11. Because I feel I should do it	
12. Because my partner would be upset if he/she didn't do it	
13. Because I get satisfaction from doing the activity	
14. Because I know how important the activity is	
15. Doing this makes me feel needed	

Q5) Overall, which is the most important reason for you? _____

WHY DO YOU TAKE THE SHARE YOU DO?

This page will be asking you about the share that you take in doing emotional activities.

Q1) Firstly, please circle how much you do overall of the emotional activities.

all most some a little none

A REMINDER THAT EMOTIONAL ACTIVITIES INVOLVE...

- F . Doing things to improve or maintain your relationship**
- G . Keeping in contact with friends or relatives**
- H . Giving emotional support to partner-being understanding, listening, comforting**
- I . Setting & enforcing standards for child(ren)'s behaviour**
- J . Giving emotional support to your child(ren)-being understanding, listening, comforting**
- K . Helping partner with problems, advising**
- L . Helping child(ren) with problems, advising**

Q2) Please write down your reasons for taking the share that you do of the emotional activities. It is likely that there is more than one reason, so please write down all that you consider important.

[illegible]

Q3) Why do you think your partner takes the share that he or she does in the emotional activities? Again, if you think that there is more than one reason then please write them down.

[illegible]

Q4) Again, here are some reasons given by other people for why they have taken the share that they do of the emotional activities. Please show how important these reasons are for you . Rate each reason using the scale below (from 1 to 5).

1

2

3

4

5

TOTALLY
IRRELEVANT&
UNIMPORTANT

SOME RELEVANCE
BUT NOT VERY
IMPORTANT

RELEVANT
REASON

IMPORTANT
REASON

VERY
IMPORTANT
REASON

REASONS	HOW IMPORTANT?
1. Because it is fair to my partner	
2. Because I have more time to do it	
3. Because I prefer this to doing other tasks	
4. Because I show my love by doing it	
5. Because we would have a fight if I didn't	
6. Because I'm better at those things I do than my partner	
7. Because its part of my duty as a good husband/wife	
8. Because it is better for others if I do it	
9. Because my partner doesn't want to do it	
10. Because I feel better about myself if I do it	
11. Because I feel I should do it	
12. Because my partner would be upset if he/she didn't do it	
13. Because I get satisfaction from doing the activity	
14. Because I know how important the activity is	
15. Doing this makes me feel needed	

Q5) Overall, which is the most important reason for you? _____

Q6) Are your reasons different for emotional activities compared to financial activities? If so why do you think this is? _____

HOW DO YOU CHANGE THINGS?

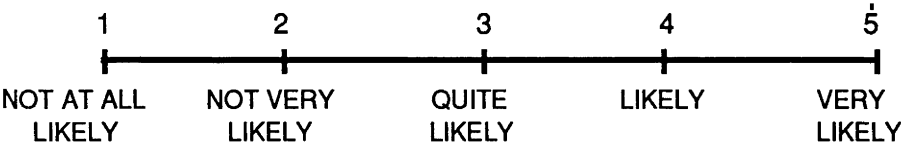
Pick one thing in your relationship that you would like very much to change and intend to. Please write down here what it is that you intend to change.

How would you ask your partner to change? Please write down how you would get your partner to change & what you would say.

Would this be the most effective way to make your partner change /achieve the change that you want? If not, write what is, in your experience, the most effective way to make your partner change. Have you even used this before? Why don't you use this now?

HOW DO YOU CHANGE THINGS?

Below is a list of different ways often given by people for how they get their partner to change. Using the numbers from the scale (they are from 1 to 5) please show how likely it is that you will use the way described. Put the number from the scale in the column headed HOW LIKELY next to each strategy?



THE WAYS I'D TRY TO GET MY PARTNER TO CHANGE ARE:	HOW LIKELY?
A. Direct requests	
B. Bargain or trade off	
C. Rewards/praise	
D. Threaten to stop doing things for partner	
E. Threaten to punish	
F. Use punishments	
G. Compromise	
H. Appeal to fairness	
I. Be angry	
J. Be upset or cry	
K. Convince them that it would be to their advantage	
L. Convince them they should do it	
M. Convince them that the whole family would be better off if they did it	
N. Get others to help convince them (e.g. child(ren), in-laws etc.)	

Q1) Which way is the most likely to work? Please say why.

Q2) Which way is the least likely to work? Please say why.

WHAT STOPS YOU CHANGING THINGS?

Pick one thing in your relationship that you would like very much to change now but would not try to change. Please write down here what it is that you would like to change but would not try to change.

Could you please list the sorts of things or reasons that stop you trying to change, or get your partner to change in regards to this issue. It is likely that there will be more than one, please list all that you think are important.

Which is the most important reason why you don't try to get your partner to change on this issue?

WHAT STOPS YOU CHANGING THINGS?

(Page 2)

Below is a list of different reasons given by other people for why they don't try to get their partner to change. Using the numbers from the scale (they are from 1 to 5) please show how important these reasons are to you for not trying to make the change you would like. Put the number from the scale in the column headed HOW IMPORTANT?

1 2 3 4 5

TOTALLY IRRELEVANT & UNIMPORTANT SOME RELEVANCE BUT NOT VERY IMPORTANT RELEVANT REASON IMPORTANT REASON VERY IMPORTANT REASON

REASONS THAT STOP ME TRYING TO GET MY PARTNER TO CHANGE ARE:	HOW IMPORTANT?
A. Partner deliberately being incompetent , slow etc.	
B. Fear of divorce	
C. Feel humiliated asking	
D. I'm better at activity than partner is	
E. Unfair to ask partner to change	
F. Partner may retaliate physically (shoves, slaps, hits etc.)	
G. Prefer partner to offer	
H. Partner may retaliate emotionally (be angry, cold, sulk, cry etc.)	
I. Dislike conflict	
J. Can't ask spouse to do a woman's/man's task	
K. Partner may retaliate verbally (shout, yell, swear, etc.)	
L. Partner may withdraw	
M. Partner would be insulted	
N. Other people would think it was wrong of me to ask.	
O. The family would run smoother if I didn't try to change	

Appendix F

Correlations Between Demographic Variables,

Predictor Variables and Dependent Variables.

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Division of Labour Variables

Correlations between division of labour variables and the demographic variables for men are presented in Table F - 1 and for women in Table F - 2. Longer paid work hours for men was associated with men reporting a higher relative share in earning income. However longer working hours did not affect men's relative contribution to any of the unpaid work domains. For women a different relationship between paid work hours and unpaid work is suggested. Longer working hours is associated with women reporting less relative involvement in both housework and childcare. Women's relative contribution to the emotional work load remains unaffected by paid work hours.

Men's occupational status appears unrelated to men's relative contribution to earning income, housework, childcare or emotional work. For women, higher occupational status is associated with women doing relatively more paid work and relatively less housework and childcare. Women's contribution to the emotional work appears unaffected by occupational status. It appears that the division of labour changes in relation to women's occupational status and time in paid work, but less so in relation to men's.

Table F - 1

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Division of Labour Variables for Men

Demographic	Division of Labour			
	Earning Income	Housework	Childcare	Emotional Work
Age	-.16	-.01	.01	.01
Religious attendance	.15	-.19	-.07	-.01
Education	-.03	-.00	-.03	-.05
Occupation	.19	-.04	.03	-.04
Workhours	.35**	-.19	-.05	-.04
Years married	-.12	-.05	-.05	.08
No. of children	.28*	-.22*	-.22*	-.07
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	-.17	-.02	.13	.31*

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Table F - 2

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Division of Labour Variables for Women

Demographic	Division of Labour			
	Earning Income	Housework	Childcare	Emotional Work
Age	.06	.02	.13	.17
Religious attendance	-.08	.21*	.02	-.00
Education	-.01	-.14	-.14	.13
Occupation	.40**	-.32*	-.24*	-.03
Workhours	.70**	-.32*	-.27*	-.16
Years married	.13	.07	.04	.13
No. of children	-.25*	.23*	.34**	.21*
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	.19	.09	.04	.04

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Religiosity, as measured by religious attendance, did not affect the division of labour for men. However, higher religious attendance for women was associated with performing a higher relative share of the housework. Of the life cycle variables, the number of children appeared to be of importance to the division of labour. As the number of children in the family increased women tended to do

relatively more housework, childcare and emotional work and reduce their share of earning income. Conversely, men's relative share in earning income increased while their relative contribution to the housework and childcare decreased. Men's share in the emotional work remained unrelated to number of children in the family, although men's share tended to increase as the youngest child grew older. This pattern of results could suggest that having more children in the family is associated with a more traditional division of labour arrangement.

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and the Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables

Demographic variables were examined for possible relationships with the evaluations of the division of labour predictor variables. The correlations for men are presented in Table F - 3, and for women in Table F - 4. Overall, little relationship was observed between demographic variables and the respondents' evaluations of the current division of labour. One exception was the hours the respondent worked. This variable appeared to be significant for both sexes, but in different ways. For men, the longer their hours of paid work, the less fair, but the more expected, they evaluated the current division of labour to be.

Conversely, for women, there was no relationship between number of hours in paid work and women's evaluations of fairness or prior expectations. In addition, the more educated the women was, and the older her youngest child was (up to five years old) the more the current division of labour tended to diverge from what she had expected.

Table F - 3

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Evaluations of the Division of
Labour Variables for Men

Demographic	Violated Expectations	Fairness
Age	.15	-.05
Religious attendance	-.09	.04
Education	.03	-.15
Occupation	-.02	-.18
Workhours	-.21*	-.24*
Years married	-.06	-.07
No. of children	-.00	.04
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	.05	.02

Note. Maximum $n = 102$: n s varied slightly because of missing data.
** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Table F - 4

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Evaluations of the Division of Labour Variables for Women

Demographic	Violated Expectations	Fairness
Age	.18	-.17
Religious attendance	.01	.05
Education	.20*	-.16
Occupation	.03	-.11
Workhours	-.09	.10
Years married	.09	-.15
No. of children	.14	-.04
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	.22*	-.01

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.
 ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Constraints on Change and Social Support Availability

Correlations between demographic variables, control, conflict between what is best for the self and what is best for the family and social support availability are presented in Tables F - 5 for men and Tables F - 6 for women.

Table F - 5

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Constraints on Change Variables
and Social Support Availability for Men

Demographic	Control over Division of Labour	Conflict between Self and Family	Social Support Availability
Age	.01	-.10	-.19
Religious attendance	.19	-.07	.25*
Education	.19	.08	-.02
Occupation	.17	.09	.08
Workhours	-.12	.16	.30*
Years married	-.02	.16	-.22*
No. of children	-.19	.06	-.12
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	.06	-.01	-.01

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.
 ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Table F - 6

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Constraints on Change Variables and Social Support Availability for Women

Demographic	Control over Division of Labour	Conflict between Self and Family	Social Support Availability
Age	-.03	.07	-.14
Religious attendance	-.00	-.05	.30*
Education	.06	-.18	.24*
Occupation	-.02	-.30*	.12
Workhours	-.02	-.19	.11
Years married	-.18	-.07	-.14
No. of children	-.01	-.06	.09
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	-.10	-.00	-.05

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.
 ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

For men, no relationship was observed between demographic variables and the constraints on change variables. However, several demographic variables were modestly related to men's social support availability. Longer paid working hours and fewer years married were associated with increased social support availability.

The availability of social support for both men and women appeared to increase as religious attendance increased. Additionally, the more educated a women was, the more availability of social support she reported. Finally, the lower the women's occupational status, the more she perceived conflict between what she considered best for herself and what she considered best for her family.

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Dependent Variables

In general, demographic variables showed little relationship with dependent variables. Those relationships that were observed were modest in size. Correlations between demographic variables and dependent variables are presented in Table F - 7 for men and Table F - 8 for women. More frequent religious attendance was associated with reduced depressive symptomology and reporting greater marital love for men. However, for both men and women, the older they were the less love for their partner they reported. Length of marriage or time living together was not related to level of marital love as has been suggested by other research (e.g. Bercheid, 1983). For women but not men, as their youngest child approached school age, the lower their reports of marital love tended to be. There were no relationships observed between the demographic variables measured and men's or women's levels of marital conflict.

Table F - 7

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Dependent Variables for Men

Demographic	Depressive Symptoms	Marital Love	Marital Conflict
Age	.02	-.28*	.11
Religious attendance	-.25*	.22*	-.01
Education	-.04	-.12	.11
Occupation	-.03	-.07	.07
Workhours	-.03	.09	.03
Years married	.07	-.01	.06
No. of children	.07	.10	.14
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	.09	-.14	.02

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Table F - 8

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Dependent Variables for Women

Demographic	Depressive Symptoms	Marital Love	Marital Conflict
Age	.08	-.37**	.19
Religious attendance	.03	.18	-.01
Education	-.08	.03	.02
Occupation	-.08	-.07	.07
Workhours	-.13	-.01	-.07
Years married	-.00	-.19	.10
No. of children	-.11	.04	.08
Age of youngest child (0- 5years)	-.01	-.23*	.09

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Appendix G

Correlations Between Sex and Demographic Variables

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Sex

Correlations between sex and demographic variables are presented in Table G - 1. There was no relationship observed between sex and religious attendance and sex and level of education attained. However significant relationships between sex and the other demographic variables were observed. Women in the sample tended to be younger than the men. Women were less likely to be in paid work than men, and men were more likely to work longer hours in paid work. Men were also more likely to occupy higher levels of occupational status than were women.

Table G - 1

Correlations Between Demographic Variables and Sex

Demographic	Sex
Age	-.22**
Religious attendance	.06
Education	-.04
Occupation	-.14*
Workhours	-.54**

Note. Maximum $n = 204$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

Appendix H

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Conflict Between What is Best for Self and What is Best for the Family Regarding the Division of Labour for Men and for Women

Table H - 1

Correlations Between Division of Labour Variables and Conflict Between What is Best for the Self and Best for the Family Regarding the Division of Labour for Men and for Women

Constraints	Division of Labour			
	Earning Income	Housework	Childcare	Emotional Work
Men				
Conflict between what is best for self and best for family	.25*	-.09	-.17	.02
Women				
Conflict between what is best for self and best for family	.01	.09	.16	.21*

Note. Maximum $n = 102$; n s varied slightly because of missing data.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).