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It's not what I expected: The association between dual-earner couples' met expectations for the division of paid and family labor and well-being

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ABSTRACT

The impact of dual-earner couples' unequal division of paid and family labor after the transition to parenthood is inconsistently linked to well-being outcomes. We argue that this relationship can be better understood by examining the congruence between the post-child division of labor and pre-child expectation for the division of labor. Based on a met expectations framework, this idea was tested with 137 dual-earner heterosexual couples with young children. Hypotheses were testing using polynomial regression analyses with well-being considered in both affective (career, marital, and family satisfaction) and health-related (depressive and physical health symptoms) terms. Results suggested that congruence in the paid labor and childcare domain mattered most for wives' well-being, whereas congruence with household labor mattered most for husbands' well-being. Crossover analyses revealed a similar trend in that wives' expectations-division of paid labor congruence was significantly related to husband's well-being and husbands' expectations-division of household labor congruence was significantly related to wives' well-being. Hypotheses were also tested with pre-child desires for division of labor instead of pre-child expectations. The pattern of results was similar albeit stronger for expectations. Implications include the importance of comprehensively assessing division of labor and the fact that pre-child attitudes are relevant to post-child outcomes.

1. Introduction

In contemporary society, many employees are members of dual-earner couples who are faced with the challenge of determining how to allocate their labor across both work and family domains. Although there is considerable variety in attitudes about the way labor should be divided, many men and women endorse egalitarian ideals (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). Despite a shift away from traditional gender roles, unequal divisions of labor in the family and the work domains persist for many couples. This contemporary trend has been labeled the “neo traditional” division of labor (Clarkberg & Moen, 2001; Moen & Yu, 2000), in which both men and women are involved in both work and family domains to some extent, but women still devote more time to childcare and household tasks while men spend more time in paid employment (Moen & Roehling, 2005; U.S. Department of Labor, 2015). Moreover, the career of the husband is likely to be prioritized over that of the wife (Pixley, 2008; Pixley & Moen, 2003). This asymmetry persists even when spouses have similar levels of education, income, and occupational prestige (e.g., Evertsson & Nermo, 2007; McNeil & Sher, 1999).

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A body of research has accumulated aimed at studying the impact of unequal division of family labor, including childcare and household labor, on dual-earner couples' well-being (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996; Shockley & Shen, 2016). Although many studies find that the division of family labor relates to husbands' and wives' well-being, others find null effects (see Shelton & John, 1996). The literature also includes a smaller number of studies of the division of paid labor, with similar mixed findings (Shockley & Shen, 2016). In addition to examining main effects, researchers have examined moderating variables to better understand conditions that alter division of labor-well-being associations. For example, evaluations of fairness of the division of labor and egalitarian attitudes have been found to moderate the association between a lopsided division of labor and well-being (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Zhang & Tsang, 2011).

In the present study, we propose that an additional explanatory variable beyond the actual division of labor merits investigation—the fit between the current division of labor and one's recalled pre-child expectations with regard to how labor would be divided—in relation to dual-couples' well-being (marital satisfaction, domain satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and physical health). We argue that this is an important consideration because in line with met expectations theory (e.g., Porter & Steers, 1973), there is sound theoretical reason to assume that expectations are an important driver of well-being that are incremental to actual experiences. Expectations form a critical role in human behavior. They help reduce uncertainty, motivate behavior, and create a schema for interpretation of future events (Hewes, 1995). In turn, such expectations play a critical role in how people deal with future events; research in the organizational context has found that people react to job conditions differently based on their initial levels of expectations about these factors (Wanous, Poland, Premack, & Davis, 1992). Translating this to the dual-earner context, we attest that expectations are likely to play a pivotal role in reactions to how labor is divided. That is, a spouse's reaction to an unequal division of labor is likely to be quite different if he or she expected such a situation versus if it was unanticipated. Thus, if expectations are not taken into account in division of labor research, a critical factor that explains how the division of labor is interpreted and ultimately relates to well-being is overlooked.

Moreover, the transition to parenthood is a particularly pivotal point during which to study expectations as extra household demands as well as new childcare demands are introduced, creating the potential for a change in how dual-earner couples divide labor (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Twenge, Campbell, & Foster, 2003). Parenthood also marks the point during which the aforementioned neo-traditional division of labor starts to emerge for many couples, implying that there are in fact likely to be substantial gaps between pre-child expectations and post-child actual division of labor. Expectation gaps have been studied in relation to workplace and societal consequences in terms of women's earnings, organizational advancement, and inequality (cf., Padavic & Reskin, 2002), but the effects on individual's well-being are not well understood. If unmet expectations do indeed have a negative impact on well-being outcomes above and beyond the current division of labor, this has implications for the types of interventions and counseling strategies used for dual-earner couples. Specifically, such findings would suggest that it is important to focus not only on the current division of labor but also to consider how the division of labor matches both partner's pre-child expectations as they transition to parenthood and on through the “launching years” when children are young.

To our knowledge, three previous quantitative studies examined the association between pre-child expectations for the division of labor and post-child reality in relation to well-being (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Ruble, Fleming, Hackel, & Stangor, 1988; Van Egeren, 2004). Our study extends this past research in several ways. First, all of the aforementioned studies focused on only labor in the family domain or assessed division of labor globally, neglecting an isolated view of the division of paid labor. Likewise, the well-being outcomes studied include marital quality, psychological distress and the ease of transition to parenthood. None of these variables are from the work domain (i.e., career satisfaction), which is important for gaining a comprehensive view of well-being effects in multiple life domains. Second, all previous studies used difference scores or interaction terms as a way to operationalize the discrepancy between pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor. Edwards (1994, 2001, 2002, 2007) has published extensively on the drawbacks of these methods, calling into question the accuracy and reliability of results based on them (see also Irving & Montes, 2009 for a review). Instead, Edwards advocates the use of polynomial regression for research questions of this nature (i.e., those that involve examining the congruence between two variables in relation to a third) as it is a more statistically sound procedure. Also, when coupled with response surface graphing, polynomial regression allows for a more comprehensive picture of relationships, showing how the congruence between two variables across the full spectrum of the response scale relate to a third variable. This also facilitates detection of curvilinear relationships, which may be masked when other methods are used. Third, none of the previous studies explicitly focused on both members of dual-earner couples; given that dual-earner couples may have distinct expectations and experiences with regard to how labor in both domains is divided compared to couples in which only one spouse works, this is an important oversight. Thus, we advance division of labor research in the present study by examining both the paid and family labor domains, incorporating well-being variables in the work, family, and health domains using a sample of married dual-earner couples, and assessing the relationship between recalled pre-child expectations and current division of labor congruence and outcomes from both spouses via polynomial regression analyses.

1.1. Review of previous studies

Previous work has generally found that when pre-child expectations about the division of family labor are not met, well-being is negatively affected; however, results vary by the type of family labor (household or childcare) as well as the specific outcome. Ruble et al. (1988) found that women who engaged in more household tasks and childcare tasks than expected had more negative feelings about their husband's involvement in childcare as well as the effect of the child on the marriage. The authors did not report on violated expectations in the other direction (i.e., women engaging in less childcare or household tasks than expected), likely due to the small proportion of the sample in this situation. They also examined relationship closeness as an outcome and did not find a

significant association. Goldberg and Perry-Jenkins (2004) found that misalignment between pre-child expectations and post-child division of childcare labor, but not household labor, related to women's depression levels post-child. They did not differentiate between the nature of violated expectations in interpreting results.

Two studies examined couples with young children. Strazdins, Galligan, and Scannell (1997) asked couples to report directly on their perceptions of violated pre-child expectations (versus looking separately at expectations and current division of labor as done in other studies) for housework, childcare, paid work, and emotion work. The measure did not differentiate the nature of expectation violations (i.e., doing more or less) and the four items assessing each labor domain were combined into a single construct for overall analyses. Results suggested that violated expectations were positively associated with depressive symptoms for men and women above and beyond the effects of the current division of labor in each domain. Lastly, Van Egeren (2004) found that men and women with fewer violated expectations about the division of childcare were more satisfied with co-parenting. In summary, although findings are not perfectly consistent, the trend is that having one's expectations met for division of family labor is beneficial for well-being, particularly as it relates to parenting and marital experiences. However, the nature of violated expectations was generally not taken into consideration throughout the literature. Notably, the theoretical rationale underlying the predictions regarding the alignment between pre-child expectations and post-child realities was also limited across these studies. Below, we provide a theoretical framework that is relevant to the present context.

1.2. Theoretical framework

The concept of unmet expectations (also sometimes termed violated expectations) refers to the discrepancy between what a person expects before entering a given situation/event and one's subsequent experience after the situation/event takes place (Heider, 1958; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Porter & Steers, 1973; Wanous et al., 1992). When reality falls short of expectations, the met expectations hypothesis (Porter & Steers, 1973) argues that attitudes and commitment toward the object of the expectations are more negative and the propensity to withdraw increases. Similar ideas have been proposed in the context of person-environment fit theory, particularly the needs-supplies variant, which argues that a person will be satisfied, experience positive mental states, and less psychological and physiological stress if his or her needs are fulfilled by what the environment supplies (i.e., congruence occurs) (Edwards, 1996; French, Caplan, & Harrison, 1982; Kristof, 1996). Expectations, including those from the past, have been considered as a variant of needs and thought to function similarly in the person-environment fit context (Caplan, 1983, 1987). Theoretically, expectations are thought to be impactful because they create anticipation in the mind of the individual; he or she may fantasize about the situation and create a cognitive schema about what should occur (Locke, 1976).

Most discussions of unmet expectations center on expectations that fall short of reality, but violations may also occur in the opposite direction such that expectations are exceeded. This situation is not explicitly discussed in original met expectations theory (Irving & Montes, 2009; Wanous et al., 1992), but has been supplemented by Warr's (1987) model. Warr argues that the nature of the relationship between exceeded expectations and well-being is dependent upon the content of the variables. That is, some types of variables may continue to be beneficial in excess of what is expected (e.g., salary), others may exhibit an asymptotic relationship past the point of congruence (i.e., more than expected does not hurt or harm well-being, such as task significance), and in some cases surpassing expectations may be detrimental to well-being (e.g., excessive job autonomy). Ultimately, the content of the fit variables in conjunction with theories relevant to the specific outcome variable must be considered in making predictions about which of these processes is likely to occur (Edwards & Shipp, 2007).

1.3. Pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor in relation to well-being

In the current context, we consider expectations in terms of pre-child expectations for the proportional amount of labor (out of 100%) that one expected his/her spouse to perform once children were born; we consider post-child experiences as the actual current amount of labor that a person's spouse performs post-child. Because the division of labor is proportional, this variable also indirectly represents the amount of labor a person expected to and currently personally performs. Furthermore, in the context of the present study, we consider expectations for division of labor in three distinct domains – childcare labor, household labor, and paid labor.

There is diversity in how division of labor researchers have historically measured family labor, defined as “unpaid work done to maintain family members and/or a home” (Shelton & John, 1996, p. 300). Typically, researchers either assess only housework, which includes routine tasks (e.g., meal preparation, house cleaning, shopping for groceries and other household items, and laundering clothes) as well as residual tasks (e.g., household repairs, yard care, driving other people, or paying bills; Robinson & Godbey, 1997), assess only childcare (i.e., supervising and caring for children), or combine the two together (Coltrane, 2000). Given that housework and childcare often have distinct relationships with well-being outcomes (Coltrane, 2000), researchers have advocated for considering and analyzing them as separate dimensions of family labor (e.g., Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004).

Likely owing to the relative lack of research on the topic, the division of paid labor as a construct is not as clearly understood as the division of childcare and household labor (Shockley & Shen, 2016). In fact, the nomenclature “division of paid labor” has rarely been used in the literature, but it is indirectly assessed in other contexts, such as the relative incomes, time spent at work of each spouse, or simply the employment status of each spouse (e.g., Barnett, Gareis, & Brennan, 2009; Cunningham, 2007; Deutsch, Roksa, & Meeske, 2003; Jacobs & Gerson, 2001; Raley, Mattingly, & Bianchi, 2006). As described in further detail in the Method section, based on a review of the literature, we operationalize the division of paid labor as consisting of three components: income, work hours, and career prioritization decisions.

In the broader organizational literature, several outcomes have been studied under the met expectations framework, with job

satisfaction as one of the most commonly studied proximal outcomes (Wanous et al., 1992). As reviewed above, met expectations research in the division of family labor context has likewise largely focused on satisfaction within the family domain, including marital satisfaction. In the present context, we consider well-being in each division of labor domain (i.e., family and career satisfaction) in relation to hypotheses concerning the division of labor in that particular domain. Because division of paid labor is a shared process that occurs at the couple level, fit between expectations and current reality in both domains are likely to influence affective reactions toward the marital partner and the marital relationship as a whole, leading us to also consider marital satisfaction. Lastly, because well-being is multifaceted (Kashdan, Biswas-Diener, & King, 2008), we also examined psychological and physical health as role-spanning well-being outcomes.

Based on the aforementioned theoretical ideas, we expect that well-being becomes more favorable as one's spouse's current post-child labor contributions approach recalled pre-child expectations for spouse's labor contributions. Said otherwise, when expectations fall short of reality, as the discrepancy between expectations and reality is reduced, well-being increases to the point of congruence (i.e. when expectations are met). In terms of the other direction of expectation violation, when reality exceeds expectations (when one's spouse contributes a greater percentage of labor than that individual initially expected the spouse to contribute) we contend that well-being will become less favorable (i.e., resemble an inverted U-shape). This rationale lies in the interference mechanism, which occurs when over-rewards on one dimension interfere with fulfilling goals in other domains (Edwards & Shipp, 2007). Many people have needs that involve fulfilling work and familial self-identities (e.g., Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001), and these needs may be threatened by situations where a spouse provides more labor than expected. As an example, when a wife contributes more to paid labor than her husband expected, by default he is also contributing a smaller percentage to paid labor than he expected for himself. This, in turn, may threaten his own need fulfillment in terms of work identity or other work-related rewards, ultimately resulting in reduced well-being. Similar processes are proposed to take place in the family domain. Further, this notion also aligns with self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987, 1989), which states that discrepancies between a person's actual and ideal or ought self, which may be reflected in expectations, negatively impact well-being.

Hypothesis 1. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to paid labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to paid labor relates to one's own a) marital satisfaction, b) career satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

Hypothesis 2. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to childcare labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to childcare labor relates to one's own a) marital satisfaction, b) family satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

Hypothesis 3. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to household labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to household labor relates to one's own a) marital satisfaction, b) family satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

1.3.1. Dyadic crossover

The preceding theory and hypotheses focused on one person's met expectations for the division of labor in relation to his or her own well-being. However, dual-earners operate within a larger dyadic and family system (Bronfenbrenner, 1977), making it reasonable to expect that the congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of labor for one spouse also has implications for the other spouse. A mechanism that describes work-family linkages between spouses is crossover, defined as a contagion process whereby the stress or psychological strain of one person affects the level of stress or strain of another person in the shared social environment (Westman, 2002; Westman & Vinokur, 1998).

According to Westman and Vinokur (1998) and expanded by Westman (2002), crossover occurs via three main pathways: direct empathetic reactions, common stressors, or indirect interactional processes. Empathy involves placing oneself psychologically in another person's situation (Lazarus, 1991) and often occurs within close intimate relationships (Davis & Oathout, 1987). When one spouse experiences stress or strain the other may “feel his/her pain,” resulting in stress or strain in the empathetic spouse. The second explanation involves common stressors. Even when a stressor is primarily experienced by one spouse (i.e., job loss), the highly shared social environment within a marriage makes it likely that the stressor will also have direct repercussions for the other spouse (i.e., financial strain). The final pathway suggests that the experience of stress evokes a conflictual interaction style, which then negatively impacts the spouse on the receiving end of such interactions.

Conceptualizing misalignment between division of labor expectations and current reality as a stressor, we contend that it has potential to initiate the spousal crossover process, manifesting itself as strain in the spouse. All three aforementioned pathways seem relevant to this particular stressor, with the third indicating potential mediating mechanisms. First, when the current division of labor is not aligned with what a person expected pre-child, an aware spouse might feel empathetic, particularly because the violated expectations could have been driven in part by the spouse's own actions (i.e., if the spouse is contributing less than expected to paid labor because (s)he is unable to find a suitable job). Second, violated expectations could be a common stressor in the sense that it could evoke guilt if the nature of the violations are benefit that person to the detriment of the other. Also, knowing a spouse is

experiencing stress-inducing violated expectations could act as an identity-relevant stressor (Thoits, 1991), as not fulfilling one's spouse's expectations may threaten one's own identity as a "good husband or wife" (Burke, 2006; Hagedoorn, Sanderman, Buunk, & Wobbes, 2002). Finally, because the division of labor is something that occurs between spouses, the third pathway seems highly relevant. When an individual experiences violated expectations, aggression in reaction to the stressor is likely to be targeted at the spouse given that (s)he was likely involved in the current labor division. These conflictual interactions may have a cumulative effect on well-being, as relationship conflict has been linked to marital satisfaction (e.g., Argyle & Furnham, 1983), depression (e.g., Mackinnon et al., 2012), and health (e.g., Umberson, Williams, Powers, Liu, & Needham, 2006).

Building on these arguments, we propose the following crossover hypotheses. Well-being is again conceptualized in three forms–satisfaction, depression, and physical health symptoms. We exclude career satisfaction because there is no clear theoretical basis to predict that spousal incongruence between expectations and current division of labor should crossover to the work domain and impact one's own career satisfaction. We do expect to see effects on satisfaction in the family domain (family and marital), as that is where the stressor emanates.

Hypothesis 4. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to paid labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to paid labor relates to one's spouse's a) marital satisfaction, b) family satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

Hypothesis 5. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to childcare labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to childcare labor relates to one's spouse's a) marital satisfaction, b) family satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

Hypothesis 6. *The congruence between one's recalled pre-child expectations for his/her spouse's contributions to household labor and the spouse's post-child current contributions to household labor relates to one's spouse's a) marital satisfaction, b) family satisfaction, c) depressive symptoms, and d) physical health symptoms. This relationship takes the form of an inverted U-shape (or U-shape for c and d) curve, such that outcomes become more favorable as current contributions approach expectations and become less favorable as current contributions exceed contributions.*

1.4. Expectations versus desires

In addition to a literature examining the association between met expectations and well-being with the division of labor, there is a similarly small body of literature that focuses on congruence between one's desires for the division of labor and the actual division of labor. Notably, most of these studies do not focus specifically on desires before the transition to parenthood (Khazan, McHale, & DeCourcey, 2008; Loscocco & Spitze, 2007; Milkie, Bianchi, Mattingly, & Robinson, 2002; Perry-Jenkins, Seery, & Crouter, 1992; Ross, Mirowsky, & Huber, 1983). The terms expectations and desires are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature; however, there are meaningful differences in the definitions. Specifically, desires represent idealistic views about the future and expectations are beliefs about how the future will actually unfold. Although desires and expectations can be closely tied, they may also be entirely distinct, as expectations incorporate external factors, such as spousal desires or societal norms. Some researchers (Khazan et al., 2008) have argued that unmet desires should have greater implications for well-being than unmet expectations because desires are more representative of what an individual specifically wants for his/her own life, without regard for external constraints. Others seem to use expectations and desires interchangeably in their hypothesis building (e.g., Loscocco & Spitze, 2007; Perry-Jenkins et al., 1992). Thus, as a supplemental focus of our study, we compare results with pre-child expectations and pre-child desires to see if there are meaningful differences and, if so, which variable is a stronger driver of well-being.

Research question: Are there differences in the associations between recalled pre-child desires and recalled post-child current division of labor fit and recalled pre-child expectations and post-child current division of labor fit and well-being?

2. Method

2.1. Participants and procedures

Participants were 137 married heterosexual couples that met the following inclusion criteria: 1) each spouse worked at least 10 h per week in paid employment, 2) they had at least one child under age six, 3) all children were born after the couple was married to each other, and 4) neither spouse was currently on parental leave from work. The first criterion was selected in order to assure that both spouses were participating to some extent in work and family roles. The purpose of the second criterion was to gain consistency across participants with regard to the timing of their post-child current division of labor reports. The specific age range was selected to restrict participants to a life stage with intense childcare demands. The third criterion was necessary to ensure that participants were considering their current spouse when recalling pre-child expectations and desires. Lastly, the fourth criterion was selected to avoid imbalances in the division of labor that are a function of temporary parental leave from work.

Spouses were not recruited simultaneously, rather one member of the couple was recruited and (s)he was used to recruit his/her

spouse. The first members of the couples were recruited through via emails sent to various organizations, including a large women's organization (85.8% of total sample), university alumni (0.4%), members of a website for first time fathers (1.4%), and a snowball sampling approach (13.5%). Response rates were 17.46% for the women's organization, 10.5% for the university alumni, 4.4% for the website, and unknown for the snowball sampling. With each sampling method, the email described the general purpose of the study and provided a link to the online survey. After completing the survey, participants were asked if they were willing to invite their spouse to also participate. A similar email was then sent to spouses with a link to an identical survey. As an incentive for participation, $5.00 was donated to a charity for each completed set of spousal surveys.

After screening for the aforementioned inclusion criteria, the final sample consisted of 598 individuals. Of these 598 participants, matched spousal data was obtained for 137. Because most of the initial participants were recruited through the women's organization, the majority of them were female (95%) and the majority of the spousal respondents were male. The average age of the female respondents was 35.11 years (SD = 4.06), and most were Caucasian (94%) and highly educated (97% had a Bachelor's degree or higher). Their spouses shared similar characteristics, as the husbands' mean age was 36.52 years (SD = 4.58), 96.2% were Caucasian and 94.7% had at least a Bachelor's degree. All hypotheses were tested separately for husbands and wives. We adopted this strategy because the predicted processes were conceptualized at the individual level and responses obtained from each couple were non-independent.

2.2. Measures

2.2.1. Division of labor variables

2.2.1.1. Recalled pre-child expectations for division of labor. As no known measure of pre-child expectations exists in the literature for the division of paid labor, a scale was created for the present study. In order to create the measure, existing literature on the division of paid labor was examined to determine potential factors that are considered part of the paid labor domain (Barnett et al., 2009; Deutsch et al., 2003; Loscocco & Spitze, 2007; Milkie et al., 2002; Pixley, 2008; Pixley & Moen, 2003; Raley et al., 2006). Based on this review, three variables were identified: income, work hours, and career prioritization decisions. Next, items were developed by the first author to tap into these constructs and were pilot tested to ensure clarity with five individuals who met the study sample criteria. For all items, the response scale was in the format of percentages, and choices were listed in increments of 5% from 0% to 100%. Only the responses for spouse's contributions were used in analyses. Items are in the Appendix.

Because this scale was new and not adapted from previous work, additional analyses were conducted to determine if these items could appropriately be combined for a single measure of pre-child expectations for the division of paid labor. Cronbach's alpha suggested acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = 0.79$ for wives, 0.80 for husbands). An exploratory factor analyses based on principle axis factoring suggested a single factor, with the first eigenvalue accounting for 78.36% of the variance for wives (73.42% for husbands) and all items loading above 0.71 (0.72 for husbands) on the factor. Confirmatory factor analyses modeling all three items as indicators of a single latent factor also produced high factor loadings that ranged from 0.71 to 0.99 for wives and from 0.66 to 0.94 for husbands. Because the model was fully saturated fit statistics could not be obtained.

For childcare and household labor, similar questions were asked but the pie chart language was not used because pilot testing revealed that the items were easier to understand without it. These questions were based on modifications of existing measures for the division of childcare (Poortman & Van Der Lippe, 2009) and household tasks (Grenstein, 2009), but the pre-child expectation wording and proportional response scales were added, following the wording in Goldberg and Perry-Jenkins (2004). We also added clear definitions and examples of childcare and household work within the items to ensure that participants adequately understood the terms. The examples were based on the definitions listed in Coltrane (2000) and Shelton and John (1996) and checklists of tasks listed in Atkinson and Huston (1984) and Bonney, Kelley, and Levant (1999). As with paid labor, the response scale was in the format of percentages, and choices were listed in increments of 5% from 0% to 100%, and only a single item with the responses for spouse's contributions were used in analyses for household and childcare labor, respectively. Items are in the Appendix.

2.2.1.2. Recall pre-child desires for division of labor. Desires were measured with identical scales to those used for expectations, except "expect" was replaced with "desire." Similar reliability, exploratory, and confirmatory analyses were conducted with the paid labor variable ($\alpha = 0.88$ and 0.82, first eigenvalue accounting for 81.29% with all factor loadings above 0.76 and 73.93% of variance with all factor loadings above 0.57; and all confirmatory factor analysis loadings above 0.76 and 0.57, respectively for wives and husbands).

2.2.1.3. Post-child current division of labor. The measures of post-child current division of labor paralleled those used for pre-child expectations. These items differed in that rather than asking participants to recall division of labor expectations before children were born, they asked about the current division of labor. The following instructions were given before the set of items in order to make the timeframe clear: "For the next set of questions, please think about the present time." An example paid labor items is "Again, picture the total income you and your spouse earn from paid labor/work hours you and your spouse spend in paid labor/career favoring decisions that have been made throughout your marriage as a pie chart. Currently, what proportion of this pie is made up of your income, and what proportion is made of your spouse's income/work hours/decisions that have favored your career or your spouse's? (These numbers should add up to 100%)." Post-child childcare division of labor was measured by asking, "Currently, what percentage of childcare tasks do you and your spouse perform? _self _spouse. (These numbers should add up to 100%)." Post-child household division of labor was measured by asking "Currently, what percentage of HOUSEHOLD tasks do you and your spouse each

Table 1
Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations between study variables for wives' reports.

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Expect H's childcare	36.09	12.86																
2. Expect H's household	39.02	13.73	0.43**															
3. Expect H's paid	59.45	15.22	− 0.48**	− 0.31*	(0.79)													
4. Desires H's childcare	41.55	10.91	0.51**	0.22*	− 0.26**													
5. Desires H's household	46.42	11.50	0.02	0.47**	− 0.14	0.36**												
6. Desires H's paid	63.27	15.76	− 0.37**	− 0.27**	0.64**	− 0.43**	− 0.28**	(0.88)										
7. H's current childcare	35.77	13.93	0.47**	0.49**	− 0.45**	0.28**	0.27**	− 0.30**										
8. H's current household	36.72	15.87	0.36**	0.63**	− 0.30**	0.21*	0.34**	− 0.29**	0.63**									
9. H's current paid	55.87	15.41	− 0.25**	− 0.31**	0.59**	− 0.09	− 0.14	0.34**	− 0.55**	− 0.39**	(0.80))							
10. Career satisfaction	3.78	0.68	0.01	− 0.14	0.09	− 0.11	− 0.13	0.02	− 0.06	− 0.13	0.04	(0.87)						
11. Family satisfaction	4.38	0.61	− 0.02	− 0.12	0.10	− 0.03	− 0.04	0.10	− 0.19*	− 0.05	0.15	0.14	(0.87)					
12. Marital satisfaction	4.55	0.65	0.03	− 0.03	− 0.03	− 0.07	− 0.11	− 0.03	− 0.14	− 0.04	0.20*	0.06	0.55**	(0.97)				
13. Depressive Symp	2.44	0.59	0.06	0.09	− 0.02	− 0.04	− 0.03	0.10	0.02	0.06	− 0.02	− 0.08	− 0.46**	− 0.38**	(0.80)			
14. Phys Health Symp	18.69	5.24	0.10	0.09	− 0.05	0.10	0.05	− 0.06	0.00	0.03	0.04	− 0.16	− 0.30**	− 0.21*	0.47**			
15. Number of children	1.84	0.81	− 0.11	− 0.15	0.31**	0.05	0.01	0.19*	− 0.13	− 0.14	0.29**	0.04	0.03	0.08	− 0.07	0.02		
16. Length of marriage	8.30	3.60	0.03	0.10	0.08	0.03	0.08	0.04	0.09	0.07	0.01	0.07	− 0.15	− 0.14	− 0.04	− 0.06	0.57**	
17. Total family income	7.06	1.46	0.08	− 0.02	− 0.10	− 0.02	− 0.14	− 0.09	0.06	− 0.01	− 0.06	0.21*	0.06	0.06	− 0.02	− 0.17*	0.01	0.05

Note: H is an abbreviation for husband.
* $p < 0.05$.
** $p < 0.01$.

Table 2
Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations between study variables for husbands' reports.

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Expect W's childcare	57.61	9.93																
2. Expect W's household	51.40	12.48	0.40**															
3. Expect W's paid	40.26	12.95	− 0.35**	− 0.44**	(0.80)													
4. Desires W's childcare	56.89	12.11	0.49**	0.28**	− 0.30**													
5. Desires W's household	54.12	13.05	0.33**	0.68**	− 0.39**	0.40**												
6. Desires W's paid	37.52	14.80	− 0.22**	− 0.31**	0.65**	− 0.29**	− 0.46**	(0.82)										
7. W's current childcare	59.29	14.33	0.50**	0.28**	− 0.38**	0.24**	0.18*	− 0.35**										
8. W's current household	53.30	15.59	0.38**	0.62**	− 0.42**	0.14	0.16	− 0.38**	0.59**									
9. W's current paid	42.40	13.97	− 0.35**	− 0.37**	0.69**	− 0.25**	0.20*	0.57**	− 0.52**	− 0.46**								
10. Career satisfaction	3.58	0.80	0.13	0.09	− 0.12	0.09	− 0.17	− 0.04	0.26**	0.18*	− 0.37**	(0.80)						
11. Family satisfaction	4.30	0.52	0.14	0.07	0.05	0.20*	− 0.23*	− 0.08	0.12	0.16	− 0.04	0.26**	(0.90)					
12. Marital satisfaction	4.39	0.62	0.19*	0.21*	− 0.06	0.04	0.18*	− 0.06	0.14	0.20*	− 0.06	0.15	0.58**	(0.83)				
13. Depressive Symp	2.38	0.62	− 0.26**	− 0.22*	0.08	− 0.26**	− 0.02	0.14	− 0.26**	− 0.17	0.19*	− 0.23**	− 0.43**	− 0.31**	(0.95)			
14. Phys Health Symp	16.98	4.34	− 0.06	− 0.25**	0.01	− 0.11	0.03	− 0.06	− 0.05	− 0.23*	0.07	− 0.14	− 0.23*	− 0.32**	0.42**	(0.84)		
15. Number of children	1.84	0.81	0.11	0.07	− 0.20*	0.08	− 0.46**	− 0.22*	0.11	0.18*	− 0.23**	0.06	− 0.06	0.08	− 0.08	− 0.21*		
16. Length of marriage	8.30	3.60	− 0.06	− 0.08	− 0.03	− 0.12	0.18*	− 0.10	− 0.05	− 0.02	− 0.05	0.00	− 0.18*	− 0.06	0.04	− 0.07	0.57**	
17. Total family income	7.06	1.46	− 0.04	0.13	0.11	0.06	0.16	0.09	− 0.08	0.03	0.22**	0.07	0.11	0.13	− 0.01	− 0.06	0.01	0.05

Note: W is an abbreviation for wife.
* $p < 0.05$.
** $p < 0.01$.

perform?_self _spouse (These numbers should add up to 100%).” The response scale for all items was the same as those used for pre-child expectations.

Similar to the process for pre-child expectations for the division of paid labor, analyses were conducted on the current division of paid labor items. Internal consistency reliability was acceptable ($\alpha = 0.80$ for both husbands and wives), the exploratory factor analyses showed a single factor (first eigenvalue accounted for 73.24% and 73.08% of variance for wives and husbands, respectively; all loadings above 0.66) and the confirmatory factor analyses loadings on a single factor all exceeded 0.72. For this measure, we were also able to administer it to an independent sample of 120 dual-earners (not matched couples; 56.7% male) recruited via Qualtrics Panel based on the same inclusion criteria as the main study participants. Analyses on this sample produced similar results; the exploratory factor analyses produced a single factor (first eigenvalue accounted for 75.80% of the variance; all loadings above 0.58) and the confirmatory factor analyses showed high loadings, 0.58 or higher.

2.2.2. Outcome variables

Unless otherwise noted, all response scales were set on a five point Likert scale that ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Internal consistency reliability estimates are listed in Tables 1 and 2 for each scale.

2.2.2.1. Career satisfaction. Career satisfaction was measured using Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley's (1990) five-item career satisfaction scale. An example item is “I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.”

2.2.2.2. Family satisfaction. Family satisfaction was measured with a four-item scale adapted from Camman, Fichman, Jenkins, and Klesh (1979). The scale was created to measure work satisfaction, but the items were adapted to reflect the family context. An example item is “I am satisfied with my present family situation.”

2.2.2.3. Marital satisfaction. Marital satisfaction was assessed using Norton's (1983) five item Quality of Marriage Index. An example item is “We have a good marriage.”

2.2.2.4. Depressive symptoms. Depressive symptoms were measured using Quinn and Shepard's (1974) 10-item scale. The original scale was set in a work context, but it was modified to refer to life in general over the past 3 months. The scale includes positively and negatively valenced items, such as “I feel downhearted and blue” and “I still enjoy the things I used to do.” The positive items were reverse coded so that higher scores indicated more depressive symptoms.

2.2.2.5. Physical health symptoms. A checklist including 11 physical symptoms from the National Study of Daily Experiences (Ryff, 2005) was used to assess this construct. Example symptoms include upset stomach or nausea, headache, and backache. For the current context, the stem of the question was altered to ask about general frequencies rather than daily experiences: “Over the past 3 months, how often have you experienced the following symptoms?” Responses were set on a six-point scale that ranged from never to 5 or more times a week. Rather than averaging, responses to each item were summed to calculate a final score.

2.2.2.6. Control variables. Due to their associations with the dependent variables in previous research (e.g., Brown, 1987; Chetty et al., 2016; Greenstein, 2009; Karney & Bradbury, 1995), length of marriage, total family income (measured by 8 income categories), and number of children were included as control variables. Using these as controls allowed us to isolate the effects of expectations-current labor fit on well-being above and beyond these factors.

3. Results

3.1. Analyses

Polynomial regression (Edwards, 1994, 2001, 2002, 2007) was used to test each hypothesis; a quadratic equation was estimated with the well-being variable of interest (either self or spouse's) as the dependent variable, and the recalled pre-child expectations and post-child current division of labor variables as the independent variables. Based on these values, three additional terms were computed: expectations^2, the product of current and expectations, and current^2. The general form of the equation is $Z = b_0 + b_{c1}C1 + b_{c2}C2 + b_{c3}C3 + b_1X + b_2Y + b_3X^2 + b_4XY + b_5Y^2 + e$, where Z is the dependent variable, C1, C2, and C3 are the control variables, X and Y are the two fit components (expectations and current, respectively), b_0 is the y-intercept, and e is the error term. All independent variables (with the exception of controls) were scale centered to aid in interpretation. For the pre-child desires variable the expectations variable was replaced with desires in the equation. The pre-child expectation and post-child current division of labor variables were based on the reports of the focal person (i.e., a wife's current division of labor was based on her reports of her husband's contributions rather than his own reports).

A significant R^2 of the block of polynomial regression terms (indicated in these analyses as the change in R^2 from the first step of the regression equation which included only control variables) requires further testing to determine if the nature of the fit relationship is in line with prediction. To do so, the significance of the slope and curve along the misfit line (dashed diagonal line in Fig. 1) are tested by setting the $Y = -X$ in the previous equation, so that $Z = b_0 + b_{c1}C1 + b_{c2}C2 + b_{c3}C3 + (b_1 - b_2)X + (b_3 - b_4 + b_5)\times^2 + e$. This equation indicates that along the misfit line, the curvature of the surface is represented by the quantity $b_3 - b_4 + b_5$, and the slope of the surface at the point where $X = 0$ is represented by $b_1 - b_2$. When the curve and/or slope

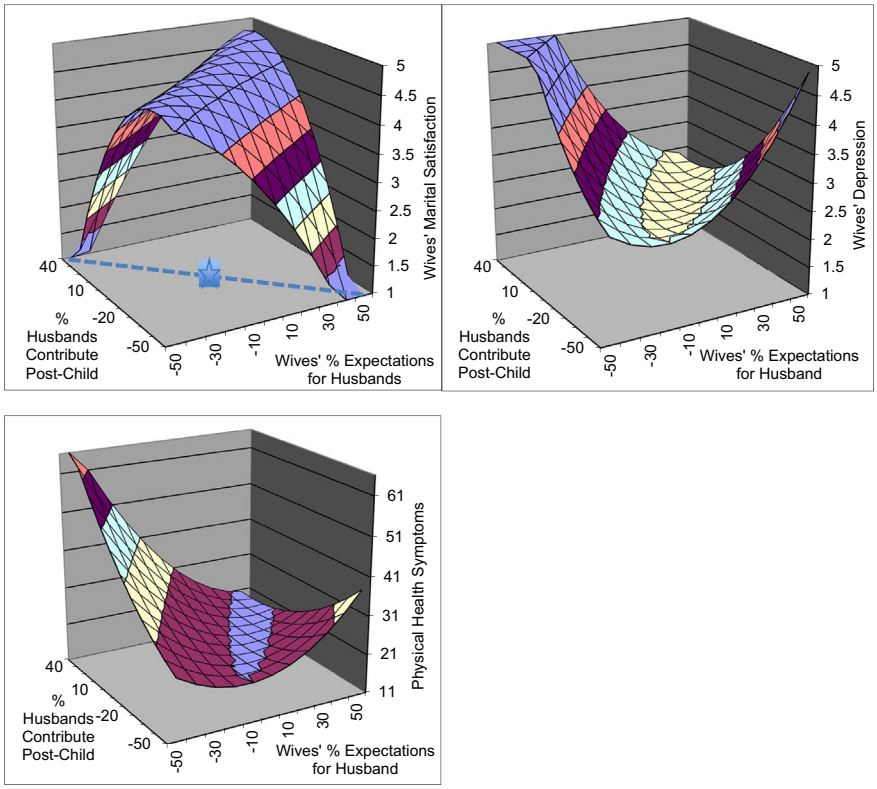

Fig. 1. Congruence between wives' recalled pre-child expectations for husbands' paid labor contributions and husbands' current post-child paid labor contributions and wives' well-being.
Interpretation: The dashed lined is the misfit line. The star represents the point of perfect congruence where expectations and current contributions are equal. The upper left corner represents the point of extreme overmet expectations (i.e., spouse's proportional actual labor contributions are much higher than pre-child expectations). As one moves along the misfit line from this corner to the star, current labor decrease toward expectations. As one moves from the star to the bottom right corner (the point of extreme undermet expectations) expectations start to surpass current contributions.

of the misfit line was significant, we plotted the equation using response surface methodology (Edwards & Parry, 1993), which allows researchers to analyzing three dimensional surfaces that correspond to polynomial regression equations. Response surface methodology involves plotting a stationary point (point at which the surface is flat), principal axes (orientation of the surface on the X, Y plane), and the shape of the surface along relevant lines in the X,Y plane (Edwards, 2007). We interpreted support for hypotheses if the response surface shape matched prediction. Fig. 1 provides information related to interpretation of response surfaces.

A power analysis was conducted assuming a small effect size, based on prior research on congruence research suggesting that average effect sizes are small (see Yang, Levine, Smith, Ispas, & Rossi, 2008). According to this analysis, power was 0.67 with alpha set at 0.05. One way to reduce Type II error when power is low is to increase the alpha to 0.10 (Aguinis, 1995). Thus, the decision was made to interpret results as significant at $p < 0.10$. This resulted in greater power (0.76) to detect a small effect.

3.2. Hypothesis testing results

Descriptive statistics, internal consistency reliability estimates, and intercorrelations for the study variables are listed in Tables 1 and 2 for wives and husbands, respectively. Results for Hypotheses 1–6 are presented in Tables 3 and 4 for wives and husbands, respectively. For ease of interpretation, hypothesis testing results are summarized in Table 5 and reviewed below.

For wives, congruence between recalled pre-child expectations and current division of paid labor related in the expected manner to marital satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and physical health symptoms (Hypothesis 1a, c and d for wives). The response surfaces are represented in Fig. 1. Note that both the slope and the curve of the misfit line was significant for physical health symptoms, suggesting the effects were not fully symmetrical (i.e., exceeded expectations were more strongly related to health than expectations falling short of current). Results were not significant for career satisfaction (Hypotheses 1c for wives). For husbands, there was no significant association between pre-child expectations and current division of paid labor congruence and marital satisfaction, depressive symptoms, or physical health symptoms (Hypothesis 1b, c, and d for husbands). There was a significant association for career satisfaction. The response surface (Fig. 2) suggested only partial support for the hypothesis (1a), as husbands' career satisfaction decreased as wives' current paid labor contributions exceeded what was expected pre-child (as predicted); however, career satisfaction increased as wives' current paid labor contributions fell short of expectations. Thus, husbands were more satisfied with their

Table 3
Relationship between wives' pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor congruence and well-being.

	Self				Husband			
	Domain Sat	Marital Sat	Depress Symp	Phys Health	Family Sat	Marital Sat	Depress Symp	Phys Health
Paid								
E	0.0081	− 0.0005	− 0.0155	− 0.1894*	0.0165*	0.0161†	− 0.0101	− 0.1050
C	− 0.0025	0.0031	0.0106	0.1250*	− 0.0050	− 0.0065	− 0.0035	0.0535
E^2	− 0.0001	− 0.0003	0.0005*	0.0043*	− 0.0005*	− 0.0006*	0.0004†	0.004*
E × C	0.0002	0.0009*	− 0.0007*	− 0.0061*	0.0005*	0.0008*	− 0.0007*	− 0.0054*
C^2	− 0.0001	− 0.0006*	0.0003†	0.0023	− 0.0003†	− 0.0002	0.0004*	0.0019
ΔR^2	0.013	0.154*	0.073†	0.077†	0.107*	0.085*	0.146*	0.09*
Misfit								
Slope		− 0.004	− 0.026	− 0.314*	0.022†	0.023	− 0.007	− 0.161
Curve		− 0.002*	0.002*	0.013*	− 0.001*	− 0.002*	0.002*	0.011*
Childcare								
E	− 0.0116	− 0.0014	0.02†	0.1904*	− 0.0036	0.0038	− 0.0052	0.0970
C	− 0.0118	− 0.0184*	− 0.0024	− 0.1151	− 0.0101	− 0.0068	0.0017	− 0.1000
E^2	− 0.0004	− 0.0005†	0.0009*	0.0061*	− 0.0002	− 0.0002	0.0002	0.0033
E × C	− 0.0002	0.0007†	− 0.0007*	− 0.004	0.0001	0.0006†	− 0.0004	− 0.0009
C^2	0.0000	− 0.0007*	0.0003	− 0.0014	− 0.0003	− 0.0003	0.0000	− 0.0026
ΔR^2	0.053	0.095*	0.078†	0.065	0.041	0.028	0.047	0.031
Misfit Line								
Slope		0.018	0.022					
Curve		− 0.002*	0.002*					
Household								
E	− 0.0088	− 0.0024	0.0167†	0.0913	− 0.0023	− 0.0093	0.0102	− 0.0406
C	− 0.0016	0.0001	− 0.0047	− 0.0748	− 0.0074	− 0.0113	0.0103	0.0439
E^2	0.0001	− 0.0002	0.0004	0.0010	− 0.0002	− 0.0002	0.0001	− 0.0013
E x C	− 0.0004	0.0001	0.0001	0.0014	0.0000	0.0002	− 0.0001	0.0002
C^2	0.0001	0.0000	− 0.0002	− 0.0030	− 0.0001	− 0.0004	0.0004	0.0006
ΔR^2	0.025	0.005	0.035	0.029	0.028	0.062	0.068	0.01

Note: E is an abbreviation for pre-child expectations for division of labor; C is an abbreviation for current division of labor.
All analyses were conducted with control variables (number of children, length of marriage, total income), but to preserve space they are excluded from the table. Full results available upon request.
ΔR^2 indicates the significance of the change in R^2 from the first step with only control variables to the second step with the polynomial regression terms. Only equations with significant change in R^2 are further interpreted for the curve and slope of the misfit line.
† $p < 0.10$.
* $p < 0.05$.

careers when wives contributed a smaller proportion of paid labor than husbands had expected (and as such husbands themselves contributed more than they had expected pre-child).

For wives, as illustrated in Fig. 3, pre-child expectations and current division of childcare labor congruence related to marital satisfaction and depressive symptoms in the expected direction (supporting Hypothesis 2a and c). There was no significant association between wives' pre-child expectations and current division of childcare labor and family satisfaction or physical health symptoms, failing to support Hypothesis 2b and d for wives. For husbands, there was no significant association between congruence of pre-child expectations and current division of childcare labor and family satisfaction, marital satisfaction, or physical health symptoms (Hypotheses 2a, b, and d for husbands). Hypothesis 2c (depressive symptoms) was also not supported; although the regression equation was significant, the response surface (Fig. 4) showed a trend opposite of what was predicted, such that depressive symptoms were highest when expectations and current contributions were aligned, although only the slope of the surface and not the curve was statistically significant. For wives and household labor, the congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of household labor was not significantly associated with well-being (failing to support Hypothesis 3 for wives). However, for husbands it was significantly associated with all well-being outcomes except depressive symptoms in the expected manner (supporting Hypothesis 3a, b, and d, but not 3c for husbands; Fig. 5).

With regard to crossover hypotheses, wives' congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of paid labor was significantly associated with all four husband well-being variables in the expected manner (supporting Hypothesis 4 for wives; see Fig. 6); however, husbands' congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of paid labor was not significantly associated with wives' well-being (failing to support Hypothesis 4 for husbands). For husbands and wives, congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of childcare labor was not significantly associated with any spousal well-being variables (failing to support Hypothesis 5). Wives' congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of household labor was not significantly associated with husbands' well-being (failing to support Hypothesis 6 for wives), but husbands' congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of household labor was significantly associated with wives' family satisfaction, marital satisfaction, and physical health symptoms, but not depressive symptoms, all in the expected manner (supporting Hypothesis 6a, b, and d but not 6c for husbands; Fig. 7).

Table 5 summarizes the results and shows the overall findings for analysis when the congruence variable was based on pre-child

Table 4
Relationship between husbands' pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor congruence and well-being.

	Self				Wife			
	Domain Sat	Marital Sat	Depress Symp	Phys Health	Family Sat	Marital Sat	Depress Symp	Phys Health
Paid								
E	0.0040	− 0.0026	− 0.0076	0.0202	0.0018	− 0.0026	− 0.0076	0.0202
C	− 0.0337*	− 0.0012	0.0103	0.0018	− 0.0023	− 0.0012	0.0103	0.0018
E^2	− 0.0004	− 0.0001	− 0.00003	0.0028	0.0000	− 0.0001	0.0000	0.0028
E × C	− 0.0002	− 0.0002	0.0001	− 0.0016	− 0.0002	− 0.0002	0.0001	− 0.0016
C^2	0.0003	0.0003	− 0.0002	− 0.0009	0.0003	0.0003	− 0.0002	− 0.0009
ΔR^2	0.198*	0.015	0.041	0.019	0.026	0.012	0.031	0.019
Misfit								
Slope	0.039*							
Curve	0.0002							
Childcare								
E	0.0017	0.0125	0.0109	− 0.0269	0.0063	0.005	− 0.0026	0.0491
C	0.0080	0.0024	− 0.0166*	0.0200	0.0121*	0.0114†	− 0.0043	− 0.0365
E^2	0.0005	− 0.0003	− 0.0015*	0.0035	− 0.0004	− 0.0001	0.0003	− 0.0034
E × C	− 0.0003	0.0002	0.0004	− 0.0051	− 0.0001	− 0.0001	0.0001	0.0014
C^2	− 0.0002	− 0.0001	0.0006*	0.0015	− 0.0002	− 0.0005*	− 0.0001	− 0.0006
ΔR^2	0.027	0.039	0.17*	0.027	0.054	0.057	0.012	0.017
Misfit line								
Slope			0.031*					
Curve			− 0.001					
Household								
E	− 0.0029	0.0066	− 0.0090	− 0.1048*	0.0072	− 0.0075	− 0.0050	− 0.1047*
C	0.005	0.0031	− 0.0011	0.0004	− 0.0023	0.0047	0.0014	0.0153
E^2	− 0.0005†	− 0.0006†	0.0001	0.0082*	− 0.0008*	− 0.0003	0.0007*	0.0050†
E × C	0.001*	0.0013*	− 0.0004	− 0.0087*	0.0009*	0.0011*	− 0.0009*	− 0.0079*
C^2	− 0.0001	− 0.0005*	0.0001	0.0024†	0.0000	− 0.0005*	− 0.0001	0.0005
ΔR^2	0.112*	0.135*	0.052	0.16*	0.074†	0.093*	0.082*	0.109*
Misfit								
Slope	− 0.008	0.004		− 0.084	0.009	− 0.012		− 0.117
Curve	− 0.002*	− 0.002*		0.024*	− 0.002*	− 0.002*		0.013*

Note: E is an abbreviation for pre-child expectations for division of labor; C is an abbreviation for current division of labor.
All analyses were conducted with control variables (number of children, length of marriage, total income), but to preserve space they are excluded from the table. Full results available upon request.
ΔR^2 indicates the significance of the change in R^2 from the first step with only control variables to the second step with the polynomial regression terms. Only equations with significant change in R^2 are further interpreted for the curve and slope of the misfit line.
† $p < 0.10$.
* $p < 0.05$.

desires for division of labor versus expectations. Many of the relationships were consistent across the variables. In cases in which the results were discrepant, the nature of discrepancies was such that findings were significant with expectations but not with desires, suggesting that the effect of congruence between current division of labor and pre-child expectations is more robust than that of pre-child desires. Full results of the pre-child desires analyses are available in the Supplemental Materials.[1]

4. Discussion

The purpose of our research was to shed a light on why the division of labor does not always relate to poor well-being through the application of a met expectations framework. In doing so, we examined the relationship between dual-earner couples' recalled pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor congruence and well-being in a manner more comprehensive than that of previous work. Specifically, both the family and paid labor domains were considered, expectations-current division of labor congruence was examined in relation to both husbands' and wives' own well-being as well as to spousal well-being, and well-being was broadly conceptualized as domain satisfaction, marital satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and physical health symptoms. Additionally, through the use of polynomial regression analyses and response surface methodology, we were able to examine multiple forms of alignment between recalled expectations and current reality (i.e., having a spouse that contributes more or less than expected) while avoiding the numerous drawbacks associated with difference scores (Edwards, 1994, 2001, 2002).

[1] All hypotheses were tested with and without control variables. Results were quite similar and in only four cases would the conclusion drawn regarding whether the hypothesis was supported or rejected change. In all four cases (desires-current paid labor for wives predicting husbands' marital and family satisfaction, desires-current household labor fit for wives predicting husbands' physical health symptoms, and expectations-current household labor for husbands predicting wives' depressive symptoms), the results without the controls were significant and in support of hypotheses whereas those with the controls were not significant, suggesting the presented analyses are a more conservative test.

Table 5
Summary of hypothesis testing results.

	Wives						Husbands					
	Expectations			Desires			Expectations			Desires		
	Paid	Child care	House hold	Paid	Child care	House hold	Paid	Child care	House hold	Paid	Child care	House hold
Self												
Career S at	NS			NS			P			P		
Family Sat		NS	NS		NS	NS		NS	∩		NS	∩
Marital Sat	∩	∩	NS	∩	∩	NS	NS	NS	∩	NS	NS	∩
Depression	U	∩	NS	U	NS	NS	NS	U	NS	NS	U	NS
Phys Health	U	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	U	NS	NS	U
Spouse												
Family Sat	∩	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	∩	NS	NS	NS
Marital Sat	∩	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	∩	NS	NS	∩
Depression	U	NS	NS	U	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
Phys Health	U	NS	NS	U	NS	NS	NS	NS	U	NS	NS	P

NS = hypothesis not supported.
P = partial support (slope but not curve significant).
U = curve in shape of U as expected.
∩ = curve in shape of inverted-U as expected.
Gray boxes are those where results were different based on using congruence between recalled pre-child desires and current division of labor vs. congruence between recalled pre-child expectations and current division of labor.

As a whole the results exhibit meaningful patterns based on gender. For wives, the congruence between pre-child expectations and the current division of paid labor displayed the expected curvilinear relationship for all well-being variables except career satisfaction, such that deviations from expectations in either direction were less favorable for well-being. In contrast, there was limited evidence that expectations-current division of paid labor congruence related to husbands' well-being. The only significant finding was with career satisfaction, and the pattern of the response surface suggested that men's career satisfaction was driven by them contributing more to the division of paid labor (i.e., their wives contributing less), regardless of pre-child expectations.

Childcare labor displayed a similar pattern to that of paid labor. Congruence between pre-child expectations and current division of childcare labor related to wives' marital satisfaction and depressive symptoms in the expected curvilinear manner. None of the hypotheses were supported for pre-child expectations and current division of labor congruence for husbands, and, in fact, the relationship was opposite of prediction with depressive symptoms. The pattern of results with household labor also differed across husbands and wives but in the opposite manner; the trend (with the exception of depressive symptoms) was that expectations-current division of household labor congruence for husbands related to their well-being in the predicted curvilinear manner but was not significantly associated with well-being for wives.

A potential explanation for the gender-specific pattern of findings is that traditional gender role ideology plays a role in determining reactions to violated expectations. Our results suggest that spouses are more reactive to the traditional gender role aligned versus not aligned labor contributions of their partner. That is, wives may more closely scrutinize the paid labor of their husbands

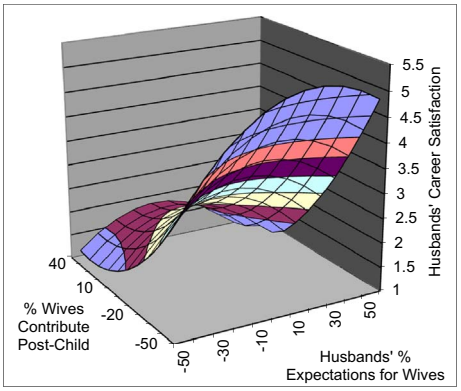

Fig. 2. Congruence between husbands' recalled pre-child expectations for wives' paid labor contributions and wives' current post-child paid labor contributions and husbands' career satisfaction.

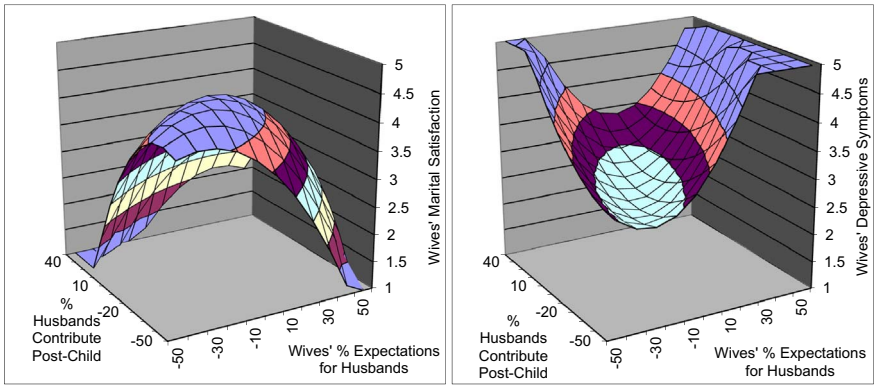

Fig. 3. Congruence between wives' recalled pre-child expectations for husbands' childcare labor contributions and husbands' current post-child childcare labor contributions and wives' well-being.

whereas husbands more closely scrutinize the household labor of wives. As such, when expectations for one's spouse within these particular domains are not met, these unmet expectations have a stronger impact than do expectations in the domain less tied to that spouse's role. However, childcare labor does not fall into this pattern. Unlike household and paid labor, which must be performed regardless of children's presence, childcare labor is uniquely a post-child experience. Thus, it is possible that dual-earners do not have an accurate sense of what childcare entails and are more willing to accept that their initial expectations were misguided and therefore

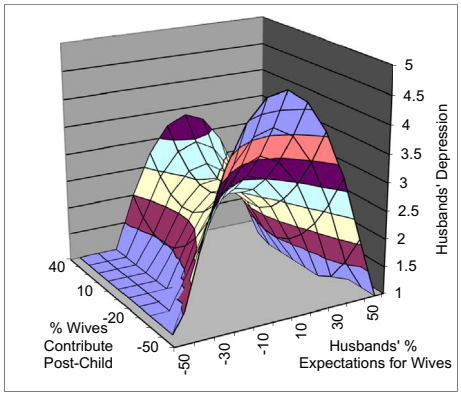

Fig. 4. Congruence between husbands' recalled pre-child expectations for wives' childcare labor contributions and wives' current post-child childcare labor contributions and husbands' well-being.

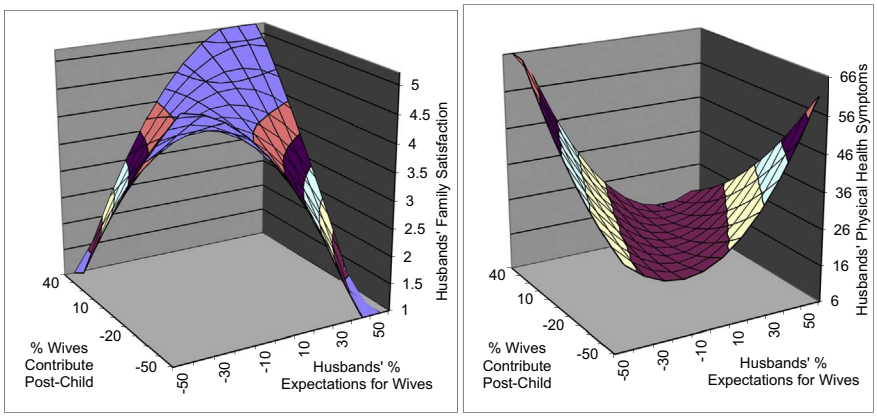

Fig. 5. Congruence between husbands' recalled pre-child expectations for wives' household labor contributions and wives' current post-child household labor contributions and husbands' well-being.
Note: The figure for family satisfaction is very similar to that of marital satisfaction. Only one is shown for space preservation purposes.

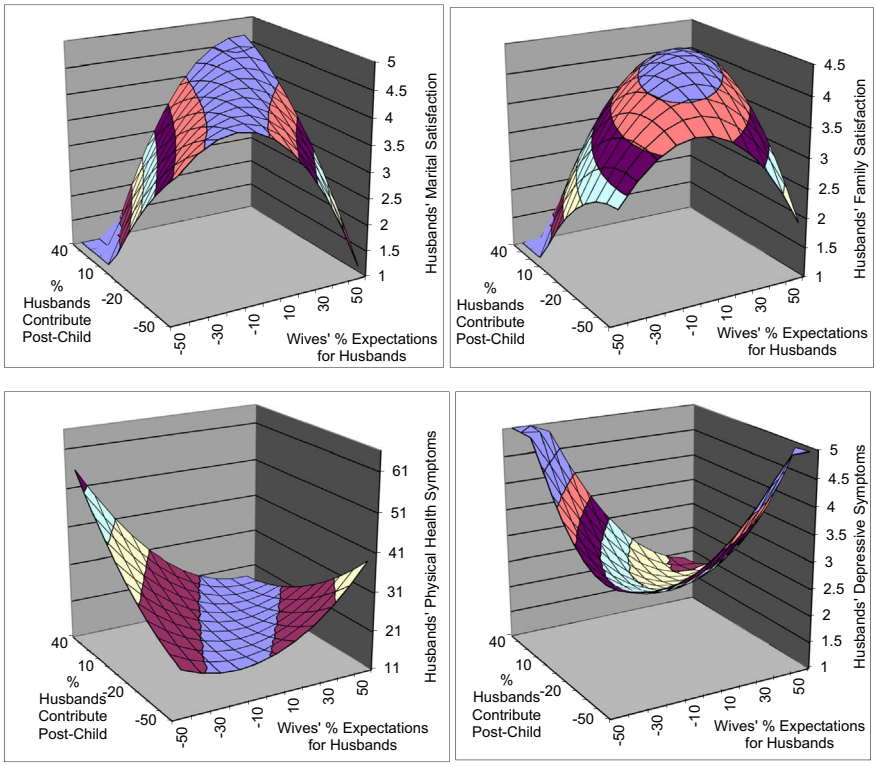

Fig. 6. Congruence between wives' recalled pre-child expectations for husbands' paid labor contributions and husbands' current post-child paid labor contributions and husbands' well-being (Crossover).

expectations are less of a motivating force in explaining well-being. Regardless, these findings further highlight the importance of considering household labor and childcare as unique dimensions of family labor (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996).

A clear gendered pattern also emerged with the crossover hypotheses. Consistent across all forms of well-being, the congruence between wives pre-child expectations and current paid labor was significantly related to husbands' well-being, and husbands' congruence between wives pre-child expectations and current household labor was significantly related to wives' well-being (with the exception of depressive symptoms). Taken as a whole, it seems that the congruence between wives' pre-child expectations for spouse's paid labor and his post-child contributions is a motivating force both for wives' personal well-being and for husbands. Likewise, congruence between husbands' pre-child expectations for household labor and post-child contributions was a strong force for their well-being and also crossed over to wives' well-being. The crossover findings are noteworthy. The literature concerning gender effects in crossover processes has been inconsistent (Westman, 2016). Westman suggested that to better understand gender and crossover, research is needed that unpacks role domain expectations. As suggested by Westman, our results help demonstrate that role domain expectations do matter in a way that is consistent with traditional gender roles. Our findings underscore that additional consideration of the role of gender in crossover processes is merited.

In addition to recalled pre-child expectations, we examined congruence between pre-child desires for the division of labor and current reality and well-being. Results were generally consistent, although the effect sizes were generally larger with expectations. This suggests that pre-child expectations are a more robust driver of well-being than are pre-child desires, although theoretically both function in a similar manner, often exhibiting curvilinear relationships with well-being. This could be attributable to the fact that expectations take into account contextual factors (e.g., a spouse is unlikely to earn a large proportion of the income given his/her low paying field) whereas desires do not. Overall, these findings contribute to the literature, which has not tested how expectations and desires might differentially function (Khazan et al., 2008). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the correlations between expectations and desires were moderate to high (between 0.47 and 0.68; see Tables 1 and 2), although they are not high enough to suggest identical constructs. There was a significant discrepancy only in the correlation between desires and expectations for household labor for husbands' versus wives' ($rs = 0.68$ vs. 0.47, $z = 2.61$, $p < 0.01$). Speculatively, this discrepancy may be evidence that women recognize what they want is likely not what they can actually expect to occur in terms of men contributing to household labor. Men, on the other hand, with greater power in marital bargaining (McDonald, 1980), have less reason to report differences between pre-child expectations and desires. Overall, our findings provide an important initial step in differentiating the roles of expectations and desires in predicting well-being.

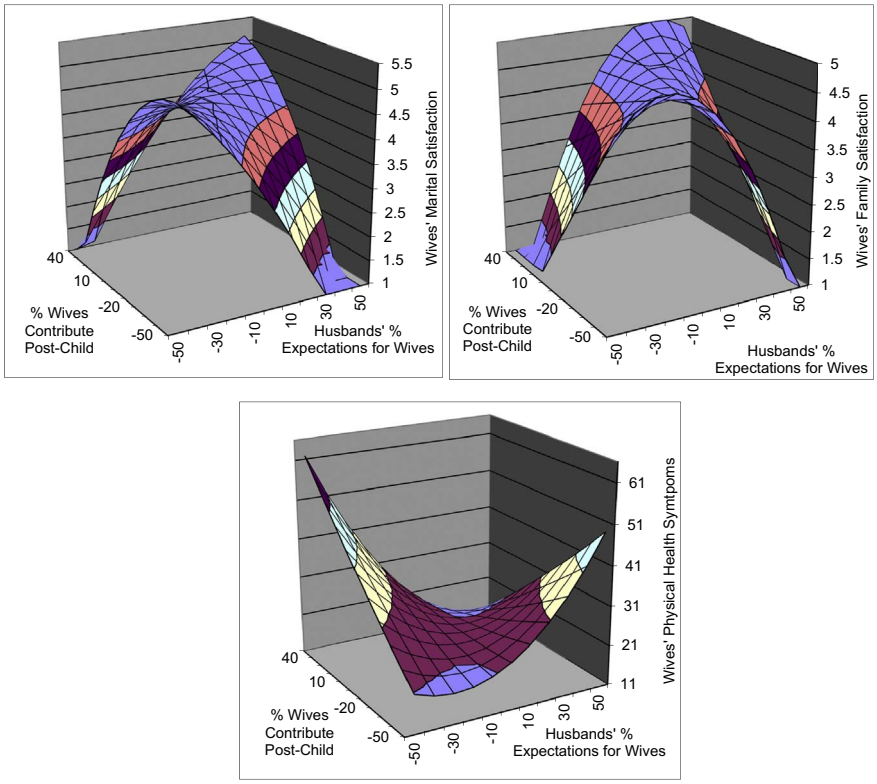

Fig. 7. Congruence between husbands' recalled pre-child expectations for wives' paid labor contributions and wives' current post-child paid labor contributions and wives' well-being (Crossover).

4.1. Theoretical implications

Although there have been a few previous studies that addressed pre-child expectations and post-child division of labor realities, none have employed a strong theoretical framework. This study suggests that met expectations theory is an appropriate framework, as in many cases having current labor contributions fall short of expectations was unfavorable for well-being. Our findings also help supplement met expectations theory in the division of labor context, which is largely silent on "overmet" expectations. When we found a significant effect for expectations-current division of labor congruence on well-being, results typically conformed to the full curvilinear option proposed by Warr (1987). This suggests that "too much" as well as "not enough" in terms of one's spouse's labor contributions can be detrimental to well-being. Considering that previous research has largely neglected examining congruence in this manner, this add important insight into the full spectrum of how unmet expectations relate to well-being.

Furthermore, organizational researchers tend to pay "lip service" to the division of labor in the family domain, frequently mentioning its importance in dual-earner's work and family functioning but rarely empirically assessing it. The division of paid labor is neglected to the extent that a search of the phrase in psychology research databases produces only a handful of peer-reviewed studies. The present findings suggest that this is a significant omission, limiting our theoretical understanding of the work and family experiences of dual-career couples. At the very least, expectation-current division of paid labor congruence represents an important family structure variable that should be considered, as it satiates complaints that work-family research is too reliant on objective characteristics of the person to the neglect of role quality (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005). Similarly, a key variable in family research, marital satisfaction, was the well-being variable that most consistently related to met expectations. Family researchers are also encouraged to expand their typical theories to incorporate the quality of paid labor roles, rather than distilling the worker role to "breadwinner" as is often done (e.g., Loscocco & Spitze, 2007). To sum up, both workplace psychology and family researchers would benefit from including a comprehensive assessment of division of labor met expectations in theory and research.

4.2. Practical implications

Beyond theoretical explanations, there are a few practical implications of the present study. Although the division of paid labor is in part determined by factors within a couple, there are organizational constraints that may also contribute to unrealized expectations for women. Specifically, a structural lag exists in most organizations (e.g., Moen, 2003; Moen & Roehling, 2005). Career paths are still modeled on the 1950s blueprint, assuming that workers have a full time homemaker to assist them with family duties and career

development. By reducing this lag and recognizing the dual-earner context that most workers operate in, organizations may facilitate employees' achievement of a division of labor that is consistent with pre-child expectations and thus beneficial for well-being. Potential solutions include making careers more flexible with multiple paths to success, making jobs themselves more flexible by offering flexible work arrangements, and placing greater consideration on spouse's work situations in relocation decisions. On the family side, the study's results have implications for marital counseling. Prior to the birth of children, couples should be advised to discuss their expectations regarding the division of labor through various stages of their lives. Being aware of each other's expectations may help foster eventual congruence and can help couples come to early compromises if their expectations are initially incongruent. Additionally, because the division of labor can be a dynamic process, couples who have children might benefit from counseling that promotes consistent goal setting and monitoring to ensure that their behaviors stay in line with mutual desires and expectations.

4.3. Limitations

Despite its contributions, the present study has limitations. With regard to study design, retrospective reports were used to assess pre-child expectations, requiring participants to recall their division of labor expectations before children were born. There is evidence that retrospective reports are prone to cognitive and memory biases (cf., Bernard, Killworth, Kronenfeld, & Sailer, 1984). Thus, we cannot conclude that our recall measure is veridical to actual pre-child expectations. It may be that recalled expectations mediate the relationship between actual past expectations and current division of labor fit and well-being. As this body of literature advances, longitudinal research that assesses expectations before children are born and along with division of labor post-partum and retrospective recall of expectations is needed to better understand the unfolding process of met expectations regarding the division of labor. The current research is one step in that direction. A related concern is that our recall measure cannot account for the possibility that some individuals may have started families without crystalized division of labor expectations.

Relatedly, a second limitation of the study is its cross-sectional design. Although the hypotheses were all grounded in met expectations theory, which suggests that congruence between expectations and reality impact well-being, the cross-sectional design precludes any firm directionality conclusions. For example, we cannot rule out the possibility that depressive symptoms could influence the way by which couples divide labor. Moreover, across time the two could demonstrate reciprocal relationships. Another limitation concerns the sample and sampling strategy. Participants were recruited through a variety of strategies, all of which involved convenience sampling, rather than random sampling. This resulted in a sample that was mostly Caucasian and college educated and therefore not fully representative of the larger dual-earner population, making the generalization of the results unknown. Also, response rates were low, which could have implications for nonresponse bias, another source of potential concern for generalizability.

4.4. Future research

The present study has paved the way for numerous future research endeavors. In addition to the ideas for future research ideas presented in previous sections, there are additional areas that remain largely untapped. First, the present investigation incorporated the division of family and paid labor, but hypotheses and analyses were conducted independently. In another words, there was little consideration of how congruence between expectations and reality in one domain affects the other domain. Given that many dual-earner work-family management strategies consider the work and family domains as a whole (Roehling, 2003), rather than each domain independently, research that incorporates both domains simultaneously would be illuminating. One idea is to explore expectations-current division of labor congruence in one domain (e.g., paid) as a moderator of the relationship between expectations-current division of labor fit in another domain (e.g., household). Doing so would allow researchers to determine if the association between getting what one expected in one domain is affected by getting what one expected in the other domain. Theoretically, people with high congruence in the work domain may not experience increased well-being if there is very low congruence with expectations for the family domain. Such a scenario is likely commonplace, as the average woman, regardless of employment status, work hours, or income, still performs more family labor than her husband (Shockley & Shen, 2016). A related idea is to include expectations for the division of paid labor as one of the congruence components and expectations for the division of household or childcare labor as the other component and compare their congruence to well-being. This design would allow researchers to address the research question of where the optimal level of respective expectations lies. It may be that expecting one's spouse to contribute 50% in both domains maximizes well-being or conversely that a deviation from true equality is actually more beneficial to well-being.

A third avenue of future exploration revolves around process variables. The findings of previous research (e.g., Moen & Roehling, 2005; Moen & Yu, 2000) show that there is often a discrepancy between what couples expect pre-child and what they get post-child with regard to the division of labor. Less is known about why this discrepancy occurs. Some theorists argue that it is a function of changing preferences (Hakim, 2000), economics (Becker, 1993), or power dynamics (McDonald, 1980), but there is minimal research on the role of workplace factors in creating this discrepancy. Previous research suggests that the spouse with greater flexibility may actually experience greater family-to-work conflict (Hammer, Neal, Newsom, Brockwood, & Colton, 2005). If one spouse's job is more flexible than the other spouse's job, (s)he may take on more family duties. Over time, this may have an effect on the overall division of labor. Processes linking expectations and actual behaviors were not examined in this study, but future researchers are encouraged to explore these issues, with a focus on work-related mechanisms.

Acknowledgements

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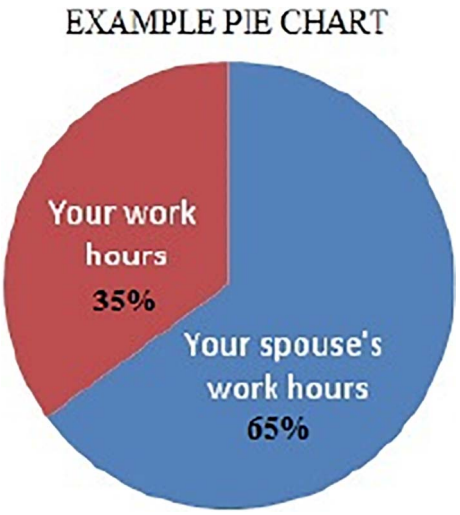
Appendix A

Pre-child expectations for division of paid labor

Before having children, many couples think and discuss what their life will be like 'post children.'

For the next set of questions, we are interested in knowing what your desires and expectations were BEFORE you had children with regard to what your life would be like AFTER you did have children.

1. Picture the total number of combined hours that you and your spouse spend in paid employment as a pie chart that sums to 100%.



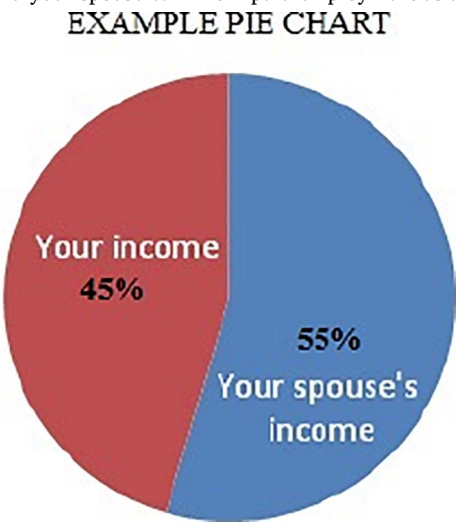
Before you had children and were thinking into the future…

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be YOUR work hours once children were born?

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be YOUR SPOUSE'S work hours once children were born?

These percentages should add up to 100%.

2. Picture the total income that you and your spouse earn from paid employment as a pie chart that sums to 100%.

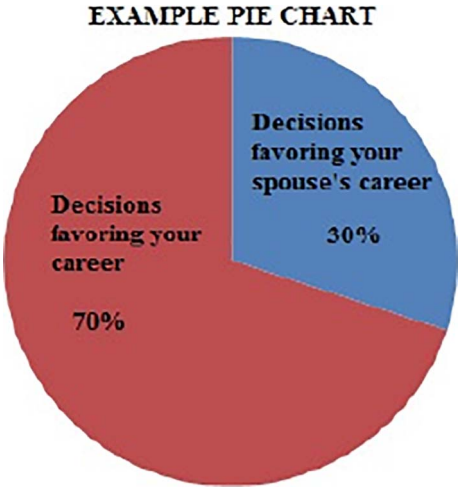


Before you had children and were thinking into the future…

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be YOUR income once children were born?

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be YOUR SPOUSE'S income once children were born?

3. Career favoring decisions are decisions that require one spouse's career to be given priority over the other spouse's career. Picture the total number of career prioritization decisions in your marriage as a pie chart that sums to 100%.



Before you had children and were thinking into the future…

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be decisions that favored YOUR career once children were born?

…what proportion of that pie chart did you EXPECT to be decisions that favored YOUR SPOUSE'S career once children were born?

Pre-child expectations for division of childcare labor

Childcare related tasks are activities that involve caring for and raising children. Some examples include supervising, bathing, punishing, playing with children, and taking children to appointments or play dates. Think about the total amount of childcare tasks that must be performed in your home.

Before you had children and were thinking into the future…

…what percentage of these tasks did YOU EXPECT to perform?

…what percentage of these tasks did you EXPECT YOUR SPOUSE to perform?

Pre-child expectations for division of household labor

Maintaining a household requires several household tasks to be completed, such as meal preparation, cooking, housecleaning, yard work, shopping for groceries and household goods, washing dishes or cleaning up after meals, doing laundry, paying bills, and taking out the trash. Think about the total amount of household tasks (not including childcare) that must be performed in your home.

Before you had children and were thinking into the future…

…what percentage of these tasks did YOU EXPECT to perform?

…what percentage of these tasks did you EXPECT YOUR SPOUSE to perform?

Appendix B. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.11.009.

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