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The influence of ethnic embeddedness on the gender role attitudes and division of household labor of married Hispanic women

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THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC EMBEDDEDNESS ON THE GENDER ROLE
ATTITUDES AND DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR OF MARRIED
HISPANIC WOMEN

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

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This dissertation is dedicated to Eric, my love.
Thank you for always inspiring me to do my best and remain
true to myself.

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ABSTRACT

In this study I examine the effects of both network structure and network function on the gender role attitudes and division of household labor among Hispanic women. Using a representative sub-sample drawn from the first wave of the National Study of Families and Households, I determine to what extent network processes help explain the gender role attitudes and behaviors of Hispanic women. Specifically, I focus on how embeddedness within a Hispanic community, as well as a woman's level of social support exchange with kin and non-kin help explain her current gender role attitudes and household labor allocation. I found that ethnic embeddedness during adolescence best explained gender role attitudes while *current* ethnic embeddedness was a more substantive determinant of household labor allocation. I conclude that factors regarding a woman's level of assimilation, as well as more precise measures of ethnic embeddedness may help better explain the relationship between ethnic embeddedness and gendered attitudes and behaviors.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The division of household labor has received considerable attention over the past three decades. Studies exploring how families and couples divide household labor have focused primarily on the influence of work schedules, relative resources and power, and gender-role attitudes on the division of household labor. More recently this line of research has expanded to explore the role of ethnicity in determining household labor allocation (Kamo and Cohen 1998; Coltrane and Valdez 1993; Shelton and John 1993).

Because ethnic minorities often face unique structural barriers and opportunities, it is important to go beyond traditional approaches to take into account how such dynamics shape the division of household labor (House et al 1988). Numerous studies have provided evidence of the importance of studying ethnic variations in family research (Kamo and Cohen 1998; Shelton and John 1996). Yet, some studies that examine the relationship between ethnicity and the division of household labor have yielded mixed results. A review of studies examining the influence of Hispanic traditionalism on the division of household labor reveals many inconsistencies in findings (John et al 1995; Shelton and John 1993). Although Hispanics often report traditional gender role attitudes (Gonzalez 1982; John et

al 1995; Mirande 1997; Shelton and John 1993), they often divide household labor more equitably than their non-Hispanic counterparts (Hochschild 1989; Shelton and John 1993).

This pattern of inconsistencies highlights the importance of exploring underlying patterns that may help explain the relationship between gender and the division of household labor among Hispanic families. An important question is the role of cultural context in the development and maintenance of gender-role attitudes, which, in turn, may affect the division of household labor. To investigate this issue, the present study will extend classic work on gender roles by examining the way in which cultural factors explain variations in gender-role attitudes, and in turn, the division of household labor, among Hispanic women.

A major premise of this study is that network members play a key role in defining and maintaining Hispanic-gender role attitudes, or more specifically, Hispanic traditionalism. Therefore, although this study applies the gender-role attitude perspective to explain the division of household labor of Hispanic women, it is unique in that it examines cultural and structural forces that shape these gendered attitudes and behaviors. In particular, I examine how community-level and network factors influence Hispanic women's gendered attitudes and behaviors. The data I use in this study represent a sub-

sample of married Hispanic women of the first wave of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH1) (Sweet, Bumpass and Call 1988).

CHAPTER 2: GENDER-ROLE ATTITUDES, ETHNICITY, AND THE DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR

Exploring the effects of cultural embeddedness on the division of household labor requires drawing upon the broader literature on ethnicity and acculturation, as well as the literature on the relationship between attitudes and behaviors. Basically, this is because ethnicity and acculturation affect the development of attitudes, including gender-role attitudes, which play an important role in the division of household labor. In this chapter, I begin by reviewing the literature on gender-role attitudes and the division of household labor, both in the general population, and among Hispanics, to lay the groundwork for the overall conceptual framework. As part of this discussion, I address the relationship between gender-role attitudes and behaviors and factors that explain why attitudes sometimes do not translate into the patterns of behaviors that would be expected. In particular, I explore why such a disjuncture between gender-role attitudes and the division of household labor is particularly likely among Hispanic couples. Finally, I discuss the relationship between social networks and acculturation and how they may influence gender-role attitudes and behaviors.

Gender-Role Attitudes and the Division of Household Labor:

The relationship between gender and the division of household

labor is quite complex and has been studied from a variety of perspectives. The three classic theoretical perspectives that have been employed in studying the division of household labor are: 1) time availability; 2) relative resources; and 3) gender-role ideology. While all three of these factors have been found to be important in explaining the division of household labor, in the present study I am going to focus on the factor that I believe is the most sensitive to cultural constraints—gender-role ideology.

The gender-role perspective is perhaps the most widely applied and best supported theoretical approach in studies of the division of household labor and wives' labor force participation (Kamo 1988; Blair and Lichter 1991; Mintz and Mahalik 1996; Greenstein 1996; Bianchi et al 2000). Specifically, it has been argued that persons with egalitarian ideologies will be more likely to divide household labor more equitably than will those who are more traditional in their beliefs (cf. Starrels 1994; Hochschild 1989; Blair and Lichter 1991; Presser 1994), regardless of other factors such as wives' time availability (cf. Mintz and Mahalik, 1996; Ross, 1987).

Some researchers have suggested that husbands' attitudes may be more influential in determining the division of household labor than are wives' attitudes (Shelton and John 1993; Wilkie et al 1998; Greenstein 1996; Bianchi et al 2000). For example,

Bianchi and colleagues (2000) discovered that wives were more likely to be affected by husband's preferences and ideology than vice versa. However, in contrast, Presser (1994) reported that men's participation in "female tasks" increased as a result of wife's gender ideology, yet husband's ideology had no effect. Thus, in examining the influence of gender role attitudes on the division of household labor, it is often recommended that one consider the influence of both spouses' attitudes.

The interaction between husbands' and wives' gender role ideologies may also influence domestic labor allocation (Kamo 1988; Hochschild 1989). For example, Greenstein (1996) reported that egalitarian men married to egalitarian women participated in housework the most. However, he also found that a man's gender role ideology had little effect on the division of household labor when he was married to a traditional woman. Conversely, when wives held egalitarian ideologies, husband's ideology was more predictive of his proportionate contribution to household tasks (Greenstein 1996). Further, egalitarian men married to traditional women participated less in household work compared to their counterparts who were married to egalitarian women (Greenstein 1996).

In sum, the literature demonstrates that attitudes play a major role in explaining the division of household labor. However, virtually all of these studies have used samples drawn

from the general, non-Hispanic population; thus, the findings can be generalized only to the non-Hispanic population.

Therefore, it is important to explore the influence of cultural embeddedness on Hispanic gender role attitudes as well as the effects of these attitudes on the division of household labor.

Gender-Role Attitudes Among Hispanics: A common assumption held by North Americans is that Hispanics prescribe to the notion of *machismo*, in which a man's primary role is head of the household, and *marianismo*, where the woman's primary role is motherhood (Mirande 1997; McLoyd et al 2000). Empirical evidence supports this assertion when comparing Hispanics to Anglos and Blacks. Using NSFH1 data, John and colleagues (1995) found that, when compared to White non-Hispanics and Blacks, Hispanic couples were less likely to think housework should be shared by men and women. The same study also found Hispanic women were more likely to agree that men should provide financial support for the family and women should be responsible for the home, compared to their Anglo and Black counterparts.

Mirande (1997) asserted that Latino conceptions of femininity and masculinity may be distinguished from non-Latino gender expectations in that gender expectations are best understood in a socio-cultural context, rather than as an individual trait. Specifically, he argued that the collective, rather than the individual, determines Latino notions of what it

means to be feminine or masculine. In addition, there is a gender difference in normative constraints in that it is women's behaviors that are more likely to be monitored and judged to assess family honor and decency than men's (Mirande 1997).

Given these more traditional gender-role attitudes held by Hispanics, we might expect that these couples would engage in a traditional division of household labor. However, the literature shows remarkably little consistency between gender-role *attitudes* and gender-role *behaviors* among Hispanics.

For example, Golding (1990) reported that Mexican American men contributed less to household labor than Anglo men. Yet, because education and ethnicity were highly correlated, further exploration revealed education, not ethnicity, as the key explanatory factor in determining these men's contributions to the division of household labor. Further, Ybarra's (1982) examination of acculturation and the division of household labor showed women's employment was positively associated with a *non-traditional* division of household labor, mediating the effects of acculturation on the division of household labor.

McLoyd et al's review of the 1990s literature on ethnic families asserts that Hispanic husbands actually spent more time on "female-type" tasks when compared to their European-American counterparts, especially if they were either partially employed or unemployed (McLoyd et al 2000). Further, an investigation

employing the NSFH1 shows Hispanic men contributed more to the division of household labor than Anglos or Blacks (Shelton and John 1993). Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) demonstrated that the separation often experienced when Mexican men reside in the U.S. without their wives resulted in a more independent lifestyle for both spouses that may have produced a redefinition of gender-role attitudes and behaviors (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992). Spousal separations resulting from migration, whether intermittent or continuous, required wives to adopt more autonomous roles since they were left with the children to raise and decisions to make, and required male migrants learn to cook, clean, and wash clothes. Once these families were reunited, Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) noted that a more egalitarian division of labor emerged. In contrast, in families where male migrants resided in communities with female labor readily available, the later reunification of the family resulted in the re-adoption of traditional roles practiced before migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992).

The findings from Hochschild's (1989) qualitative study further complicated the assumption of greater gender-role traditionalism among Hispanics by demonstrating that Hispanic couples may hold traditional gender-role attitudes yet engage in very gender-role egalitarian behaviors. One particular couple in her study reported they each held strong traditional beliefs

even though both spouses were employed and the husband contributed to domestic labor. Although ideally the couple would have preferred that the husband be the primary breadwinner, they were able to reconcile the schism between their traditional beliefs and non-traditional lives. In particular, Hochschild's (1989) interviews and observations of the couple revealed they reconciled their traditional attitudes with their non-traditional behaviors by adhering to the belief that the wife was only employed out of economic necessity. Further, the wife was able to solicit domestic participation from her husband by appealing to health limitations such as arthritis, allowing him to maintain his traditional masculine identity.

Taken together, these findings suggest that Hispanic couples who hold highly traditional gender-role attitudes often share household labor to a far greater extent than would be expected based solely on their attitudes. I believe the explanation for the disjuncture between their attitudes and behaviors can be better understood by drawing on the broader literature on the relationship between attitudes and behaviors.

Attitudes and Behaviors: The relationship between attitudes and behaviors has been of interest to social scientists for several decades. This line of research has demonstrated that the link between attitudes and behaviors is

often weak. Studies that have addressed the nature of this discrepancy have offered various explanations.

One approach applies contingent consistency theory to help explain why attitudes and behaviors often do not match. Essentially, contingent consistency theory (Acock and De Fleur 1972; Clayton 1972) argues that attitudes do not always predict behaviors because there are often other situational factors that mediate the realization of attitudes. Further, these mediating factors are often social and refer to perceived group norms (Andrews and Kandel 1979). One study examining the relationship between attitudes and behaviors regarding marijuana use found the effect of attitudes on behaviors was spurious after taking into account the influence of peer factors (Andrews and Kandel 1979). The researchers concluded that peer influence interacts with attitudes to help "improve the fit between attitudes and behaviors" (Andrews and Kandel 1979).

In Bagozzi's (1992) theoretical consideration of the link between attitudes, intentions, and behaviors, he argues that, in contemplating their behaviors, individuals consider the positive and negative outcomes of their behaviors on their social relationships. Thus, the individual takes into account the perceived expectations and feelings of significant others about the shared meanings attached to specific behaviors (Bagozzi 1992). In a similar study of smoking, drinking and drug use

among adolescents, researchers also found perceived social support of an attitude as key in ensuring the continued practice of many behaviors (Grube and Morgan 1990).

Attitude/behavior inconsistencies have also been examined with regard to family roles. Barber's (2001) study of attitudes toward childbearing and childbearing behavior found attitudes and behaviors were not always consistent. Specifically, attitudes toward childbearing did not affect behaviors when the behavior was not socially supported, such as premarital pregnancy (Barber 2001). Araji's (1977) research on the congruence of husbands' and wives' family role attitudes and behaviors found discrepancies often emerged when husband and wife roles were not clearly defined. Furthermore, the schism between such attitudes and behaviors was associated with the adoption of more traditional attitudes and behaviors (Araji 1977).

The literature has also shown that the link between attitudes and behaviors is most likely to weaken when there are practical circumstances that make adhering to one's attitudes very difficult. For example, an examination of how blue-collar couples negotiate traditional gender role attitudes found that workers often use cognitive mechanisms to maintain their traditional attitudes, while practicing non-traditional behaviors (Deutsch and Saxon 1998). To maintain gender role

traditionalism, they adhered to three central beliefs about their families: 1. The father was still the breadwinner, 2. The mother only worked in the paid labor force because of financial pressures and 3. The mother was still the central parent. Despite the fact that husbands' and wives' participation in the labor force and division of household labor were non-traditional, they were still able to maintain traditional gender role attitudes (Deutsch and Saxon 1998).

In regard to Hispanics, Mirande (1997) asserted that although a more equal division of household labor among Hispanics may imply gender role egalitarianism, it is important to consider the influence of men's provider role expectations. Specifically, the male provider role in Mexican American households may still be adapting to change. Mirande (1997) argues Latino masculinities, which are intricately tied to the provider role, are often challenged given the precarious economic circumstances Hispanics often endure.

Taken together, this literature suggests that there is substantial variation among Hispanics in terms of gender-role attitudes, and substantial variation in the relationship between those attitudes and the division of household labor. Drawing upon contingent consistency theory, I suspect the normative expectations of Hispanics, especially the degree to which such expectations are communicated and enforced, may explain the

inconsistent effects of gender role attitudes on the division of household labor. Within this conceptual framework, I have developed an argument regarding how ethnic embeddedness and the receipt of instrumental support from family members serve to strengthen the effect of attitudes on behaviors. In particular, I focus on the role of Hispanic network embeddedness in explaining gender-role attitudes and behaviors, since it is through network processes that normative expectations of culture are conveyed. More particularly, social networks and acculturation are inexorably linked in that members of social networks serve as the concrete cultural conduits that are necessary for acculturation processes to take place.

Acculturation and Gender Role Attitudes and Behaviors:

There is a large body of theoretical and empirical literature on acculturation. Acculturation is referred to as the process in which one ethnic group adopts another group's cultural traits (Gordon 1964; Yinger 1981). More specifically, it is often the minority group that is said to adopt the traits of the dominant group (Marger 2003). The aspects of acculturation processes that are of primary concern in the present study are those that influence the development and maintenance of gender-role attitudes and behaviors, which, in turn, affect the division of household labor. Thus, to an extent, the questions addressed in this study parallel some of

those found in classic approaches to studying gender-role behaviors. Yet, whereas the classic literature views intra-household factors, such as spousal income, age of children, or time availability as influential in predicting the division of household labor, my study places more emphasis on the structural determinants of network structure and function in explaining gender role attitudes and the division of household labor.

The relationship between social networks and acculturation may take many forms. For example, evidence suggests that families with a history of migration experience are more likely to send relatives to the U.S. than those without a history of migration experience (Winters 2001). If an immigrant has a large social network in the host community, then this network may offer an individual the resources he or she may need to survive in the new setting.

The relationship between networks and acculturation processes is also demonstrated by Phinney and Flores' (2002) study on the influence of acculturation on the gender role attitudes of Hispanic adults. In considering the impact of language usage, Hispanic friendships, education and generation, they found that having friends from other ethnic groups, knowing and using the English language, and being more educated were major predictors of egalitarian attitudes (Phinney and Flores 2002). Further, they asserted that the two dimensions of

acculturation (cultural retention and involvement in the larger society) should be considered separately. When acculturation was analyzed in this manner, the evidence suggested that involvement in the larger society, particularly through friendship networks, is an important factor in shaping gender-role attitudes, whereas retention of ethnic language and friendships is not (Phinney and Flores 2002).

In summary, it is clear that social network structure and function and acculturation are closely intertwined; thus, it is important to understand the role of social networks in the development and maintenance of gender-role attitudes and behaviors among Hispanic women. To explore this issue, it is necessary to turn from the specific study of gender-role attitudes to the broader literature on the effects of network structure and function on the transmission and enforcement of normative expectations.

Social Networks and Norm Transmission and Enforcement:

Social networks play an essential role in constructing and maintaining the normative expectations of their members. Networks provide an individual with a reference group to which one's behavior can be compared and from which normative expectations may be drawn¹. Thus, reference groups perform both

¹ For the purpose of the present study, I will use "reference group" to refer to "positive" reference groups. While "negative" reference groups are also important in understanding individuals' attitudes and behaviors (Merton

a comparative and normative function (Singer 1981; Cochran and Beeghley 1991; Merton 1968). The comparative function of reference groups provides an individual with a reference point from which to compare their behavior (Singer 1981; Cochran and Beeghley 1991). Reference groups also perform a normative function in that they offer directives for current or future behavior and foster conformity to certain beliefs, attitudes, values or behaviors that are upheld by the group (Singer 1981; Cochran and Beeghley 1991).

Another important component of the argument regarding group influence is that the more cohesive the group is, the more effectively it can influence its members (Festinger et al 1963; Cochran and Beeghley 1991). Cochran and Beeghley (1991) found that sustained interaction was an important criterion for group influence. In particular, if a group is homogenous in terms of ideas, attitudes, or behaviors, then we can expect there to be a positive relationship between conformity to the group norms and the amount of contact that occurs between an individual and other members of the group (Festinger et al 1963). These normative controls of the group are more effectively exercised when the norms and role performances of the group are readily observable by others (Merton 1968). The evidence also suggests

1968), they are beyond the scope of the present work.

that when people select their comparison referents, they tend to make comparisons with persons or groups which are "close" to the individual in some way, either in similarity or proximity (Singer 1981). Thus, depending upon both group cohesion and an individual's level of contact with the group, one may be able to determine how influential the group will be in shaping the normative expectations, and consequently the behaviors, of the group member (Festinger et al 1963; Suitor 1987).

Empirical evidence, beginning with several classic studies, has supported the assertion that an individual's level of contact with network members positively affects the adoption of behaviors and attitudes that conform to the norms of the group. For example, Newcomb's (1943) classic study of students at Bennington College revealed that, as young women progressed through their undergraduate careers, they became increasingly likely to adopt the more liberal social attitudes prevalent at the college and to reject their parents' more traditional perspectives. Similarly, Young and Willmott (1957) found that when couples moved from the neighborhoods in London in which they were born and raised to newly developed suburbs, their attitudes became increasingly similar to their new neighbors and different from their family and old friends, across time. Finally, Festinger and colleagues' (1963) classic study of families living in MIT student housing immediately following

WWII demonstrated that greater contact with members of the community association produced conformity to group norms.

More recent empirical work has also confirmed the effects of contact on adherence to group norms. Suitor's (1987) study of married mothers' return to school also supports the notion that reference groups may shape an individual's normative and comparison referents. She discovered that, when compared to their counterparts who were enrolled part time, full time students were more likely to shift their reference groups to the academic community after a one-year period.

Of particular relevance to the present study is Ethier and Deaux's (1994) examination of the ethnic identities of freshman Hispanic students attending Ivy League Universities. Ethier and Deaux (1994) asserted that for a person to successfully maintain their social identity in a new setting, they must develop new bases for supporting the identity. The Hispanic students in their study achieved this by making friends and engaging in activities on campus that supported their ethnic identity. Ethier and Deaux (1994) discovered that these students showed an increase in Hispanic identification, while those who did not make such choices showed a decrease in Hispanic identification at the end of their first year.

In sum, there is substantial theoretical and empirical support for the argument that greater contact with one's

reference group affects an individual's attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, understanding network processes among Hispanic women may be key to explaining their gender-role attitudes and behaviors, because group norms are usually strongly shared and enforced among predominantly Hispanic networks.

Simpatia, Collectivism, and Hispanic Traditionalism: In this section, I briefly summarize the literature on Hispanic traditionalism. My objective is to further explain the nature of Hispanic gender role expectations as they are often defined by contextual factors such as familial and ethnic obligations.

Triandis and colleagues (1984) found support for the idea that there is a cultural script for Hispanics called *simpatia*. *Simpatia* may be considered a de-emphasis of negative behaviors and an emphasis on more positive behaviors. When the researchers surveyed Anglo and Hispanic Navy recruits, they discovered that Hispanics tended to place a greater emphasis on talking with friends, cooperation and interpersonal helping, greater willingness to sacrifice oneself for the sake of attending family functions, and a preference for friends to deliver legal or physician services, even if the friends are not too competent (Triandis et al 1984). They concluded that Hispanics are more allocentric and tend to place a greater emphasis on the needs and values of others before their own. Triandis and colleagues' (1984) study revealed a pattern

replicated in other studies of ethnic differences, demonstrating consistently that Hispanics tend to have a more collectivistic tendency than do Anglos, who tend to be more individualistic (Chandler 1979; Keefe 1984; Triandis et al 1984; Mindel 1980; Gaines et al 1997).

Thus, high levels of contact with members of Hispanic networks would be even more likely to result in greater adherence to group norms, including de-emphasizing individualism, than would contact with non-Hispanic members. Such adherence to the norms of a group that embraces traditionalism would be expected to affect individuals' gender-role attitudes as well as their decisions regarding gender-role behaviors, such as the division of household labor.

Hispanic Social Support Exchange and Norm Transmission and Enforcement: Patterns of social support, as well as contact, are important in norm transmission and enforcement because it is through support and exchange processes that individuals are drawn into the networks through which they are then exposed to the normative expectations of groups. Specifically, exchange relations provide incentives to maintain contact with network members, contact that, as discussed above, will shape individuals' attitudes and behaviors. In the context of the present study, support processes are important to study because

they affect the extent to which Hispanic women are embedded in ethnic networks.

The general pattern of exchange processes that emerges from the literature is that of a high level of support among Hispanic families (Pugliesi and Shook 1998; Kaniasty and Norris 2000; Vega and Kolody 1985; Uttal 1999; Garcia 2002). Vega and Kolody's (1985) study of Mexican Americans and Anglos in Southern California revealed that, although Anglos had a larger number of persons in their support networks, Mexican Americans were most likely to get help from family than from friends. Keefe and co-authors (1979) reported a similar finding in that Mexican Americans were more likely to rely on kin for emotional support, while Anglos were more likely to rely on friends and other non-kin (Keefe et al 1979). Further, when Mexican Americans and Blacks have been compared, Blacks are more likely to use kin for instrumental purposes, while Mexican Americans are more likely to use kin for social and emotional support (Kim and McKenry 1998). Finally, Chandler (1979) compared a sample of Mexican Americans to Anglos and found a substantial difference with almost half of the Mexican American respondents indicating a close attachment to family, while only 3 percent of Anglos answered in a similar manner.

Because such exchange processes draw Hispanic individuals into networks that tend to uphold traditional gender norms, I

anticipate that more extensive support exchanges with family members will produce greater adherence to more traditional gender-role attitudes and behaviors regarding the division of labor. As the conceptual model (Figure 1) illustrates, the structural and functional dimensions of one's network are believed to influence both gender role attitudes and the division of household labor.

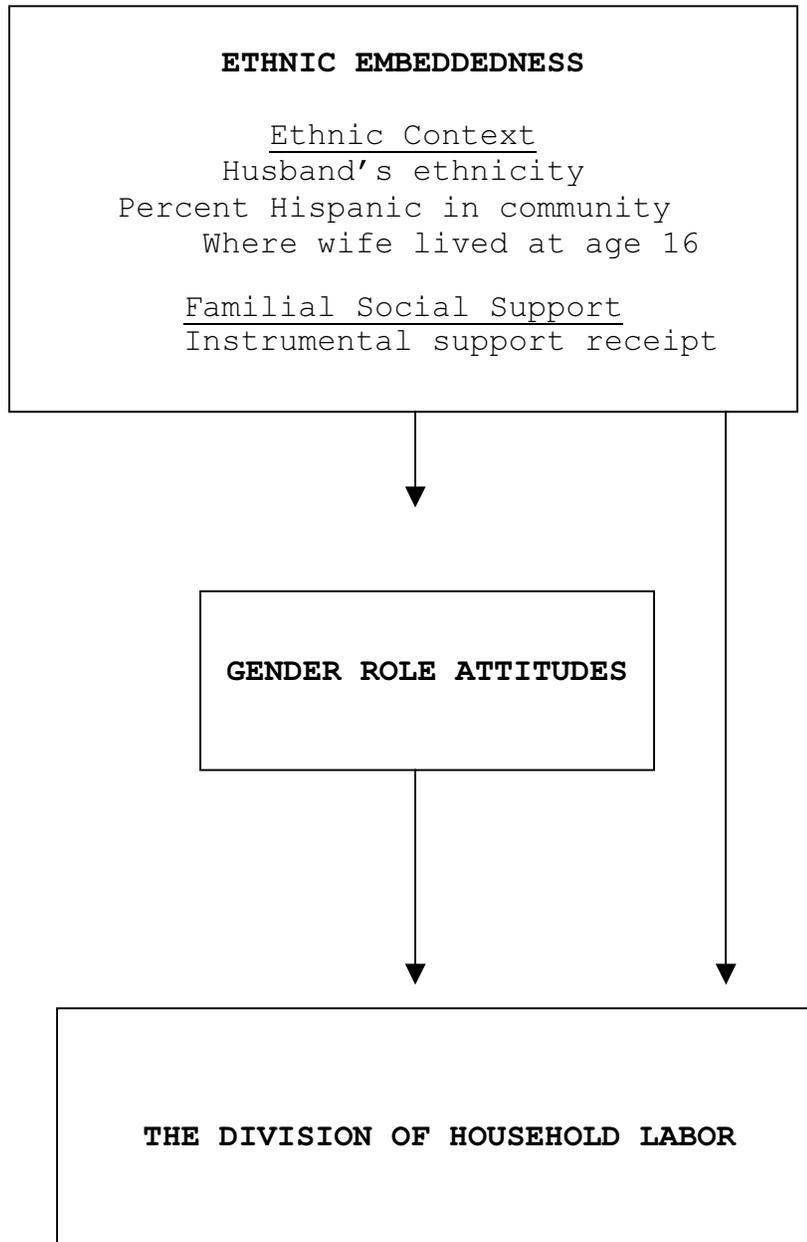


Figure 1: Conceptual Model of the Study

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND MAJOR HYPOTHESES

Conceptual Model: The conceptual model illustrated in Figure 1 shows the causal argument I am making and presents the specific dimensions of ethnic embeddedness that I include in my study. Basically, as I have outlined in detail above, I am arguing that greater ethnic embeddedness will result in more traditional gender-role attitudes, leading to a traditional division of household labor. The model illustrates the sequence of my analyses where the first analysis will address the influence of ethnic embeddedness on the gender role attitudes of Hispanic wives. Ethnic embeddedness is measured on two dimensions- structural and functional. The structural factors of ethnic embeddedness include husband's ethnicity, the percent of Hispanics in the community, and where a woman lived at the age of 16. The functional aspect of ethnic embeddedness is measured as a woman's receipt of instrumental support from family.

As illustrated in the model, in the second analysis I examine the influence of ethnic embeddedness on the division of household labor, taking into account wives' gender role attitudes.

Hypotheses: The model shown in Figure 1 is designed to test the following hypotheses:

H1: A woman's level of ethnic embeddedness will be positively related to traditional gender role attitudes.

H1a: Women who are married to Hispanic men will report more traditional gender role attitudes than will women whose husbands are non-Hispanic.

H1b: Women residing in communities with a greater percent of Hispanics will report more traditional gender role attitudes than will women who were residing in communities with fewer Hispanics.

H1c: Women who lived in a Latin country at the age of 16 will report more traditional gender role attitudes than will women who were residing in the U.S.

H2: Women who receive instrumental support from family will report more traditional gender-role attitudes than will women those who receive instrumental support from other sources.

H3: The level of ethnic embeddedness will be positively related to a more traditional division of household labor.

H3a: Women who are married to Hispanic men will report a greater proportionate contribution to the household labor than will women whose husbands are non-Hispanic.

H3b: The greater the percent of Hispanics in a woman's community, the greater her proportionate contribution to household labor.

H3c: Women who lived in a Latin country at the age of 16 will report a greater proportionate contribution to household labor than will women who were residing in the US.

H4: Women who receive instrumental support from family will report a greater proportionate contribution to household labor than will women who receive instrumental support from other sources.

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODS

Data: For the present study, I use data from the first wave of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH: Sweet, Bumpass and Call 1988). The NSFH1 is a national probability sample of adults interviewed between March of 1987 and May of 1988. The NSFH1 includes a main sample of 13,014 individuals over the age of 19 selected to be representative of the US population. Blacks, Puerto Rican Americans, Mexican Americans, single-parent families, families with stepchildren, cohabiting couples, and recently married persons were over-sampled. One adult per household was randomly selected to be interviewed as the primary respondent. All respondents completed a self-administered questionnaire, as well as an interview. The spouses of primary respondents also completed a self-administered questionnaire, although they were not interviewed.

The NSFH includes a variety of questions on demographic background, social attitudes, household composition, proximity and contact with friends and relatives, as well as describing respondents' allocation of time to household tasks.

Sample: Throughout the analysis, I will be using an NSFH1 sub-sample of married Hispanic women who were the primary respondents and whose cases also contain data on husbands as the secondary respondents. Although studies of the division of

household labor have often included cohabitators (Kamo and Cohen 1998; South and Spitze 1994), I selected only married women for my study because a preliminary frequency distribution showed only 28 of the 605 primary respondent Hispanic women were cohabiting, with 15 of cohabitators reporting they had no plans to marry. Furthermore, given that a key objective of this study is to examine how Hispanic traditionalism may affect gendered attitudes and behaviors, I chose to only include married couples since there is the likelihood of a selection effect occurring among cohabitators. Specifically, Hispanic women who are cohabiting may not only hold more non-traditional attitudes, but their choice to cohabit may be regarded by the Hispanic community as non-normative.

There are a total of 1,005 primary-respondent Hispanics in the NSFH1. Hispanic groups represented include a) Mexican/Mexican American/ Chicano; 2) Puerto Rican; 3) Cuban and 4) Other Hispanic. Of these, six hundred and five are women primary respondents and 48 percent are married (N=289). Although secondary respondent data are available for Hispanic women, my analysis focuses solely on primary respondents because some key items, such as the exchange of social support with kin and non-kin, were only asked in the primary respondent questionnaire. Also, although the NSFH1 provides a measure of each of the respondent's self-reported hours contributed to the

division of household labor, a frequency distribution revealed the response rates for primary respondents on the division of household labor items to be 50 percent greater than the response rates of husbands as secondary respondents². Since the small size of my sample was already of concern, I decided to include only wives' reports of the division of household labor. To ensure that wives' reports provided an adequate measure of husband's hours contributed to household labor, I examined the correlation between husband's self-reports and wives' reports of husband's contributions and found that the reported hours contributed to each household labor task were highly correlated ($p < .01$) for each of the five items. Therefore, a strong correlation between self and spouse's reports indicates using only wives' reports of household labor will be an adequate measure given the constraints of the data. After operationalizing key variables and defining the parameters of the study, my final sample size is 163.

Table 1 shows the sample descriptive statistics. Eighty percent of the sample was married to a Hispanic man, over half lived in a community comprised of at least 25 percent Hispanic, and over half of the women were residing in the U.S. at the age

² The mean number of wife's reports on the five household labor tasks was 158. For husbands, the mean was 107.

of 16. The mean income for women was \$17,038.10. Husband's mean income was \$17,020.

Almost three fourths of the sample was Roman Catholic (73.6%). Eighty six percent of couples were in their first marriage. Wife's mean age was 37.7, with a mean ten years of education. Fifty three percent of wives were working for pay. Eighty-two percent of husbands were employed with an average sophomore level education (mean = 9.97).

The Division of Household Labor: The NSFH1 is a valuable resource for the study of the division of household labor in that it offers information on the amount of time each household member spends on each household task. Because the central question my study addresses is how ethnic embeddedness affects the gendered attitudes and behaviors of married Hispanic women, I have chosen to focus exclusively on the division of household labor between husbands and wives.

The NSFH1 asked respondents about each household member's contribution to nine household tasks (Sweet, Bumpass and Call 1988). Interviewers handed respondents a form to complete during the interview asking them to "Write in the approximate hours per week that you ...normally spend doing the following things." The tasks included 1) preparing meals, 2) washing dishes, 3) cleaning house, 4) outdoor tasks, 5) shopping for groceries, 6) washing and ironing, 7) paying bills, 8) auto

maintenance and 9) driving family members. Research has shown that these tasks may be conceptualized differently. One approach is to separate household tasks into two groups- those that can be postponed and those that require a daily expenditure of effort (Kamo 1988; Hochschild 1989; John et al 1995). Tasks such as automobile and outdoor maintenance describe the former while cooking and cleaning the house illustrate the latter. More importantly, it is often in these daily activities of family life where gender role expectations are often best communicated and fulfilled (South and Spitze 1994; Kroska 1997).

Another way to categorize these tasks is to separate them into "male" and "female" tasks (Presser 1994). In reference to the NSFH1 items, the two traditionally male tasks are outdoor tasks and automobile maintenance and repair. Traditionally female tasks include preparing meals, washing dishes and cleaning up after meals, cleaning house, and washing, ironing, and mending clothes. The tasks usually regarded as "gender neutral" include paying bills, driving family members, and shopping for groceries (Presser 1994). Interestingly, there is a substantial overlap between non-postponable tasks and those considered female-type tasks.

Following Bianchi and her co-authors' (2000) lead, I measured division of household labor using husbands' and wives'

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Dependent Variables			
Wife's total weekly hours contributed to household labor	39.1	25.9	0-170
Husband's total weekly hours contributed household labor	7.8	9.2	0-60
Log of wife's total weekly hours of household labor	3.5	.75	0-5.1
Log of husband's total weekly hours of household labor	1.7	1.1	0-4.1
Gap in logs of wife and husband household labor hours (log of wife total-log of husband's total)	1.8	1.3	-2.4-4.7
Ethnic Embeddedness			
Husband's Ethnicity (Hispanic)	.80	.40	0-1
Percent Hispanic in Community	28.3	25.6	.37-83.1
Where wife lived at 16 (Latin Country)	.39	.49	0-1
Age wife first came to live in the U.S. (N=95)	20.37	9.89	1-55
Wife receives instrumental support from family	.80	.40	0-1
Control Variables			
Wife's Age in Years	37.6	12.4	18.3-82.2
Wife's Education	10.11	3.9	0-20
Number of children under 18 in the Home	1.67	1.44	0-6
Wife's work status (Employed)	.53	.50	0-1
Husband's Work Status (Employed)	.82	.38	0-1
Husband's age in years	39.6	13.3	20.75-84.17
Husband's education	9.97	4.12	0-17
Wives' Income	17,038.10	14,927.02	300.00-51,000
Husbands' Income	17,020.46	12,286.16	1.00-62,000.00
Wife's gender role attitudes	3.47	.88	1.2-5.0

individual total weekly contributions to "core tasks," as reported by wives. Core tasks refer to those that are designed to meet the everyday needs of all household members (Bianchi et al 2000; Noonan 2001). The core tasks I include in my study are (1) preparing meals, (2) washing dishes and cleaning up after meals, (3) cleaning the house, (4) shopping for groceries and other household goods, and (5) washing, ironing and mending. Though it is not often customary to include shopping for groceries as a "core task," the fact that it is a repetitive and time-consuming task (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992) with minimal leisure potential (Meissner 1977) justifies my consideration of it as a "core task" of daily household maintenance. I excluded the remaining four household tasks: 1) outdoor tasks, 2) auto maintenance, 3) paying bills, and 4) driving family members around. The first two if these tasks have been considered by the literature to represent mainly male tasks, the latter two have classically been considered "gender neutral tasks" (Presser 1994; South and Spitze 1994).

Also following Bianchi and collaborators (2000), I constructed a third measure of relative spousal contributions by subtracting husband's total hours from wives total hours to assess the gap in spouse's contributions. Because my study explores the effects of Hispanic ethnic embeddedness on gender role attitudes and the division of household labor, I chose to

include only the "core"/female-type tasks since they would be the tasks least likely to be shared equally in traditional households.

The distribution of men's total hours contributed to household labor was positively skewed with a little over half (51.5%) of the sample reporting four or less total hours per week contributed to the five tasks. To correct for the asymmetry in the distribution, I calculated the log of husbands and wives' individual total hours. Because there were husbands and wives whose contributions were 0, I added 1.0 before computing the log. Thus, my dependent variable is $\log(\text{hours} + 1)$. It is important to note that there are some consequences of taking the log of a variable. By taking the log of household hours, we can interpret regression coefficients roughly as percent increases. For example, a beta equal to .01 is roughly equivalent to a one percent increase in household hours.

To measure the difference between husband and wives' contributions to household labor I also followed the lead of Bianchi and her colleagues (Bianchi et al 2000) by computing the gap in contributions between husbands and wives. In summary, I measured the division of household labor in three ways: 1) the log wife's total weekly hours contributed to the division of household labor; 2) the log of husband's total weekly hours contributed to the division of household labor; and 3) the gap

in wife's and husband's logged of total hours, calculated as the difference between husband's and wife's logged total hours³.

Gender-Role Attitudes: The NSFH1 provides gender-role items that measure attitudes regarding the division of household labor, women's employment, childcare arrangements, and gender role expectations both within the family and in general (Sweet, Bumpass and Call 1988). To measure general family gender role attitudes the respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, disagreed, or strongly disagreed with the following items: 1) "Parents should encourage as much independence in their daughters as in their sons," 2) "In a successful marriage, the partners must have freedom to do what they want individually," and 3) "If a husband and wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally." To measure attitudes toward women's labor force participation, the respondents were asked whether they strongly agreed, agreed, neither agreed nor disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following items: 1) "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the woman takes care of the home and family," 2) "Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed." Respondents were also asked how strongly approve of the following

³ The gap in logged hours is tantamount to log of the proportion of the two spouses' hours, or $\log (W+1) - \log (H+1) = \log (W+1/H+1)$.

situations: "Mothers who work full-time when their youngest child is under age 5", "Mothers who work part-time when their youngest child is under age 5", and "Children under 3 years old being cared for all day in a day care center".

I began by conducting a factor analysis to assess which of the items clustered together and thus measured the common construct of gender role attitudes for this particular sample (Table 2). The factor analysis revealed that the eight questions clustered together as described above, or the factor structure of Hispanic women was identical to married women in general.

For the purposes of my study, I decided to only use gender role attitude measures that related to a) maternal employment and childrearing, and b) the expectation that men be the primary earners, women the primary homemakers. The factor analysis revealed five key items that clustered together and were thus most suitable for measuring gender role attitudes⁴. The five-item scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .776 on this sample.

The five final items ask about attitudes regarding: 1) mothers working full time when they have a child under the age of five; 2) placing a child under the age of three in day care; 3) maternal part-time employment when children are under the age of five; 4) whether men should earn the main living and women

Table 2: Summary of Exploratory Factor Analysis

	Factor Loadings	
	Component 1	Component 2
It is much better for everyone if the man earns the living and the woman takes care of the home and family	.679	.101
Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed	.668	-.150
<i>Please circle the number that best represents how much you approve or disapprove of the behavior described:</i> Mothers who work full time when their youngest child is under age 5.	.828	-.002
Children under 3 years old being cared for all day in a day care center.	.713	-.138
Mothers who work part time when their youngest child is under age 5.	.748	.261
Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons	.007	.646
If a husband and a wife both work full time, they should share household tasks equally	.032	.719
In a successful marriage, the partners must have the freedom to do what they want individually	-.214	.429
Percent of Variance Explained	52.92	38.98

Note: Factor loadings over .40 appear in bold.

be the main caretakers of the home and family; and 5) whether preschool children would be likely to suffer if their mother was employed. I coded each scale item so that higher scores indicate greater traditionalism.

Key Independent Variables: Table 3 shows the bivariate correlations among all variables in the analysis. The items I selected to measure structural aspects of ethnic embeddedness represent embeddedness at two key points in time: 1) currently and 2) at age 16.

I measured the structural components of ethnic embeddedness using three variables: a) husband's ethnicity, b) the percent of residents in the respondent's community in 1980 that were of Hispanic origin, and c) the country in which a woman was residing at the age of 16 (U.S. or Latin country). To measure ethnic embeddedness at the intra-household level, I coded husband's ethnicity as (1) Hispanic or (0) non-Hispanic based on whether the husbands' reported their ethnicity as Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Cuban, Puerto Rican or "other Hispanic."

To measure ethnic embeddedness at the community level, I used 2 variables. The first provided the percent of residents in the respondent's community who were of Hispanic origin in 1980. The second measure regards where a woman lived at the age of 16. All of the women who reported living outside of the

Table 3: Bivariate Correlations

	1. Log of wife's hours	2. Log of husband hours	3. Spousal gap in hours	4. Hispanic Husband	5. % Hispanic in community	6. Where wife lived at 16	7. Age wife came to live in U.S.	8. Receives instrumental support from family	9. Wife's Age	10. Wife's education	11. # of children Under 18 in home
1											
2	-.010										
3	.598**	-.808**									
4	.144#	-.070	.132								
5	.021	-.148#	.129	.283**							
6	.019	-.136	.117	.150*	.031						
7	-.110	-.132	.012	-.026	.020	.676**					
8	.045	.310**	-.238**	-.004	-.045	-.178*	-.133				
9	-.025	-.190*	.143*	.069	.119	.046	.542**	.016			
10	-.019	.300**	-.248**	-.236**	-.311**	-.317**	-.186#	.246**	-.309**		
11	.125	-.087	.129	.050	.111	.128#	-.084	-.100	-.312**	-.228**	
12	-.050	.224**	-.237**	-.191*	-.236**	-.051	-.144	.025	-.231**	.347**	-.190**
13	.09	.016	.061	-.120	-.189*	-.048	-.174	-.032	-.382**	.256**	.200**
14	-.105	.057	-.096	-.003	.053	.050	.006	-.034	.082	-.098	-.064
15	.021	-.086	.079	.002	-.155*	-.031	.038	.066	.012	.136#	.031
16	-.024	-.101	.091	.058	.085	.157*	.016	-.094	-.025	-.110	.148*
17	.084	-.128	.159	.079	.140	.266**	.222#	-.060	.152#	-.350**	.190*
18	.028	.246**	-.167#	-.333**	-.206**	-.283**	-.087	.084	-.250**	.642**	-.121

p < .10

Table 3: Bivariate Correlations (continued)

	12. Wife's work status	13. Husband's work status	14. Husband's age	15. Wife's income	16. Husband's income	17. Wife's gender role attitudes.	18. Husband's education
12							
13	.136*						
14	.069	-.042					
15	-.110	.140*	-.034				
16	-.136*	.038	.094	.023			
17	-.331**	-.099	.165*	-.105	.053		
18	.279*	.309**	-.343**	.133 [#]	-.153*	-.204**	

p < .10

U.S. at the age of 16 lived in a Latin country, therefore, I collapsed residence at 16 into two categories: (1) lived in Latin country at age 16; and (0) lived in the U.S. at age 16.

I used two sets of items to create the measure of instrumental support exchange⁵. The first item asked about receiving support within the past month with specific household tasks- babysitting, transportation, repairs, and work around the house. The second set of items asked whom the respondents would be most likely to: a) call in an emergency in the middle of the night; and b) borrow \$200 from for a few weeks because of an emergency. To create an overall dichotomous measure of instrumental support, receipt of support from family with either a) any of the household tasks, or b) in an emergency, or c) with financial assistance, was coded 1; naming either friends/neighbors/co-workers or no one in all three cases is coded zero.

Control Variables: The literature has shown that household labor contributions often vary by age and life cycle

⁵ Although the original conceptual model included measures of emotional social support as a second component of functional ethnic embeddedness, later analyses revealed that when both social support measures were analyzed simultaneously, there was a high degree of multicollinearity. Because a key question this study explores is how contact with family may serve to maintain and enforce gendered attitudes and behaviors, I chose to exclude emotional support based on the greater likelihood that such support may be unconstrained by distance. Conversely, instrumental support receipt from family presents the opportunity for increased interaction and thus the "monitoring" of gendered attitudes and behaviors.

Table 4: Where Wives Lived at the Age of 16

	Frequency	Percent
United States		
Arizona	3	1.8
California	22	13.5
Connecticut	2	1.2
Florida	4	2.5
Illinois	4	2.5
Indiana	3	1.8
Michigan	3	1.8
Maine	1	.6
Montana	1	.6
New Jersey	4	2.5
New Mexico	2	1.2
New York	6	3.7
Ohio	1	.6
Oregon	1	.6
Pennsylvania	1	.6
Texas	35	21.5
Utah	2	1.2
Virginia	1	.6
Washington	1	.6
Wisconsin	2	1.2
Latin Countries		
Columbia	2	1.2
Cuba	6	3.7
Dominican Republic	1	.6
Ecuador	2	1.2
El Salvador	6	3.7
Guatemala	1	.6
Honduras	3	1.8
Mexico	33	20.2
Nicaragua	1	.6
Panama	1	.6
Puerto Rico	8	4.9
Total	163	100.0

stages (Suitor 1991; Rexroat and Shehan 1987); therefore, I included both husband and wife's age, measured in years. I also included each spouse's income since these factors have also been shown to affect household labor allocation (Coltrane and Valdez 1993; Greenstein 1996).

Perhaps one of the most widely examined topics in the family studies literature concerns the impact of spousal employment status on the allocation of household labor (Kamo 1988; Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992; Blair and Lichter 1991). Men's paid work hours have been consistently negatively associated with household work hours (Coltrane and Ishii Kuntz 1992; South and Spitze 1994). Women's workforce participation has also been negatively associated with household work contribution (Bianchi et al 2000; South and Spitze 1994). Therefore, I included the employment status of both spouses, coded as currently employed (1), not employed (0).

Wife's level of education has also been found to be negatively associated with domestic labor participation (South and Spitze 1994; Shelton and John 1993). Conversely, husband's education has been positively predictive of household labor contribution (Kamo 1988; Shelton and John 1996; Brayfield 1992). Therefore, I included measures of both husband and wife's education, represented by the number of years of school completed at the time of the survey.

The presence of children in the home has been associated with a greater increase in women's household labor contributions than men's (Hossain and Roopnarine 1993; Gershuny and Robinson 1988). I therefore included the total number of children in the household under the age of 18. Children reported in these household composition variables include biological, step, adopted and "other" children who lived in the household.

Analytic Strategy: To explore the nature of the relationships between ethnic embeddedness, gender role attitudes and the division of household labor, I decided to conduct the analysis in two stages. First, I conducted a multivariate regression analysis of the influence of ethnic embeddedness and key control variables on wives' gender role attitudes. To more adequately assess the effects of ethnic structure and ethnic function on gender role attitudes, I conducted the analysis in three stages. I began by including control variables in the first block of the analysis to assess any independent effects that may be occurring when using classic control variables to explain wives gender role attitudes. In the second block of the analysis, I added the structural ethnic embeddedness measures of husband's ethnicity, the percent of Hispanics in a woman's community in 1980 and where a wife resided at the age of 16. In the final block, I added the functional ethnic embeddedness measure of wives' receipt of instrumental support from family.

Given the exploratory nature of my study, this strategy will allow me to assess the separate effects of each component of ethnic embeddedness, as well as the independent effects of classic control variables.

In the second stage of the analysis I examined the effects of ethnic embeddedness on: a) wives logged hours contributed to household labor; b) husbands' logged hours contributed to household labor; as well as, c) the gap in spouse's logged contributions. Each analysis employed a similar step-by-step approach to that described above. However, for the present analyses, I entered wives' gender role attitudes, as well as control variables, in the first block. In the second block, I added the structural ethnic embeddedness measures of husband's ethnicity, the percent of Hispanics in a woman's community, and where a wife lived at the age of 16. Finally, the third block included all variables in the analysis, along with wives receipt of instrumental support from family.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the influence of social network structure and function on the gender-role attitudes and division of household labor of Hispanic women. I begin by investigating the role of ethnic context and familial support on the gender role attitudes of Hispanic women. As stated earlier, I expect that cultural embeddedness, as measured by family support, husband's ethnicity and the proportion of Hispanics in the community, will be associated with traditional gender role attitudes. In the second phase of the analysis, I shift the focus to the effect of cultural embeddedness and gender role attitudes on the division of household labor.

Ethnic Embeddedness and Gender Role Attitudes: I hypothesized that wives' ethnic embeddedness would be positively related to gender role traditionalism. First, as Model A shows (Table 5), wives' education and work status, as well as the number of children under 18 in the household, each had a substantive effect on wives' gender role attitudes. Specifically, more educated wives and those who were employed reported more non-traditional gender role attitudes.

Also, the greater the number of children in the home under 18, the more traditional a wife's gender role attitudes.

Table 5: Regression Analysis of Wives' Gender Role Attitudes (N= 138)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
<u>Ethnic Embeddedness</u>						
<u>Structure</u>						
Hispanic husband			-.115 (.165)	-.056	-.125 (.165)	-.061
% Hispanic in community			.003 (.003)	.075	.003 (.003)	.082
Wife lived in Latin country at age 16			.471** (.148)	.262	.513** (.150)	.285
<u>Function</u>						
Family provides instr. supp.					.264 (.183)	.119
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Wife's age	-.005 (.007)	-.036	-.005 (.007)	-.058	-.005 (.007)	-.063
Wife's education	-.056** (.021)	-.205	-.040# (.022)	-.148	-.044# (.023)	-.185
Number of children under 18	.138* (.055)	.232	.124* (.053)	.201	.119* (.053)	.193
Wife's work status	-.255# (.152)	-.164	-.294# (.149)	-.165	-.274# (.149)	-.154
Husband's work status	-.085 (.230)	-.010	-.055 (.224)	-.019	-.051 (.223)	-.018
Wife's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.107	-.000 (.000)	-.030	-.000 (.000)	-.026
Husband's Income	.000 (.000)	.022	-.000 (.000)	-.012	-.000 (.000)	-.005
Constant	4.125 (.496)		3.793 (.537)		3.665 (.542)	
R ²	.199		.260		.272	
R ² Change			.062**		.012	

p < .10

In the second block, I added the measures of structural ethnic embeddedness. The findings in the middle column of Table 5 indicate that living in a Latin country at the age of 16 is related positively to wives' gender role traditionalism. This finding is key because it illustrates the importance of cultural ethnic embeddedness on attitude formation both prior to and during adolescence. Contrary to expectations, both *current* community-level ethnic embeddedness measures were not related to women's gender role attitudes. However, it is important to note that the substantive change in the R square of the model indicates the fit of the model showed a marked improvement once the structural aspects of ethnic embeddedness were added to the model.

Taken together, the findings suggest that structural aspects of culture may affect gender role attitudes during adolescence, but that such structural features of cultural embeddedness in adulthood have little bearing on wives' gender role attitudes. Moreover, as the second column shows, once structural elements of ethnic embeddedness are added to the model, the fit of the model improves substantially, indicating the importance of studying structural ethnic embeddedness factors when trying to explain women's gender role attitudes.

As shown in the right-hand column in Table 5, instrumental support receipt from family did have an effect, though not substantive, on gender role attitudes. Consistent with the literature, wives' education and employment status were negatively related to gender role attitudes. Thus, employed wives and those with more education reported less gender role traditionalism.

Also correspondent with the literature, a greater number of children under the age of 18 in the household was associated with more traditional gender role attitudes.

Conclusions: The analysis revealed a key relationship between gender-role attitudes and the structure of ethnic embeddedness. Consistent with the literature (Bastida 2001; Glick 1999; Solórzano-Torres 1987), ethnic embeddedness during the early stages of the life course, as indicated by having resided in a Latin country at the age of 16, is associated with more traditional gender role attitudes. This finding is important because it supports the assertion that Hispanic network embeddedness, especially during adolescence, provides women with a high level of contact not only with other Hispanics, but with their attitudes and behaviors. In addition, although the measure indicates residence during adolescence, it may also represent where women may have likely been residing during childhood. Pre-adulthood embeddedness within a community

that is more homogeneous in terms of their attitudes and behaviors surrounding gender roles is more likely to lead to conformity to these attitudes and behaviors (Festinger et al 1963). Recall that when behaviors are readily observable by others, normative constraints are more effectively exercised (Merton 1968). During the early formative years and through adolescence, young girls learn gender role attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors through interaction and the observance of reinforcement of particular behaviors (Bandura and Walters 1963; Lynn 1969). At this stage in the life course it is primarily parents, peers, schools and popular culture which are the primary forces shaping the gender role expectations of young women (Benokraitis 2005). Thus, residing in a Latin country exposes young women to normative constraints and reinforcements applied by family and community during a critical time in gender role socialization.

The importance of religion in the Latin culture in shaping gender role attitudes should also not be overlooked. In particular, the female counterpart to the concept of machismo for Latin men is the notion of marianismo for women (Mirande 1997; Mc Lloyd et al 2000). The marianismo concept is associated with the Virgin Mary in Catholicism and expects women to not only remain virgins until marriage, but also assumes they will be self-sacrificing and unassuming (De la Cancela 1994;

Mayo 1997). Given that three-fourths of the sample was Roman Catholic, the role of religion and the expectations associated with marianismo it prescribes should also be considered an important determinant in gender role attitude formation.

Conversely, women who were residing in the U.S. as teens may have been exposed to more heterogeneous gender role expectations, given the greater heterogeneity of U.S. culture. Therefore, a greater potential to interact with non-Hispanics may lead to a decrease in the effectiveness of Hispanic normative constraints. Thus, ethnic heterogeneity may serve to weaken the normative constraints of other Hispanics by exposing women to alternative, non-Hispanic reference group members given that social identities are supported and sustained by social relationships (Ethier and Deaux 1994; Festinger et al 1963).

In sum, the only ethnic embeddedness measure that had a substantive effect on wives' gender role attitudes is where they lived at the age of 16. However, current ethnic embeddedness appears to play a less important role in attitude formation or maintenance.

Gender Role Attitudes, Ethnic Embeddedness and the Division of Household Labor: In the second phase of the analysis I examined the influence of ethnic embeddedness on the division of household labor. To reiterate, I hypothesized that a higher level of ethnic embeddedness, as well as traditional gender role

attitudes, would be related to a traditional division of household labor.

Explaining Wives Contributions to Household Labor: I began by examining the effects of gender-role attitudes on the log of wives' hours of household labor⁶. As shown in the first column of Table 6, gender role attitudes affect wives' total hours contributed to household labor. The control variables had little or no effect on wives' total hours.

In the second step of the analysis I entered the structural embeddedness measures. As shown in column 2 of Table 6, being married to a Hispanic man was associated with an increase in wives' hours contributed to domestic labor. Further, there was a notable increase in the R^2 of the model, suggesting the fit of the model improved once structural ethnic embeddedness measures were added.

Finally, I entered the receipt of instrumental support from family, as shown in the third column in Table 6. This functional aspect of familial support receipt did not affect wives' contributions to household labor. Husbands' ethnicity continued to have an effect on wives' contributions to household labor. Further, as the change in R^2 demonstrates, adding this ethnic embeddedness measure did little to change the fit of the model.

Table 6: Regression Analysis of Wife's Contribution to Household Labor (N=125)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
Traditional Gender Role Attitudes <u>Ethnic Embeddedness</u>	.219** (.077)	.274	.215** (.079)	.270	.208* (.080)	.261
<i>Structure</i>						
Hispanic husband			.260# (.149)	.158	.258# (.150)	.157
% Hispanic in community			.004 (.003)	.144	.004 (.003)	.141
Wife lived in Latin Country at age 16			-.035 (.140)	-.024	-.017 (.142)	-.012
<i>Function</i>						
Family provides instr. supp.					.130 (.173)	.070
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Wife's age	.007 (.006)	.099	.007 (.006)	.109	.007 (.006)	.109
Wife's education	.010 (.019)	.049	.017 (.020)	.090	.013 (.021)	.067
Number of children under 18	-.026 (.050)	-.051	-.035 (.050)	-.069	-.037 (.050)	-.073
Wife's work status	-.142 (.138)	-.098	-.104 (.138)	-.072	-.100 (.139)	-.066
Husband's work status	.121 (.196)	.055	.151 (.194)	.069	.151 (.194)	.069
Wife's Income	.000 (.000)	.089	.000 (.000)	.077	.000 (.000)	.083
Husband's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.105	-.000 (.000)	-.082	-.000 (.000)	-.087
Constant	2.493 (.527)		2.062 (.549)		2.023 (.552)	
R ²	.112		.162		.166	
R ² Change			.051#		.004	

p < .10

Consistent with my hypotheses, husbands' ethnicity helped to explain wives' household labor hours; however, surprisingly, none of the other ethnic embeddedness factors had any effect. Perhaps the lack of support for the hypothesis regarding ethnic embeddedness, other than husbands' ethnicity, is due to the use of the log of wives' hours. I used the log of wives' hours in order for the analysis to be comparable to that of husbands' hours, which were logged to reduce skewness. To assess whether logging wives' hours could account for non-findings, I conducted a regression analysis using the raw distribution of wives' total weekly hours contributed to the division of household labor. The analysis revealed there were essentially no substantive differences in the findings using the logged and unlogged dependent variables.

In sum, women in ethnically homogenous marriages contributed more weekly hours to household labor than did those married to non-Hispanic men.

Explaining Husbands' Contributions to Household Labor: In this analysis I replaced wives' age and education with husbands' age and education because these measures: a) are more suitable controls for explaining husbands' hours contributed to the division of household labor and b) were too highly correlated with wives' age and education to be examined simultaneously.

The first column of Table 7 revealed no relationship between wives' gender role attitudes and husbands' contributions to household labor. Yet, wives' work status had a positive effect on husband's contributions to household labor.

Model B revealed that none of the structural ethnic embeddedness measures had a substantial effect on men's household labor contributions. Although there was a slight increase in R^2 , the introduction of the structural embeddedness measures did not alter the fit of the model to any great extent.

The inclusion of the functional aspects of ethnic embeddedness shown in the right hand column of Table 7 shows, contrary to my hypotheses, that when wives receive instrumental support from family, this was associated with an increase in husbands' contributions to household labor⁷. Further, when wives are employed, husbands still contribute more, even when other factors such as his work status, income and education are controlled. The model reveals a slight increase in R^2 , though the improvement of the fit is negligible.

In sum, the findings revealed that both having an employed wife and receiving instrumental support from family were associated with an increase in husbands' contributions to household labor.

⁷ When receipt of emotional support from family was examined, the results revealed no substantive differences between emotional and instrumental support in determining husbands' hours contributed to household labor.

Table 7: Regression Analysis of the Husband's Hours Contributed to Household Labor (N=103)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
Traditional Gender Role Attitudes Ethnic Embeddedness	-.068 (.131)	-.057	-.003 (.148)	-.002	-.014 (.144)	-.012
<i>Structure</i>						
Hispanic husband			.117 (.254)	.049	.143 (.248)	.059
% Hispanic in community			-.004 (.005)	-.084	-.004 (.005)	-.080
Wife lived in Latin country at age 16			-.175 (.244)	-.080	-.006 (.243)	-.026
<i>Function</i>						
Family provides instr. supp.					.642* (.267)	.234
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Husband's age	.001 (.001)	.128	.000 (.001)	.118	.001 (.001)	.138
Husband's education	.052 (.032)	.171	.051 (.034)	.168	.047 (.033)	.155
Number of children under 18	.118 (.084)	.151	.106 (.086)	.135	.115 (.084)	.146
Wife's work status	.443# (.228)	.204	.454# (.235)	.209	.476# (.229)	.219
Husband's work status	-.095 (.330)	-.027	-.124 (.335)	-.036	-.115 (.327)	-.033
Wife's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.121	-.000 (.000)	-.111	-.000 (.000)	-.090
Husband's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.119	-.000 (.000)	-.124	-.000 (.000)	-.135
Constant	.999 (.697)		.907 (.780)		.354 (.794)	
R ²	.156		.166		.216	
R ² Change			.010		.050*	

p < .10

Explaining the Gap in Husbands and Wives' Logged

Contributions to Household Labor: In the final analysis I employed the same block-wise approach to examine the gap in wives' and husbands' logged hours of household labor. As noted earlier, the gap in spouses' contributions to household labor was measured as the log of husbands' total hours subtracted from the log of wives' hours. In addition, wives' age and education were highly correlated with husbands' age and education. Therefore, to reduce the likelihood of multicollinearity, I chose to only include these measures for wives in the present analysis.

As shown in the first column of Table 8, wives' traditional gender role attitudes were positively related to an increase in the gap in logged hours. More specifically, when wives held traditional gender role attitudes their contributions to household labor exceeded their husbands' contributions. Wives' age, work status and education also had an effect on the gap in spouses' logged hours contributed to household labor. Specifically, in households in which wives were younger, employed or had more education, this was associated with a narrowing of the gap in spouses' logged hours.

As shown in the middle column of Table 8, the structural measures of ethnic embeddedness were not influential in explaining the gap in spouses' logged hours contributed to

Table 8: Regression Analysis of the Gap in Spouse's Logged Hours Contributed to the Division of Household Labor (N=100)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
Traditional Gender Role Attitudes	.274# (.147)	.183	.236 (.159)	.157	.241 (.159)	.161
<u>Ethnic Embeddedness</u>						
<i>Structure</i>						
Hispanic husband			.249 (.273)	.084	.241 (.274)	.082
% Hispanic in community			.007 (.005)	.121	.007 (.005)	.121
Wife lived in Latin country at age 16			.155 (.271)	.057	.122 (.275)	.045
<i>Function</i>						
Family provides instr. supp.					-.249 (.322)	-.075
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Wife's age	.003** (.012)	.275	.036** (.012)	.287	.036** (.012)	.288
Wife's education	-.062# (.034)	-.178	-.049 (.035)	-.140	-.039 (.038)	.111
Number of children under 18	-.106 (.095)	-.110	-.107 (.095)	.111	-.105 (.096)	-.109
Wife's work status	-.583* (.255)	-.216	-.554* (.259)	-.205	-.577* (.261)	-.214
Husband's work status	.145 (.368)	.034	.201 (.370)	.048	.208 (.371)	.050
Wife's Income	.000 (.000)	.085	.000 (.000)	.063	.000 (.000)	.057
Husband's Income	.000 (.000)	.088	.000 (.000)	.109	.000 (.000)	.111
Constant	.688 (.954)		.165 (1.020)		.260 (1.029)	
R ²	.315		.340		.344	
R ² Change			.025		.004	

p < .10

domestic labor. In fact, wives age and work status were the only factors associated with a larger gap in hours. There was also only a slight increase in R^2 at this step in the analysis.

Finally, when familial instrumental support receipt was included, as shown in Model C, wife's age and employment status had an effect on the spousal gap in logged hours. In particular, as the preceding models showed, when wives are younger and employed this was associated with a smaller gap in hours. The fit of the model improved in this step, though the degree of improvement was minor.

To summarize, ethnic embeddedness and gender role attitudes did not help to explain the gap in husbands' and wives' logged contributions to household labor. In fact, only wife's age and employment status appear to be affecting the gap in the division of household labor. In particular, when wives are employed, the spousal gap in logged hours contributed to the division of household labor narrows. However, when wives are older the gap widens.

Subsequent Analysis: These findings provide a premise for further consideration of the influence of ethnic embeddedness on gender role attitudes and the division of household labor. Also, given the fact that a large proportion of the sample was migrants, it is important to consider that a household's stage in the migration process, which may range from newly arrived to

second or third generation, could be an important determining factor in cultural retention and assimilation (Phinney and Flores 2002; Portes and Mac Leod 1996). To further explore whether acculturation into the U.S. culture has an effect on the division of household labor, I conducted an analysis for immigrant wives only, replacing where wives lived at 16 with the age they first came to live in the U.S., in order to more adequately assess whether length of time in the U.S. would affect household labor contributions.

I found that the age a woman first came to the U.S. had a negative effect on men's household labor contributions (Table 9). In other words, the older wives were when they came to the United States, the fewer hours their husbands contributed to household labor. Such a finding may suggest that when wives are more assimilated into the U.S. culture their husbands contribute more to domestic labor.

I conducted the same analysis on wives and found that although wives' hours contributed to household labor were not directly influenced by the age in which they came to live in the U.S., the percent of Hispanics in the community emerged as a substantive explanatory factor (Table 10). Specifically, when considering a woman's age at migration, the percent of Hispanics has a positive effect on her contributions to household labor. Therefore, current embeddedness in a Hispanic community is

Table 9: Regression Analysis of the Husband's Hours Contributed to Household Labor Using the His Wife First Came to Live in the U.S. (N=44)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
Traditional Gender Role Attitudes	-.007 (.183)	-.068	.169 (.196)	.155	.101 (.201)	.093
<u>Ethnic Embeddedness</u>						
<u>Structure</u>						
Hispanic husband			.778* (.428)	.314	.727* (.426)	.294
% Hispanic in community			-.004 (.008)	-.074	-.004 (.008)	-.076
Age wife first came to live in U.S.			-.035** (.017)	-.332	-.027 (.018)	-.250
<u>Function</u>						
Family provides instr. supp.					.391 (.306)	.195
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Husband's age	.001 (.001)	.137	.000 (.001)	.045	.000 (.001)	.074
Husband's education	.070 (.045)	.269	.114** (.044)	.438	.100** (.045)	.382
Number of kids under 18 at home	-.000 (.120)	-.001	-.033 (.111)	-.044	-.021 (.110)	-.028
Wife's work status	.169 (.321)	.088	.132 (.295)	.068	.140 (.292)	.072
Husband's work status	-.487 (.468)	-.162	-.587 (.454)	-.195	-.574 (.449)	-.191
Wife's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.041	.000 (.000)	.021	.000 (.000)	.006
Husband's Income	-.000 (.000)	-.201	-.000 (.000)	-.200	-.000 (.000)	-.236
Constant	1.406 (1.018)		.402 (1.237)		.379 (1.226)	
R ²	.212		.400		.429	
R ² Change			.188**		.029	

Table 10: Regression Analysis of Wife's Contribution to Household Labor Using the Age She First Came to Live in U.S. (N=44)

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β	B s.e.	β
Traditional Gender Role Attitudes	.137 (.108)	.191	.108 (.109)	.150	.084 (.117)	.116
<u>Ethnic Embeddedness</u>						
<u>Structure</u>						
Hispanic husband			.185 (.276)	.104	.167 (.280)	.093
% Hispanic in community			.013** (.006)	.381	.013** (.006)	.371
Age wife first came to live in U.S.			.001 (.011)	.019	.004 (.012)	.058
<u>Function</u>						
Family provides instr. supp.					.140 (.232)	.101
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Wife's age	.011 (.010)	.167	.013 (.011)	.190	.012 (.011)	.169
Wife's education	.003 (.024)	.021	.018 (.024)	.121	.010 (.027)	.070
Number of children under 18	-.005 (.075)	-.010	-.055 (.076)	-.118	-.065 (.079)	-.140
Wife's work status	-.002 (.201)	-.001	-.013 (.193)	-.010	-.016 (.194)	-.012
Husband's work status	-.169 (.300)	-.084	-.076 (.296)	-.037	-.092 (.300)	-.046
Wife's Income	.000 (.000)	.203	.000 (.000)	.234	.000 (.000)	.233
Husband's Income	.000 (.000)	.013	.000 (.000)	.059	.000 (.000)	.041
Constant	2.610 (.758)		2.028 (.877)		2.150 (.906)	
R ²	.297		.468		.475	
R ² Change			.131*		.007	

** p < .05

influential in determining women's household labor contributions when her length of residence in the U.S. is taken into account.

Conclusions: The second focus of the study was on the effects of both gender-role attitudes and ethnic embeddedness on the performance of household labor. Consistent with my hypothesis, the analysis revealed that wives' gender role attitudes were related to their contributions to household labor. Further, although wives' current ethnic embeddedness had little effect on gender-role attitudes, this factor did affect wives' contributions to household labor. Specifically, the analysis showed that women who were married to Hispanic men contributed a greater number of hours to household labor each week. These effects also remained, even when factors traditionally used to explain the division of household labor such as a wife's education, income and work status, are controlled.

In light of these findings, it is important to address the relationship between wives' attitudes and husbands' ethnicity and how they play a vital role in determining wives' contributions to household labor. As discussed earlier, the principles of contingent consistency theory state that situational factors often come into play when explaining the influence of attitudes on behaviors (Acock and De Fleur 1972; Clayton 1972). Although such factors often weaken the

relationship between attitudes and behaviors, in other cases they may help strengthen the relationship (Grube and Morgan 1990; Andrews and Kandel 1979; Barber 2001). My study revealed that this is particularly the case when Hispanic women are married to Hispanic husbands. It is therefore conceivable that women married to Hispanic husbands contribute more to household labor because this structural factor, particularly within the household, will have the greatest potential to affect household labor.

Also recall that when individuals are contemplating practicing behaviors, they tend to consider the positive and negative outcomes of their behaviors on their social relationships (Bagozzi 1992). This finding is particularly applicable to Hispanics given their greater familistic orientations (Keefe 1984; Gaines et al 1997; Kaniasty and Norris 2000; Harris and Firestone 1998) and often contextually-determined gender role expectations (Mirande 1997; Benokraitis 2005). In regard to the present analysis, wives' increased contributions to household labor may be considered most strongly influenced by *both* their husband's ethnic embeddedness influence, as well as their own attitudes regarding gender role expectations.

Surprisingly, the analysis examining husbands' contributions revealed that they contributed more to household

labor when wives received instrumental support from their families. Husbands also contributed more when their wives were employed. Because husbands' household labor contributions increased under each of these circumstances, it is reasonable to presume that perhaps these husbands are contributing more to domestic labor because there is simply more work that must be performed. Moreover, once the instrumental support aspect of ethnic embeddedness was added to the model, the fit improved substantially. With family members contributing more instrumental support and husbands' hours increasing as a result of wives' employment, it is clear that these wives are receiving support from numerous family members.

Furthermore, the relationship between receiving instrumental support from family and wives' contributions to household labor, though not substantial, was also positive. Thus, these households may be overburdened with work and family demands and thus rely on family members outside of the household to help them meet such demands. Recall that the instrumental support measures included receiving support in the form of either: babysitting, transportation, repairs and household work. In addition, the fact that the narrowing of the spousal gap in logged hours is better explained by wives' work status suggests that the overall explanation for increased contributions from

husbands and family members may be due, by and large, to an overall redistribution of household labor responsibilities.

The secondary findings are key in that they highlight the importance of examining alternative measures of ethnic embeddedness. More specifically, there are different elements to acculturation, or the adoption of a host culture's traits (Phinney and Flores 2002; Marger 2003). For example, social networks have been found to account for some of the variance in explaining acculturation (Cuéllar et al 1995; Suinn et al 1992). In addition, generation of immigration has also been shown to influence acculturation (Phinney and Flores 2002). Perhaps more importantly, simultaneously taking into account both migration generation and embeddedness in an ethnic community may be a more effective approach to assessing acculturation effects. As Phinney and Flores (2002) assert, although some migrants become more assimilated into the host culture after a few years of immigration, others may reside in predominantly Hispanic communities for several generations.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND LIMITATIONS

This study was designed to explore the ways in which ethnic embeddedness affects gender role attitudes and the division of household labor, using a sub-sample of married Hispanic women in the National Survey of Families and Households.

The findings show that ethnic embeddedness at the age of 16 is more strongly related to current gender role attitudes, while current ethnic embeddedness is more influential in shaping household labor allocation. Specifically, wives' gender role attitudes were not related to husband's ethnicity, the percent of Hispanics in the community or receiving instrumental support from family. Again, it is important to remember that attitudes may already be firmly established by adulthood. Therefore, current social context may play a small part, if any, in shaping gender role attitudes.

Moreover, these attitudes may also be shaped by community-level factors such as exposure to media images that may challenge traditional gender role expectations (Garcia 2002). Research has also shown that immigrant mothers often tend to socialize their American-born daughters to consider themselves as equal to men (Garcia 2002). Therefore, although women may identify themselves as Hispanic, one cannot overlook the dynamic nature of assimilation into the American culture and how the transmission of attitudes from one generation to the next may be

influenced by a household's stage in the migration process (Marger 2003; Phinney and Flores 2002).

With regard to household labor allocation, women in ethnically homogamous marriages contributed more to household labor, supporting a key hypothesis of my study. However, when wives received instrumental support from relatives, this was associated with an *increase* in men's contributions to household labor. Such a finding may indicate that households in which relatives and husbands are contributing more to household labor may simply indicate that there is a greater amount of household labor that must be completed.

These findings may be better understood by considering a household factor that was not addressed in this study. In particular, one factor that may affect household labor demand is the number of other adult family members that may reside within the household. For example, compared to Mexican Americans, Mexican immigrants have higher rates of extended family living within the household than their native counterparts (Glick 1999; Glick, Bean and Van Hook 1997; Tienda 1980). Therefore, although my study employed a classic approach in using the presence of children as a measure of household labor demand, it may have been even more informative to consider the presence of additional adult family members residing in the house. A subsequent analysis revealed that, aside from the married

couple, twenty percent of the sample had at least one other adult (age 19 or over) residing in the household. Thus, household member composition beyond nuclear family members may be an additional contributing factor in assessing household labor demand.

In addition, a consideration of both generation of immigration, as well as network ethnic embeddedness would be a more thorough approach to explaining gendered attitudes and behaviors. As contingent consistency theory holds, structural determinants often play a role in reinforcing the link between attitudes and behaviors (Andrews and Kandel 1979). In addition, peer influence may interact with attitudes to strengthen the link between attitudes and behaviors (Bagozzi 1992; Andrews and Kandel 1979). Therefore, a woman's embeddedness within a Hispanic community may help to strengthen traditional normative expectations, especially when considering her length of residence. Future research would benefit from addressing these dynamics and how they help determine gender role attitudes and the division of household labor.

There are some limitations to this study that should be noted. First, because of the limited number of cases available for husbands' contributions to household labor, I derived this measure using only wives' reports of their husbands' hours contributed to specific tasks. Therefore, it is possible that

a social desirability effect may be occurring whereby non-traditional wives report greater levels of contributions by husbands and traditional wives report fewer contributions (Press and Townsely 1998; Kamo 2000). Furthermore, using only wives' reports of husbands' contributions may be biased if wives are either resentful of their time spent on household labor or if they are not completely aware of the contributions husbands make (Kamo 2000; Berk and Shih 1980). In addition, using only wives' gender role attitudes to explain the household labor contributions of each spouse may only tell half the story. Specifically, research has shown that not only do husbands' gender role attitudes play a key role in explaining household labor, but also the interactive effects of both spouses' gender role attitudes often help further explain household labor allocation (Shelton and John 1993; Wilkie et al 1998; Greenstein 1996; Bianchi et al 2000).

Second, the sample was comprised of women representing several different Hispanic groups. In comparing Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans it is important to remember each of these groups has experienced varying economic and social circumstances, both historically and presently (Portes 1996; Portes and Truelove 1987; Vega 1990). For example, when you compare the socioeconomic position of Cuban and Mexican immigrants after six years in the United States, only 4.5

percent of Mexican immigrants are self-employed compared to 21.2 percent of Cubans (Portes and Bach 1985). Furthermore, the context that receives immigrants may also play a critical role in determining socioeconomic outcomes of that group beyond the first generation. As Portes and MacLeod's (1996) research showed, regardless of the human capital an immigrant may possess, the position of second generation Mexican and Cuban Americans can also be affected by the previous generation's receptions by the host culture. In particular, their study showed that second-generation Cuban Americans showed remarkably greater academic achievement than their Mexican American counterparts. The researchers concluded that the greater amount of resettlement assistance and minimal discrimination encountered by first generation Cubans allowed them to fare better than their Mexican counterparts. In turn, their greater socioeconomic standing is reflected in the markedly different levels of academic achievements of the second generation (Portes and MacLeod 1996). The variations in the social context and structural barriers these groups have experienced will inevitably have an effect on how group members manage their everyday realities and negotiate their family roles (Tienda 1980). Therefore, it is important to recognize the limited applicability of these findings to *all* Hispanics, as well as the

potential for future research to address the varied structural realities of different Hispanic groups.

In sum, the present study did reveal that Hispanic ethnic embeddedness during adolescence is influential in determining women's gender role *attitudes*. Conversely, current adult ethnic embeddedness is more influential in determining the gendered *behavior* of the division of household labor. This temporal distinction between attitude formation and attitude realization can be more clearly understood within the context of assimilation and its distinct dimensions. Because Hispanics comprise a greater proportion of the U.S. population than ever before, it is important for researchers to consider the impact that assimilation within Hispanic communities will have, not only on Hispanic residents, but also on the community as a whole. Subsequent research in this area should consider the operation of these elements as crucial in determining *how* both the structure and function of a woman's ethnic embeddedness influence gender role attitudes and the division of household labor.

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