Journal

of

Research

on Women

and

Gender

Journal of Research on Women and Gender

Journal of Research on Women and Gender

Volume 5 · 2014

Contents

Letter from the Editor

A warm and sincere thanks to all the readers, contributors, and reviewers who have helped sustain the *Journal of Research on Women and Gender* (*JRWG*) since its launching in 2010. I would like to take this opportunity to make you aware of changes to *JRWG* starting with this issue.

We have a new location. Texas Digital Library (TDL) will now host *JRWG*. We are very excited about the move to TDL. It uses open journal software (OJS), which will allow for a more efficient review process. Contributors will be able to log on to the TDL system to submit manuscripts and check the status of their manuscripts after submission. Reviewers and contributors will also be able to contact the TDL helpdesk for assistance in navigating the system.

We will now publish annually. In the past *JRWG* has been published twice a year. *JRWG* will now be published once a year, and manuscripts will be posted as soon as they are approved and readied for publication. This will allow for the publishing of one or more articles at a time, building up to a complete issue each year.

We now have professional copyediting. All manuscripts that are approved for publication will be copyedited prior to posting. In addition, all manuscripts will now be submitted and published using APA style guidelines. This will give the journal a standard, professional look and style. The changes are capped off with a new cover.

These changes will facilitate the mission of *JRWG* to promote critical dialogue about women and persons of various gender identities in diverse cultural contexts. I invite you all to continue to advance the exploration of the gendered nature of social life via *JRWG*.

Collegially,

Audwin L. Anderson

Executive Editor,
Journal of Research on Women and Gender
and Director,
Center for Diversity and Gender Studies

Gender differences in perceptions of arrest laws and factors associated with arrests in domestic violence incidents

Lindsay Deveau and Dittita Tititampruk

Abstract

Domestic violence severely impacts individuals and society as a whole. The purpose of this research study was to explore the gender differentiation observed in police officers' perceptions on mandatory arrest policies and domestic violence incidents, as well as to examine how those perceptions influence the decision to arrest in domestic violence cases. The first research question attempted to identify how officers are guided by arrest policies, specifically, mandatory arrest policies. Secondly, the researchers wanted to examine how officers perceive having to use mandatory arrest policies. Finally, the researchers sought to find out what other factors guide their decisions to make an arrest, as well as the difficulties that may arise during a domestic violence incident. A majority of officers believed that mandatory arrest policies are effective. While most officers believed that mandatory arrest polices were effective, many suggested that they might step outside of policy during certain situations. Factors such as weapon use, child involvement, substance use, injuries, and the scene of the crime were all found to be predictors of arrest in domestic violence situations. Challenges discussed by both male and female officers included difficulty in determining who the perpetrator was and overcoming language barriers in domestic violence incidents. Gender-based differences observed in responses among officers were minimal.

Keywords

gender, law enforcement, arrests, domestic violence

The National Coalition against Domestic Violence conducted research using data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2011) and reported that "on average, 24 people per minute are victims of rape, physical violence, or stalking by an intimate partner in the United States. Over the course of a year, that equals more than 12 million women and men." Many of these individuals experience multiple assaults over time, which can lead to long-lasting negative consequences. In response to advocacy and feminist groups, many jurisdictions have implemented mandatory arrest policies. "Policies that encourage or require arrest of domestic abusers play a prominent role in the government's attempt to combat domestic violence" (Lyengar, 2009, p. 86). While these mandatory arrest policies are enacted to help protect victims of violence, they take away an officer's discretion to decide whether an arrest is warranted and can ultimately lead to the wrong party being arrested.

Current literature examines how mandatory arrest policies, laws, and other situational factors such as weapon use, injuries, and the use of substances influence an officer's decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation (Eitle, 2005; Hirschel, Buzawa, Pattavina, Faggiani, & Reuland 2007; Horwitz et al., 2011; Logan, Shannon, & Walker, 2006; McLaughry et al., 2013). While numerous studies have examined laws and situational factors associated with the decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation, few studies have done so from a qualitative perspective. Furthermore, the literature does not thoroughly examine gender differentiation between officers and how this differentiation affects the decision to make arrests during domestic violence incidents.

A lack of female law enforcement agents minimizes notice of the differences between genders. Because there is a lack of female police officers, an interesting but difficult problem emerges. When women are out in the field, their voices are often not heard. There is a constructed hierarchy of male dominance in policing which segregates female officers through words, acts, and organizational policies (Shelly, Morabito, & Tobin-Gurley, 2011).

This paper attempts to fill two gaps in the literature, first by exploring officers' perceptions through a qualitative approach to the following questions: (a) What policies and procedures guide an officer's decision to arrest in domestic violence incidents? (b) Has the officer had to step outside of the boundaries outlined in law and how does that impact an officer's job? (c) What perception do female officers hold in regard to domestic violence arrests? How do their perceptions differ from their male colleagues? (d) How do officers perceive mandatory arrest laws, and what impact do they have on the decision to arrest? (e) What do police officers perceive to be important factors when determining whether to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation? (f) What are the difficulties that arise when on scene at a domestic violence incident? Secondly, by using a qualitative perspective, generally not used in this type of research, the researchers will be able to explore gender differentiation in relation to following departmental policies and laws, perceptions of arrests in domestic violence cases, factors that they associate with the need to arrest, and difficulties that arise when making arrests.

Literature Review

Arrest Laws

Typically, police officers have been reluctant to make arrests in domestic violence situations (Berk and Loseke, 1981). Researchers have found that in many cases before the implementation of mandatory arrest policies that an arrest would rarely, if ever, occur (Langley & Levy, 1977; Roy, 1977). In fact, Bard and Zacker (1974) and Black (1980) found that only 5% of reported domestic violence calls resulted in offender arrest. Sherman and Berk (1984) completed a study that examined three responses to simple assault: an arrest; "advise"; and an order for the suspect to leave for eight hours. The results indicated that those suspects arrested for domestic violence were less likely to commit subsequent violence six months after their original arrest dates than those who were just ordered to leave. Today, with the implementation of mandatory arrest laws, the number of domestic violence related arrests have significantly increased.

Mandatory Arrest Laws

Mandatory arrest laws play an important role in the decision about whether to make

an arrest in a domestic violence case. It is still unclear whether mandatory arrest laws decrease the amount of domestic violence, have no effect on domestic violence, or will play a role in the accidental negative consequences such as the victim being arrested (Hirschel et al., 2007; Simpson, Bouffard, Garner, & Hickman, 2006; Zeoli, Norris, & Brenner, 2011). When either the victim or a third (sometimes unknown) party calls the police for assistance, mandatory arrest laws allow for an officer to make the decision to arrest a suspected perpetrator without a warrant. Mandatory laws also allow police officers to make warrantless arrests for restraining order violations (Phillips & Sobol 2010; Zeoli et al., 2011). Officer discretion is often taken away in these circumstances, which requires police to take action against perpetrators of domestic violence.

Studies have indicated that in states with laws that include a mandatory arrest component, police officers may believe that an arrest is necessary when there is probable cause, and therefore police make a decision to arrest (Toon, Hart, Welch, Coronado, & Hunting, 2005; Zeoli et al., 2011). This may occur regardless of the distinctive circumstances of the case, such as when the victim requests that no arrest be made. If state law indicates a preference for arrest, a police officer may arrest more often than not, but that officer may take the circumstances of the case into the consideration before making an arrest. According to Herbert (2001), officers make decisions based upon the duties and required departmental tasks assigned to them as police officers. These duties and tasks are guided by policies, procedures, and laws, including deciding whom to stop, when to write a ticket, and whom to arrest in different situations, especially in those cases when domestic disputes occur.

While research has indicated that police officers will make an arrest when required in those states that have mandatory arrest policies, historically police officers have had the ability to use their own discretion for their general duties, including the decision to make an arrest. Toon et al. (2005) surveyed police officers about their attitudes towards officer discretion; the research indicated that police officers desire more discretion to determine an arrest outcome in domestic violence situations and believe that they are capable of determining when an arrest is necessary. While mandatory arrest laws are meant to help the victim and are intended to limit officer discretion when making an arrest, police officers have indicated that they should be allowed to make that decision and arrest. Research has also found that mandatory laws result in increased arrest rates in comparison with discretionary arrests laws (Hirschel et al., 2007; Simpson et al., 2006; Toon et al., 2005). Hirschel et al. (2007) used a cross-sectional design and data from the National Incident-Based Reporting System for 19 states in the year 2000 to examine the relationship between mandatory arrest laws and the arrest rates for domestic violence incidents. The researchers examined offender demographics, witness demographics, and evidence found at the scene to study the differences in arrest rates. The researchers found that the presence of mandatory arrest laws increased arrest rates. In mandatory arrest states, the figures of arrest in intimate partner incidents increased by 97% compared to discretionary arrest states. In contrast, the increasing number of arrests is even higher (about 177%) in preferred arrest states. Lyengar (2009) also found that by utilizing mandatory arrest laws the number of family violence homicides decreased over time.

Mandatory arrest laws result in a more consistent and punitive response to domestic

violence. Presumably, mandatory arrest laws could fill the gap between having to use an officer's personal discretion when deciding to arrest and an officer being required by policy to make an arrest in a domestic violence dispute, regardless of the circumstance of the incident. Often when no policies or procedures require an arrest, officers will examine other factors, such as the extent of injury, the weapons used at the scene, and the levels of intoxication of either or both parties.

Factors Associated with the Decision to Arrest

Policies and procedures often impact an officer's decision to arrest in a domestic violence incident, especially when those regulations are mandated either by state law or departmental policy. When there are no mandated policies regarding the decision to arrest, an officer must use his or her discretion. Factors such as injury to the victim, weapon use, and the use of alcohol by one or both parties help to determine whether anyone should be arrested.

Injury and Weapons

When weapons are used in a domestic dispute, the severity of violence will increase and may result in minor to serious injuries. These injuries can come from any type of weapon use, including punching, kicking, biting, beating, and attacks with guns and knives. Kyriacou at al. (1999) completed a study that examined injuries inflicted on individuals involved in domestic disputes. Drawing from a sample of 914 women, the researchers found that women who were injured (compared to those who had no visible injury) received severe physical injuries, including contusions, lacerations, fractures, dislocations and soft-tissue injuries. The se-

verity of injury and the inclusion of weapons in a domestic violence dispute have been found to be factors that influence an officer's decision to arrest.

McLaughry et al. (2013) completed a study that examined police arrest decisions in cases of intimate partner violence and the severity of trauma. The study utilized a total of 256 cases from six different police departments with discretionary arrest laws. The researchers found a statistically significant difference between arrests made when there was trauma versus situations when there was little or no trauma and when no arrests were made. Trauma severity was one of the major factors in an officer's decision to make an arrest when only discretionary laws were used by police departments.

Finn, Blackwell, Stalans, Studdard, and Dugan (2004) completed a study that examined several different scenarios involving domestic violence assaults to examine the factors that were most influential when making a decision about whether to arrest. Police officers were asked how they understood their responsibility to either make an arrest or not to make an arrest, and then the officers were read a scenario and asked to determine the type of arrest that should be applied. Over 81% of the officers indicated that they would make an arrest in any of the given scenarios; however, only slightly fewer than 20% indicated that they would make a dual arrest. Other mitigating factors in the decision to arrest included departmental policies and whether injuries were present. If the female victim was the only party injured, officers were likely to make an arrest in over 71% of the cases, whereas if both parties were injured almost 56% would make a dual arrest, and only a slightly lower percent (36.5%) would use informal options other than arrest. Similar research results have indicated that factors such as victim

race, injury, age, and weapon use were all significant predictors in the likelihood of an arrest occurring (Eitle, 2005; Lee, Zhang, & Hoover, 2013).

Alcohol

The use of alcohol and or drugs causes a loss of impairment among individuals and in a domestic violence situation can increase the likelihood that a violent situation may occur. The use of substances also decreases the likelihood that a victim will call the police (Kraanen, Scholing, & Emmelkamp, 2010). Alcohol and drugs may lower an individual's inhibitions, which may result in a violent situation to occur. Research on domestic violence has indicated that the use of alcohol and or other drugs are correlated with intimate partner abuse (Busch & Rosenberg, 2004; Martin, 1997).

Studies have indicated that alcohol and other substance use can lead to more severe violent situations. Research suggests that this is also a significant predictor in the likelihood of an arrest. Brookoff, O'Brien, Cook, Thompson, and Williams (1997) examined 62 incidents of domestic violence and found that in a majority of cases (72%) the victim was female. Weapons were involved in 68% of the incidents; 15% of those cases resulted in serious injuries, and in 64% of the cases, drugs or alcohol were used on the day of the assault. Other studies (Hirschel et al., 2007; Kraanen, Sholing, & Emmelkamp, 2010; Simmons, Lehmann & Cobb, 2008; Thompson & Kingree, 2006; Zeoli et al., 2011) have found similar results, all suggesting that the use of intoxicating substances was a significant predictor in making a decision to arrest in a domestic violence incident.

Kraanen et al. (2010) found that individuals who had alcohol dependencies and abuse tendencies were more likely to be under the influence at the time that the domestic violence incident occurred and were more likely to threaten or use a weapon against their partners. Studies by Thompson and Kingree (2006) and Archer (2000) report that the risk factors for potential injury and the likelihood of reporting an incident are increased when the perpetrator was drinking versus when neither party was drinking during a domestic dispute. Data from the National Violence against Women Survey conducted by Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) indicated that one third of the women interviewed reported that the perpetrator had consumed alcohol at the time of the dispute; only 6.9% of victims had been drinking when the confrontation took place. Just over 38% of the victims had sustained injuries during the incident but only approximately 18% of those victims reported the violence to police.

A review of the current literature leads to the conclusion that the decision to arrest in domestic violence cases by police officers is a complex process and depends on several factors, including mandatory policies, departmental procedures, and situational factors. Situational factors such as the extent of injury, weapons use, and drug use have all been found to be significant predictors in deciding whom, if anyone, to arrest in a domestic dispute.

Female Police Officers

Another gap in the current literature is the examination of the differences between male and female officers. In regard to employment trends and women police officers, Shelly, Morabito, and Tobin-Gurley (2011) suggest that police departments have had "difficulty hiring, retaining, and promoting female officers" (p. 351). In a male-dominated employment institution,

females have a difficult time retaining their positions. Because females are limited by numbers, it is thought that "the constructed hierarchy of male dominance in policing exerts itself via individual, organizational, and possibly community levels and segregates female officers through words, acts, and organizational policies" (p. 354). The segregation between male and female officers might lead to the trouble of retaining female officers. Furthermore, if female officers feel that through words, actions, and policies that they are regarded as inferior to males, then their roles as officers might be diminished, leading the female officers to feel like their opinions in the workforce do not matter.

While law enforcement is still considered a male-dominated workforce, new research has suggested that women are making strides in law enforcement (Dodge, Valcore, & Klinger, 2010). While women are obtaining careers in law enforcement,

> masculinity and femininity are the aspects of gender that can be achieved or disputed in any given social arena. All persons hold assumptions about how a masculine man or feminine woman should appear or act and look for appropriate gender clues according to what the particular occasion requires. (p. 220)

Little research has been conducted on how traditional masculine and feminine gender roles in policing play a role in the perceptions of how police officers feel when directly on the job, specifically when dealing with domestic violence cases.

Methodology

Many studies have focused on domestic violence from a quantitative perspective. The current research used a qualitative methodological approach to gather in-depth information on police officers' operational behavior in the field. Pretests were conducted on four retired police officers to ensure content validity in the study. From the initial pretests, two questions were omitted and two were added. Twenty police officers (five females and 15 males) from two departments in central Texas were selected using convenience sampling and then interviewed. Semi-structured interviews of 20 to 30 minutes were conducted individually with each officer. All interviews were recorded with the officers' permission. Initially, there were seven questions for each interviewee; however, after the first interview the idea of cultural challenges was discussed between the interviewer and interviewee. The researchers believed that this concept was important when discussing some of the challenges that the officers face when at the scene of a domestic violence incident, and therefore an eighth question was added. Officers were given a letter of consent and an overview of the current study, and they had the opportunity to ask questions. The interview script was transcribed and a content data analysis was completed using NVivo. Themes and patterns were discovered within each interview explaining the perceptions that officers have regarding mandatory arrest laws, providing insights into the process and perceptions of making an arrest in domestic violence situations. Three officers were also randomly chosen to read the results section of the analysis to check for internal consistency among the various responses. The test of internal consistency was completed to verify that each theme captured what was originally intended by the officers. The current study used an inductive methodological approach in which the police officers' responses direct the empirical generalizations and conclusions. Subsequently, several themes were discovered and analyzed.

Results

Upon an examination of the 20 interviews, several themes began to emerge regarding the perceptions of officers when examining arrest policies and procedures. Factors associated with the decision to make an arrest when at the scene of a domestic violence incident were identified.

Themes

Arrest Policies

The first question sought to examine the policies that are in place regarding the decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence case, as well as whether officers perceive current arrest polices as mandatory, pro-arrest, or officer discretion. Three separate responses were frequently observed.

Forty percent of female officers discussed the law in terms of being required to make an arrest in any domestic violence incident. One officer said: "As far as our policies go they follow the Texas State law and it's very specific…. [Y]ou will arrest if there's signs of physical violence or domestic violence" (Case 19).

Similarly, a majority (86%) of the male officers also discussed how the laws and policies require a mandatory arrest. One officer said: "Sure, policy, well, policy follows the law…it's a shall arrest…that's the wording they use in the code of criminal procedures and it's there's no discretion" (Case 2).

Other responses given by both male and female officers regarding the decision to make an arrest was that officers go by the Texas State Family Code § 71.004 and can use discretion when making an arrest. One female responded: "I don't think we have anything that just pertains directly to domestic violence…not so much a mandatory arrest… when we are to arrest it is more our decision" (Case 1).

Regardless of the gender of the officer, most (14 officers) perceived the laws as requiring an arrest regardless of the circumstances involved. Only six of the twenty officers perceived that the laws follow the Texas Family Violence Code § 71.004, or are not required by law.

Perception of Mandatory Arrest Policies

The second question determined whether or not officers liked or agreed with mandatory policies. While mandatory arrest policies take away officers' discretion to make decisions that they have been trained to make, both a majority of male (75%) and female (60%) officers believed that mandatory arrest policies were necessary and approved of them. One officer said: "I think it's a good thing. I have been an officer for twelve years and it's always been in effect for me when I've been enforcing" (Case 2).

The other 25% of officers neither agreed nor disagreed with policy (5%) or indicated that they did not like the idea of having to arrest a perpetrator in every circumstance. One officer said: "I don't think I would like it…because it's hard to pin point exactly what should make a good arrest" (Case 1).

While many officers argued that mandatory arrest laws were effective for a number of different reasons, several of the interviewed officers felt that the laws were unnecessary in every domestic violence case, and therefore should be left up to the discretion of the officer.

Stepping Outside of Policy

The third question determined whether the officers had ever stepped outside of the boundaries of the law to either make an ar-

rest when possibly they should not have or chose not to make an arrest when one was warranted. Sixty-five percent of males and 20% of females said that they had at one time or another gone beyond the policies of the department to either make an arrest or not. One stated: "Sometimes you have to go outside of the box and see what the history is and then sometimes make a determination based on that" (Case 5).

Those officers who responded with a no simply said no, or suggested that "we've given the officer here the tools to make that determination and the only time that they would make an arrest is when there are no injuries…and are conflicting statements about what happened" (Case 18).

Male officers were more inclined to step outside of the scope of policy. However, there were several female officers who had stepped outside of the boundaries either because of the gray area regarding certain situations that they encountered during a domestic dispute, or because they felt that an arrest was not warranted. Overall, a majority of officers in this study (80%) believed that stepping out of the scope of the policy was necessary at one time or another.

Factors and Challenges Associated with Arrests

Quantitative data analysis has shown that factors such as weapon use, injury, and substance use affect an officer's decision to arrest. When asked about factors that influence an officer's decision to make an arrest, 15 out of the 20 officers suggested that injuries were an important factor in deciding to make an arrest. One officer said: "I mean physical injuries, umm, history of the residence or history of domestic violence and then the suspect's history or violent tendencies or whatever and the believability of

the victim" (Case 5). Factors that followed included statements made by a witness, the perpetrator, or the victim, as well as keeping the victim safe and history of violence. Statements are also incredibly important when it comes to determining who is responsible for the violence: "Initially you have to go on what the victim statement is then you are looking for things that substantiate their accounts" (Case 6). "We speak to both parties, the victim and the suspect, any witnesses, you kind of have to look at the scene and the demeanor of the people" (Case 11).

Other factors that were important in the decision to make an arrest included the use of a weapon, what the crime scene looked like, whether substances were involved, and whether children were present: "If someone has a knife or you threaten with a knife that would definitely influence my decision to make an arrest" (Case 14). "Mainly physical signs also maybe what the crime scene looks like; they're talking about furniture being broken and the furniture is indeed broken" (Case 4). "And another challenge is when children are involved because children don't understand necessarily what's going on" (Case 23).

The factors found to be most influential in the decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation align with those found in quantitative studies (Hirschel et. al, 2007; Kraanen et al., 2010; Simmons et al., 2008; Zeoli et al., 2011). Factors such as weapons, injuries, children involvement, and substances were important for both male and female officers when determining whom to arrest.

There are many challenges that each officer faces as he or she enters into a domestic violence scene. Only two female officers answered that communication was a challenge. Thirteen officers responded that figuring out what really happened was one of the most challenging aspects of a domestic

violence scene. One officer said: "The most challenging thing is, I think, really determining whether or not they're telling the truth when there's no injury (Case 16).

Other challenges included "not knowing" the scene of the crime, aggressive behavior, and children's involvement: "Alcohol and once you get alcohol involved in people's homes a lot of people do not like us coming into their homes they don't want us there…kitchens make me the most nervous because there are knives everywhere so kitchens people that know their own houses" (Case 12). "The hardest part is the kids…. I always try to leave the kids in the house, take the person outside so they don't have to see their parents getting put in hand cuffs" (Case 13).

Little to no gender differences appeared in examination of factors that influenced the decision to make an arrest, as well as the challenges with entering into a domestic violence scene.

Discussion

This exploratory research study had several goals: (a) to examine how officers perceive policy and their perceptions of mandatory arrest laws, (b) to examine whether an officer would step outside of the mandated boundaries, and how he or she perceived consequences for stepping outside of those boundaries, (c) what officers perceive to be important factors in the decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation, (d) and whether there were perceptual differences between male and female officers.

A majority (75%) of the officers, regardless of gender, perceived the laws in Texas regarding the decision to arrest as a mandatory arrest policy. With such a large number of officers understand the laws as a mandatory policy, a large number of victims could be at risk for being arrested under the wrong pretense. It has been suggested that mandatory arrest policies might actually harm the victim if an officer mistakenly arrests the wrong party.

Although research has indicated that mandatory arrest policies could potentially negatively affect a victim of violence, about 75% of officers perceived that mandatory arrest policies were necessary and effective. One officer argued that by having a policy there was little room for officer error, therefore liability on the officer is reduced. Contrary to previous literature, one officer argued that domestic violence laws protect the victim and therefore are helpful in domestic violence situations. Only a few officers believed that every situation is different and therefore that laws are ineffective because the decision should be based on individual cases. Despite a majority of both male and female officers who reported that mandatory policies were necessary and effective, an interesting finding was that 65% of those officers were likely to step outside of the boundaries of policy. These findings could be related to other factors associated with the decision to arrest, such as the use of weapons, injuries, and substance abuse by the offender and or victim. Not surprising were the factors associated with the decision to arrest. As previous research (Eitle, 2005; Hirschel et al., 2007; Horwitz et al., 2011; Logan et al., 2006; McLaughry et al., 2013) has indicated, factors such as weapon use, injury, child involvement, and the crime scene are considerations outside of policy that an officer examines when deciding to make an arrest. Challenges were found to include the language barrier between officers and the parties involved in the domestic dispute, as well as deciding which party was the perpetrator. If no party is willing to talk, an officer must use his or her discretion in determining the perpetrator.

There were very few differences found between male and female officers with regard to perceptions of policy, whether stepping outside of policy was ever warranted, and the factors and challenges that are examined when deciding to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation. Given that previous literature (Shelly et al., 2011) has suggested that segregation of words, actions, and organizational policies occurs between male and female officers, initially it was believed that this segregation would carry over when both male and females were at the scene of a crime, with women stepping back and not making decisions regarding arrests. This was not the case, however; there were very few differences found between the arrest decisions made by male and female officers.

A new questionnaire was constructed which attempted to tap into the perceptions of arrest policies and procedures conducted during domestic violence incidents. While each question was influential in examining perceptions, one question not asked was whether the respondents had either directly or indirectly experienced domestic violence personally. This question would have provided additional support as to why police officers perceive domestic violence situations the way they do and how it might impact the decision to make an arrest.

Limitations

Although this research study found several emerging themes—including the perceptions of policies regarding the decision to arrest in domestic violence incidents, perceptions on whether mandatory arrest policies are beneficial to officers, the perceptions of what would happen if policy were to break under certain circumstances, factors that determine the likelihood of arrest, and challenges that arise when at the scene of a domestic violence incidence—there were several limitations.

The first limitation to the research was that it was conducted only in central Texas, and only two police departments were used for the analysis. Because officers came from two departments, the sample was not representative of Texas law enforcement as a whole. The second limitation was the sample size. Only 20 officers were interviewed and only five were female officers. Because the sample size was so small and females were under-sampled, drawing conclusions regarding the differences between genders might be a bit premature.

Future Research

Future research should focus on gathering a larger sample from different Texas locations. Gender differentiation in policing should also be examined in the future, and to do so, one should gather an over-representative sample of female officers so that adequate comparison can be made between male and female officers.

Another focus should be to expand the survey and ask officers whether they had experienced domestic violence either personally or indirectly. It would be valuable to explore how personal experience influences the decision to make arrests when no policies are in place regarding the decision to arrest. Another question that should be addressed closer is how ethnic differences among individuals both challenge and sometimes hinder an officer's ability to make an arrest in a domestic dispute.

One last area of research should examine if there are differences in perceptions of violence and decisions to arrest between different racial and ethnic police officers. According to Pollock (2012), there is an

increase of diversity within police departments including African Americans, Hispanics, other ethnicities, and women. Original beliefs held that female and male officers would differ; similar beliefs are held about minority officers in the police force. It is important to determine whether there are differences between groups and how that impacts perceptions of violence and the decision to arrest.

Conclusion

A great deal of quantitative research has been completed examining mandatory arrest laws and factors associated with the decision to arrest; however, little research has been conducted from a qualitative methodology to examine how officers perceive such policies and the factors that shape their decision to make an arrest in a domestic violence situation. Most officers know the policies and procedures that must be followed when on scene; however, some officers are willing to go beyond on policy and examine other factors that occur in a domestic dispute. Overall, domestic violence scenes are some of the hardest scenes to approach due to heightened emotions and vulnerability of the parties involved. It is important for individuals to realize what officers face when entering into a domestic dispute and their perceptions of the laws that require them to take action. More research must be completed when examining factors associated with the decision to arrest and the perceptions that officers have when examining domestic violence situations. ■

Address correspondence to Lindsay Deveau, Department of Criminal Justice, Texas State University. Tel: 512.245.2174. Email: Lnd12@txstate.edu

References

Bard, M., & Zacker, T. (1974). Assaultiveness and alcohol use in family disputes: Police perceptions. *Criminology, 12,* 281-92.

Berk, S., & Loske, D. (1981). Handling family violence: situational determinants of police arrest in domestic disturbances. *Law and Society Review, 15,* 315-46.

Black, D. (1980). *The manner and customs of the police.* New York, NY: Academic Press.

Brookoff, D., O'Brien, K., Cook, C., Thompson, T., & Williams, C. (1997). Characteristics of participants in domestic violence assessment at the scene of domestic assault. *Journal of the American Medical Center, 277,* 1369-1373.

Busch, A. L., & Rosenberg, M. S. (2004). Comparing women and men arrested for domestic violence: A preliminary report. *Journal of Family Violence, 19,* 49-57.

Dodge, M., Valcore, L., & Klinger, D. (2013): Maintaining separate spheres in policing: Women on SWAT teams. *Women & Criminal Justice, 20*(3)*, 218-238

Eitle, D. (2005). The influence of mandatory arrest policies, police organizational characteristics, and situational variables on the probability of arrest in domestic violence cases. *Crime & Delinquency, 51,* 573-597.

Finn, M., Blackwell, B., Stalans, L., Studdard, S., & Dugan, L. (2004). Dual arrest decisions in domestic violence cases: The influence of departmental policies. *Crime & Delinquency, 50,* 565-589.

Herbert, S. (2001). "Hard charger" or "station queen?" Policing and the masculinist state. *Gender, Place, and Culture, 8*(1), 55-71.

Hirschel, D., Buzawa, E., Pattavina, A., Faggiani, D., & Reuland, M. (2007). *Explaining the Prevalence, Context, and Consequences of Dual Arrest in Intimate Partner Cases.* Washington, DC: USDOJ, National Institute of Justice.

Horwitz, S., Mitchell, D., LaRussa-Trott, M., Santiago, L., Pearson, J., Skiff, D., & Cerulli. C. (2011). An inside view of police officers' experience with domestic violence. *Journal of Family Violence, 26,* 617-625.

Kraanen, F., Scholing, A., & Emmelkamp, P. (2010). Substance use disorders in perpetrators of intimate partner violence in a forensic setting. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 54,* 430-440.

Kyriacou, D.N., Anglin, D., Taliaferro, E., Stone, S., Tubb, T., Linden, J.A., Muelleman, R., Barton, E., Kraus, J.F. (1999). Risk factors for injury to women from domestic violence against women. *New England Journal of Medicine, 341,* 1892-1898.

Langley, R., & Levy, R. (1977). *Wife beating: The silent crisis.* New York, NY: E.P. Dutton.

Lee, J., Zhang, Y., & Hoover, L. (2013). Police response to domestic violence: Multilevel factors of arrest decision. *Policing: An International Journal of Policing Strategies & Management, 36*(1)*,* 157-174.

Logan, T., Shannon, L., & Walker, R. (2006). Police attitudes toward domestic violence offenders. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *21*(10), 1365-1374.

Lyengar, R. (2009). Does the certainty of arrest reduce domestic violence? Evidence from mandatory and recommended arrest laws. *Journal of Public Economics, 93,* 85-98.

Martin, M. E. (1997). Double your trouble: Dual arrest in family violence. *Journal of Family Violence*, *12*, 139-157.

McLaughry, C., Chang, B., Kirsten, C., Hirschel, D., Buzawa, E., Patavina, A., Doyle, S., & Cullinane, D. (2013). Severity of injury and the decision to arrest in cases of intimate partner violence. *Medicine, Science, and the Law, 53*(1)*,* 24-28.

National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. (2011). *Domestic Violence Facts.* Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/intimatepartnerviolence/index.html

Phillips, S. W., & Sobol, J. J. (2010). Twenty years of mandatory arrest. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, *21*(1), 98-118.

Pollock, J. (2012). *Ethical dilemmas and decisions in criminal justice.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Roy, M. (Ed.). (1977). *Battered women.* New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Shelly, T., Morabito, M., & Tobin-Gurly, J. (2011). Gendered institutions and gender roles: understanding the experiences of women in policing. *Criminal justice studies: A critical journal of crime, law and society, 24*(4)*,* 351-365.

Sherman, L., & Berk. R. (1984). The specific deterrent effects of arrest for domestic assault. *American Sociolgical Review, 49,* 261-272.

Simmons, C., Lehmann, P., & Cobb, N. (2008). Women arrested for partner violence and substance use: An Exploration of discrepancies in the literature. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 23,* 707-727.

Simpson, S. S., Bouffard, L. A., Garner, J., & Hickman, L. (2006). The influence of legal reform on the probability of arrest in domestic violence cases. *Justice Quarterly, 23*, 297-316.

Texas Family Violence Code. Tx. Penal Code § 71.004.

Thompson, M., & Kingree, J. (2006). The roles of victim and perpetrator alcohol use in intimate partner violence outcomes. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 21,* 163-177.

Tjaden, P., & Thoennes, N. (1998). *Prevalence, incidence and consequences of violence against women: Findings from the national violence against women survey.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.

Toon, R., Hart, B., Welch, N., Coronado, N., & Hunting, D. (2005). *Layers of Meaning: Domestic Violence and Law Enforcement Attitudes in Arizona.* Tempe, AZ: Morrison Institute for Public Policy.

Zeoli, A. M., Norris, A., & Brenner, H. (2011). Mandatory, preferred, or discretionary: How the classification of domestic violence warrantless arrest laws impacts their estimated effects on intimate partner homicide. *Evaluation Review, 35*(2), 129-152.

Patterns in housework and childcare among girls and boys

Jocelyn Wikle

Abstract

When do girls begin performing household work? While there is clear research discussing household work among women, the development of time-use patterns in household work among girls is not well understood. Around the globe, long before adulthood, many girls begin devoting significant amounts of time to unpaid housework and childcare. In developing countries, girls often make vital contributions to family welfare through caring for family members, transporting water, and gathering fuel. In the United States, a developed country, most girls' participation in housework begins at a young age, but the time spent performing home duties is substantially less than the time spent by their peers in developing countries. This study describes the evolution of time-use patterns in the United States for girls relative to boys during the childhood and adolescent years. It also illustrates participation rates in home duties, the proportion of girls performing housework on a given day. This study finds that girls participate in home duties significantly more often than boys by age eight and that among girls involved in home duties, the time spent in home duties gradually increases through adolescence but remains significantly lower than rates seen among American adult women. Young girls' and boys' participation rates in domestic work vary by race, ethnicity, family income, number of parents in the home, and mother's employment level.

Keywords

gender, housework, home duties, childcare, time use, patterns

Domestic duties such as cooking, laundering clothing, and cleaning are regular occurrences in most homes worldwide. Adults perform significant amounts of domestic work, with adult women typically spending more time than men in home production activities, as documented by Burda, Hamermesh, and Weil (2013). Married women are more likely to provide childcare than men, and women spend more time cleaning, cooking, and shopping. While time-use patterns among adults at home are readily accepted and documented, the onset and development of time-use patterns in home duties during childhood are not well understood. This research studies the evolution of domestic work among children and adolescents, with a focus on differences between boys and girls. While a few researchers look at average time spent in home duties among all children, this focus on girls relative to boys in overall time spent and participation rates in home duties is new.

Parents, guardians, and others involved in public policy are interested in how chil-

dren spend time. From one point of view, children working at home probably benefit from the work. Children grow in responsibility and dependability, qualities that likely impact future achievement (Beach, 1997; Call, Mortimer, & Shanahan, 1995; Kuperminc, Jurkovic, & Casey, 2009). For example, Stewart and Martin (1984) demonstrate that adolescents who care for siblings with a mother present rate higher in perspective taking and social understanding. Further, time spent working at home could play a role in forming healthy time-use habits later in life. From another point of view, time spent performing home duties requires trade-offs. Home duties can crowd out constructive activities that promote achievement, such as gaining an education, studying, and paid labor. Dodson and Dickert (2004) find that performing home duties may hinder children from pursuing other developmentally appropriate experiences. If children in disadvantaged backgrounds are differentially impacted by home duties and childcare at home, time use at home could have lasting consequences. Understanding the impact of gender on participation rates in domestic work provides insight into weighing the costs and benefits of home duties for children and adolescents.

On a global scale, it is difficult to measure domestic work in developing countries. However, there is a growing literature identifying important trends for girls at home. Girls in developing countries do more domestic work than boys, and the amount of work performed increases with age, as documented by Kruger and Berthelon (2007). This seems consistent with the observation that girls prepare for adult roles, given that "in many countries, cultural norms are that women are expected to…do most of the housework and childrearing" (Agènor, Canuto, & da Silva, 2010, p. 12). In develop-

ing countries, several influential factors at a community level appear to impact girls in their domestic work. Studies concur that access to water reduces girls' home duties (van Selm, 2005). Collecting water is often performed by girls on foot, and access to water greatly reduces the demands on girls who are responsible for providing water for their families. For example, Guarcello and Lyon (2003) have found that in Yemen, girls whose families are connected to a public water supply are 16% more likely to attend school than girls whose families do not connect to a public supply, with less effect for boys. The authors have concluded that many of these girls have time consuming responsibilities in water collection. Access to electricity is another factor impacting girls in their home duties (d'Adda, 2009). For instance, "in Kenya…lack of electricity may contribute to a larger work burden for children" as they collect firewood and fuel for their families (Agènor et al., 2010, p. 14). These findings focus on the importance of public infrastructure in impacting girls' time-use in domestic work and childcare, while not exploring the importance of participation rates in home duties.

This research studies the participation rates of children in home duties. The decision to devote any amount of time to a particular home duty means the child participates in the activity. This decision may be a separate decision than that of how much time to spend performing the activity. While ideally this could be studied in a variety of developed and developing countries, detailed and reliable time-use data are limited. With this data constraint in mind, the analysis focuses on the United States. It analyzes data from the Child Development Supplement (CDS) of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) and reports participation rates in home duties for girls and

adolescents. Child domestic work participation rates are then studied in the context of race and ethnicity, family income, parental composition, and maternal employment.

Data Description

The data underlying the empirical analysis provides a wealth of information on how girls and boys spend their time. The PSID provides time-use information on children and adolescents using a time diary. This study analyzes time-use through individual-level data collected from time diaries from the 1997 to 2007 Child Development Supplement (CDS) of the PSID. The PSID is a longitudinal survey of United States families. Beginning in 1997, the PSID added the CDS in which time-use data are collected. The CDS samples all PSID families with children aged zero to 12 years, beginning in 1997. The CDS randomly selects two children per household when more than two children live in the household. By using weights, the sample is representative of the United States population of children. The CDS follows previously sampled children into adolescence by re-sampling in 2002 and 2007. Time diary interviews occur between March and December, excluding summer months of June, July, and August, and the diary describes a weekday. The diary information originates from a mailed paper diary that is mailed before a scheduled interview, with instructions to complete prior to the interview.[1] The child and primary caregiver record time spent in activities during a 24-hour period from midnight to midnight. Respondents provide information about their primary activities, and the responses code into activity categories.

An important advantage of using PSID data is the ability to observe young children's time-use in a detailed manner. The PSID advantageously follows individuals through time. Any changes over time represent changes by individuals. While the PSID importantly provides panel information on individuals over time, the sample size is small. Limiting the analysis to children aged seven and eight in 1997 yields a sample size of 97. It is also worth noting that the PSID underreports time spent in activities. The reported minutes in a day often do not total a full day's worth of time, and the magnitudes in the PSID consistently underestimate time spent in all adolescent daily activities when compared to other American time-use data. The non-weighted sample is 45% female and 55% male. The data on home duties are generally consistent with research on children's time use; however, the results cannot necessarily be generalized given the lack of precision in the estimates. This small sample makes it difficult to conduct deep analysis of many factors that could play a role in children's time use. Table A-1 in Appendix A presents demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the children in the sample, including household circumstances and personal attributes.

This study focuses on time use and participation relating to home duties. It aggregates the time spent throughout the day performing any home duty, including activities classified either as household activities or caring for others. Household activities in-

---

[1] "During the in-house CDS interview or by telephone, the interviewer reviews and edits the diary with the child and primary caregiver or, in the situations where the diary is not completed in advance, the interviewer administers the diary as an interview. On average, the review/interview time was just under 17 minutes per diary, per child" (Institute for Social Research, p. 47).

clude many different activities done at home, such as cleaning, laundering clothing, and preparing food. Grocery shopping is also included in household activities. Many children and adolescents accompany parents in household shopping, which contributes to family well-being. Shopping for non-grocery items with non-household members could be a socializing activity for adolescents, and thus it is not considered a household duty here. Caring for others includes activities relating to childcare. About two-thirds of the time teenagers spend caring for children is in providing direct childcare. Caring for others also includes care given to adults, involvement in medical attention for an adult, and helping with bills.

Time-use Patterns in Home Duties among American Girls and Boys

Girls, ages seven and eight, spend an average of 16 minutes per day in home duties. While the average number of minutes is greater than boys of the same age, the difference is not statistically significant. The average amount of time girls spend in home duties remains relatively stable through adolescence, as does the gender difference between boys and girls, with adolescent girls performing home duties for seven minutes more than their male peers by ages 17 and 18. Table 1 reports the findings. A gender difference is statistically insignificant at the 10% level; however, the stability of the pattern over time lends support to a gender difference in home duties through childhood. While American children are involved in home duties, the data show that the time girls spend in home duties is relatively stable through high school and far lower than the amount of time American women spend in home duties.

Table 1

Average Minutes per Day in Household Activities, PSID 1997-2007

Ages	Male	Female	Female - Male
7 & 8	9.8 (1.9)	16.1 (2.5)	6.2 (4.4)
12 & 13	14.3 (2.2)	22.9 (5.3)	8.7 (8.1)
17 & 18	10.4 (2.3)	17.7 (5.1)	7.3 (7.9)

Significant at the 5% level (*).

The data reveal further insights into time-use patterns when considering participation rates. Consider first the proportion of girls involved in home duties during a sample day. At ages seven and eight, girls have a high participation rate of 58%. At this young age, 50% more girls than boys help at home in some way on a given day. The daily participation of girls in home duties drops with age. By ages 17 and 18, teenage girls participate in home duties six percentage points more than teenage boys, and the difference between girls and boys is no longer significant. Table 2 reports these effects.

Now consider only children who participate in home duties. As shown in Table 3, girls and boys show similar patterns in time use in home duties, when restricting attention to only those who spent time in home duties on the sample day. Girls ages seven

Table 2

Proportion Participating in Household Activities (i.e. Time-use > 0), PSID 1997-2007

Ages	Male	Female	Female - Male
7 & 8	0.37 (0.05)	0.58 (0.05)	0.21* (0.10)
12 & 13	0.41 (0.05)	0.54 (0.05)	0.13 (0.10)
17 & 18	0.31 (0.05)	0.38 (0.05)	0.06 (0.09)

Significant at the 5% level (*).

Table 3

Average Minutes per Day in Household Activities,
Conditional on Participation, PSID 1997-2007

Ages	Male	Female	Female - Male
7 & 8	26.6 (2.3)	27.8 (2.7)	1.1 (5.0)
12 & 13	34.9 (2.2)	42.6 (6.6)	7.7 (9.8)
17 & 18	33.2 (3.0)	47.2 (7.7)	14.0 (11.7)

Significant at the 5% level (*).

and eight involved in home duties spend on average 28 minutes, while involved boys spend nearly 27. By ages 12 and 13 a small gender gap appears. By ages 17 and 18 the gap increases but is not significant.

Two important facts emerge from the analysis on averages of girls' time use in home duties. First, these data support findings in other cross-sectional American data showing that adolescent girls work in home duties significantly less than women. American girls gradually increase time spent in home duties. Second, these data are not definitive, but suggestive of gender differences in home duties beginning very early in life. It is clear that young girls participate in domestic activities at higher rates than boys; the time-use differences observed in adulthood are part of a larger pattern of participation differences beginning in childhood. While these findings are interesting in and of themselves, the analysis prompts deeper questions relating to the links between domestic work among young children and personal preferences, family practices, and community attitudes. For example, it may be that girls help more at home than boys of the same ages because they prefer a cleaner home. Or perhaps parents rely more on girls than boys to perform household chores because girls are more compliant than boys to parents' expectations. Another possibility is that gender differences in participation rates follow from gender differences in cultural expectations about working at home. The next section explores interactions between domestic activities, socio-economic background, and family characteristics.

Associations between Children's Domestic Work and Family Characteristics

Children's and teenagers' domestic work patterns vary across different environments. In order to understand early links associated with domestic work patterns, the analysis of this section focuses on children ages seven and eight. It explores four important areas of differentiation found when studying domestic work participation rates of children—race and ethnicity, family income, number of parents in the home, and mother's employment. Cross tabulations reveal differences in participation rates, which are straightforward to understand and explained throughout this section.[2]

Race and Ethnicity

Studying race and ethnicity stems from a need to understand the domestic work patterns for girls in differing cultural and social settings. Children in different cultures may face different family demands and expectations about helping at home, and race and ethnicity may correlate with cultural practices for children's household responsibilities. The empirical findings show interesting patterns in participation rates. Table 4 reports that 60%

[2] While regression analysis could be used to analyze factors simultaneously, the small sample size limits the predictive power of such models.

of Black, non-Hispanic girls participate in domestic work on a given day. Eight percent of their male counterparts participate, and this gender difference is statistically significant. While the data show a difference of 36% between Hispanic girls and boys in participation rates, the rates are not significantly different. White, non-Hispanic girls have the lowest average participation rates of any girls. Fif-

Table 4

Proportion of Children Participating in Household Activities (i.e. Time-use > 0) by Race and Ethnicity, PSID 1997

Race/Ethnicity	Male	Female	Female - Male
Black, non-Hispanic	0.08 (0.07)	0.60 (0.15)	0.52 (0.17)**
Hispanic	0.37 (0.35)	0.73 (0.23)	0.36 (0.42)
White, non-Hispanic	0.52 (0.11)	0.54 (0.10)	0.02 (0.15)
Other	0.17 (0.19)		

Significant at the 1% level (**).

ty-four percent of White, non-Hispanic girls participate in domestic work on a given day. However, the differences between participation rates for the groups of girls are not significant. White, non-Hispanic girls and boys participate in domestic work at nearly the same rates, and the difference between the groups is not significant. It is important to recognize that any connections seen between participation rates and race, ethnicity, or the associated cultural practices are not necessarily causal. The patterns seen may be due to underlying unobserved characteristics which disproportionately impact a particular race or ethnicity.

Family Income

Several studies find positive associations between income and child well-being across a variety of life activities. For example, children from families with higher income have higher cognitive outcomes, are more likely to attend college, and engage in less risky behavior as teenagers (Brooks-Gunn, 1996). While these do not directly relate to the home duties of children, they suggest that income correlates with life outcomes in many life activities. Low-income families have fewer resources when searching for childcare or outside help with domestic work. Children living in low-income homes may contribute their efforts to provide childcare and housework to help offset the family's lower income.

In order to isolate low-income families, this study categorizes households as falling below or above $30,000.[3] While some of the families indexed as low-income do not

Table 5

Proportion of Children Participating in Household Activities (i.e. Time-use > 0) by Income, PSID 1997

Household income	Male	Female	Female - Male
Less than $30,000	0.31 (0.10)	0.79 (0.11)	0.49 (0.15)**
$30,000 or more	0.41 (0.10)	0.45 (0.09)	0.04 (0.13)

Significant at the 1% level (**).

formally qualify as living within federal poverty limits, these families nonetheless have limited financial means. Table 5 reports the differences in the participation rates in domestic work when considering household income level.

The participation rate in domestic work for boys in low-income homes is slightly lower than the rate for boys in higher-income homes; however, the difference is not

---

[3] Incomes are reported in 1997 dollars. The federal poverty threshold for a family of four in 1997 is $16,050.

statistically significant. It is interesting that low-income boys do not participate in home duties at higher rates than high-income boys, given the families' limited resources. On the other hand, low-income girls participate in domestic work at surprisingly high rates. Seventy-nine percent of low-income girls do some domestic work on a given day. This high rate is statistically different from high-income girls, and it is also statistically different from low-income boys. While low-income boys look similar to high-income boys, stark differences exist between low-income and high-income girls. The difference in home expectations for girls in disadvantaged backgrounds implies that a large portion of low-income girls have less time, along with fewer family resources, to devote to academics, extra-curricular pursuits, or other developmentally appropriate activities. If, in fact, home duties crowd out beneficial activities for low-income girls, home duties could be a channel through which disadvantage perpetuates inter-generationally for women.

Number of Parents in the Home

For every family, parental structure impacts the daily schedules and routines of children. Children in single-parent homes may have multiple living environments depending on child custody sharing between parents and childcare arrangements. When single parents teach children daily living and domestic work skills, they often teach unaccompanied by other adults. The ability of a single parent to monitor and instruct children in performing chores and childcare may be more difficult with no partner present. This may result in low participation rates in domestic duties among children in single-parent homes. On the other hand, in families with only one parent, children may

be required to contribute more to domestic duties as a means to offset the burden of home duties placed on the single parent. Parental structure certainly impacts the configurations and patterns of domestic work done by children at home. Table 6 reports differences in daily participation rates in domestic duties seen in single versus two-parent homes.

Table 6 reports that 16% of boys living in single-parent homes participate in domestic duties on a given day, compared to 43% of boys living in two-parent homes. Sixty-eight percent of girls in single-parent homes participate in domestic duties, a rate that is more than four times as high as

Table 6

Proportion of Children Participating in Household Activities (i.e. Time-use > 0) by the Number of Parents in the Home, PSID 1997

Parents in the home	Male	Female	Female - Male
One	0.16 (0.10)	0.68 (0.15)	0.52 (0.18)*
Two	0.43 (0.09)	0.55 (0.09)	0.12 (0.12)

Significant at the 5% level (*).

their male counterparts. The percentage of girls in two-parent homes who participate in domestic duties exceeds the percentage of boys in two-parent homes who perform home duties by eight percentage points, a difference that is not statistically significant. It is interesting to see stark differences in the performance of home duties between boys and girls in single-parent homes while considering virtually no difference in the performance of home duties between boys and girls in two-parent homes. At this young age, activities such as market work are not crowding out chores for these boys. All but two single-parent homes have mothers as

the heads of household, implying that this particular sample overwhelmingly compares single mothers to two-parent homes. This could mean that fathers play an important role in modeling, teaching, and motivating boys in domestic duties.

Mother's Employment

The relationship between mother's employment and domestic work among children suggests many areas of association. Prior work on housework finds that maternal employment does not impact the amount of time children ages 10 and 11 spend in domestic work (Cheal, 2003). However, the research does not consider the impact of maternal employment on girls separately from boys. It could be expected that working mothers face obstacles in monitoring and supervising their children in domestic work. Parents who are less available to their children may find it difficult to teach and monitor children in domestic work. On the other hand, working mothers may have high-quality childcare, which emphasizes positive life habits and skills. Labor force attachment among mothers may mark underlying characteristics about families. Women with high labor force attachment often have strong abilities to attain a healthy work and personal life balance. These women are often able to structure domestic work duties for their children in spite of the time demands they face. It may also be the case that well-behaved children may allow their mothers to successfully participate in the labor market at higher levels. Unseen good behavior may correlate with both high participation rates in home duties and high maternal employment hours. Children with unobserved behavioral, emotional, or physical challenges may require more maternal care, and mothers of these children may be less likely to participate in

full-time employment. These same children may have less ability to perform domestic work; challenged children may correlate with both low participation rates in home duties and low maternal employment hours.

Women working full-time show more labor market attachment than women who work part-time or don't work in the labor force. In order to separate highly attached mothers from less attached mothers, families are categorized according to whether the mother works at least 1,300 hours annually. In the United States, working roughly 2,000 annual hours constitutes full-time work. Two households are dropped from this section due to having no mother figure present in the home. It is important to bear in mind that the relationships seen between maternal employment and child domestic work are not necessarily causal and may be due to underlying factors correlated with both maternal employment and child domestic work. Table 7 presents the empirical findings on the proportions of children participating in home duties split by mother's employment level.

Considering boys, 33% with mothers not working full-time participate in domestic work on a given day. Forty-two percent of boys with full-time working mothers participate in domestic work on a given day. The difference between boys is not statistically different. A gap of 27 percentage points ex-

Table 7

Proportion of Children Participating in Household Activities (i.e. Time-use > 0) by Mother's Employment Hours, PSID 1997

Mother's annual employment hours	Male	Female	Female - Male
Less than 1,300	0.33 (0.09)	0.68 (0.11)	0.35 (0.14)*
1,300 or more	0.42 (0.10)	0.41 (0.10)	0.00 (0.15)

Significant at the 5% level (*).

ists in participation rates between girls with full-time working moms and those without, and the difference is significant. In families with mothers less often at work, girls participate in home duties more than twice as much as boys and the difference is significant. This suggests a role for parental modeling in forming children's domestic work patterns. For instance, a two-parent family with a working father and non-working mother may model gendered behaviors in the family division of labor. To the extent that children form habits based on parental modeling, girls in families with strong division of labor between home and market work may follow the example of their mothers by taking on home duties more often than boys in similar families. Parents in a two-parent family with both parents working may model shared family responsibility in work in and out of the home, and their children may follow the example of their parents by sharing home duties more equally between boys and girls.

Conclusion

Girls, and boys to a lesser degree, in developed and developing countries participate in household chores as part of a lifetime pattern of involvement in family and home life. This study describes time-use patterns for girls compared to boys. In the United States, girls show participation rates of nearly 60% by age eight. Girls participate in home duties significantly more often than boys. Further, among girls involved in home duties, the time spent in home duties gradually increases through adolescence. When considering family characteristics, links between family characteristics and domestic work patterns are evident. Girls participate more often in home duties than their male counterparts when coming from low-income homes, single-parent homes or from homes without mothers working full time.

While American girls begin working in housework at an early age, the time they spend performing domestic work is small compared to the amount of time adult women spend in domestic work and compared to their peers in developing countries. Consider, given the relatively small amount of time American adolescent girls spend in home duties, that other research shows adolescent girls in developing countries carrying sizable responsibilities at home. These facts taken together suggest large time-use differences in home duties between adolescent girls in developed and developing countries. While drawing further conclusions is beyond the scope of this research, these facts raise questions about how girls' activities and opportunities change as their countries develop. More research is needed in understanding the impact of infrastructure, education, and other opportunities afforded to girls as their countries develop.

This analysis centered on family characteristics and their links to domestic work. Little information exists about personal characteristics of children. Future research is needed to understand the connections between physical and emotional health of children and patterns in their domestic duties. The cross tabulations presented on the links between family characteristics and domestic work pose puzzles that invite more research. Of interest is the discussion regarding single mothers and two-parent homes. The data does not allow study of children living with single fathers, and future research could study the domestic work patterns for girls and boys living with single dads. Another area for future research is to quantify the impact of family characteristics on girls' and boys' housework. There may be many important determinants contributing to children's housework. This study focuses on

links and correlated characteristics, rather than pursuing determining factors; it is difficult to address causality with such a small dataset. However, isolating the roles of race, ethnicity, parental composition, family income, maternal employment, family size, parental education, and other possible influences on girls and boys in their domestic work deserves attention in future work. Understanding these factors with precision and in a simultaneous analysis would further the dialogue about the costs and benefits of girls and boys performing domestic work. More research is needed in order to gain deeper insight into the influence of personal and family characteristics. ∎

Address correspondence to: Jocelyn Wikle, Department of Economics, University of Texas at Austin. Email: wikle@utexas.edu

References

Agènor, P., Canuto, O., & da Silva, L. (2010). On gender and growth: The role of intergenerational health externalities and women's occupational constraints. *World Bank*, Policy Research Working Paper 5492.

Aguiar, M., & Hurst, E. (2007). Measuring trends in leisure: The allocation of time over five decades. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *122*(3), 969-1006.

Apps, P., & Rees, R. (2005). Gender, time use and public policy over the life cycle. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *21*(3), 439-461.

Astone, N., & McLanahan, S. (1991). Family structure, parental practices, and high school completion. *American Sociological Review*, *56*(2), 309-320.

Beach, D. (1997). Family caregiving: The positive impact on adolescent relationships. *The Gerontologist*, *37*(2), 233-238.

Becker, G. (1985). Human capital, effort and the sexual division of labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *3*(1), 33-58.

Bell, C., Gersbach, H., & Schneider, M. (2012). Raising juveniles. *Games and Economic Behavior*, *74*, 32-51.

Berridge, C., & Romich, J. (2011). Raising him…to pull his own weight: Boys' household work in single-mother households. *Journal of Family Issues*, *32*(2), 157-180.

Brooks-Gunn, J., Klebvanov, P., & Duncan, G. (1996). Ethnic Differences in Children's Intelligence Test Scores: Role of Economic Deprivation, Home Environment, and Maternal Characteristics. *Child Development*, *67*(2), 396-408.

Burda, M., Hamermesh, D., & Weil, P. (2013). Total work and gender: Facts and possible explanations. *Journal of Population Economics*, *26*(1), 239-261.

Call, K., Mortimer, J., & Shanahan, M. (1995). Helpfulness and the development of competence in adolescence. *Child Development*, *66*(1), 129-138.

Cheal, D. (2003). Children's home responsibilities: Factors predicting children's household work. *Social Behavior and Personality*, *31*, 789-794.

Copperman, R., & Bhat, C. (2010). Children's activity-travel patterns and implications for activity-based travel demand modeling. *Compendium of Papers, Transportation Research Board 89th Annual Meeting*. Washington, DC.

d'Adda, G., Goldstein, M., Zivin, J., Nangami, M., & Thirumurthy, H. (2009). ARV treatment and time allocation to household tasks: Evidence from Kenya. *African Development Review, 21*(1), 180-208.

Dodson, L., & Dickert, J. (2004). Girls' family labor in low-income households: A decade of qualitative research. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*(2), 318-332.

East, P. (2010). Children's provision of family caregiving: Benefit or burden? *Child Development Perspectives, 4*(1), 55-61.

Gager, C., Cooney, T., & Call, K. (1999). The effects of family characteristics and time use on teenagers' household labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 61*(4), 982-994.

Greenwood, J., Seshadri, A., & Yorukoglu, M. (2005). Engines of liberation. *Review of Economic Studies, 72*(1), 109-133.

Guarcello, L., & Lyon, S. (2003). Children's work and water access in Yemen. *A Report from Understanding Children's Work—An Inter-Agency Research Cooperation Project.* Florence, Italy.

Hamermesh, D., & Trejo, S. (2012). How do immigrants spend their time? The process of assimilation. *Journal of Population Economics, 26*(2), 507-530.

Hilbrecht, M., Zuzanek, J., & Mannell, R. (2008). Time use, time pressure and gendered behavior in early and late adolescence. *Sex Roles, 58*, 342-357.

Hofferth, S., & Sandberg, J. (2001). How American children spend their time. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63*(2), 295-308.

Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan (2010). *The Panel Study of Income Dynamics Child Development Supplement: User Guide for CDS-II.* Retrieved from http://psidonline.isr.umich.edu/CDS/cdsii_userGd.pdf

Kalenkoski, C., & Ribar, D. (2011). How do adolescents spell time use? *Research in Labor Economics, 33*, 1-44.

Kalenkoski, C., & Pabilonia, S. (2012). Time to work or time to play: The effect of student employment on homework, sleep, and screen time. *Labour Economics, 19*(2), 211-221.

Korenman, S., Liao, M., & O'Neill, J. (2005). Gender differences in time use and labor market outcomes. *Presented at the American Time Use Survey Early Results Conference.* Bethesda, MD.

Kruger, D., & Berthelon, M. (2007). *Work and schooling: The role of household activities among girls in Brazil.* Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/publication/228586930_Work_and_schooling_the_role_of_household_activities_among_girls_in_Brazil

Kupermine, G., Jurkovic, G., & Casey, S. (2009). Relation of filial responsibility to the personal and social adjustment of Latino adolescents from immigrant families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(1), 14-22.

Oettinger, G. (1999). Does high school employment affect high school academic performance? *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 53*(1), 136-151.

Stewart, R., & Martin, R. (1984). Sibling relations: The role of conceptual perspective-taking in the ontogeny of sibling caregiving. *Child Development, 55*(4), 1322-1332.

van Selm, A. (2005). Gender issues in child labor. *World Bank*, Poverty Reduction and Economic Development Notes.

Weiss, Y. (2009). Work and leisure: A history of ideas. *Journal of Labor Economics, 27*, 1-20.

Wight, V., Price, J., Bianchi, S., & Hunt, B. (2009). The time use of teenagers. *Social Science Research, 38*, 792-809.

Zick, C., & Allen, C. (1996). The impact of parents' marital status on the time adolescents spend in productive activities. *Family Relations, 45*, 65-71.

Appendix A: Description of PSID Data

The PSID contains detailed daily information on the time use of children and adolescents. The final sample size reduces to 97 individuals who are observed beginning in 1997 and followed until 2007. Sample weights are applied to reflect a representative sample. The PSID interviews occur on weekdays between March and December, excluding summer months of June, July and August. Characteristics of the respondents in the sample, including household circumstances and personal attributes, are given in Table A-1.

Table A-1

Description of PSID Data, Demographic and Socioeconomic Factors

	1997	2002	2007
Sample size	97		
Proportion			
Female	0.45 (0.05)		
Male	0.55 (0.05)		
White	0.61 (0.05)		
Black	0.19 (0.04)		
Hispanic	0.12 (0.03)		
Other race, ethnicity	0.09 (0.03)		
Age	7.10 (0.03)		
Proportion participating in household duties	0.46 (0.05)	0.47 (0.05)	0.34 (0.05)
Average minutes per day in household duties	12.61 (2.18)	18.16 (3.89)	13.68 (3.79)
Number of siblings	1.58 (0.11)	1.59 (0.11)	
Proportion living with			
Both biological parents	0.76 (0.04)	0.74 (0.04)	0.00 (0.00)
Biological mother only	0.21 (0.04)	0.23 (0.04)	0.00 (0.00)
Biological father only	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)
Proportion living in			
Midwest	0.22 (0.04)	0.22 (0.04)	0.22(0.04)
Northeast	0.22 (0.04)	0.20 (0.04)	0.20 (0.04)
South	0.24 (0.04)	0.24 (0.04)	0.25 (0.04)
West	0.33 (0.05)	0.34 (0.05)	0.33 (0.05)

	1997	2002	2007
Total family income*	52,385 (4,722)	79,603 (10,586)	85,608 (10,122)
Proportion who are employed			
Fathers/step-fathers	0.81 (0.02)	0.82 (0.02)	0.78 (0.02)
Mothers/step-mothers	0.62 (0.05)	0.79 (0.04)	0.79 (0.04)
Annual hours worked			
Fathers/step-fathers	1,794 (60)	1,799 (84)	1,764 (71)
Mothers/step-mothers	1,001 (94)	1,357 (100)	1,275 (88)
Weekly hours of household duties			
Fathers/step-fathers	7.25 (0.89)	8.12 (0.91)	5.11 (0.59)
Mothers/step-mothers	23.58 (1.60)	23.20 (1.39)	22.03 (1.57)
Years of education			
Fathers/step-fathers	10.39 (0.39)	10.86 (0.37)	10.05 (0.39)
Mothers/step-mothers	12.81 (0.36)	12.88 (0.34)	12.73 (0.35)
Number of family dinners together weekly	4.80 (0.21)	4.74 (0.20)	3.12 (0.19)

*1997 dollars.

Who has been tested and who should be tested? Policy implication on HIV/AIDS testing among African American women — Evidence using data from BRFSS

Hideki Morooka and Alberta Lampkins

Abstract

African American women are facing a high risk of being infected with HIV/AIDS at an alarming rate. Once believed to predominantly affect gay men and intravenous drug users, African American women now account for 30% of the estimated rate of new HIV cases among all African Americans and 57% of all new HIV infections among all races of women. Knowing their HIV status is a key component to preventing further detriment to the lives of African American women, this study uses the nationally representative data from the 2010 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) to examine socio-demographic and health factors associated with African American women ever being tested for HIV. This study's findings indicate that education, age, and marital status are significantly associated with predicting whether African American women have ever been tested for HIV. This study suggests that when designing HIV prevention and education programs for African American women, it should be taken into account that the married older population needs to be particularly aware of the potential risk of HIV infection.

Keywords

HIV, AIDS, testing, prevention, African Americans, women, gender, BRFSS

Despite more than 30 years of accumulative research on intervention and prevention of HIV and AIDS, the number of African American women in the United States living with or dying from HIV/AIDS continues to significantly outpace those of any other race of women affected by the disease. In 2007, HIV was the ninth-leading cause of death among all African Americans and the third-leading cause of death among African American women (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2011). By the end of 2008, an estimated 240,627 African Americans with an AIDS diagnosis had died in the United States. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in 2009, African American women accounted for 30% of the estimated new HIV infections among all African Americans. The estimated rate of new HIV infections for African American women was more than 15 times as high as the rate for White women, and more than three times as high as that of Hispanic women. At some point in their lifetime, one in 32 African American women will be diagnosed with HIV infection.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has struck African American women in the United States at a disturbing rate (Horton, 2010). In the African American community, women continue to be disproportionately affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Research suggests that there is lack of effective HIV/AIDS prevention strategies that specifically address the needs of African American women who are at risk (El-Bassel, Cadira, Ruglass, & Gilbert, 2009). Previous research findings indicate that prevention efforts for the spread of HIV and AIDS in the United States for the African American community have been ineffective and more preventive measures are necessary to combat this epidemic (Melton, 2011). With the acceleration of African American women leading the total number of women living with HIV and AIDS, one wonders what is driving the HIV and AIDS epidemic among African American women. An increased effort to promote HIV testing for African American women is urgent and necessary. According to the CDC, lack of awareness of HIV status can affect HIV rates in communities. Approximately one in five adults and adolescents in the United States living with HIV are unaware of their HIV status, which translates to approximately 116,750 persons in the African American community. Many at risk for infection fear stigma and may choose instead to hide their high-risk behavior rather than seek counseling and testing (CDC, 2011).

The objectives of this study are: (1) to examine how various factors affect African American women's decision to get tested for HIV/AIDS; and (2) to identify what group of African American women should be aware of the importance of knowing HIV status by using the data from the 2010 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, as opposed to results drawn from non-representative samples or qualitative methods with the smaller number of respondents. This study hypothesizes that married African American women are less likely to get tested for HIV, as is the older population. They may believe that it is truly unnecessary for them to take an HIV test because they do not engage in behaviors that would lead to HIV or any sexually transmitted infection. This study also hypothesizes that the likelihood of getting tested for HIV is higher among African American women with a high socio-economic status as well as those who engage in high-risk behavior, as they have higher awareness of disease prevention. This study is important because it calls into question why some African American women may not be tested for HIV/AIDS to prevent a further spread of the disease in the African American community. Also, it will facilitate a better understanding of the importance of HIV testing, specifically among African American women for policy implications.

Background

In the past three decades, HIV/AIDS has had a devastating effect on African American communities, and its epidemic in these communities is still a continuing public health crisis. African Americans are disproportionately represented in every reported surveillance category, and African American women are at special risk. For example, HIV/AIDS is the leading cause of death between the ages of 25 and 34 (CDC, 2009; Jones-DeWeever, 2003). In fact, nearly 90% of African American women infected with HIV are in the prime of their lives and in their childbearing years, between the ages of 20 and 39 (Feist-Price & Wright, 2003).

African American women's knowledge of their HIV status is of critical importance. However, social and economic inequality has been a long-standing problem within the Af-

rican American community, which appears to lag behind when it comes to awareness of one's HIV status (Essien, Meshack, Peters, Ogungbade, & Osemene, 2005). There is evidence that 91% of African Americans considered for the study did not know they were HIV positive (Horton, 2010). The lack of appropriate screening is just one component, and there is considerable evidence of racial disparities in healthcare. Disproportionate access to healthcare among African American women may contribute to the lack of knowledge of one's HIV status in the African American community (Mclaughlin, Stokes, & Nonyama, 2004).

Among African American women, unprotected sex, lack of awareness, lack of medical access, and early sexual initiation were related to the risk of HIV (Essien et al., 2005). Unsafe sex practices by African American males who put African American women of all ages at risk for HIV/AIDS also need to be addressed. Enlightening African American women of the HIV/AIDS risk factors associated with sexual partners who practice unsafe sex is critical when addressing issues of ineffective HIV prevention strategies among African American women (Dicks, 1994). As HIV risk for African American women through heterosexual contact has increased, targeted HIV awareness efforts may be needed to increase HIV screening among African American women who are married, cohabitating, or entering new relationships, especially since African American men are twice as likely to have concurrent sexual partners.

Studies report that African American women living with HIV/AIDS are likely to be single (Land, 1994; Owens, 2003). This fact gives rise to the question of how marital status affects women's decision to be tested for HIV. While some researchers argue that marital status (being single, divorced,

or widowed) was a significant predictor of receiving an HIV test in the last 12 months (Berkely-Patton, Moore, Hawes, Thompson, & Bohn, 2012), others argue that the results in this area wavered (Mack & Bland, 1999; Meadows, Catalan, & Gazzard, 1993). The effect of marital status on whether African American women get tested for HIV needs to be explored further.

Another predictor in taking an initiative for an HIV testing is the level of education. It is documented that low education is associated with a high HIV/AIDS death rate (Horton, 2010). Also, African American women, particularly those who were drug users with low educational attainment, were significantly more likely to test positive for HIV and engage in HIV risk behaviors than their better-educated counterparts (Hasnain, Levy, Mensah, & Sinacore, 2007).

Multiple forms of oppression and disparity impact life outcomes; disease status, gender disparity, racial inequalities, and socio-economic barriers are identified as important factors that amplify the risks associated with African American women testing positive for HIV/AIDS (Bryson, 2010; McNair & Prather, 2004). Poverty has a far-reaching effect on every area of African American women's lives and jeopardizes their chances of avoiding the disease (Bryson, 2010). Compared with African American women of higher socio-economic status, those of lower socio-economic status are exposed to more frequent, more severe, and chronic stressors, including unemployment, homelessness, victimization, and exposure to community violence (El-Bassel et al., 2009). African American women often live in neighborhoods with high levels of substance abuse as well as HIV and other sexually transmitted infection, and have limited access to HIV prevention services. It is relevant to note that the stigma associated

with HIV/AIDS may prevent women from getting tested, disclosing their HIV status, or seeking treatment because of fear of negative reactions or discrimination from family, community members, and service providers.

Identifying issues in the socio-economic status of African American women and providing means for them to move towards self-sufficiency would help to combat risk factors that may lead to infection. National strategies continue to be identified to increase the numbers of African Americans tested for HIV in medical and nontraditional settings (e.g., CDC, 2006, 2009; White House Office of National AIDS Policy, 2010). Increased interest in promoting HIV preventive strategies and testing among African American women has led to the possibility of the African American church being an influential way of reaching African American women at risk for HIV/AIDS (Berkely-Patton, Moore, Hawes, Thompson, & Bohn, 2012).

Modern technology and research have opened the door for new advances in understanding and preventing the spread of the HIV/AIDS virus, yet the need for further research remains critical (Valdiserri, 2011). The role of the U.S. National HIV/AIDS Strategy in diminishing the number of people affected by the HIV epidemic—regardless of age, gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, or socio-economic circumstances—as well as providing unfettered access to high quality, life-extending care, free from stigma and discrimination, may be valuable when promoting preventive methods and HIV testing among African American women (White House Office of National AIDS Policy, 2010).

This study evaluates each predictor and examines how each factor included in a statistical model influences African American women getting tested for HIV. The previous studies are based on the results from with a limited number of samples of respondents and/or non-representative samples. However, this study uses one of the largest nationally representative dataset on health behaviors such as the BRFSS. The primary focus is to look into whether the results would be different from or consistent with other studies if the prevalence of testing for HIV among African American women is examined by using the BRFSS. The results may reveal the population group that needs to be encouraged to get tested for HIV.

Data and Methods

Data were obtained from the 2010 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS) conducted by CDC. The BRFSS is a state-based system of cross-sectional health surveys conducted monthly and is the largest health telephone survey that emphasizes questions regarding health conditions and risk behaviors. Approximately 350,000 adults, ages 18 or over, are interviewed every year, and they are the representative sample in each state. A state agency calls potential respondents at their home telephone numbers, and only one person per household participates in the surveys. One of the questions asks respondents whether or not they have ever been tested for HIV, which is the primary focus in this study in measuring the status and prevalence of HIV testing among African American women. This study selected African American women aged 18 to 64 who resided in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The respondents who resided in Guam, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands were excluded from this study. It includes the samples of 14,872 African American women for the analysis.

The dependent variable is whether respondents have ever been tested for HIV. Because it is a dichotomy, the binary logistic

regression analysis was performed to estimate the likelihood of the effect of various socio-demographic as well as health variables on the HIV testing status among African American women. The explanatory factors included in the models as independent variables are age, level of education, income level, marital status, whether a respondent has any healthcare coverage, and whether a respondent engaged in any high-risk behavior that could lead to increasing the chance of HIV infection in the past year. In the regression model, age is measured in years and treated as a continuous variable. Educational attainment levels of respondents are grouped into the two categories: (1) no college education, the reference category; (2) at least some college education. The level of income is divided into the two groups: (1) respondents who make less than $35,000 a year, the reference category; (2) those who make $35,000 or more a year. According to the American Community Survey one-year estimates, the median household income among African Americans was approximately $33,578 in 2010, which is around the time that the BRFSS data were collected (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). As the original income variable in the dataset was already recoded in income categories, the cutoff at $35,000 was the closest feasible point to reflecting the national median household income.

Marital status is dichotomized into "married" and "not married," where "not married" serves as the reference category. For the healthcare coverage variable, the "No" serves as the reference category. The variable to reflect on whether a respondent engaged in any high-risk behavior is defined as follows. According to the BRFSS codebook, the following statements were read to respondents by an interviewer: (1) "You have used intravenous drugs in the past year"; (2) "You have been treated for a sexually transmitted or venereal disease in the past year"; (3) "You have given or received money or drugs in exchange for sex in the past year"; and (4) "You had anal sex without a condom in the past year." Without specifying what type of behavior, if a respondent indicated that any one of the situations applied, a respondent was considered having engaged in a high-risk behavior for HIV infection ("Yes"). The reference category is "No," which suggests that a respondent has never engaged in any high-risk situations.

Results

Table 1 presents the profile of the 14,872 African American women included in this study. It provides the distributions

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of African American Women Ever Being Tested for HIV

	Ever Tested for HIV		
	Yes	No	Total (n)
Age			
18 - 44	79.7%	20.3%	6,189
45 - 64	47.3%	52.7%	8.683
Level of education			
No college education	57.2%	42.8%	6,341
At least some college education	63.4%	36.6%	8,531
Income			
Less than $35,000	60.6%	39.4%	9,005
$35,000 or higher	61.1%	38.9%	5,867
Marital status			
Married	53.0%	47.0%	5,464
Not married	65.3%	34.7%	9,408
Have any healthcare coverage?			
Yes	61.0%	39.0%	11,824
No	59.7%	40.3%	3,048
Do any high-risk situations apply?			
Yes	81.0%	19.0%	617
No	59.8%	40.2%	14,159
Overall	60.8%	39.2%	14,872

Source: The 2010 Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System

within categories of each variable by their status of HIV testing practice. Of 14,872 respondents, 9,038 (60.8%) reported that they have ever been tested for HIV, while 5,834 (39.2%) have never been tested. Each row totals 100%. For instance, the first row presents that about 79.7% of the 6,189 African American women aged 18 to 44 have been tested for HIV, while 20.3% of the women in the same age group have never been tested for HIV. In the next row, the result reveals that the majority (52.7%) of the African American women who are 45 to 64 years old have never been tested. The prevalence of the HIV testing is shown for a pair of categories within each variable.

In Table 2, logistic regression models are presented. The models compute the log-odds as well as odds ratios of African American women ever being tested for HIV regressed on the explanatory variables considered for this study. From the statistical models, this study found that the factors associated with increasing the likelihood of African American women being tested for HIV are the level of education, having healthcare coverage, and having engaged in high-risk situations for HIV. In fact, African American women who have at least some college education are about 1.24 times more likely to get tested for HIV than those with no college education. Having healthcare coverage increases the

Table 2

Logistic Regression Models of Predicting the HIV Test Screening Status of African American Women, n=14,776

	Model 1				Model 2			
	b	SE	Odds Ratio		b	SE	Odds Ratio	
Age	-0.066	0.002	0.936	***	-0.066	0.002	0.937	***
Level of education								
No college education (Reference)	--	--	--		--	--	--	
At least some college education	0.215	0.040	1.239	***	0.217	0.040	1.243	***
Income								
< $35,000 (Reference)	--	--	--		--	--	--	
$35,000 or higher	-0.007	0.042	0.993		0.229	0.118	1.257	ǂ
Marital status								
Married	-0.289	0.038	0.749	***	-0.288	0.038	0.749	***
Not married (Reference)	--	--	--		--	--	--	
Have any healthcare coverage								
Yes	0.144	0.047	1.155	**	0.190	0.051	1.209	***
No (Reference)	--	--	--		--	--	--	
Do any high risk situations apply								
Yes	0.615	0.110	1.849	***	0.614	0.110	1.847	***
No (Reference)	--	--	--		--	--	--	
Interaction term								
Income x Healthcare coverage	--	--	--		-0.266	0.124	0.766	*
Constant	3.391	0.094	29.690	***	3.354	0.096	28.623	***
Nagelkerke R Square		0.172				0.173		

ǂp<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

likelihood of getting tested by about 1.16 times in comparison with the group without any healthcare coverage. Also, having been exposed to high-risk situations for HIV infection in the past year contributes to participation in HIV testing—about 1.85 times more likely than the women who did not.

On the other hand, this study found that the factors associated with lowering the likelihood of African American women being tested for HIV are their age and marital status. The odds ratio of being tested for HIV for the variable age is 0.94, which can be translated as older African American being less likely, about 1.07 times, to get tested. Regarding marital status, being married contributes to lowering their chance of getting tested for HIV by about 1.34 times, with the odds ratio of 0.75, compared to individuals who are not married. Meanwhile, the level of income does not indicate a statistical significant association with the HIV testing status. That is, the level of income would have an effect on African American women's decision to get tested for HIV infection neither positively nor negatively. However, further investigation into the interaction effect between the level of income and having healthcare coverage shows the negative effect. Those with a higher income level with healthcare coverage are about 1.31 times less likely to get tested for HIV with the odds ratio of 0.77.

Conclusion and Discussion

As this study explored the behaviors and social determinants of the HIV testing practice among African American women, the findings obtained from BRFSS have confirmed several findings from previous studies and revealed some new ones. The first primary finding of this study is that approximately 61% of the 14,872 African American women aged 18 to 64 received an HIV test at some point in their lifetime. The result of this study documents that African American women with some college education or higher are more likely to have been tested for HIV than those with a high school education or lower. This study also presents that older African American women are less likely to have been tested for HIV than their younger counterparts. The finding that African American women who are married are less likely to have ever been tested for HIV is also consistent with other studies, although some of the previous studies suggest that marital status may have a mixed result in predicting the status of women ever getting tested for HIV. This observation has a significant public health implication, indicating that prevention efforts may need to be increased to reach this age population of African American women.

African American married women may feel that it is unnecessary to be tested for HIV because of the belief that they are in a monogamous relationship. HIV has been perceived as a disease of gay men or intravenous drug users. In fact, many African American women assume that HIV primarily affects homosexual men, who are heavily afflicted and may not realize when they are having sex with a high-risk partner. However, the notion that African American men are living on the "down-low" and having sex with other men, other women, or both is believed to be a rising trend. If their spouse or partner has engaged in the high-risk behaviors, those women are equally at the risk of HIV infection. Having a boyfriend or husband who practices an unprotected promiscuous sexual lifestyle with men, women, or both may play a role in the increasing number of African American women being infected with HIV. In African American communities, discussion of homosexuality

is largely taboo, and some women report being infected with HIV/AIDS by boyfriends or husbands who they later found out were sleeping with men (Payne, 2008).

Based on findings from this study, the women who engage in high-risk behavior seem to be more aware of the potential risk of HIV infection, as they demonstrate a higher likelihood of being tested for HIV. Therefore, the population of married older women may be at a greater risk of infection of HIV, and now it is time to implement policy to raise awareness among this population who do not think they are exposed to high-risk behaviors. This population of African American women age 45 and older, who are perceived to be at low risk, may benefit greatly from being tested or screened for HIV; testing may serve to prevent increases in infection in this age group. This observation may be of interest to public health authorities and groups who are tasked with increasing testing among vulnerable groups, such as African American women.

Reducing HIV risk behaviors and increasing access to testing and to healthcare can help eliminate health disparities among African American women. CDC recommends routine HIV screening in all healthcare settings for persons aged 13 to 64. African American women who are at higher risk for HIV infection would greatly benefit from more frequent testing to facilitate earlier diagnosis. African American women infected with HIV who know their status can be referred to medical care and treatment that can improve the quality and length of their lives and to preventive services that can reduce the risk of further transmission. Factors that influence increased risks of African American women acquiring HIV/AIDS are related to an intersection of social and contextual factors, such as education, income, age, marital status, and healthcare coverage.

Much of the literature has identified stigma, fear, discrimination, and negative perceptions of HIV testing as factors influencing the HIV epidemic among African American women. It is imperative that testing be increased among African American women. Screening and prevention must go hand in hand in order to reduce the growing number of HIV positive women in the African American community.

In everyday life, it is common to set goals for the future, typically assuming that one's life will progress to old age. Yet for African American women diagnosed with HIV/AIDS, many between the ages of 20 and 39, future planning shifts drastically. Life has more of a finite meaning and becomes far more precious. African American women who are HIV positive face myriad problems related to their diagnosis. Problems include the decline of their physical health, changes in their physical appearance, loss of independence, and their relationship with their family (Feist-Price & Wright, 2003). With the growing rate of HIV infection among African American women, understanding HIV testing practices among this population could assist public health officials in reaching more African American women for HIV screening. African American women who know their HIV status may receive early treatment and prevent further spread of the infection. Historically, most HIV education and prevention programs have focused primarily on gay or bisexual male individuals or intravenous drug users with a resulting lag in the development and identification of successful programs addressing the needs and concerns of women (Amaro, 1995), particularly African American women. African American women are disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS at a rate higher than any other race of women. More efforts are needed to increase the overall proportion of

African American women who are aware of their HIV status in order to prevent further spread of HIV/AIDS in the African American community. ∎

Address correspondence to: Hideki Morooka, Department of Sociology, Fayetteville State University. Tel: 910.672.2402. Email: hmorooka@uncfsu.edu

References

Amaro, H. (1995). Love, sex, and power, considering women's realities in HIV prevention. *American Psychologist, 50,* 437-447.

Berkely-Patton, J., Moore, E. W., Hawes, S., Thompson, C. B., & Bohn, A. (2012). Factors related to HIV testing among an African American church affiliated population. *AIDS Education Prevention, 24*(2), 148-162.

Bryson, B. J. (2010). The promise of Obama: Public policy, HIV/AIDS, and African American women. *Race, Gender & Class, 17*(3-4), 241-254.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2006). *HIV among African Americans.* Atlanta, GA: Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2009). *HIV among African Americans.* Atlanta, GA: Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2010). *Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System Survey Data* [Data file]. Atlanta, GA: Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). (2011). *HIV among African Americans.* Atlanta, GA: Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Dicks, B. A. (1994). African American women and AIDS: A public health/social work challenge. *Social Work in Health Care, 19*(3-4), 123-143.

El-Bassel, N., Caldeira, N., Ruglass, L., & Gibert, L. (2009). Addressing the unique needs of African American women in HIV prevention. *American Journal of Public Health, 99*(6), 996-1001.

Essien, E. J., Meshack, A. F., Peters, R. J., Ogungbade, G. O., & Osemene, N. I. (2005). Strategies to prevent HIV transmission among heterosexual African American women. *International Journal of Equity in Health, 4,* 4.

Feist-Price, S., & Wright, L. B. (2003). African American women living with HIV/AIDS: Mental health issue." In M.E. Banks (Ed.), *Women with Visible and Invisible Disabilities: Multiple Intersections, Multiple Issues, Multiple Therapies* (pp. 27-44). Binghamton, NY: The Hawthorne Press, Inc.

Hasnain, M., Levy, J. A., Mensah, E. K., & Sinacore, J. M. (2007). Association of educational attainment with HIV risk in African American active injection drug users. *AIDS Care, 19*(1), 87-91.

Horton, A. (2010). AIDS in black America: A ray of hope. *The International Journal of Science in Society, 1*(4), 13-28.

Jones-DeWeever, A. A. (2005). Saving ourselves: African American women and the HIV/AIDS crisis. *Harvard Journal of African American Public Policy, 11,* 79-83.

Land, H. (1994). AIDS and women of color. *Families in Society, 75,* 355-361.

Mack, Karen A., & Bland, S. D. (1999). HIV testing behaviors and activities regarding HIV/AIDS of adults age 50-64. *Gerontologist, 39*(6), 687-694.

Mclaughlin, D., Stokes, C. S., & Nonyama, A. (2001). Residence and income inequality effects on mortality among U.S. counties. *Rural Sociology, 66,* 579-598.

McNair, L. D., & Prather, C. M. (2004). African American women and AIDS: Factors influencing risk and reactions to HIV disease. *Journal of Black Psychology, 23,* 180-191.

Meadows, J, Catalan, J., & Gazzard, B. G. (1993). I plan to have the HIV test: Predictors of testing intervention in women attending a London antenatal clinic. *AIDS CARE, 5*(2), 141-148.

Melton, M. L. (2011). Sex, lies, and stereotypes: HIV positive black women's perspectives on HIV stigma and the need for public policy as HIV/AIDS prevention." *Race, Gender & Class, 18*(1-2), 295-313.

Owens, S. (2003). African American women living with HIV/AIDS: Families as sources of support and of stress. *Social Work, 48*(2), 163-171.

Payne, J. W. (2008, October 13-20). The black woman's burden: An epidemic of HIV. The AIDS virus weighs heavily on straight African American women, not just gay men. *U.S. News & World Report 145*(8), 64-66.

Valdiserri, R. O. (2011). Thirty years of AIDS in America: A story of infinite hope. *AIDS Education and Prevention, 23*(6), 479-494.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *2010 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates, Table S0201*. Washington, DC: Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau.

White House Office of National AIDS Policy. (2010). *The National HIV/AIDS Strategy: Federal Implementation Plan*. Washington, DC: The White House. Retrieved from www.whitehouse.gov/onap

Guilty by association: An analysis of Shaunie O'Neal's online/on-air image restoration tactics

Mia Moody-Ramirez, Isla Hamilton-Short, and Kathryn Mitchell

"He that lieth down with dogs shall rise up with fleas."
—Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanack*

Abstract

The growing use of social media as a source of networking has spurred a growing interest in using the medium as a tool for image repair. Broadening the application of Benoit's image repair theory, this case study looks at the image repair tactics of Shaunie O'Neal who became a celebrity during her marriage to former NBA basketball player Shaquille O'Neal, their subsequent divorce, and the creation of her VH1 show, *Basketball Wives (BBW)*. Throughout the four seasons of *BBW*, O'Neal's cast members perpetuated negative stereotypes of Black women such as "the angry Black woman," "the Jezebel" and "the tragic mulatto." While O'Neal did not exhibit these characteristics on the show, she became guilty by association. To repair her tarnished image, the reality TV actress used her Facebook and Twitter feeds and episodes of Season 4 of *BBW* to implement various image repair tactics. Study findings indicate episodes of a reality TV show and social media may provide a viable platform for a celebrity to repair his or her tarnished image; however, tactics must be authentic and consistent. Demonstrating the dual nature of social media uses, O'Neal utilized her social media to explain and minimize her actions, while viewers used the same outlets to discuss her perceived lack of control and the show's negative stereotyping of women of color. By the end of Season 4, it was apparent that while O'Neal successfully used on-air and online platforms to disseminate positive messages, viewers did not always find her image repair tactics convincing.

Keywords

Shaunie O'Neal, VH1, Viacom Basketball Wives, case study, critical theory, image restoration, apologia, blog, Twitter, personal crisis management, image repair, social media, framing of political races, gender

VH1's *Basketball Wives (BBW)* revolves around the lives of several women with current and former ties to NBA players or teams. The show has garnered attention for the antics of its stars and its reinforcement of negative stereotypes of women of color proliferated by the show's multiracial cast. Catfights, backstabbing, obscenities, and gossip abound in each episode as fans view an "inside" glimpse of the cast members' lives. Shaunie O'Neal, who divorced Shaquille O'Neal in 2009, has

come under heavy fire from disappointed viewers for her participation and apparent approval of the aforementioned behavior by cast members. During Season 4 of the show in 2012, viewers used the VH1 *BBW* blog, O'Neal's Facebook page and Twitter feed to criticize episodes of the show, *BBW* cast members in general, and O'Neal in particular.

Illustrating the widespread animosity toward the show, more than 29,000 viewers signed a petition in 2012 to "Boycott Basketball Wives & Evelyn Lozada." *The petition stated,* "Evelyn Lozada is a bully. The violence on 'Basketball Wives' is horrible and disgraceful. Physical assaults, threats, verbal abuse, and harassment. VH1 is rewarding this behavior by giving Evelyn a spinoff. Don't reward negative behavior" ("Boycott 'Basketball Wives' & 'Evelyn Lozada,'" 2012). Taking ownership for her role in disseminating negative portrayals of women of color as the show's producer and a friend of the raucous cast, O'Neal began to project a more positive image on Season 4 of *BBW*.

This study is noteworthy as previous image repair theory (IRT) studies have mostly concentrated on corporations, political figures, athletes, high-profile actors and other types of celebrities (e.g., Harlow, Brantley & Harlow, 2011; Len-Rios & Benoit, 2004; Walsh & McAllister-Spooner, 2011; Kaylor, 2010; Oles, 2010; Moody, 2011). Scholars have also examined self-presentation from many perspectives, including personal websites, social media, and online dating (e.g., Dominick, 1999; Schau & Gilly, 2003; Ellison, Heino & Gibbs, 2006; Moody, 2011). However, few IRT studies and self-presentation analyses have examined celebrity use of both social media and reality television as a platform for image repair. To address this void in the literature, this study utilizes a critical approach to analyze image repair tactics that emerged in O'Neal's social media

and episodes of the fourth season of *BBW*.

Likewise, scholars have studied many aspects of reality television including genre, stereotypes, and uses and gratifications (e.g., Tyree, 2011; Couldry, 2004; Krakowiak, Kleck, & Tsay, 2006; Nabi, Biely, Morgan, & Stitt, 2009). However, studies in this area have often looked at traditional media outlets; therefore, generalizations are impossible to make in new media settings. O'Neal's use of online media provided a good opportunity for exploration of IRT within the realm of social media and reality TV. The changing dynamics of the celebrity-audience communication process warrants additional research, as building on existing media studies is the most efficient way to account for emerging trends.

This study is important for several other reasons. Most notably, reality television and social media have changed how fans view and interact with celebrities (Trammell, 2005; Moody & Dates, 2013; Cornwell & Lundgren, 2001). Traditionally, audiences observed celebrities' personal lives via two settings: made-for-television red carpet events and publicity events such as interviews (Trammell, 2005). Today's social networks encourage collaborative communication and enable celebrities to interact with viewers and vice versa. Using social media, celebrities may practice damage control, spotlight their accomplishments and highlight their positive traits to their key publics.

Self-presentation allows public figures to disseminate information with little or no intervention from editors, publishers, and other third parties. Social media platforms have changed the speed of mass media messages offering individuals an increased ability to control their self-presentation (Cornwell & Lundgren, 2001). Now, scholars may measure the audience's response in real time through comments posted on blogs, Face-

book, and Twitter feeds. Likewise, reality television gives scholars the opportunity to view a closer representation of a celebrity's true personality than might be exhibited in movies and traditional TV shows.

Secondly, this study offers a new perspective to IRT by adding a critical lens to contextualize the stereotypical behaviors of the *BBW* cast. Identifying stereotypes in texts is important because the documentation of such content illuminates the manifestation and continuation of such beliefs in modern society (Mathis, 2007). Building on a review of the literature, we analyzed the stereotypes and archetypes BBW cast members exhibited on the show, which served to tarnish O'Neal's image as the creator and executive producer of the show. Specifically, we address a case in which a person is guilty by association because of the stereotypical behaviors of her friends, which scholars have not explored in IRT literature.

Thirdly, media provide historical content that scholars may use to analyze trends in the portrayals of gender and race. Consequently, it is essential to continually analyze and address perceptions of race and gender to offer insight and solutions to students, educators, and media/content producers who have the power to change representations in the future. Study findings may also prove useful for not only celebrities, but also average citizens who desire guidance with image repair and crisis management strategies. With the popularity of user-generated content, it is common for individuals to post embarrassing content that might necessitate the use of online image repair tactics.

Literature Review

Generally, scholars define image as the perceptions of a communicative entity shared by an audience (Benoit, 1995). A solidly constructed image must contain elements that will enhance an organization or individual's ability to project a perception of power, character, trust, leadership, and name recognition (Benoit, 1995). Because of this relationship, image repair has become an important part of conflict management (Wilcox & Cameron, 2006). To explore the literature on social media, image repair and uses and gratifications, we looked to three streams of knowledge in the literature: (1) medium theory, (2) image repair strategies, and (3) stereotypes and archetypes.

Medium Theory

Social media outlets allow celebrities to practice damage control while spotlighting their accomplishments and positive traits. This change in the communication process warrants updated research as well as the testing of traditional theories in a new media environment. Such studies are particularly noteworthy because the changing gatekeeper-audience dynamic cultivated in social media platforms has raised questions about the medium's value in image repair planning and execution (Pfister & Soliz, 2011; Roy, 2012; Moody, 2011). Building on previous research is the most efficient way to account for emerging trends. O'Neal's use of online media during the fourth season of *BBW* offered a good opportunity to explore medium and image repair theories in a new context.

Image Repair Strategies

Image repair theory conceives that "human beings engage in recurrent patterns of communicative behavior designed to reduce, redress, or avoid damage to their reputation from perceived wrong doing" (Burns & Bruner, 2000, p. 27-39). The literature indicates that individuals take different approaches to presenting a positive image,

including *denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action,* and *mortification.*

All image repair strategies have the potential to succeed, to an extent; however, studies show that the usage of a proactive strategy is more effective in generating positive media coverage (Brazeal, 2008). For instance, Hugh Grant, whom paparazzi spotted with a prostitute in the 1990s, experienced great success after using mortification immediately (Benoit, 1997). He apologized profusely on various talk shows and appeared genuinely sorry. In the end, the media could say little negatively about him because he had already said it all. Eventually, his publics and his girlfriend forgave him. He repaired his image and salvaged his acting career.

In another example, Kennedy (2010) found that Kobe Bryant's quick admission of adultery and proclamations of legal innocence were more believable than Barry Bonds's denial of an obvious truth. She concluded innocent celebrities should quickly defend themselves. On the other hand, if he or she is guilty and there is really no doubt in the public's mind, it is better to admit it rather than try to deny it. Likewise, Oles (2010) concluded Oprah Winfrey succeeded in repairing her image by responding quickly and demonstrating sincerity in her image repair strategies. Winfrey's crisis occurred in 1996 following an episode of *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, during which she discussed "Mad Cow Disease" and said, "It has just stopped me cold from eating another hamburger!" (Oles, 2010). Because of her influence over the public, cattle futures plummeted and the Texas Beef Group in Amarillo, Texas, sued Winfrey for libel. Winfrey moved her show to Amarillo during the four-week trial, and in the end, successfully repaired her image by handling the case directly, openly and honestly.

Moody (2011) concluded that reality TV couple Jon and Kate Gosselin handled their public divorce with varying degrees of success using social media. Kate did not use social media in the early stages of the divorce, which allowed media outlets to shape public perceptions of the actress. However, she was able to connect with the public more effectively through personal stories, photographs and short stories after she began to use social media, particularly blogs.

> Blogs can win over publics and improve relationships employing the conversational human voice factor and the responsiveness/customer service factor… [T]his may be that establishing and regularly updating a blog gives the impression that an organization is not shying away from discussion of the incident in question. (Sweetser, 2007, p. 342)

Jon, on the other hand, used social media immediately. However, instead of using his Twitter account to express remorse for the downfall of his family, he used it to place blame on other people, such as Kate and the producers of their reality television show. Eventually, Jon realized that when he focused on his children, the public was much more receptive to forgiving him. The couple's case study illustrates that taking responsibility via social media can have a positive influence on image repair.

Such studies foreshadow the promise that social media platforms offer celebrities—and other individuals—who use them effectively to repair their image. However, as the various types of social media continue to transform, it is crucial for scholars to continue to study their effectiveness.

Frames, Cultural Narratives, and Stereotypes

Communications literature examines issues of self-presentation and implica-

tions of new media formats that offer users greater agency (e.g., Trammell, 2005; Moody, 2011; Cornwell & Lundgren, 2001) however, many of these studies are not from a critical perspective. At stake in this case is the promotion of gender and race stereotypes of women. The manner in which O'Neal and cast members presented themselves on-air inevitably had the potential to influence public perception of women in general and Black women in particular. Feminist theorists agree that mass media often serve as an instrument to transmit stereotypical, patriarchal, and hegemonic values about women, which, in turn, make hierarchical and distorted sex-role stereotypes appear normal (e.g. Carter and Steiner, 2004; Hartmann, 1981; Vavrus, 2009). Van Zoonen (1994) summarized this transmission model as a media reflection on society's dominant social values that symbolically belittle women, either by not showing them at all, or by depicting them in stereotypical roles (p. 17).

In her landmark study, Kanter (1977) identified four common archetypes of professional women: "sex object," "mother," "pet," and "iron maiden." "Sex object" stereotypes refer to both sexuality and often include references to clothing, appearance, behaving, and speaking in "feminine" ways. Conversely, the "mother" archetype can be caring and understanding or scolding, nagging and shrewish. The ideal "good mother" offers care and protection to her children, is gentle, kind and selfless. She is a model for other mothers (Lule, 2000). Focusing more on a traditional parenting role rather than leadership, Ruddick (1989) adds that the good mother ideal hinges on maternal work, or the work that she carries out while raising a child. Three facets of maternal work are "caring for the child physically, nurturing the child emotionally, cognitively and spiritual-

ly, and training the child socially" (Ruddick, 1989, p. 19).

The "pet" or "child" stereotype depicts women as mascots or cheerleaders (Wood, 1994, p. 264-265). Accordingly, women are too weak, naïve, and unprepared to handle difficult tasks without a man's help. Hence, men treat them like children, which diminishes their capacity to fill leadership positions. Conversely, the "iron maiden" is excessively strong and overpowering. Mass media images depict her as her too powerful and pushy to be an effective leader (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

Another archetype that is relevant to this study is the "victim" (Lule, 2002). The idea that the victim represents society and its individuals is an important component in cultural narratives. The "victim" archetype embodies the idea of "just ordinary people." According to Lule (2002), audiences see and cast themselves in the part of the victim. They can relate.

Narrow Representations of Black Women

Studies have shown that while media and societal structures are unjust to both Black and White women, they marginalize Black women to a greater extent (e.g., Wallace, 1979; Collins, 2004; Benedict, 1997; hooks, 1992; Squires, 2009). Cultural narratives include a separate set of stereotypes to depict Black women. Historically, dichotomous representations have depicted Black women as unintelligent, extremely educated, ambitious or listless, attractive, or ugly (Boylorn, 2008; Collins, 2004). In some instances, even positive representations have negative undertones. The "independent Black woman" archetype is overachieving and financially successful on one hand; and narcissistic and overbearing on the other. As a result, media often portray her as emasculating Black males. Another common stereotype is that

of the "tragic mulatto," which highlights the idea that mixed-race individuals are unhappy (Comas-Díaz & Greene, 1994). Mass media also present mixed-raced persons as "wild half-castes," sexually destructive "tragic mulattos," who are unable to control the instinctive urges of their non-white heritage (Moody & Dates, 2013).

Collins (2004) discusses class-based controlling images for Black women that range from bitches and bad Black mothers to modern mammies and Black ladies. Perhaps the most popular archetype is that of the "angry Black woman," whom media depict as upset and irate, consequently she is often deemed a "bitch" (Collins, 2004, p. 123; Childs, 2005, Springer, 2007). The controlling image of the "bitch," Collins (2004) states, "constitutes one representation that depicts Black women as aggressive, loud, rude, and pushy" (p. 123). This negative character is a spinoff of Sapphire, a historical character who is an undesirable depiction in which Black women berate Black males in their lives with nasty confrontations and exaggerated body language. Media often show the wisecracking character with her hands on her hips and her head thrown back as she lets everyone know she is in charge (Yarborough & Bennett, 2000).

One common thread in all of these stereotypes is the idea that Black women have problems forming positive relationships with men. The task is daunting, because either she is too educated and independent to need or want a man or she is desperate and lost without him, incapable of going on, and willing to do anything to get or keep him (Boylorn, 2008). As such, portrayals pit her against women of other races in the battle to maintain a healthy relationship with a man (Childs, 2005).

Reality Television

Tyree (2011) defines "reality television" as any show purported to be unscripted that captures "non-actors" as they encounter actual events or staged situations. Conversely, Couldry (2004) defines reality TV as "an unabashedly commercial genre united less by aesthetic rules or certainties than by a fusion of popular entertainment with a self-conscious claim to the discourse of the real" (p. 2). Scholars have documented reality TV in literature as a genre that places non-actors in dramatic situations with unpredictable outcomes. Subgenres of reality TV include makeover, dating, court, law enforcement, talent, game, sitcoms, and docudramas (e.g., Tyree, 2011; Couldry, 2004; Krakowiak, Kleck & Tsay, 2006; Nabi et al., 2009).

Tyree (2011) asserts that reality television shows, like *BBW*, often include heroes and villains that build on societal stereotypes and cultural narratives and help propel storylines. Stereotypes and archetypes are of interest in this study as television messages have a significant influence on viewers' perceptions when firsthand information is lacking (Fujioka, 1999; Darling, 2004). Such portrayals provide a basis for how non-African Americans might view African Americans. As Hall (1997) noted, social practices, including watching television, "take place within representation and are saturated with meanings and values which contribute to our sense of who we are—our culturally constructed identities" (p. 339). Mass media often rely on symbols, cultural narratives, and stereotypes as a shorthand way of communicating the diversity of people to diverse audiences. As such, the manner in which O'Neal and cast members present themselves on *Basketball Wives* might potentially influence public perceptions of Black women in general.

We guided our analysis of Season 4 of the *Basketball Wives* using the following research questions:

RQ$_1$: What cultural narratives and stereotypes emerged in Season 4 of *Basketball Wives*?

RQ$_2$: How does O'Neal address these stereotypes in her social media and episodes of Season 4 of the *BBW*?

RQ$_3$: How did viewers respond to O'Neal's on-air and online image repair tactics?

Methods

To identify stereotypes and cultural narratives of African American women as identified in the review of the literature, we textually analyzed Season 4 of *BBW* (selected because that is when O'Neal's image repair tactics occurred). To assess O'Neal's on-air and online image repair tactics, we looked at Facebook posts, tweets, blog entries/comments and Season 4 episodes. The sample included 180 VH1 blog comments, a random sampling of comments from 34 of her timeline Facebook posts from April 1, 2012 (two months before the reunion), through August 1, 2012 (two months after the reunion). On Twitter, we analyzed one of every five posts for 90 tweets during the same period.

This study used a codebook as an instrument to investigate the themes that emerged in this sample. A pilot study helped refine the coding instrument. Nine graduate students identified categories and the best methods for identifying themes. They analyzed the content of these posts and the tone, as well as how many retweets and favorites accompanied each. Next, each artifact was examined for recurring themes. After refining themes for the codebook, the primary investigator and two graduate students watched the episodes and read the celebrity's Twitter and Facebook content multiple times to get a sense of underling themes. Two determine intercoder reliability; two trained graduate students coded 10% of the texts. The intercoder reliability was greater than 95%. This approach allowed for a sense of how the reality TV actress handled her personal image repair during Season 4 and the months following it.

We present the findings in three segments. The first section provides an overview of historical stereotypes of Black women. The second section explores IRT exhibited on *Basketball Wives* and O'Neal's social media, followed by the third section, which provides an exploration of audience response based on comments to O'Neal's Facebook and Twitter feeds.

Findings and Discussion

BBW chronicles the lives of the cast members who producers rank in importance based on their closeness to O'Neal, physical attractiveness, social connections, and the perceived importance of their former or present spouse or boyfriend (Figure 1). The show's introduction displays their rank in the hierarchy, starting with the newest cast members. The lineup ends with O'Neal, who is show's leader. Season 4 also featured Evelyn Lozada, the ex-wife of NFL player Chad Ochocinco; Jennifer Williams, the ex-wife of Eric Williams; Tami Rowan, the ex of Kenny Anderson; and Suzie Ketcham, the ex of Michael Olowokondi. Season 4 also included Royce Reed and Kesha Nichols, former cheerleaders for NBA teams, and newcomer Kenya Bell, the wife of retired player Charlie Bell. We refer to O'Neal's fellow cast members by their first names in subsequent references as that is how *BBW* fans and viewers identify them.

Figure 1
VH1 2012 Publicity Photo:
Cast members are (left to right)
Royce, Kenya, Jennifer, Tami,
Shaunie, Evelyn, Suzie,
and Kesha

The Perpetuation of Cultural Stereotypes

Using the lives of several women of color as a plotline, *BBW* perpetuates many historical stereotypes and cultural archetypes of women, Black women in particular. The most prevalent stereotypes and archetypes that emerged during Season 4 were "tragic mulatto," "angry Black woman," "the victim," and "the good mother." Most of the cast members exhibited characteristics in line with what Tyree (2012) describes as the "angry Black woman" stereotype. These traits include exaggerated facial expressions, hand gestures, neck movement, verbal threats, bad tempers, and a tendency toward starting fights. These reinforcements of stereotypes of Black women have the potential to damage the audience, according to Tyree (2011), who asserts that although viewers intuitively question the reality present in reality television, they still locate and analyze authentic moments in episodes and identify with characters.

Tami is often the instigator of arguments and physical fights; however, almost every person on the show has engaged in some form of physical or verbal exchange—except O'Neal, who is only guilty by her association with the group of women. Kenya and Kesha auditioned for a place in O'Neal's clique during Season 4, and Tami instantly clashed with them both. In one episode, she asked Kesha, "So what color are you…?" while glaring at the mixed-race reality actress who has light skin and a Southern twang. This conflict based on colorism escalated during the *BBW* "Girl Trip" to Tahiti and exploded with Tami's constant arguing with Kesha.

Likewise, Tami disliked Kenya because she believed the aspiring singer was responsible for fostering hostility and drama between the women on the show. During the trip, part of the group decided to hide dead fish in Kenya's room. This particular prank never escalated into anything larger; however, on another episode, the two women had a fistfight at a nightclub, perpetuating the stereotype of the "angry black woman" outlined in the review of the literature (Childs, 2005; Tyree, 2012; Boylorn, 2008).

The Tragic Mulatto

Building on the tragic mulatto cultural narrative, the inadequacy theme is a common representation of the show's three mixed race cast members—Evelyn, Suzie, and Kesha. According to Comas-Díaz and Greene (1994), mixed-race people may try extremely hard to be good or to be exemplary citizens in order to combat overt or covert negative evaluations of their parents' interracial union or their multiracial heritage. However, in the end, they often fail because they set impossible standards. Evelyn has exemplified this stereotype, often conjuring up the image of a "tragic mulatto." In Season 4, Evelyn struggles with the relationship that she had with her father when she was younger. To promote healing and closure, he visits Evelyn; however, the effort is seemingly futile as the father and daughter's meeting ends in a teary exchange due to a language barrier and other factors.

Suzie, the only mixed-race Asian/White main character on the show, often embodied both the Jezebel and "tragic mulatto" stereotype during Season 4. She constantly stirred up trouble with the show's two camps: O'Neal's clique and other cast members who have been kicked out of the group or desire to be a part of it. As Suzie plays the chameleon to fit into any situation, she tells cast members what other people say about them behind their backs. Episodes characterize her as having "diarrhea of the mouth" for spreading rumors about cast members and sharing other people's secrets. Throughout the season, her friends increasingly grow weary of listening to her discuss her sexual escapades and prowess in bed.

In Season 4, Evelyn and Jen feuded constantly after Jen made disapproving comments about her friend's relationship with Chad Ochocinco, a pro-football player whom the Miami Dolphins cut during the pre-season camp. Throughout the early part of Season 4, Evelyn struggled to choose between her long-time friendship with Jen and her love for Ochocinco. In the end, Evelyn chose Ochocinco, and they spend much of Season 4 in a whirlwind romance—he sweeps her off her feet with expensive gifts, trips, and dinner dates.

The dating habits and failed marriages/relationships of other characters are also discussed. Jennifer, who went through a divorce on Season 4, enters the dating scene, which hints at the difficulty of a black woman finding and sustaining a successful relationship. On one hand, Jennifer is characterized as having a lot of friends and valuable connections in the business world. On the other hand, she is depicted as lonely, selfish, materialistic, and egotistical. While on the Tahiti trip, she retreats to her room and does not talk to anyone. Throughout the rest of the season, Jen does not participate in any of O'Neal's social gatherings or the antics of her cast mates.

As foreshadowed by previous episodes, Ochocinco and Evelyn's relationship abruptly ends after a few months of marriage because of physical violence. By the end of Season 4, it is evident that Evelyn, the show's character who has everything including, a successful business, beauty and brains, is unhappy because of failed relationships with her best friend, father, and other people in her life. This characterization feeds into the "tragic mulatto" stereotype.

Guilty by Association: O'Neal's Image Repair Tactics

O'Neal and her cast members are highly intelligent, independent woman who have successful careers, families, physical beauty

and material wealth; however, their positive attributes are not a focal point on *BBW* episodes. Episodes focus on their never-ending fights, failed relationships, and mean-spirited gossiping and backstabbing. By the beginning of Season 4, the stereotypes and negative portrayals of cast members had created the need for O'Neal to repair her image as the

show's producer. In our sample, O'Neal endured the brunt of complaints from viewers who wanted her to take a proactive role in presenting positive portrayals of women of color and cleaning up the acts of her cast members.

Angry Black Woman

O'Neal furtively began her image repair to counteract the "angry Black woman" stereotype with corrective actions in Episode 3 of Season 4 (Table 1). In this episode, Tami, who most notably perpetuated the angry Black woman stereotype, began anger management sessions with a counselor. Subsequent episodes included additional clips of Tami visiting the counselor as she progressed in therapy. During these segments of the show, Tami confessed to deep-seated anger toward her mother. Tami attempted to heal and grow from the neglect that she felt as a child. Tami also spends quality time with her children on show. It also is evident that she enjoys helping other cast members work though their problems.

These IRT tactics carried out on the show also hint at differentiation in which O'Neal, as the show's creator and producer, distinguishes herself from Tami, who is the impetus for most fights and arguments on the show. By sending Tami to a therapist, O'Neal indicates that she is not responsible for the cast member's actions. She also expresses that Tami is not representative

of the show. Likewise, in her social media, O'Neal included statements regarding her displeasure with fighting.

The Good Mother

Two ways to *reduce the offensiveness* of an act are *bolstering* and *transcendence*. The *bolstering* tactic involves emphasizing the good relationship that a person has with peers and his or her good deeds. Several patterns emerged in O'Neal's use of image repair tactics across both mediums in which she utilized the good mother archetype. The most common tactic was bolstering in which she played up positive aspects of her personality and established herself as a "good mother" (Table 1). For instance, on the April 12, 2012 episode, the actress dubbed herself "Mom of the Year" after she arranged for the well-known band Mindless Behavior to appear at her daughter's 10th birthday party. In another episode, she states, "My kids come first." It's important to show what our lives are really about." Similarly, on Episode 15, which aired on May 28, 2012, O'Neal spotlighted her home life with her children. During this episode, the actress took time to pray before eating dinner and enjoyed herself serving in the capacity of a caregiver to her family.

Another way of *reducing offensiveness* is *transcendence*, which attempts to place the person in a more favorable context. O'Neal illustrated *transcendence* in the April 30, 2012, episode during which Tami and Evelyn went to the doctor for a mammogram to help raise breast cancer awareness. This act showed that the cast members were capable of empathizing with one another in a time of crisis. *Transcendence* also occurred in Part one of the reunion episodes, during which O'Neal preached, "Let's get some balance." She also advocated for more positive con-

Table 1

O'Neal's Image Repair Strategies

Strategy/Key Characteristics	Pre-reunion	Reunion Episode
Denial Simple denial: did not perform act Shift the blame: act performed by another		**Part 1** (aired 6/4/12) **Shifting Blame**: Reunion Part 1 (aired 6/4/12) Shaunie: "…how things have gone are ridiculous…law suits" (referring to cast member Jen); Shaunie: "I feel that all these ladies take responsibility…"
Evasion of Responsibility Provocation: responded to act of another Defeasibility: lack of information or ability Accident: act was a mishap Good intentions: meant well in act	**Defeasibility** Episode 9 (aired 4/16/12) Shaunie doesn't understand what she did to provoke a letter from Jen's lawyers	**Part 1** **Good Intentions**: Shaunie: "…we wanna see each other grow;" thought show might help repair Jen and Eve's friendship which had begun to disintegrate before filming **Part 2** (aired 6/11/12) **Defeasibility**: Shaunie: "I know these women, they're not bullies"
Reducing Offensiveness of Event Bolstering: stress good traits Minimization: act not serious Differentiation: act less offensive Transcendence: more important considerations	**Bolstering** Episode 7 (aired 4/2/12) Shaunie arranges for daughter's favorite boy band to appear at her birthday party/invite her to be their guest later same day at their show Episode 15 (aired 5/28/12) Shaunie segment of home life w/ kids, praying at dinner **Transcendence** Episode 11 (aired 4/30/12) segment featuring Tami and Evelyn going for mammograms (raising breast cancer awareness)	**Part 1** **Bolstering**: Shaunie: says the ladies take responsibility **Transcendence**: Part 1 Shaunie has been preaching "let's get some balance;" more positive content in future seasons; it "hurts my heart" that friendships are being ruined **Part 2** **Bolstering**: "Mom of the Year" with her daughter's 10th birthday and Mindless Behavior's appearance at her party; "my kids come first" – it's important to show what our lives are really about **Transcendence**: Shaunie: "We have been through too much for things to get to this point"; used the platform to raise awareness of breast cancer, particularly in African American women **Reducing Offensiveness**: (referring to viewers' negativity online) "I want to lash out and yell, 'this is not who we are…it's a freakin' few minutes, it's TV, it's entertainment…" **Minimizing**: Shaunie: "I don't want to see anyone go to jail for making a mistake *where nobody died*…" (emphasis added)
Attack Accuser Reduce credibility of accuser Compensation: reimburse victim		**Part 2** Shaunie: "Viewers take all of this so personal and they don't know us like that," "[Y]ou don't know 100% of my life or their lives and that's hard;" John Salley: "[T]he ones who are going on and writing negativity on the blogs after watching the show have way too much time on their hands, Shaunie: I agree"
Corrective Action Plan to solve or prevent problem	Episodes 3 (aired 3/5/12), 9 (4/16/12), 12 (5/7/12) Tami segments of anger management therapy and confessions of deep-seated anger w/ her mom (attempts to heal and grow); Episodes 14 (aired 5/21/12) & 15 (5/28/12) Shaunie attempts to act as peacemaker	
Mortification Apologize for act	Episode 15 (aired 5/28/12) Shaunie visits pastor; says she feels horrible and frustrated, has considered leaving show she can't defend or stand by, concerned about what others think (particularly in business meetings).	**Part 2** Shaunie: feels horrible about a 14-year friendship that's been ruined; "I've felt a lot of guilt…I felt a little responsible…"

tent in future seasons. "It hurts my heart that friendships are being ruined."

O'Neal illustrated *transcendence* on the reunion show following the fourth season, when she reacted to criticism and promised more balance going forward. She stated, "I feel that all these ladies take responsibility for what their actions are…and after seeing ourselves this season, it definitely was a lot more bad than good." She continued, "I've really tried to preach the whole 'Let's get some balance' and now I think my voice is resonating." In this statement, the reality show celebrity hints at mortification, while also shifting blame (noting that "All these ladies take responsibility") and excluding herself. O'Neal also attempts to bolster her image here by indicating that she has been pushing for balance, and has only recently been listened to by the producers and directors of the show.

O'Neal used similar tactics on her Facebook account, which she used on a regular basis to communicate with fans and viewers of *Basketball Wives*. She kept communication light-hearted, seemingly to spark conversation with frequent questions such as "How is everyone's day going?" Most of her posts during the period of study consisted of brief updates of what she was doing on a particular day or weekend, periodic mentions of her children and exhortations for her audience to have a "blessed" or a "fabulous" day. A sprinkling of famous, inspirational quotes round out the extent of her Facebook timeline content.

Twitter Content

Much like her Facebook account, O'Neal used her Twitter account regularly to communicate with fans, viewers and friends (Table 2). Out of the 90-tweet sample, a range of content themes became decipherable. Many of the tweets contained more than

one theme. The most highly utilized theme was the simple retweet, in which Shaunie resends another user's message to her followers, with or without adding personal input. Within the 90 analyzed tweets, 42.2% were retweets, or the reposting of another person's comment. Shaunie mentioned personal information in 24.44% of the tweets and self-promoted herself through mentions of events, projects, interviews in 23.33% of tweets. In 22.22% of her tweets, O'Neal tweeted about new episodes of *Basketball Wives* and the reunion shows.

Although only 10% of her tweets in this period mentioned *Basketball Wives*, those tweets, along with the quotations, were the most highly reweeted and favorited (see Figure 2). The majority of the tweets were happy or upbeat in tone. O'Neal also added a sprinkling of quotations of conventional wisdom and used her account to link people to her Pinterest and Instagram sites as well as to plug various projects and events connected to her name. Mirroring her television

Table 2

O'Neal's Themes Found on Twitter

Themes	Frequency	% of 90 tweets
RT or Reply	38	42.22%
Personal Info	22	24.44%
Self Promotion	21	23.33%
To Followers	20	22.22%
To Friend	15	16.67%
Family	9	10%
BBW	8	8.89%
Inspirational	8	8.89%
Sports	7	7.78%
Quotation	6	6.67%
Religious/Spiritual	4	4.44%

N=90

Figure 2
Examples of O'Neal's
Twitter posts

presence, O'Neal used her social media to cast herself as a real person as she did in Season 4 by talking with her pastor. Shaunie tweeted about religious and spiritual matters and told her followers to have a "blessed day." These tactics portray Shaunie as religious and spiritual and remove her from the negative image she garnered on the show.

Much like the show, where she often sat back during a fight, Shaunie claimed on Twitter, in a subtweet (where the subject is not mentioned specifically), that she did not condone violence; she was pulling for the repair the longtime friendship of Evelyn and Jennifer. Shaunie has also used her Twitter page to show herself as a loving mother and daughter, often mentioning all of her children and her own mother. Shaunie's tweets helped reinforce the belief that she is a real person.

In sum, her tweets helped to secure her image as a businesswoman and regular mother who loved her family. She used to

platform to boost the *BBW* brand, and to emphasize that she is not only the producer of *BBW*, but also involved in many other joint ventures, charities and special projects.

The Victim

O'Neal and the cast members also emphasized the victim theme and the idea that they are just ordinary people. Referring to viewers' negativity online, O'Neal stated, "I want to lash out and yell, this is not who we are…it's a freakin' few minutes, it's TV, it's entertainment." In Part 2, O'Neal stated, "Viewers take all of this so personal and they don't know us like that. …[Y]ou don't know 100% of my life or their lives and that's hard." Reunion show host John Salley supported this stance with the response; "[T]he ones who are going on and writing negativity on the blogs after watching the show have way too much time on their hands."

O'Neal demonstrated the *shifting blame* tactic on Part 1 of the reunion episode,

which aired on June 4, 2012. O'Neal stated: "[H]ow things have gone is ridiculous… law suits" (referring to cast member Jennifer). O'Neal also stated: "I feel that all these ladies take responsibility." During this same episode, O'Neal demonstrated good intentions by stating: "[W]e wanna see each other grow." She also stated "I thought the show might help repair Jen and Eve's friendship, which had begun to disintegrate before filming."

Mortification

Mortification, which aims to restore an image by asking forgiveness, is one of the best image restoration tactics. O'Neal openly and definitively demonstrated *mortification* in Episode 15, which aired on May 28, 2012. She visited her pastor and declared that she felt horrible and frustrated and had considered leaving the show. She added that she could not defend or stand by concerned about what others think, particularly in business meetings. O'Neal demonstrated mortification again in Part 2 of the reunion show. During this episode, she stated that she felt horrible about a 14-year friendship that the show has ruined (referring to Jen and Evelyn). "I've felt a lot of guilt…I felt a little responsible," she added.

Audience Feedback: Social Media Response from BBW Viewers

To assess the viewers' response to O'Neal's image repair tactics, the VH1 *Basketball Wives* comments posted in response to O'Neal's Twitter/Facebook feeds, and the VH1 blog provided ample content. Findings indicate viewers frequently used the VH1.com blog and O'Neal's Facebook page and Twitter feed to leave criticisms for the individual cast members, the show as a whole,

Table 3

VH1 Blog posts included in sample

1. The Reunion Interview: Shaunie O'Neal Seeks Some Balance

2. Girl Talk, Makeup, and Cocktails: The Best Backstage Photos From The Basketball Wives Reunion

3. Shaunie O'Neal Has "No Problem Walking Away" From Basketball Wives, Hints That There Are Three Ladies She Wouldn't Keep Around.

4. Over One Million Customers Served! The Basketball Wives Facebook Fan Page Reaches a Milestone.

5. Shaunie O'Neal Tells Us About Evelyn's Wedding Wardrobe Changes And Reveals Her Role as Future Godmother [updated].

6. Pic of the Day: Tami Roman Posts a Hilarious Outtake from the Basketball Wives Promo Shoot.

and most especially O'Neal, the show's creator and executive producer.

The VH1 *Basketball Wives* blog, maintained by blogger Elizabeth Black, contains information about cast members as well details of the show's plotline (Table 3). In the comments on these pages, readers express opinions and feelings about *Basketball Wives*, Shaunie, VH1, and the rest of the wives.

In May and June, the months leading up to the Season 4 reunion, comments were highly negative. Many fans expressed anger at O'Neal's constant lack of involvement or intervention, which viewers often perceived as reinforcing negative stereotypes. People expressed their anger and disappointment for cast members who seemingly have everything, but complain about minor issues.

Audience members who commented on social media platforms wanted to set the record straight and to let people know that they do not agree with the show's premise. They framed O'Neal as the leader of a "mean girl" clique, who is phony and guilty of instigating much of the show's negative

actions. These frames differed from online audiences' depictions of cast members in general who they characterize as bullies, gossips poor mothers and gold-diggers.

Angry Black Women versus Good Mother

Table 4 presents the top themes commenters discussed in response to O'Neal's Facebook posts before and after the reunion episode. According to the table, the most popular themes before the reunion episode fall into the "angry Black woman" stereotype. These included class, fighting and bulling. References to class made up 19% of responses and referred to the cast members lack of refinement in various situations. They used terms such as "ghetto" and "unprofessional" to describe members of the cast. The fighting theme, which occurred in 13% of comments, focused on the show's inclusion of several fights throughout the season. Bullying, which occurred in 9% of the comments, also referred to fighting and how the women teamed up against cast members in various situations.

There was an increase in May of negative sentiment towards O'Neal that coincided with the *BBW* "Girl Trip" to Tahiti, during which a few of the cast members, reportedly bored and unable to think of anything else to do, decided to play a prank on one of the other women. O'Neal witnessed both the planning and execution of the prank but took no active part. Nevertheless, her presence and subsequent consent sparked heated disapproval among her viewers.

Another incident garnering much negative attention was the growing animosity between Tami and Kesha, which finally erupted with Tami's insistence upon a wild-eyed, aggressive confrontation. Kesha, fearing for her safety, retreated and inadvertently abandoned her purse containing travel doc-

Table 4

Facebook Commenter Topics Pre- and Post-Reunion Episode

Themes	Pre-reunion		Post-Reunion	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Class	16	19	5	15
Fighting	11	13	9	28
Husband/mate	9	10	1	3
Bullying	8	9	3	9
Maternal ability	7	8	5	15
Stereotypes	5	6	1	3
Throwing things	5	6	1	3
Physical appearance	5	6	3	9
Money	4	5	3	9
Backstabbing	3	3	0	0
Mean girls	3	3	0	0
Real people	2	2	0	0
Total	90		94	

uments and a cell phone. Tami confiscated the items until Kesha would give in to her demands. During this incident, O'Neal, seemingly concerned for Kesha' safety and peace of mind, attempted a more active role as peacemaker.

Despite the spike in negative comments surrounding certain shows, the vast majority of comments were neutral in tone. Most users who leave comments on her Facebook page are fans who simply wished to connect with the creator of *Basketball Wives* and to enter into a global conversation with the celebrity. Similarly, the most popular themes after the reunion episode were fighting (28%), class (15%), mother (15%), and bullying (9%). With the exception of the mother theme, which did not appear in the top four categories before the reunion episode, the topics were very similar before and after the reunion episode. The mother theme included the idea that some of the women were mothers consumed with petty bickering, fighting, materialism, and insig-

nificant matters rather than the welfare of their children. Worth noting is that several themes such as gossiping, back-stabbing and stealing were prevalent before the reunion episode, but were not as common after its airing perhaps because the network was no longer airing new episodes.

Viewers utilized social media to interact with the show's cast members, often treating them as friends. In many instances, comments referred to an episode of the show to make a point or disparage the direction of the show and to encouraged the women to change. In most instances, comments were vague; however, they frequently referred to an episode of the show to make a point or to bolster their arguments. Dominant stereotypes depicted the women as ghetto, bullies and poor mother figures.

Researchers also assessed comments that specifically focused on Shaunie in her role as a cast member and producer of her show. Table 5 displays the breakdown of the various character traits Facebook commenters used to describe O'Neal's character before and after the reunion episode. Phoniness was the most common theme mentioned in the Facebook posts before and after the reunion episode with 25% and

Table 5

Shaunie O'Neal's Character Traits Mentioned in Facebook Comments before and after the Reunion Episode

	Pre-Reunion		Post-Reunion	
Traits	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Phony	9	25	5	24
Acts Innocent	2	6	1	5
Ugly	1	3	1	5
Out Of Control	1	3	0	0
Rude	1	3	0	0
Other (negative)	16	46	8	37
Other (positive)	5	14	6	29

24% of comments, respectively, falling into this category. Worth noting is 21% of comments fell into the "other" category with 46% including a negative undertone and 14% including a positive undertone before the reunion episode. The number of positive comments rose following the reunion episode with 29% falling into this category after it aired.

Few commenters mentioned the various image repair tactics O'Neal employed on BBW toward the end of Season 4. However, the few who did were not impressed with her efforts. The audience perceived the "speaking with pastor" tactic as an attempt to illustrate O'Neal's good qualities and "religiousness." In addition, worth noting is many fans expressed anger at O'Neal's constant lack of involvement or intervention. Viewers perceived her lack of involvement as reinforcing negative stereotypes.

In sum, audience responses on O'Neal's Facebook and Twitter pages focused on the show as a whole, the individual cast members, most especially O'Neal, the show's creator and executive producer. Although many users commented on O'Neal's image, few moved further to her attempts at image repair. For instance, in May, one viewer mentioned *denial*, and in June, five commenters mentioned that she had gone to her pastor as a last ditch effort to clean up her image. Shortly thereafter, in November, there were no mentions of O'Neal's image repair tactics.

Worth noting is that even with the negativity and stereotypes that predominate the show, apparently viewers returned week after week to find out what was going on with the O'Neal camp and then shared their viewpoints on social media. It is evident that viewers bonded with members of the cast and shared in their joys and pain. They implore the cast to change their on-air be-

haviors. Viewers indicated they would sincerely like to see more conflict resolution and healing in the show's storylines. O'Neal might take heed and play a more active role in facilitating healthy activities by highlighting positive content such as her charitable endeavors and business ventures rather than the bickering of cast members.

Implications and Solutions

Study findings extend IRT development from a critical lens and offer practical suggestions. Several implications arose. First, it appears that reality TV and online media provide viable platforms for a person wanting to repair his or her image; however, they must follow traditional image repair tactics in their use of the two mediums. In both her reality television show and her social media platforms, O'Neal used several of Benoit's image repair tactics, including *bolstering, transcendence, reducing offensiveness, minimizing, attacking accusers, compensation, corrective action,*

and *mortification* (Table 6). *BBW* television episodes, Twitter and Facebook eliminated the middleman and allowed O'Neal to communicate directly with her followers. This advancement in image repair theory implies social media and reality TV offer public figures viable image repair tools.

Secondly, social media outlets allow celebrities to publish information fast and efficiently without a gatekeeper; however, celebrities must still follow traditional crisis management strategies—such as honesty and transparency—to retain credibility (Moody, 2011). For instance, while O'Neal's visit to her pastor and positive posts depicted her in a positive light, comments from audiences indicated they did not find these attempts at image repair believable. Many fans expressed anger at O'Neal's constant lack of involvement or intervention, which viewers often perceived as reinforcing negative stereotypes. The constant fighting on the show created the need for O'Neal to utilize image repair techniques.

Table 6

O'Neal's Image Restoration Strategies via TV and Social Media

Tactic	Social Media	BBW Episodes
Reducing Offensiveness Bolstering/Transcendence	Religious posts Inspirational quotes Discussions of her children and her mother	Mom of the year and breast cancer episodes Pushed for balance from producers and executives "This is our real life"
Corrective Action	Statements regarding displeasure with fighting	Sent Tami to a counselor Spoke to her pastor Played peacemaker during Tahiti episode
Evading of Responsibility		Discussed pending lawsuit Separated herself from the violent actions of cast members
Mortification	Pushed for a reconciliation between Jen and Evelyn	Expressed sadness about broken friendships Sorry the show had more bad than good episodes

Finally, while celebrities have the opportunity to use an assortment of image repair tactics to improve their reputations; they must be believable to viewers. O'Neal used several image repair tactics in the show's episodes. She *reduced the offensiveness* of her actions by having a cast member attend anger management classes. She also visited her pastor and discussed the guilt and embarrassment she feels because of the fighting and backbiting on the show. Similarly, O'Neal's Facebook and Twitter posts were charismatic, religious, and well written. However, audience members did find these tactics believable.

Facebook and Twitter commenters did not notice her preferred themes; instead, viewers focused on the negative, stereotypical aspects of the show such as the "angry Black woman," phoniness and a lack of class. Viewers also honed in on O'Neal's inconsistencies in how she presented herself, and suggested that she cared more about ratings than *BBW*'s content. While O'Neal stated that she felt bad about the women fighting and broken friendships, her cast members continued to fight and devise strategies to bully other cast mates. These sentiments confused viewers, leaving them to question O'Neal's sincerity.

Producer Suggestions

Findings are important as perceptions and stereotypes often become the dominant viewpoint whether they are accurate or not. Members of the cast are successful businesswomen, mothers, and independent women. However, an emphasis on materialism, sex, stereotypes, and inadequacies often overshadowed positive messages. Reality television producers should include more episodes in which the women reveal their positive qualities as entrepreneurs, philanthropists and active mothers rather than dwelling on their weaknesses.

One of the major criticisms of reality TV is whether the content that makes it to the television screen is true. Although many producers claim that contestants forget about the cameras so reality comes out anyway, Couldry (2004) finds the editing policies for reality TV problematic because the production staff ends up choosing what to emphasize. Mathis (2007) adds that the editing policies may perpetuate differences of interpretation and emphasize content that was insignificant to cast members. Particularly when the cast is mostly Black and female, it is important for the show's writers and producers to examine their unconscious or conscious decisions to select segments that depict cast members in a negative and stereotypical manner.

Producers and television executives must infuse positive messages into their content that downplay materialism, sexism, and stereotypes. Without alternate perspectives, negative stereotypes targeting women retain their accepted place in American culture. Squires (2009) encourages critical communication scholars to identify and promote counter-frames and stereotypes to intervene and counteract stereotypical portrayals in popular culture. She argues that this becomes necessary especially as old discourses of colorblindness morph into celebrations of a "Postracial" millennium.

Limitations and future research

This research is not without limitations. It looked at a sample of Facebook, Twitter, and blog posts and television shows, which limits the generalizablity of this study. The extent to which scholars can extend what happens in regards to conversation and community to other social media is limited.

Future studies that build on this research might focus on how young women personally identify with the characters on the show.

An analysis of episodes of the show may help them to model positive and negative characteristics about the women. Such studies might focus on how women and girls respond to online to messages they receive in television programing using a focus group format in which participants discuss uses and gratifications for responding to blog entries and Facebook posts about such shows. Using this information as a springboard, educators must create literacy programs in which students learn that beauty; materialism and unrealistic domestic standards are not necessarily a part of "womanhood." Each woman should create her own standards of "womanhood" based on personal circumstances such as family life and cultural surroundings and live accordingly. Such portrayals foster sexist and negative cultural narratives of Black women that are hard to erase.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Study findings and implications provide needed inquiry into an emerging area of scholarship. This study offers a new perspective to IRT by adding a critical lens to help contextualize stereotypical behaviors of the *Basketball Wives*' cast, which served to help tarnish O'Neal's previously clean-cut image. Media provide historical content that researchers may use to analyze trends in the reporting of gender. Therefore, it is essential to continually analyze and address perceptions of race and gender to offer insight and solutions.

While mass media have documented many profound changes in our culture and the representations of women in the last 30 or so years, many of these advancements do not transfer to episodes of *Basketball Wives,* which features many historical stereotypes about Black women. Such portrayals fos-

ter sexist and negative cultural narratives of Black women that are hard to erase. Alternative portrayals can help change such misconceptions.

Study findings and implications are important as perceptions and stereotypes often become the dominant viewpoint. While censorship is undesirable, worth considering is creating literacy programs that encourage adolescents to identify and seek positive, accurate messages. It is hoped that this study provides a stepping-stone for future research, possibly leading to literacy programs. We implore producers and television executives to take responsibility for the content of such shows. They must think of creative tactics to infuse positive messages in their content that downplay materialism, sexism, and colorism and promote unity, intellect, and healing. While not as controversial, such portrayals might go a long way in helping uplift women, in general, and Black women in particular.

Social Media and Reality TV IRT

Study findings indicate reality television and social media provide a viable platform for celebrities to repair a tarnished image even when a person is guilty by association. The fighting of the women on the show and O'Neal's constant lack of involvement or intervention into the fights caused people to see the show as reinforcing negative stereotypes. It also gave O'Neal the image of someone acting innocent but as the producer, ultimately responsible for the show's content. Readers responded wholeheartedly. Viewers wrote comments as if they were personal acquaintances of the women. Many of the posts disparaged the direction of the show and encouraged the women to change.

During Season 4, O'Neal took responsibility for the show's negative portrayals and

became proactive in cleaning up her image and those of her cast members. O'Neal's image repair methods are unique in that she did not display the stereotypes displayed on the show; however, she became connected to them because of her cast members. Study findings indicate O'Neal used bolstering, transcendence, reducing offensiveness, minimizing, attacking accusers, compensation, corrective action and mortification. Shaunie's image repair is different from that of the subjects of past image repair studies because for the most part her tactics were used on her own safe platforms (the show, the reunion, Twitter, and Facebook) and were openly accessible to those who watch the show.

From the results, it seems that the social media outlets of Twitter and Facebook were crucial in Shaunie getting her message out to her fans and viewers. They helped to eliminate the middleman and allowed her to communicate directly with her followers. Study findings indicate episodes of a reality TV show and social media may provide viable platforms for a celebrity to repair his or her tarnished image; however, tactics must be authentic and consistent. Demonstrating the dual nature of social media uses, O'Neal utilized her social media to explain and minimize her actions, while viewers used the same platforms to discuss her perceived lack of control and the show's negative stereotyping of women of color. By the end of Season 4, it was apparent that while O'Neal successfully used on-air and online platforms to disseminate positive messages, viewers did not always find her image repair tactics convincing. This is a critical advancement in image repair and no doubt public figures, celebrities, and even average citizens can use social media in instances where image repair is needed. ■

Address correspondence to: Mia Moody-Ramirez, Department of Journalism, Public Relations & New Media, Baylor University. Tel: 245.710.7247. Website: http://www.miamoody.net

References

Benedict, H. (1997). Virgin or vamp: How the press covers sex crimes. In L. Flanders (Ed.). *Real Majority, media minority*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, p. 115-118.

Benoit, W. (2006). Image repair in President Bush's April 2004 news conference. *Public Relations Review, 32*, 137-143.

Benoit, W. (1995). *Accounts, excuses and apologies: a theory of image restoration Strategies*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Benoit, W. (1997). Hugh Grant's image restoration discourse: An actor apologizes. *Communication Quarterly, 45*, 251-267.

Black, E. (2012, July 25). Pic of the Day: Tami Roman Posts a Hilarious Outtake from the Basketball Wives Promo Shoot. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Black, E. (2012, July 7). Shaunie O'Neal Tells Us About Evelyn's Wedding Wardrobe Changes. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Black, E. (2012, June 12). Girl Talk, Makeup, and Cocktails: The Best Backstage Photos. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Black, E. (2012, June 12). Shaunie O'Neal Has "No Problem Walking Away" From *Basketball Wives*, Hints That There Are Three Ladies She Wouldn't Keep Around. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Black, E. (2012, June 14). Over One Million Customers Served! The Basketball Wives Facebook Fan Page Reaches a Milestone. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Black, E. (2012, June 6). The Reunion Interview: Shaunie O'Neal Seeks Some Balance. Retrieved September 19, 2012, from http://blog.VH1.com/utag/series/basketball-wives-4/37829/.

Boycott "Basketball Wives" & "Evelyn Lozada": Don't support Evelyn Lozada's spinoff show "EV and OCHO" on VH1. (2012). Change.org. Retrieved May 23, 2014, from http://www.change.org/petitions/boycott-basketball-wives-evelyn-lozada-don-t-support-evelyn-lozada-s-spinoff-show-ev-and-ocho-on-vh1

Boyd, D. (2006). Friends, Friendsters, and Myspace top 8: Writing community into being on social network sites. *First Monday 11*(2).

Boylorn, R. (2008). As seen on TV: An Autoethnographic reflection on race and reality television. Critical Studies in Media Communication, *25*(4), 413-433. doi:10.1080/15295030802327758

Brazeal, L. (2008). The image repair strategies of Terrell Owens. Retrieved from http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0363811108000337

Burns, J. & Bruner, M. (2000). Revisiting the theory of image restoration strategies. *Communication Quarterly, 48*(1), 27-4

Carter, C. & Steiner, L. (2004). Mapping the contested field of media and gender, in Carter, C. and Steiner, L. (eds.) Critical Readings: Media and Gender, Maidenhead and New York: Open University Press.

Childs, E. (2005). Looking behind the stereotypes of the angry Black woman: An exploration of Black women's responses to interracial relationships. *Gender & Society, 19*(4), 544-561. doi:10.1177/0891243205276755

Collins, P. (2004). *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender and the New Racism.* New York: Routledge.

Cornwell, B., & Lundgren, D. C. (2001). Love on the Internet: Involvement and misrepresentation in romantic relationships in cyberspace vs. realspace. *Computers in Human Behavior, 17*(2), 197-211.

Couldry, N. (2004). Teaching us to fake it: the ritualized norms of television's reality games. In S. Murray & L. Ouellette (Eds). Reality TV: Remaking television culture, (pp. 57-73). New York, NY: NYU Press.

Darling, C. (2004). Reality TV encourages racial stereotyping. In K. F. Balkin (Ed.), *Reality TV* (pp. 40-43). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

Dominick, J. R. (1999). Who do you think you are? Personal home pages and self-presentation on the World Wide Web. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 76*(4), 646-658.

Ellison, N., Heino, R., and Gibbs, J. (2006). Managing impressions online: Self-presentation processes in the online dating environment. *Journal of Computer-mediated Communication 11*(2). URL (consulted June 2009). Available at: http://jcmc.indiana.edu/vol11/issue2/ellison.html

Fujioka, Y. (1999). Television Portrayals and African-American Stereotypes: Examination of Television Effects when Direct Contact is Lacking. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 76*(1)*,* 52-75. Retrieved from abs.sagepub.com September 19, 2012.

Hall, S. (1975). Introduction. In: Smith ACH (Ed.) *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change.* London: Chatto and Windus, 11-24.

Harlow, W., Brantley, B., & Harlow, R. (2011). BP initial image repair strategies after the *Deepwater Horizon* spill. *Public Relations Review, 37,* 80-83.

Hartmann, H. (1981). The unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism: towards a more progressive union. In L. Sargent, (Ed.), *Women and revolutions: a discussion of the unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism* (pp. 1-41). Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, B. (1992). *Black Looks: Race and Representation.* Boston, MA: South End Press.

Kanter, R. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Kaylor, B. (2010). In the Eye of the Storm: Image Repair Discourse of Dan Rather and CBS After the Bush Guard Memos Story. *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal, Fall,* 111-124.

Kennedy, J. (2010). Image Reparation Strategies in Sports: Media Analysis of Kobe Bryant and Barry Bonds. Retrieved on December 29, 2010, from http://www.elon.edu/docs/e-web/academics/communications/research/09KennedyEJSpring10.pdf

Krakowiak, K., Kleck, C., & Tsay, M. (2006). Redefining Reality TV: Exploring Viewers' Perceptions of Nine Subgenres. Conference Papers—International Communication Association, 1-26.

Kubrin, C. (2005). Gangstas, thugs, and hustlas: Identity and the code of the street in rap music. *Social Problems, 52*, 360-378.

Len-Rios, M., & Benoit, W. (2004). Gary Condit's image repair strategies: determined denial and differentiation. *Public Relations Review, 30,* 95-106.

Lule, J. (2002). Myth and terror on the editorial page: The New York Times responds to September 11, 2001. *J&MC Quarterly 79*(2), 275-293.

Mathis, S. (2007). Can White Be Black?: Cultural Work in the Reality TV Series, Black. White. Conference Papers—National Communication Association, 1.

Moody, M., Dates, J. (2013). T*he Obamas and Mass Media: Race, Gender, Religion, and Politics*. New York: Palgrave Pivot.

Moody, M. (2011). In Jon & Kate Plus 8: A Case Study of Image Repair, Social Media and the Resulting Media Frames of Celebrity Divorce. *Public Relations Review*.

Nabi, R. L., Biely, E. N., Morgan, & S. J., Stitt, C. R. (2003). Reality-based television. New York University Press.

Oles, D. (2010). Deny, Delay, Apologize: The Oprah Winfrey Image-Defense Playbook. *Northwest Journal of Communication*. Retrieved on March 5, 2012, from EBSCO*host*.

Pfister, D. S., & Soliz, J. (2011). (Re)conceptualizing intercultural communication in a networked society. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication, 4*, 246-251.

Roy, S. (2012). Multiple 'Faces' of Indian Identity: A Comparative Critical Analysis of Identity Management on Facebook by Asian Indians Living in India and the US. *China Media Research, 8*(4), 6-14.

Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Schau, H. J., & Gilly, M. C. (2003). We are what we post? Self-presentation in personal web space. *Journal of Consumer Research, 30*(3), 385-404.

Springer, K. (2007). Divas, evil Black bitches, and bitter Black women: African American women in postfeminist and post-civil-rights popular culture. In *Interrogating postfeminism: Gender and the politics of popular culture* (pp. 249-276). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Squires, C. (2007, revision 2009). Racial mixed people. *Dispatches from the Color Line: The Press and Multiracial America* (Suny Series, Negotiating Identity: Discourses, Politics, Processes, and Praxes) (1 ed., pp. 112-134). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Trammell, K. (2005). Looking at the Pieces to Understand the Whole: An Analysis of Blog Posts, Comments, and Trackbacks. Conference Papers—International Communication Association, 1-26.

Tyree, T. (2011). African American Stereotypes in Reality Television. *Howard Journal of Communications, 22*(4)*,* 394-413.

Van Zoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist media studies*. London: Sage Publications.

Vavrus, M. (2009). What Is This Post- in Postracial, Postfeminist. Journal of Communication Inquiry, 210-253.

Wallace, M. (1979). Black macho and the myth of the superwoman. New York: Verso.

Walsh, J. & McAllister-Spooner, S. (2011). Analysis of the image repair discourse in the Michael Phelps controversy. *Public Relations Review, 37,* 157-162.

Wilcox, D., & Cameron, G. (2010). *Public relations: Strategies and tactics* (9th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

The relationship between familism and suicide attempts among Latina adolescents: Prevention and intervention efforts

Desireé Vega

Abstract

Latina adolescents have the highest rates of suicidal behavior among ethnic and racial minority youth in the United States. The Latino population represents the largest minority group in the United States; thus, this is an important issue to address. Familism, a value central to the Latino culture, emphasizes the centrality of the family as a primary unit, in contrast to Western tradition that places the individual at the core. During adolescent development, Latinas may struggle with balancing their families' needs with their own needs for autonomy, creating a conflict between Latina adolescents and their families. A better understanding of familial factors that predict and protect against suicidal behaviors among Latina adolescents is necessary to identify alterable factors and develop culturally responsive prevention and intervention approaches. The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between familism and suicide attempts among Latina youth through an examination of the existing literature. Preventative strategies and interventions to address suicidal behavior for Latina youth will also be discussed.

Keywords

Latinas, adolescents, gender, suicide attempts, familism, prevention, intervention

For over a decade, the literature has identified Latina adolescents as having the highest rates of suicidal behavior among ethnic and racial minority youth in the United States (Zayas & Pilat, 2008). In 1996, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported that adolescent Hispanic females had a 21% prevalence rate of suicide attempts, while African American and Caucasian females had rates of 10.8% and 10.4%, respectively. More recent figures from the CDC's 2007 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) showed that among adolescent females, Hispanics were more likely to have seriously considered attempting suicide (21.1%), as compared to African American (18%) and Caucasian (17.8%) females. The survey also found that Hispanic adolescent females (14%) were also more likely to have attempted suicide, compared to 9.9% of African American females and 7.7% of Caucasian females. High rates of suicide attempts among Latina youth place them at risk for death and serious injury (Turner, Kaplan, Zayas, & Ross, 2002). It is a well-known fact that past suicidal behavior predicts future suicidal behavior, making this a serious mental health concern (Colucci & Martin, 2007). This is an important issue to address since Latinos represent the largest minority group in the U.S.; they are projected to comprise 31% of the population by 2060 (U.S.

Census, 2010). Without targeted prevention and intervention efforts, the high level of suicidal behavior among Latina adolescents will likely persist (Peña et al., 2008).

The significant level of suicide attempts among Latina youth is theorized to be the outcome of a combination of cultural, familial, and individual level factors (Baumann, Kuhlberg, & Zayas, 2010; Kuhlberg, Peña, & Zayas, 2010). Poverty, traditional gender role expectations, acculturation, intergenerational conflict, and coping skills influence their suicidal behavior (Turner, Kaplan, Zayas, & Ross, 2002). Razin et al. (1991) indicated that the typical suicide attempter profile is a 15- or 16-year-old acculturated daughter of foreign-born, Hispanic immigrant parents who are not well acculturated. Therefore, a better understanding of familial factors that predict and protect against suicidal behaviors among Latina adolescents is necessary to identify alterable factors and develop culturally responsive prevention and intervention approaches (Colucci, & Martin, 2007). The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between familism and suicide attempts among Latina youth through an examination of the existing literature. Preventative strategies and interventions to address suicidal behavior for Latina youth will also be discussed.

Review of the Literature

In Latino culture, family is central to an individual's identity and directs how an individual behaves. *Familism* is a value that emphasizes the centrality of the *family* as a primary unit, in contrast to Western tradition that places the *individual* at the core (Germán, Gonzales, & Dumka, 2009; Zayas & Pilat, 2008). The needs of one's family take priority over one's own needs. In a factor analytic study by Sabogal, G. Marin, Otero-Sabogal, B. V. Marin, and Perez-Stable (1987), the authors revealed three facets of familism: *familial obligations*, *perceived support and closeness*, and *family as referent*. *Familial obligations* refers to the belief that family members are responsible for providing economic and emotional support to kin. *Perceived support and closeness* is defined as the perception that family members are reliable sources of support, should be united, and have close relationships. *Family as referent* is the belief that the behavior of family members should meet familial expectations. The family is viewed as an extension of oneself; therefore, individual behavior reflects the whole family.

The CDC's 2007 YRBS survey data revealed that 21.1% of Hispanic female adolescents attempted suicide compared to 10.7% of Hispanic male adolescents. Traditional gender role expectations may place more pressure on Latina adolescents to meet family expectations compared to their Latino counterparts. Hispanic households may emphasize certain assertiveness and male-dominant behaviors, or *machismo*, among sons while urging passiveness and subservience among their daughters (Goldston et al., 2008). Latinas are often expected to engage in domestic work at home, including cooking, cleaning, and caring for siblings, while Latinos are afforded more freedom and less responsibility in the home; these gender role expectations may play a key role in differential rates in suicide attempts. Kuhlberg et al. (2010) reported that while familism does not directly predict suicide attempts among Latina youth, it has an indirect relationship with suicide attempts through the adolescents' internalizing behavior such as depression and withdrawal. The stress from being expected to put one's family first may trigger feelings such as sadness and depression

among Latina adolescents. Zayas, Gulbas, Fedoravicius, and Cabassa (2010) also found that family discord is insufficient to demonstrate a causal link in suicide attempts because the majority of Latinas do not become suicidal. Therefore, there is further need to explore this complex relationship and identify the factors that do in fact lead to suicidal behavior among Latina youth.

During adolescent development, Latinas may struggle with balancing their family's needs with their own need for autonomy (Goldston et al., 2008). This can create conflict between Latina adolescents and their families. Additionally, acculturation plays a significant role in this struggle; Latinas adapt to their new culture in the U.S. while trying to maintain elements of their culture of origin. They may also acculturate more quickly than their parents; this acculturative discrepancy contributes to tension and crisis for the adolescent. Latina mothers want their daughters to acculturate and be successful but struggle with the level of independence afforded to American adolescents (Zayas et al., 2000; Zayas & Pilat, 2008; Zayas, Hausmann-Stabile, & Kuhlberg, 2011). This dilemma diminishes the mother's capacity to act as a mentor for her daughter, and the daughter misinterprets her mother's intentions as controlling. Latino cultural traditions that socialize women to maintain closeness and obligation to family, while limiting the manner in which anger can be expressed, may have a causal relation to suicidal behavior (Zayas & Pilat, 2008). This occurs when a great deal of conflict exists; consequently, the Latina adolescent engages in suicidal behavior as a coping mechanism.

Turner et al. (2002) examined the differences between Latina youth with a history of suicide attempts and Latina youth with no history of suicide attempts. Among the Latinas who attempted suicide, the researchers found a negative correlation with the perception of mother's responsiveness to their daughters. These Latina youth felt their mothers were indifferent toward them and less understanding. Conversely, those girls who felt their mothers were interested, engaged, respectful, patient, receptive, and understanding were less likely to attempt suicide. Turner and colleagues (2002) also found that suicide attempts by Latina adolescents typically followed breakups or fights with their mothers, creating feelings of hopelessness and desperation. The girls sought to please their mothers and stay close to them, but felt overwhelmed by the strict rules and demands placed on their activities. The use of positive coping strategies was comparable across the two groups of Latinas. However, the Latinas who attempted suicide disproportionately used negative coping strategies such as withdrawal, wishful thinking, self-criticism, and blaming others. Dysfunctional family environments and strict parents can have a negative effect on the self-esteem and coping skills of Latina youth leading to suicidal behavior.

A study by Zayas et al. (2011) found that Latina youth who attempted suicide and Latina youth with no history of suicide attempts exhibited similar characteristics to those found in the study by Turner et al. (2002). Those who attempted suicide demonstrated significantly less mutuality and connection with their mothers than those with no history of suicide attempts. Higher levels of mutuality, or connectedness and communication with mothers, served as protective factors for suicidal ideations and attempts. Low levels of support were associated with more internalizing behaviors such as depression. Reducing parent-daughter conflict and fostering close family ties can reduce internalizing behaviors and lessen the

likelihood of suicide attempts among Latinas. Moreover, girls with higher involvement with their Latino culture expressed more mutuality with their mothers and, in turn, lower levels of all three types of internalizing behaviors: withdrawn-depressive behaviors, anxious-depressive behaviors, and somatic complaints. Withdrawn-depressive behaviors were associated with suicide attempts, mediating the relationship between mutuality and attempts. Zayas et al.'s study (2011) stresses the positive effect Latino cultural values can have on the relationship between Latina adolescents and mothers. When their relationship is strained due to developmental changes and cultural differences, Latino culture involvement may play a role in promoting positive family interactions.

Similarly, Baumann et al. (2010) found that low levels of mother-daughter mutuality predicted higher internalizing and externalizing behaviors, which in turn, predicted suicide attempts. Additionally, mothers reported higher familism values than their Latina daughters, predicted less mother-daughter mutuality, and more externalizing behaviors in adolescents. Accordingly, familism can serve as a protective factor, but it can also act as a risk factor. Familism from the perspective of the Latina girls was positively related to mutuality and negatively related to externalizing behaviors. Familism from the perspective of their mothers was only slightly related to mutuality. Familism can be a protective factor from the girls' perspective, but the same was not true from the mothers' perspective. Mothers differed significantly from their daughters in familism values; and the gap in familism values between mothers and daughters was related to lower mother-daughter conflict.

Familism is a multi-faceted concept; certain components may be more related to higher levels of internalizing behavior, while other components account for reduced levels of conflict. It can have a double-edged effect due to its protective effects that enhance self-esteem while also causing familial conflict. Restrictions of activities among Latina adolescents may lead to internalization of emotions, lower self-esteem, depression, and suicidal behavior (Kuhlberg et al., 2010). L. O'Donnell, C. O'Donnell, Wardlaw, and Stueve (2004) reported that family closeness predicted both suicidal ideations and attempts. Interestingly, living in a two-parent household did not serve as a protective factor and having either parent absent was not a significant risk factor. Instead, feeling that one's family was there when needed was important for Latina adolescents. This is a point that should be emphasized to parents of teenagers who feel that either they are not getting through to their children or that their children do not need them as much now that they are older.

Peña et al. (2011) identified three family environment types: tight-knit, intermediate-knit, and loose-knit. They found that the type of family environment impacted suicidal behavior among Latina adolescents. Tight-knit families (high cohesion and low conflict) were significantly less likely to have teens that attempted suicide in comparison to intermediate-knit and loose-knit families. Familism potentially protected against suicidal behavior among Latinas through its influence on the family environment. Latina youth who internalize cultural values such as familism from an early age may react to parental demands, rules, and expectations in ways that are more culturally acceptable to parents. Familism leads to tight-knit families, and tight-knit families reinforce beliefs in familism. Flexibility in the family system may moderate the protective elements of familism for Latinas. Thus, high levels of familism when combined with an inflexible

family system and overly harsh parenting may diminish or reverse its protective effect.

The relationship between fathers and suicidal behavior among Latinas has not been thoroughly examined in the literature. Instead, a more pronounced effect of the mother-daughter relationship than of the father-daughter relationship on suicide attempts has been revealed throughout the literature. The absence of fathers and overwhelming presence of mothers in the samples accounts for this difference (Zayas et al., 2000). Nonetheless, a recent study by DeLuca, Wyman, and Warren (2012) found that suicidal ideations were associated with having a suicidal friend, lower perceived father support, and overall parent caring. Suicide attempts were associated with having a suicidal friend and lower perceived teacher and parent support. Support from both parents and teachers was associated with fewer suicide attempts. Therefore, Latinas who perceived their fathers as more supportive and their parents as caring for them were less likely to have suicidal ideations. Having a suicidal friend was associated with elevated risk of both ideation and attempts. The influence of fathers on the suicidal behavior of their Latina adolescents requires further inquiry to determine its specific effects. Nonetheless, this study lends support to the fact that parents and teachers can serve as potentially important protective factors for Latina adolescents and to suicidal peers as important risk factors.

Prevention and Intervention Efforts

To date, no empirically based suicide prevention or treatment intervention programs have been developed exclusively for Latinos (Goldston et al., 2008). However, the development of cultural competence among mental health practitioners such as social workers, school counselors, and school psychologists can assist in addressing suicidal behavior among Latina youth. Respect for racial and ethnicity minority patients and their cultural beliefs and health practices are extremely important (Huang, Appel, & Ai, 2011). For instance, mental health service providers must also have an understanding of the collectivistic culture among Latinos and the importance of involving the entire family in treatment. Additionally, effective prevention approaches should aim to minimize risk factors for suicidal behavior and strengthen protective factors (Eaton et al., 2011).

Interventions should focus on facilitating positive communication between Latino parents, especially mothers, and their daughters. This can reduce conflict and the risk of suicidal actions by improving the emotional connection and sense of support that comes from talking with parents in open, trusting, and reliable interactions. Further, allowing Latina adolescents the opportunity to discuss their feelings related to their relationships with their mothers allows them to develop more appropriate coping mechanisms than internalizing their feelings and attempting suicide (Zayas et al., 2000). Because family is central in the Latino culture, family-oriented treatment is beneficial. Thus, working with both mother and daughter is essential in building a positive and trusting relationship (Zayas & Pilat, 2008). Gulbas et al. (2011) recommended therapy address parent-child negotiation of realistic expectations due to their findings, which indicated that unrealistic expectations, particularly surrounding issues of dating, sexuality, and family responsibilities, led to recurrent episodes of conflict. Emerging research addressing the relationship between fathers and suicidal ideations among Latina adolescents

(DeLuca et al., 2012) highlights the importance of involving fathers in family therapy with their daughters to strengthen the father-daughter bond. While further inquiry is necessary in this area, strong relationships between Latina adolescents and their fathers may play a critical role in protecting the adolescents from engaging in suicidal behavior.

In the schools, culturally competent parent education could provide parents with information on how to establish more mutual and supportive relationships with their daughters (Turner et al., 2002). Culturally competent teaching of effective coping strategies such as problem solving, cognitive restructuring, emotional regulation, and social support in schools, in mental health agencies, and in the home, can help prevent suicide attempts and make Latina adolescent girls feel more empowered and resilient (Turner et al., 2002). Additionally, school psychologists, school counselors, and school social workers can identify Latinas who are at risk for suicidal behavior through parent and/or teacher referrals and engage them in support groups. Parent-oriented education groups can be facilitated at school to assist parents in understanding their daughter's developmental needs and the expected conflicts to occur during the acculturation process (Zayas & Pilat, 2008).

Garcia, Skay, Sieving, Naughton, and Bearinger (2008) indicated that efforts should be made by schools to involve parents who would like to strengthen relationships with their daughters. They recommended providing incentives such as food, childcare, and holding gatherings at locations convenient for parents—such as churches and community centers—to help increase attendance and participation. For Latina youth whose parents are uninvolved or unable to participate in these prevention/intervention efforts, youth connectedness can be promoted through extended family members. Further, for Latinas who have limited connectedness with their families, school staff such as teachers, school counselors, and school psychologists can offer structured mentoring programs to provide much needed support.

Discussion

Family is a central component of Latino culture. While researchers have found that familism does not directly predict suicide attempts among Latina youth, an indirect relationship has been found (Kuhlberg et al., 2010; Zayas et al., 2010). The discrepancy in acculturation between Latina adolescents and their parents often leads to conflict. Latinas adapt to American culture, which traditionally values independence, and their parents attempt to maintain and reinforce their Latino culture. This value conflict can lead to suicidal behavior among Latinas as a way to cope with the stress. There is a need for research examining Latina adolescents and their family by generational status (i.e., foreign-born, first generation, etc.), time in the U.S., and levels of acculturation to further understand the effects of family influence and acculturation on suicide attempts. Are suicide attempts among Latinas prevalent in Latino families that are acculturated and/or born in the U.S.? These factors must be further explored.

Research on the differences in Latina youth with a history of suicide attempts versus those with no history of suicide attempts included coping strategies and levels of mutuality or connectedness with their mothers. Suicide attempts may be used as an escape to cope with conflict, but these Latinas may not actually want to die. The use of suicidal behavior as a coping mechanism may be

a cry for help; therefore, it is important to examine the relationships these Latinas have with their families at home to develop more appropriate coping skills in the face of conflict. Building positive and communicative relationships between Latinas and their mothers is necessary since suicidal Latinas felt their mothers were indifferent and less understanding. Determining ways to increase mother-daughter mutuality without increasing risk factors should also be considered.

Moreover, there is a need for comparative studies that examine suicidal behavior by country of origin due to the heterogeneity of the Latino population. Duarté-Vélez and Bernal (2006) recommended that research focus on within-group comparison among Latinos and also focus only on specific Latino groups (i.e., Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, etc.). Research studies must also explore the role of socioeconomic status (e.g., poverty, middle class) and suicidal behavior by Latinas to determine its potential influence. Conceptual and methodological issues exist in previous studies due to the way suicidal behavior is conceptualized and operationalized making it difficult to draw conclusions and compare studies (Duarté-Vélez & Bernal, 2006). Thus, researchers must provide a definition of suicidal behavior and how it is being measured in their studies to contribute to what is known about this behavior. Sociocultural and environmental variables such as acculturation, acculturative stress, perceived discrimination, ethnic identity, and barriers to physical and mental health services must also be taken into account when examining suicidal behavior among Latina youth (Duarté-Vélez & Bernal, 2006).

Limited research focusing on the role of fathers and suicidal behavior among Latina youth exists; therefore, it is important that future research examine their impact. Additionally, due to the lack of culturally sensitive prevention and intervention approaches for suicidal Latinas, the degree to which interventions focus on decreasing risk factors and enhancing culturally relevant protective factors in reducing suicidality must be explored (Goldston et al., 2008). The effectiveness of informal sources of help (e.g., family, friends) in addressing suicidality among Latinas should be examined since they are more likely to seek help from friends and family instead of mental health practitioners (Goldston et al., 2008). Existing research tends to utilize clinical populations such as Latinas admitted to psychiatric hospitals for suicide attempts. Identifying Latina adolescents in schools who are at-risk for suicide attempts or who have attempted suicide can assist school counselors and school psychologists in developing and providing school-based intervention services. Due to barriers in receiving mental health services including poverty and a lack of health insurance, school-based services may be ideal in addressing the needs of Latina adolescents and their families. Schools can provide their staffs with in-service trainings on developing cultural awareness and competence in meeting the needs of diverse students and families such as Latinos. School-based educational outreach to families and support groups may also be beneficial in bringing parents and their daughters closer and in understanding changes in development. In the absence of support from family members, school staff can step in and provide mentorship to Latinas at risk for suicide attempts.

Conclusion

Familism appears to play a significant role in the lives of Latina youth due to its cultural

value; the research indicates that it can serve as both a risk and protective factor against suicide attempts. Nonetheless, a direct relationship between familism and suicidal behavior among Latinas has not been found. Instead, sociocultural factors including acculturation, acculturative stress, poverty, adolescent development, and intergenerational conflict must be taken into account when examining the cause of suicidal behavior. Gender role expectations and acculturation to American values of individualism merge to create conflicts between Latinas and their families. This conflict to maintain cultural values and integrate American values combined with poor coping skills leads Latinas to attempt suicide. While these young girls may not want to commit suicide, they struggle with appropriately dealing with the conflict with their parents and use suicidal behavior as an escape mechanism. It is clear that this is a significant issue that must be addressed. Further research is needed to assist Latinas and their families in managing acculturative stress and developing healthy coping skills when conflict arises to prevent suicide attempts. ■

Address correspondence to: Desireé Vega, School Psychology Program, Texas State University. Tel: 512.245.3083. Website: http://www.txstate.edu/clas/school-psychology-program.html

References

Baumann, A. A., Kuhlberg, J. A., & Zayas, L. H. (2010). Familism, mother-daughter mutuality, and suicide attempts of adolescent Latinas. *Journal of Family Psychology, 24*(5), 616-624.

Colucci, E., & Martin, G. (2007). Ethnocultural aspects of suicide in young people: A systematic literature review: Part 1: Rates and methods of youth suicide. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 37*(2), 197-211.

DeLuca, S. M., Wyman, P., & Warren, K. (2012). Latina adolescent suicide ideations and attempts: Associations with connectedness to parents, peers, and teachers. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 42*(6), 672-683.

Duarté-Vélez, Y. M., & Bernal, G. (2006). Suicide behavior among Latino and Latina adolescents: Conceptual and methodological issues. *Death Studies, 31*(5), 435-455.

Eaton, D. K., Foti, K., Brener, N. D., Crosby, A. E., Flores, G., & Kann, L. (2011). Associations between risk behaviors and suicidal ideation and suicide attempts: Do racial/ethnic variations in associations account for increased risk of suicidal behaviors among Hispanic/Latina 9th- to 12th-grade female students? *Archives of Suicide Research, 15*(2), 113-126.

Garcia, C., Skay, C., Sieving, R., Naughton, S., & Bearinger, L. H. (2008). Family and racial factors associated with suicide and emotional distress among Latino students. *Journal of School Health, 78*(9), 487-495.

Germán, M., Gonzales, N. A., & Dumka, L. (2009). Familism values as a protective factor for Mexican-origin adolescents exposed to deviant peers. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 29*(1), 16-42.

Goldston, D. B., Molock, S. D., Whitbeck, L. B., Murakami, J. L., Zayas, L. H., & Hall, G. C. N. (2008). Cultural considerations in adolescent suicide prevention and psychosocial treatment. *American Psychologist, 63*(1), 14-31.

Gulbas, L. E., Zayas, L. H., Nolle, A. P., Hausmann-Stabile, C., Kuhlberg, J. A., Baumann, A. A., & Peña, J. B. (2011). Family relationships and Latina teen suicide attempts: Reciprocity, asymmetry, and detachment. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services, 92*(3), 317-323.

Huang, B., Appel, H., & Ai, A. L. (2011). The effects of discrimination and acculturation to service seeking satisfaction for Latina and Asian American women: Implications for mental health professions. *Social Work in Public Health, 26*(1), 46-59.

Kuhlberg, J. A., Peña, J. B., & Zayas, L. H. (2010). Familism, parent-adolescent conflict, self esteem, internalizing behaviors and suicide attempts among adolescent Latinas. *Child Psychiatry & Human Development, 41*(4), 425-440.

O'Donnell, L., O'Donnell, C., Wardlaw, D. M., & Stueve, A. (2004). Risk and resiliency factors influencing suicidality among urban African American and Latino youth. American *Journal of Community Psychology, 33*(1/2), 37-49.

Peña, J. B., Wyman, P. A., Hendricks Brown, C., Matthieu, M. M., Olivares, T. E., Hartel, D., & Zayas, L. H. (2008). Immigration generation status and its association with suicide attempts, substance use, and depressive symptoms among Latino adolescents in the USA. *Society for Prevention Research, 9*(4), 299-310.

Peña, J. B., Kuhlberg, J. A., Zayas, L. H., Baumann, A. A., Gulbas, L., Hausmann-Stabile, C., & Nolle, A. P. (2011). Familism, family environment, and suicide attempts among Latina youth. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 41*(3), 330-341.

Razin, A. M., O'Dowd, M. A., Nathan, A., Rodriguez, I., Goldfield, A., Martin, C., . . . Mosca, J. (1991). Suicidal behavior among inner-city Hispanic adolescent females. *General Hospital Psychiatry, 13*(1), 45-58.

Sabogal, F., Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., Marin, B. V., & Perez-Stable, E. J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9*(4), 397-412.

Turner, S. G., Kaplan, C. P., Zayas, L. H., & Ross, R. E. (2002). Suicide attempts by Latina adolescents: An exploratory study of individual and family correlates. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 19*(5), 357-374.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Facts for Features: Hispanic Heritage Month 2014: Sept. 15-Oct. 15. Retrieved December 29, 2014, from http://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2014/cb14-ff22.html

Zayas, L. H., & Pilat, A. M. (2008). Suicidal behavior in Latinas: Explanatory cultural factors and implications for intervention. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 38*(3), 334-342.

Zayas, L. H., Gulbas, L. E., Fedoravicius, N., & Cabassa, L. J. (2010). Patterns of distress, precipitating events, and reflections on suicide attempts by young Latinas. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*(11), 1773-1779.

Zayas, L. H., Hausmann-Stabile, C., & Kuhlberg, J. A. (2011). Can better mother-daughter relations reduce the chance of a suicide attempt among Latinas? *Depression Research and Treatment, 2011*, 1-7.

Zayas, L. H., Kaplan, C., Turner, S., Romano, K., & Gonzalez-Ramos, G. (2000). Understanding suicide attempts by adolescent Hispanic females. *Social Work, 45*(1), 53-63.

Gender role attitudes and expectations for marriage

Shirley M. Ogletree

Abstract

Changing gender roles are impacting how employment and household/childcare responsibilities are shared within a marriage. With evolving gender roles, the potential benefits and disadvantages of marriage, related to marital quality/satisfaction, may be changing for both women and men (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Kurdek, 2005). To further explore the issue of gender roles and changing perspectives on marriage, students (106 females, 38 males) at a public university in Texas participated in an online Qualtrics survey assessing attitudes towards egalitarian/traditional marriage (adapted from Deutsch, Kokot, & Binder, 2007), child-rearing responsibilities (adapted from Gere and Helwig, 2012), traditional/transcendent gender roles (Baber & Tucker, 2006), and hostile/benevolent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 2001).

Participants rated an egalitarian marriage as most likely; 51% of participants rated both spouses working full-time/dividing childcare equally as "likely"/"very likely." Although men, compared to women, were more likely to agree with working full-time while their partner assumed primary childcare/household responsibilities (χ^2=19.01, p<.00l), 27% of the men rated this "very unlikely." For the companion item, women were more likely than men to agree with taking time off work for childcare while their partner worked full-time, (χ^2=15.86, p<.002), with 15% of the women rating this "very unlikely" (although 16% rated it "very likely"). Females agreed more than males (t=-2.03, p<.05) with traditional childcare attitudes; traditional childcare attitudes correlated positively with both hostile (r=.37, p<.001) and benevolent (r=.39, p<.001) sexism but negatively with gender transcendence (r=-.29, p=.001). As the institution of marriage changes in the U.S., moving away from "his" and "hers" marriages to more egalitarian marriages, the gender discrepancy in marital satisfaction is likely to continue decreasing, with more flexibility in marital styles and options continuing to increase.

Keywords

gender, gender roles, marriage, childcare, attitudes, expectations

Traditional marriage, with the man as breadwinner and the woman as housework and childcare provider, has been changing as gender roles evolve (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Rogers & Amato, 2000). These changing gender and marital roles may impact the quality of and satisfaction with marriage. As reviewed below, men's greater participation in housework and childcare may be related to higher marital satisfaction, at least for women.

Gender comparisons related to marital attitudes are important to consider. Women have been found to hold more egalitarian, less sexist attitudes than men (Baber & Tucker, 2006; Glick & Fiske, 2001). How-

ever, Blakemore, Lawton, and Vartanian (2005) found that although women in their Midwestern college student sample had more feminist attitudes than men, they still desired marriage more than did men. The Blakemore et al. research, though, did not examine attitudes towards traditional versus egalitarian marriages.

Attitudes towards gendered martial roles are likely tied to broader gender role attitudes. Among women in the Blakemore et al. (2005) sample, those with more conservative attitudes were more likely to indicate that they would change their last name and use the "Mrs." title. Hartwell, Erchull, and Liss (2014), in two studies with women only, reported that feminist women, compared to women who identified as non-feminists, were less likely to desire marriage and children.

The purpose here is to consider changing gender roles and marriage. Previous research is considered related to evolving employment and household/childcare responsibilities within marriage as well as how these roles affect marital quality and satisfaction. In addition, the relation among sexism and gender role measures and college women's and men's expectations for future types of marriage is examined in a sample of Central Texas college students.

Literature Review

Gender Roles: Employment and Housework/Childcare Performance

Performance of housework is complex and is tied to many factors including number of hours of employment per week by each spouse. Based on 2012 statistics from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2013a), 64.4% of men over 16 were employed com-

pared to 53.1% of women. In terms of hours per week worked, the average hours worked for men was 40.8, and 43.7 for those usually working full-time; comparable hours for women were 35.8 and 40.9, respectively (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b).

These differences in hours employed may be partially due to traditional role expectations that men are more responsible for the family income while women are more responsible for housework and childcare. Negative consequences for women include "second shift" responsibilities (Hochschild, 1989), being employed full-time and still coming home to primary childcare/household responsibilities, and a "wage gap" or "wage penalty" (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010) in which women's median full-time salary was 81% of men's 2010 median salary (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012).

In their review of work/family research in the first decade of this century, Bianchi and Milkie (2010) reported that overall the gender gap related to housework and childcare was decreasing. For housework, the gap narrowed because women decreased their hours while men increased their hours of housework. For childcare, the lesser differential between men and women was primarily due to men's increased involvement with their children. Even so, mothers' childcare involvement remained substantially longer than fathers', perhaps partially due to mothers' unwillingness to relinquish control in the childcare area.

Often gendered expectations in marriage can be very subtle, as Walzer (1996) points out in her qualitative research related to mothers' and fathers' planning for, worry about, and assuming responsibility for labor management related to the baby. Among the couples she interviewed, Walzer found that women were more involved in invisible mental work such as planning activities

like reading "what to expect" books during pregnancy, and in worrying, not only about the baby's well-being but also about being a good mother. Also, women tended to feel ultimately responsible for the baby's well-being. A father may assume that the mother is responsible unless she specifically asks for help and is appreciated for giving that help; the father does not have to ask for help nor for permission to spend time outside of the house because the mother is primarily responsible.

Gender Roles and Marital Well-being

Older research (Bernard, 1982; Fowers, 1991) implied that in the U.S. men benefitted more from marriage than women. More recent research suggests that marital quality/satisfaction as a function of gender is changing (Amato, Johnson, Booth, & Rogers, 2003; Kurdek, 2005). Comparing a 1980 national sample to a 2000 sample, Amato et al. (2003) reported that husbands' greater participation in housework was related to wives' increased marital quality but to a decline in husbands' marital quality. Although women in the 2000 sample still reported more divorce proneness and less happiness than men, the gender difference had decreased compared to the earlier sample. Similarly, Stevens and colleagues (Stevens, Kiger, & Riley, 2001), based on a sample of 156 dual-earning couples (married and cohabitating), found that for women their partner's housework was related to housework satisfaction which, in turn, predicted marital satisfaction. For men, though, their own housework hours negatively predicted housework arrangement satisfaction which then was related to marital satisfaction.

The well-being of married men and women is also related to the context of marriage within a society. Hopcroft and Mc-Laughlin (2012) reported that in societies with high gender equity, children increase women's depression, whereas children may decrease women's depression in societies with lower gender equity and fewer employment opportunities for women. Others (Vanassche, Swicegood, & Matthijs, 2013) have also reported that the effect of marriage and children on well-being varies depending on the cultural context of the marital and family roles. For example, how having a young child affects men's happiness was related to the degree of appreciation of parenthood in the society. On the other hand, the presence of older children was associated with decreased happiness for men as well as women, regardless of the society's appreciation of parenting.

Present Study: Gender Roles and Marital Attitudes

How do college students today perceive desirable roles in marriage? Deutsch, Kokot, and Binder (2007) asked women attending a selective New England college to indicate the likelihood of different kinds of egalitarian and non-egalitarian families in their future lives. These women rated two of the three egalitarian scenarios as most likely.

The current study was designed to replicate and extend this research, using a sample that included both women and men who were from a Central Texas public university, rather than from a selective liberal arts college in New England. In addition, frequently used assessments of sexism and gender role attitudes were given to see how they related to specific preferences for family type. Also, the Deutsch et al. (2007) research did not include options for being single, with and without children, so these options were included as well. Current attitudes were pre-

dicted to reflect both traditional and egalitarian views related to marriage, with gendered attitudes towards marriage and childcare related to broader measures of sexism and traditional gender role attitudes.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample of Texas State students (106 females, 38 males) from a teaching theater section of Psychology of Human Sexuality class completed an online Qualtrics survey as an extra credit option during the Fall 2013 semester. Over 90% of the sample was 25 years of age or younger (92%) and indicated that their socioeconomic status was lower-middle, middle, or upper-middle class (95%). Regarding ethnicity, 35% were Hispanic, 50% Caucasian, 10% Black/African-American, and 1% Asian, with 4% identifying with a different ethnicity.

Materials and Procedure

Participants completed an online Qualtrics survey at their leisure. The survey contained demographic items, nine items assessing attitudes toward egalitarian/traditional marriage (adapted from Deutsch et al., 2007), nine items assessing gendered attitudes related to childrearing responsibilities (adapted from Gere & Helwig, 2012), the 13-item Social Roles Questionnaire (Baber & Tucker, 2006), and the 22-item Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001). For consistency, all items except the attitudes toward egalitarian/traditional marriage were rated using a five-point scale that ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree"; the marriage option items used end points of "very unlikely" to "very likely."

The section of the questionnaire measuring attitudes towards egalitarian/traditional marriage contained items from Deutsch, et al. (2007) assessing likelihood of a home-centered egalitarian scenario ("My partner and I will both scale back on our work [e.g., work part-time, take time off] while raising children. We will equally divide household tasks and childcare."), a balanced egalitarian scenario (both work full-time, both involved in housework/childcare), a career/job-centered egalitarian scenario (relying on outside help with housework/childcare), and three unequal division of labor scenarios. In addition, three items were added for the possibilities of marrying but not having children, having children and not marrying, and neither marrying nor having children.

Four of the nine items assessing childrearing responsibilities were taken from Gere and Helwig (2012); three were added to operationalize Walzer's (1996) mental labor and worry about the child ("It is just natural for a mother to worry more about children than a father."); and two more were added related to jobs/financial responsibility ("Whichever parent has the least income should quit his or her job to stay home with infants and young children."). Six of these nine items assessed egalitarian attitudes ("If the mother and father both work full-time, the father should be as responsible as the mother for scheduling babysitters and making doctor's appointments"; Cronbach's alpha = .63) while three items assessed traditional childrearing values ("The wife should have primary responsibility for taking care of the home and children"; Cronbach's alpha = .64).

The Social Roles Questionnaire (Baber & Tucker, 2006) contains five items measuring gender transcendent attitudes ("People should be treated the same regardless of their sex"; Cronbach's alpha = .71), and

eight items assessing gender-linked or tradi-tional attitudes ("Girls should be protected and watched over more than boys"; Cron-bach's alpha = .78). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001) measures both hostile ("Most women interpret inno-cent remarks or acts as being sexist.") and benevolent ("In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.") sexism; Cronbach's alphas were .91 and .88, respectively.

Results

Table 1 shows frequencies of likelihood of future types of marriage/role sharing op-tions by sex and for all participants. Partici-pants rated the balanced egalitarian marriage as most likely; 51% of participants rated both spouses working full-time/dividing childcare equally as "likely"/"very likely." The two items considered most unlikely were the items in-volving not marrying/having a partner with or without children; three quarters of the sample rated these options as "very unlikely," with approximately ten percent additionally rating these items as "unlikely."

Although women were more likely than men to agree with taking time off or working part-time when children were young while their partner worked full-time (χ^2=11.22, p<.0l), 33% of the women rated this "very unlikely" or "unlikely" (although 42% rated it "very likely" or "likely"). For the compan-ion item, men, compared to women, were more likely to agree with working full-time while their partner assumed primary child-care/household responsibilities (χ^2=13.36, p<.00l); however, 46% of the men (and 76% of the women) rated this item as "very unlikely" or "unlikely." Figures 1 and 2 il-lustrate these results. No significant gender comparisons were found on the frequencies for any of the other marriage options.

Males and females were compared on be-nevolent sexism, hostile sexism, gender tran-scendent attitudes, gender linked attitudes, traditional childcare attitudes, and egalitar-ian childcare attitudes. Only one of the six t-tests were significant; females agreed more than males, $t(140) = -2.03$, p<.05, Cohen's d = -0.39, with traditional childcare atti-tudes. Correlation coefficients were comput-ed among these six variables as well and are shown in Table 2.

Forward regressions were also performed on the nine ratings of likelihood of future marriage/role sharing options with six de-pendent variables (benevolent sexism, hos-tile sexism, gender transcendent attitudes, gender linked attitudes, traditional chil-drearing attitudes, and egalitarian childrear-ing attitudes). Six of these nine models had significant predictors. Related statistics are shown in Table 3.

Discussion

Clearly the majority of the students in the present survey intend to marry or have a partner, with approximately 85% indicating that the options without marrying/having a partner were "unlikely" or "very unlike-ly." Similarly, Copen, Daniels, Vespa, and Mosher (2012), based on 2006-2010 data from the National Survey of Family Growth, reported that 84% of their sample of women (78% of men) had experienced a first mar-riage by age 44. Although more people were cohabitating and marrying later compared to 1982 data, the clear majority had married at least once by 44 years of age.

Even though marriage is still important to many, the nature of marriage is changing, becoming more inclusive with less specified gender roles. Slightly over half of the sample indicated that a balanced egalitarian mar-

Table 1

Frequency of Participants' Likelihood for Future Marriage/Role Sharing Items

Marriage Items	Participants	Frequency of Ratings (%)			χ^2
		Very Unlikely/ Unlikely	Neutral	Very Likely/ Likely	
My partner and I will both scale back on our work (e.g., work part-time, take time off) while raising children. We will equally divide household tasks and childcare.	Women	39 (37%)	31 (30%)	35 (33%)	1.25
	Men	10 (27%)	13 (35%)	14 (38%)	
	Both	49 (35%)	44 (31%)	49 (35%)	
My partner and I will work full-time while raising children. We will try to arrange our schedules to allow us to balance work with household tasks and childcare, which we will divide equally.	Women	21 (20%)	28 (27%)	56 (53%)	1.26
	Men	10 (27%)	11 (30%)	16 (43%)	
	Both	31 (22%)	39 (28%)	72 (51%)	
My partner and I will work full-time while raising children; we will rely on hired outside help for household tasks and childcare. My partner and I will equally divide the remaining household tasks and childcare.	Women	69 (66%)	14 (14%)	21 (20%)	1.83
	Men	24 (65%)	8 (22%)	5 (14%)	
	Both	93 (66%)	22 (16%)	26 (18%)	
My partner and I will work full-time while raising children, but I will likely assume the majority of household tasks and childcare.	Women	44 (43%)	24 (23%)	35 (34%)	2.13
	Men	20 (54%)	9 (24%)	8 (22%)	
	Both	64 (46%)	33 (24%)	43 (31%)	
I will take time off from work or work part-time (while my partner works full-time) when my children are young; I will assume the majority of household responsibilities.	Women	35 (33%)	26 (25%)	44 (42%)	11.22*
	Men	23 (64%)	7 (19%)	6 (17%)	
	Both	58 (41%)	33 (23%)	50 (36%)	
I will work full-time while raising children, while my partner assumes the majority of household tasks and childcare.	Women	80 (76%)	18 (17%)	7 (7%)	13. 36**
	Men	17 (46%)	11 (30%)	9 (24%)	
	Both	97 (68%)	29 (20%)	16 (11%)	
I will marry/have a partner, but I will not have children.	Women	79 (76%)	15 (14%)	10 (10%)	3.56
	Men	24 (65%)	5 (14%)	8 (22%)	
	Both	103 (73%)	20 (14%)	18 (13%)	

I will have children but will not marry/have a partner	Women	87 (85%)	12 (12%)	4 (4%)	1.28
	Men	33 (89%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	
	Both	120 (86%)	14 (10%)	6 (4%)	
I will not marry/have a partner or have children.	Women	93 (89%)	8 (8%)	4 (4%)	4.40
	Men	29 (78%)	3 (8%)	5 (14%)	
	Both	122 (86%)	11 (8%)	9 (6%)	

Note: Because of small cell sizes in chi square analyses, the "very unlikely" and "unlikely" categories were combined as were the "likely" and "very likely" categories.

*$p \leq$ .01.

**$p \leq$ .001.

riage, involving both individuals employed full-time and sharing housework/childcare, was likely or very likely for them. Deutsch et al. (2007) also reported that their sample of women from an elite school rated two of the egalitarian options as more likely than other scenarios. These data considered together suggest that college women from diverse samples are moving toward a more egalitarian perspective.

However, over 40% of the women indicated it was likely or very likely that they work part-time or take time off work when children were young. Since 46% of the men rated working full-time while their partner assumed household responsibilities as very unlikely or unlikely, one might wonder about the potential for marital conflict related to some women planning to take time off and, in some cases, men being unwilling to assume full wage-earning responsibility.

Regardless, clearly some strong remnants of traditional values are present in this sample. Traditional assumptions about childcare predicted the likelihood of the second shift (working full-time and still assuming childcare responsibilities) and taking time off or working part-time when children were young. Gender transcendence negatively predicted the option of working full-time while one's partner held primary household responsibilities. Additionally, benevolent sexism was negatively related to marrying but not having children and positively related to traditional childcare attitudes as well as to the gender linked traditional role items. These results are in accord with Deutsch et al.'s (2007) finding that priority given to children's needs over career requirements was negatively related to several egalitarian scenarios in their sample of women from a selective college.

Although one impression from such results could be that career-oriented women do not value children as highly as less career-oriented women, we do not typically make such assumptions about men and their careers. Furthermore, in the current sample egalitarian childcare attitudes predicted the likelihood of the child-centered egalitarian option, both parents cutting back on work and rearing children, suggesting that caring for children can be incorporated into either traditional or egalitarian childcare attitudes.

The choices college students make as they move into the adulthood roles of wage

Figure 1

Percentage of male/female responses on the item "I will take time off from work or work part-time)
when my children are young; I will assume the majority of household responsibilities."
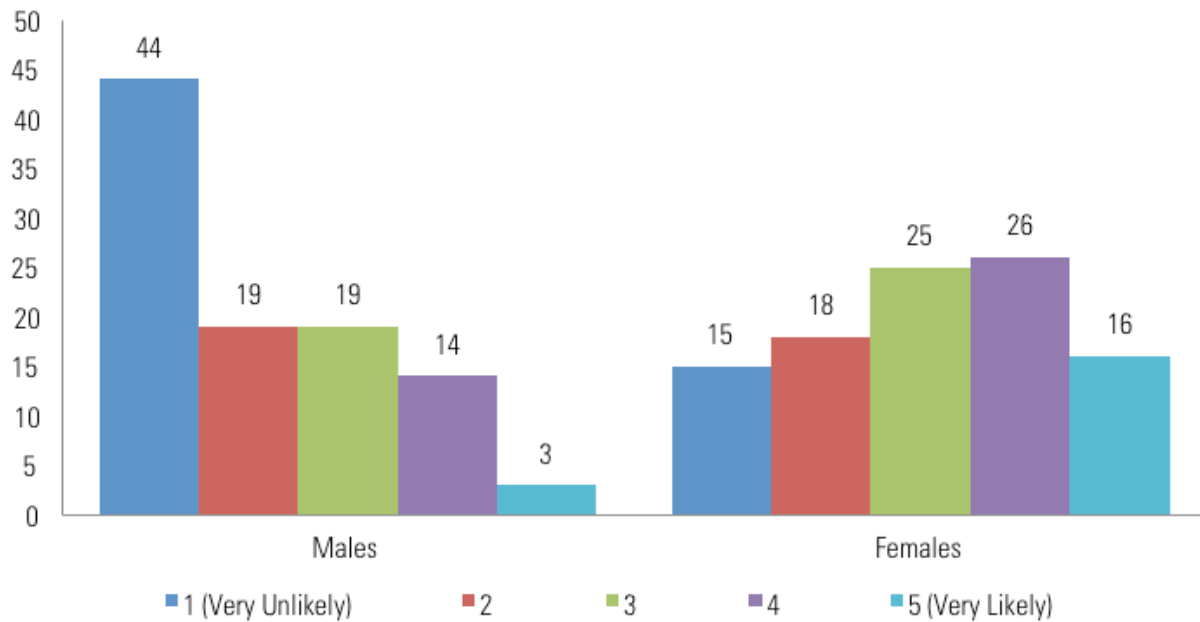
Figure 2

Percentage of male/female responses on the item "I will work full-time while raising children
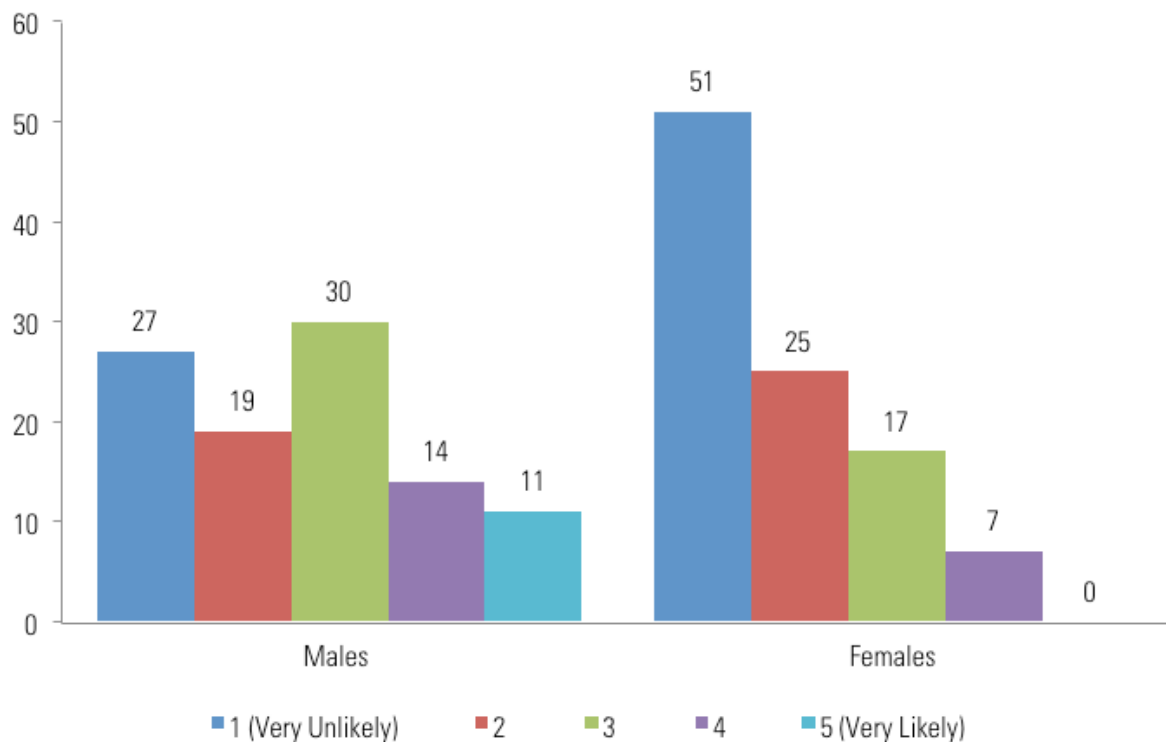while my partner assumes the majority of household tasks."

Table 2

Pearson Correlations among Measures of Sexism, General Gender Role Attitudes, and Childcare Attitudes

Scale	BEN	HOS	GT	GL	TCC
Benevolent Sexism (BEN)					
Hostile Sexism (HOS)	.34***				
Gender Transcendence (GT)	-.28**	-.26**			
Gender Linked (GL)	.53***	.62***	-.40***		
Traditional Childcare (TCC)	.39***	.37***	-.29**	.52***	
Egalitarian Childcare (ECC)	-.12	-.23**	.65***	-.29**	-.17*

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

earners, spouses, and parents may ultimately impact their happiness. Wilkie, Ferree, and Ratcliff (1998) found that marital satisfaction was related to perceptions of fairness in the division of household labor. Moreover, one's gender roles and perceptions of equity intersect in complex ways related to relationship satisfaction (Donaghue & Fallon, 2003). Particularly for those low in gender role stereotyping, perceived equity in the relationship predicted relationship satisfaction.

As gender roles change, the power distribution within a marriage may change. In the

Table 3

Forward Regression Statistics for Predicting Likelihood of Six Marriage Attitude Items

Attitude Item	Adjusted r^2	Model F(df)	Predictor(s), β
Both work full-time but I assume majority of housework, childcare	.05	7.29** (1,120)	Traditional care, .24
Both scale back while raising children	.03	5.22* (1,121)	Egalitarian care, .20
Take time off or part-time, partner full-time	.15	11.42*** (2,120)	Participant sex, .31 Traditional care, .21
Work full-time, partner assumes majority of childcare	.17	13.57*** (2, 120)	Participant sex, -.39 Gender transcendence, -.21
Marry/have partner, no children	.05	7.24** (1,121)	Benevolent sexism, -.24
Not marry/have partner, no children	.04	5.42* (1,121)	Participant sex, -.21

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

past, men's earning money meant that they also had control over it (Tichenor, 2005). With women entering the labor force in greater numbers and earning higher comparative salaries, they may gain more power within relationships. However, Tichenor, based on interviews with 22 nontraditional couples in which women earned a minimum of 50% more than their husbands, noted that couples used a variety of subtle techniques to preserve men's power and breadwinner identity in the relationship.

Other societal changes may also impact gender roles within marriage. Examples include changing attitudes toward religion and increasing levels of education. Religion may impact the perceived role of women in the family and society in a variety of ways (Marshall, 2010). Also, religious beliefs and educational levels may be related to beliefs about biologically-based or divinely sanctioned gender roles; if one spouse holds beliefs related to innate gender roles, this may impact the partner and the relationship (Mirowsky & Ross, 1987). As some religious views become more liberal and as educational levels increase, men and women may move towards more egalitarian relationships. How educational levels impact marriage can be complex, though. For example, Kalmijn (2013), in a study of 25 countries in Europe, reported that in more traditional countries women with more education were less likely to be married whereas the reverse was true in more egalitarian countries.

As women and men address issues of fairness in their individual and shared family roles, discussion of disparate levels of cleanliness (how important to each is dusting, folding clothes a certain way, leaving dirty dishes in the sink) may become more common. Should the person with higher standards of cleanliness do more of it? Also, what about how much a person likes/dislikes housecleaning? Some research (Dempsey, 2001; Kroska, 2003; Ogletree, Worthen, Turner, & Vickers, 2006; Spitze & Loscocco, 2000) has found that men like housecleaning more than do women. Should the person who has a greater liking of housecleaning do more of it? Another gender-related factor is the "wage gap" (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). Should the person who makes more money have fewer household responsibilities, even if both are working 40-hour weeks?

These complex questions, as well as their related gendered expectations, will likely be addressed by future families. Helping individuals and couples become more aware of subtle gendered socialization influences may also be important. Even commercials portraying men's ineptitude in performance of household chores may subtlety convey the attitude that only women can correctly do these tasks (Scharrer, Kim, Lin, & Liu, 2006). Considering Walzer's (1996) mental labor, including women's greater worrying, planning, and feelings of ultimate responsibility for the baby, may also be important in helping partners address feelings of inequality related to childcare.

Limitations of the research here should be noted. The sample only included a small number of men. In addition, since the sample was a convenience sample, it may not be representative of college students at the university or in the state of Texas. Additional samples with more male representation and from additional populations that include more diversity in age and education are needed to confirm the marriage-related preferences and correlates observed here.

The data here suggest that indeed marriages are changing, and in general this is good news for women. Rather than "his" and "hers" marriages related to gendered expectations, marriages are becoming more egalitarian. Not only are these changes reflected

in the responses of students in this sample, but also in other attitudinal data as well as data regarding the roles of women and men in marriage. Although women's roles have expanded faster than men's roles, resulting in the second shift for many women as they came home after work to additional household responsibilities unequally shared, this is changing now. Communication that includes partners discussing expectations related to employment and household chores, questioning traditional assumptions, and thinking "outside the box" when problem solving may become increasingly important for the well-being of men and women in marriages of the future ■

Address correspondence to: Shirley M. Ogletree, Department of Pyschology, Texas State University. Tel: 512.245.3156. Website: http://www.psych.txstate.edu

References

Amato, P. R., Johnson, D. R., Booth, A., & Rogers, S. J. (2003). Continuity and change in marital quality between 1980 and 2000. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 65,* 1-22.

Baber, K. M., & Tucker, C. J. (2006). The Social Roles Questionnaire: A new approach to measuring attitudes toward gender. Sex Roles, 54, 459-467.

Bernard, J. S. (1982). *The future of marriage.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bianchi, S. M., & Milkie, M. A. (2010). Work and family research in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 72,* 705-725.

Blakemore, J. E., Lawton, C. A., & Vartanian, L. R. (2005). I can't wait to get married: Gender differences in drive to marry. *Sex Roles, 53,* 327-335.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, (2012, January 10). *The Editor's Desk*, Women's earnings as a percent of men's in 2010 Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2012/ted_20120110.htm

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2013a). Labor force statistics from the current population survey. Household data, annual averages, 2. Employment status of the civilian noninstitutional population 16 years and over by sex, 1972 to date. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat02.htm

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2013b). Labor force statistics from the current population survey, Household data, annual averages, 23. Persons at work by occupation, sex, and usual full- or part-time status. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat23.htm

Copen, C.E., Daniels, K., Vespa, J., Mosher, W. D. (2012, March 22). First marriages in the United States: Data from the 2006-2010 National Survey of Family Growth, Report 49 from the National Health Statistics Report, Retrieved from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nhsr/nhsr049.pdf

Dempsey, K. C. (2001). Feelings about housework: Understanding gender differences. *Journal of Family Studies, 7,* 141-159.

Deutsch, F. M., Kokot, A. P., & Binder, K. S. (2007). College women's plans for different types of egalitarian marriages. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 69,* 916-929.

Donaghue, N., & Fallon, B. J. (2003). Gender-role self-stereotyping and the relationship between equity and satisfaction in close relationships. *Sex Roles, 48,* 217-229.

Fowers, B. J. (1991). His and her marriage: A multivariate study of gender and marital satisfaction. *Sex Roles, 24,* 209-221.

Gere, J., & Helwig, C. C. (2012). Young adults' attitudes and reasoning about gender roles in the family context. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 36,* 301-313.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist, 56,* 109-118.

Hartwell, L., Erchull, M., & Liss, M. (2014). Desire for marriage and children: A comparison of feminist and non-feminist women. *Gender Issues, 31,* 102-122.

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift.* New York: Viking Press.

Hopcroft, R. L., & McLaughlin, J. (2012). Why is the sex gap in feelings of depression wider in high gender equity countries? The effect of children on the psychological well-being of men and women. *Social Science Research, 41,* 501-513.

Kalmijn, M. (2013). The educational gradient in marriage: A comparison of 25 European countries. *Demography, 50,* 1499-1520.

Kroska, A. (2003). Investigating gender differences in the meaning of household chores and childcare. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 65,* 456-473.

Kurdek, L. A. (2005). Gender and marital satisfaction early in marriage: A growth curve approach. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67,* 68-84.

Marshall, K. (2010). Development, religion, and women's roles in contemporary societies. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 8,* 35-42.

Mirowsky, J. & Ross, C. (1987). Belief in innate sex roles: Sex stratification versus interpersonal influence in marriage. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 49,* 527-540.

Ogletree, S. M., Worthen, J. B., Turner, G. M., & Vickers, V. (2006). Developing an Attitudes toward Housecleaning Scale: Gender Comparisons and Counseling Applications. *The Family Journal, 14,* 400-407.

Rogers S. J., & Amato, P. R. (2000). Have changes in gender relations affected marital quality? *Social Forces, 79,* 731-753.

Scharrer, E., Kim, D. D., Lin, K., & Liu, Z. (2006). Working hard or hardly working? Gender, humor, and the performance of domestic chores in television commercials. *Mass Communication & Society, 9,* 215-238.

Spitze, G., & Loscocco, K. A. (2000). The labor of Sisyphus? Women's and men's reactions to housework. *Social Science Quarterly, 81,* 1087-1100.

Stevens, D., Kiger, G., & Riley, P. J. (2001). Working hard and hardly working: Domestic labor and marital satisfaction among dual-earner couples. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 63,* 514-526.

Tichenor, V. 2005. Maintaining men's dominance: Negotiating identity and power when she earns more. *Sex Roles, 53,* 191-205.

Vanassche, S., Swicegood, G., & Matthijs, K. (2013). Marriage and children as a key to happiness? Cross-national differences in the effects of Marital Status and children on well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 14,* 501-524.

Walzer, S. (1996). Thinking about the baby: Gender and divisions of infant care. *Social Problems, 43,* 219-234.

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

Contributors

Lindsay Deveau

Lindsay Deveau is a Ph.D. student in criminal justice at Texas State University. She holds bachelor's degrees in psychology and sociology from Barry University. Additionally, she holds a master's degree in criminal justice from the University of Massachusetts Lowell. Her research interests include different aspects of domestic violence and intimate partner violence. She plans on working with and researching domestic violence in the future. Email: lnd12@txstate.edu

Mia Moody-Ramirez

Dr. Mia Moody-Ramirez is an associate professor and director of the graduate program in Journalism, Public Relations and New Media at Baylor University. She is the co-author of *The Obamas and Mass Media: Race, Gender, Religion, and Politics* with Dr. Jannette Dates (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). She teaches public relations and media research theory and methods courses. She specializes in new media portrayals of women and people of color. Email: Mia_Moody@baylor.edu

Hideki Morooka

Hideki Morooka is an associate professor of sociology at Fayetteville State University in Fayetteville, North Carolina. The fields of his research interest include internal and international migration, immigrant adaptation, race and ethnicity, and health. Email: hmorooka@uncfsu.edu

Shirley Ogletree

Dr. Shirley Ogletree received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1976 in developmental psychology and has been a professor at Texas State University since 1977. Her research interests include social development, gender roles, media, and interpersonal judgments. Dr. Ogletree has published in a variety of journals, including *Computers in Human Behavior, Psychological Reports, Gender Issues, Sex Roles*, and *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Email: so01@txstate.edu

Desireé Vega

Dr. Desireé Vega is an assistant professor in the School Psychology Program at Texas State University. She earned her B.A. in psychology from Binghamton University and both her M.A. and Ph.D. in School Psychology at The Ohio State University. Dr. Vega's research and teaching interests focus on access to mental health services among underserved populations, issues affecting the academic success of African American and Latino students, the assessment of culturally and linguistically diverse students, and the preparation of bilingual school psychologists. Email: d_v76@txstate.edu

Jocelyn Wikle

Jocelyn Wikle is an instructor for Brigham Young University-Idaho. She holds a bachelor's degree in economics and music from Brigham Young University, as well as a master's degree and doctorate in economics from the University of Texas. She researches the roles of gender and age in skill development, work, time use, and taxation. She is a research grant recipient from the Center for Population Economics at the University of Chicago. Email: wiklej@byui.edu