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Informed by socio-ecological and dyadic approaches to understanding marriage, the current study examined the patterning of gender-typed attributes in the relationships of 120 Mexican immigrant couples and their links with spouses' reports of marital satisfaction. Results from previous studies suggest that marital satisfaction is positively predicted by spouses' gendertyped attributes (i.e. femininity, androgyny) as well as within-couple similarity in gender-typed attributes (e.g., Antill, 1983; Gaunt, 2006; Zammichieli, Gilroy, & Sherman, 1988). However, studies of gender-typed attributes have rarely been expanded beyond White and middle-class samples and only scarcely studied in a dyadic context. The lack of research on the links between spouses' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction among non-White or immigrant couples is problematic given the unique socio-ecological niches these couples often inhabit—contexts that may place demands on spouses that challenge gendered and culturally bound notions of masculinity and femininity (Helms, 2013; Helms, Supple, & Proulx, 2011). Latent profile analysis (LPA) was used to identify a typology of couples based on spouses' self-reported masculine and feminine attributes. Three couple profiles were identified base on the LPA: (a) Androgynous Couples, (b) Undifferentiated Couples, and (c) Mismatched Couples. Results from a mixed model ANCOVA showed profile differences in couples' marital satisfaction, suggesting that spouses in the Undifferentiated Profile were the least satisfied. Findings challenge stereotypical and patriarchal depictions of Latino family relationships and propose a more complex understanding of Mexican-origin spouses' gender-typed attributes and their link with marital quality than has yet been portrayed in the literature.

GENDER-TYPED ATTRIBUTES AND MARITAL SATISFACTION IN MEXICAN IMMIGRANT COUPLES: A LATENT PROFILE APPROACH

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The association between personality and marital satisfaction has long been of interest to relationship researchers. Previous research, nested in evolutionary and assortative mating theoretical perspectives, demonstrated that specific personality traits, such as emotional stability, were associated with marital success and happiness (Burchinal, Hawkes, & Gardner, 1957; Luckey, 1964; Terman & Buttenwieser, 1935). During the 1970's, burgeoning interest in potentially gendered dimensions of personality emerged (Bem, 1974, Constantinople, 1973; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975), and scholars expanded their focus to include the examination of the links between gendertyped personality traits and marital satisfaction. Findings from this literature supported the notion that individuals with partners similar to themselves in personal attributes tend to report higher levels of marital satisfaction (Blum, & Mehrabian, 1999; Nemechek & Olson, 1999; O'Rourke et al., 2011); this association was upheld for both general and gendered dimensions of personality. Specific to gendered dimensions of personal attributes are results suggesting that marital satisfaction is positively predicted by spouses' gender-typed attributes (i.e. femininity, androgyny) as well as within-couple similarity in spouses' gender-typed attributes (Antill, 1983; Gaunt, 2006; Zammichieli et al., 1988).

Although there is a relatively large body of research addressing the associations between spouses' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction, this work is limited in its reliance on primarily variable-oriented approaches applied to predominantly White, middle-class samples of married individuals or college student dating partners in romantic relationships. Whereas the theoretical underpinnings of this literature align with contemporary pattern analytic and dyadic approaches to the study of relationships, much of the empirical studies that exist are characterized by dated statistical techniques and less than optimal methodological approaches for studying couples. Due to these limitations, most prior studies failed to fully explore the variety of ways in which husbands and wives gender-typed attributes may be configured within couples and how such configurations might be linked to both spouses' marital satisfaction. Furthermore, an over-reliance on relatively homogeneous samples limits the generalizability of existing research beyond the White and middle class (Antill, 1983; Bradbury, Campbell, & Fincham, 1995; Helms et al., 2006, Zammichieli, Gilroy, & Sherman, 1988). Indeed, the lack of research on the links between spouses' personal attributes and marital satisfaction among non-White and/or immigrant couples is problematic given the unique socio-ecological niches these couples often inhabit—contexts that place demands on spouses that are often gendered and culturally bound (Helms, 2013; Helms, Supple, & Proulx, 2011).

The current study sought to extend the literature through an examination of the within-couple patterning of Mexican immigrant husbands' and wives' gender-typed attributes and their association with both spouses' reports of marital satisfaction. This research expands on prior work by heeding suggestions raised by contemporary scholars

who advocate for the application of dyadic and pattern-analytic approaches as preferable over earlier variable-centered, individual approaches to more fully capture the inherent complexities in spouses' gender-typed attributes and their links to marital satisfaction (Beach et al., 2003; Bergman et al. 2000; Helms, Supple, & Proulx, 2011; Laursen & Hoff, 2006; O'Brien, 2005; Whiteman & Loken, 2006). Furthermore, this study will be the first to examine this association within a sample of Mexican immigrant couples and will provide a test of earlier theoretical assertions about the gendered nature of marital relationships among couples of Mexican origin (Clark, 1959; Lewis, 1961; Madsen, 1973; Rubel, 1966).

Because theoretical assumptions about Mexican-origin spouses as gender-typed have been criticized as superficial (e.g., Cromwell & Ruiz, 1979; Mirandé, 1997), a methodological approach that allows for the possibility of within-group variation in spouses' gendered personality attributes is warranted. The use of latent profile analysis with dyadic marital data allows for the possibility of both within and between couple variation in Mexican immigrant spouses' gender-typed attributes and their links with husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction. In sum, through the application of a dyadic and pattern-analytic approach to the examination of gender-typed attributes among Mexican immigrant couples, findings from this study will provide: 1) a nuanced depiction of spouses' gender-typed attributes within couples via the creation of couple profiles based on husbands' and wives' attributes, 2) an examination of the association between couple profiles and husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction, and 3) a first examination of these research questions with couples of Mexican origin.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIGINS AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Studies of the links between personality traits and marital satisfaction have long dominated the field of marriage and close relationships. The general consensus in the field is that personality characteristics play a key role in romantic relationships, with a multitude of studies consistently linking personal attributes with marital quality and adjustment (e.g., Bradbury, Fincham, & Beach, 2000; Burgess & Wallin, 1953; Huston, 2000; Huston & Houts, 1998; Karney & Bradbury, 1995). Coinciding with the general interest in the links of personality with satisfaction in relationships, gendered attributes, a dimension of personality, has also been of particular interest to researchers in the field of relationship science. Although over the decades there have been several competing hypotheses informing work on the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction, this body of work has generally found that androgynous and highly feminized partners tend to report relatively high levels of marital satisfaction compared to gender-typed partners (e.g., Antill, 1983; Helms et al., 2006, Steiner-Pappalardo & Gurung, 2001).

Early work in this area was rooted in sex role theory (Parsons, 1942; Parsons & Bales, 1955). The concept of sex roles emerged from the pervasive Parsonian functionalism orientation of the 1940's, and was defined as the extent to which specific personality traits were stereotypically linked with biological sex. Initially, this literature

suggested that marriages functioned best when partners fulfilled complementary roles (i.e. breadwinning husband and homemaker wife), and complementary gender-typed attributes aided in the fulfillment of those roles (Parsons, 1942; Parsons & Bales, 1955). Conceptual distinctions between gender and sex, championed by feminist scholars (Oakley, 1972, 1985; Unger, 1979), resulted in contemporary scholars adapting their conceptualization of this construct to prevent assumptions that these gendered attributes are necessarily linked with an individual's biological sex (Deaux, 1985; McGee & Wells, 1982; Pentony, 1980). Subsequently, scholars interested in the links between potentially gendered personality traits and marital satisfaction adopted language that infers that these traits are not biologically based, but rather socially constructed.

Often referred to by contemporary scholars as gender-typed attributes (e.g., Helms et al., 2006) are those personality traits that have been described as masculine or feminine qualities, and sometimes instrumental and expressive attributes, in past work (Parson & Bales, 1955; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975). Based in the earlier sex-role theoretical tradition, attributes such as independence, assertiveness, and dominance were classified as masculine, whereas attributes such as compassion, cheerfulness, and sympathy represented feminine traits (Bem, 1974). Masculine and feminine attributes were initially dichotomized as being mutually exclusive and complementary (Osmond & Thorne, 1993; Terman & Miles, 1936). However, scholars grounded in feminist and gendered schematic processing perspectives challenged the assumption that masculinity and femininity were two ends of a spectrum and criticized the validity of previous measurements operating under that assumption; instead, these scholars proposed that masculinity and femininity were two independent dimensions and that all individuals potentially possess attributes that are masculine and feminine (Constantinople, 1973; Bem, 1974, 1977, 1981). The movement away from this dichotomization was evidenced in several studies showing that men and women possess qualities that were both masculine and feminine (Bem, 1974, Constantinople, 1973; Seyfried & Hendrick, 1973; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975).

In addition to masculine and feminine attributes, the 1970's ushered in an interest in psychological androgyny, or the extent to which individuals possess both masculine and feminine attributes. The BEM Sex Role inventory was a measurement tool developed in 1974 by Sandra Bem to measure psychological androgyny. Bem (1974) had college students report attributes they believed to be stereotypically masculine or stereotypically feminine and then assessed the extent to which each of these stereotypical attributes was applicable to their personality. This scale provided a measure aligning with the conceptual distinction of masculinity and femininity as separate constructs rather than opposite sides of a continuum. Bem (1977) described four classifications of individuals based on their gender-typed attributes. Androgynous individuals reported relatively higher levels (scores above the median) of both femininity and masculinity, whereas undifferentiated individuals reported relatively lower levels (scores below the median) of both masculinity and femininity. Masculine-typed individuals reported higher levels of masculinity and lower levels of femininity, whereas feminine-typed individuals reported higher levels of femininity and lower levels of masculinity (Bem, 1977; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975). Although these classifications make it possible for women

and men to be cross gender-typed (e.g. masculine-typed women and feminine-typed men), these classifications were often ignored in the early literature, potentially due to the lack of individuals who were categorized into these classifications. Relatedly, when examined, congruence between gender-typed attributes and biological sex was found to be associated with higher levels of personal adjustment (O'Heron & Orlofsky, 1990). Following on the link between gender-typed attributes and personal adjustment, researchers then began to examine the links between gender-typed attributes and a variety of marital quality indicators.

Several competing hypotheses exist that posit differential associations between spouses' gender-typed attributes and marital quality. They are the similarity, complementarity, androgyny, instrumental, and expressive hypotheses. There is research that supports each of these hypotheses, and some, specifically the complementarity hypothesis have been consistently contradicted.

Similarity Hypothesis

Plato, an early philosopher who lived during the 4th and 5th centuries BCE, postulated through his Law of Affinity that like attracts like. Although he was not theorizing about the nature of romantic relationships, this principle was adapted by other philosophers and scientists to explain various evolutionary and chemical processes, and centuries later by researchers to examine processes such as attraction, partner selection, and relationship quality. Assortative mating theories developed as a mechanism to explain how and why partners often are attracted to, date, and marry similar individuals. Originally assortative mating studies focused on the likelihood of individuals partnering

with people with similar physical and demographic attributes (for a review, see Buss, 1985; Vandenberg, 1972). However in the late 1920's and 1930's, studies were expanded to include psychological similarity as well (Crook 1937; Terman & Buttenwieser, 1935a; Terman & Buttenwieser, 1935b). Terman & Buttenwieser further expanded the study of personality in romantic relationships by suggesting that similarity in specific personality traits was linked with marital happiness and success. The similarity hypothesis, developed from these early theories of mate selection, suggests that couples who are more similar to each other will experience higher levels of marital quality and adjustment than less similar couples.

The positive association between similarity in personal attributes and marital satisfaction has been consistently demonstrated (Blum, & Mehrabian, 1999; Nemechek & Olson, 1999; O'Rourke et al., 2011). During the 1970's research on personality was expanded by feminists, such as Sandra Bem and Judith Laws, to examine the gendered dimensions of personality and the links of these gender-typed attributes with relationship and marital outcomes such as marital satisfaction. Drawing from the similarity hypothesis, scholars proposed that couple congruence, as it relates to personality and specifically, gender-typed attributes, may be more predictive of marital satisfaction than may be the case for dissimilar or complementary couples. Recent research on gender-typed attributes has supported the similarity hypothesis in examinations of marital quality. In her study of Jewish Israeli couples, Gaunt (2006) found that spouses' similarity in gender–typed attributes (i.e. masculinity and femininity) was positively linked with marital satisfaction and negatively linked with megative marital affect.

Additional support for the similarity hypothesis is found in studies that have shown that incongruence (i.e., dissimilarity) in gender-typed attributes may have negative implications for marital satisfaction (Zammichieli et al., 1988)

Complementarity Hypothesis

The complementarity hypothesis suggests that individuals with dissimilar needs will be attracted to each because relationships form and function best when partners fulfill complementary needs (Winch, 1955a, 1955b, 1958, 1967; Winch, Ktsanes, & Ktsanes, 1954). Guided by this perspective, Kstsanes (1955), analyzed a sample of recently married, middle-class, college-aged couples and found that individuals were more likely to be paired with psychologically dissimilar partners than similar partners. In an examination of the attraction and gendered dimensions of personality at the attitudinal level in undergraduate strangers, Seyfried and Hendrick (1973) found only partial support for complementarity in that women were more attracted to masculine men, but men were equally attracted to masculine and feminine women. Arguing for a broader focus on the link between gender-typed attributes and marital outcomes as a more viable test of Winch's theory, Rosow (1957) suggested that the degree of complementarity in married couples would be positively associated with marital adjustment. In this way, the complementary hypothesis proposed a conventional view of marriage in that husbands and wives who possessed complementary rather than similar gender-typed attributes (e.g. masculine husbands and feminine wives) were believed to experience optimal marital quality. However, one criticism of this perspective was that gender-typed couples were only thought of as functioning best when the gender-typed individual fulfilled the role of

his or her biological sex (e.g. the husband fulfills the masculine role and the wife fulfills the feminine role as opposed to the reverse) (Laws, 1979; Osmond & Thorne, 1993).

Some early research provided support, albeit limited, for the theory of complementarity among marital partners. One study that has been cited in support of this hypothesis was conducted by Schellenberg and Bee (1960) using a sample of 64 recently married, and 36 dating or engaged, White, middle-class couples. In reporting their findings, Schellenberg and Bee (1960) argued that, although non-significant, correlational analyses found that men and women tended to be complementary in regards to their levels of nurturance and succorance, and dominance and deference and were in the direction hypothesized by the complementary needs theory. Notably, these correlational analyses were non-significant, and additional early work with young adult married and engaged couples challenged the complementarity perspective and suggested that "mates neither perceive one another as opposite nor are they opposite" (Urdy, 1963, p. 287). In sum, early work presented in support of the complementary hypothesis was primarily descriptive in that the focus was on the prevalence of complementary couples and not how these couple configurations linked with relationship variables, although the links were theorized.

The majority of research examining or testing the links between gender-typed attributes and marital quality contradicts the complementarity perspective (Bentler & Newcomb, 1978; Blazer, 1963; Tharp, 1962, White & Hatcher, 1984). In the only pattern-analytic, dyadic examination of spouses' gender-typed attributes to date, Helms et al. (2006) identified a group of complementary gender-typed couples. These couples

reported lower levels of marital satisfaction than the any other couple type. An exception to this general pattern of findings is evidenced in a recent study of Bengali couples (Dasgupta & Basu, 2011). Results showed that masculinity was positively associated with marital quality for husbands, and femininity was positively associated with marital quality for wives. Dasgupta and Basu explained this finding within a cultural context and noted that due to the collectivist orientation of the individuals in their sample, the findings from previous studies contradicting the complementarity hypothesis were not applicable to their sample. The authors suggested that cultural affiliation may play a role in the association between patterns of couples' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction. The majority of research with middle-class, White samples, however, provides evidence that refutes the complementarity hypothesis.

Androgyny Hypothesis

In contrast to the complementarity hypothesis, the androgyny hypothesis posits that couples in which both spouses are high on masculine and feminine attributes will experience the highest levels of marital quality. The androgyny hypothesis is further distinguished from the similarity hypothesis in that the androgyny hypothesis suggests marital quality is enhanced when spouses possess high levels of both masculine and feminine attributes as opposed to merely being similar across these traits. Early work on androgyny suggested that androgynous orientations may be particularly adaptive relative to masculine and feminine orientations. Because individuals with these orientations are able to draw from the strengths of both masculine and feminine capacities, theoretically they are less constrained and more flexible in social interactions (Bem, 1974; Deaux,

1976; Kaplan & Sedney, 1980). Based on earlier theorizing about the implications of androgyny, Ickes (1981) developed a model postulating the influence of gender-typed attributes on dyadic interactions specifically. He proposed that androgynous individuals are more capable of initiating and maintaining satisfying relationships because they are able to draw from their instrumental capacities to engage in interactions and from expressive capacities to promote "effective and situationally appropriate responses to particular social situations" (p. 99).

Initial empirical support for the theory (Ickes & Barnes, 1978; Ickes et al., 1979) was limited by the nature of the studies which included "only the initial, short-term, interactions of pairs of strangers" (Ickes, 1985, p. 195). However, other studies that utilized marital dyads or individuals in longer-term relationships, found support for the androgyny hypothesis. For example, a study by Shaver, Pullis, and Olds (1980) found that androgynous women reported higher levels of satisfaction with their sex-lives and intimate relationships when partnered with androgynous men than did feminine women who were partnered with masculine men. In addition, Zammichieli, Gilroy, and Sherman (1988) found that androgynous couples reported greater marital satisfaction than couples who were incongruent in their gender-typed attributes. More recently, results from a longitudinal, dyadic study found that androgynous couples generally reported higher levels of marital quality over time than gender-typed (complementary) couples (Helms et al., 2006). It should be noted that because androgynous couples are inherently similar in their gender-typed attributes, results supporting the androgyny hypothesis also provide partial evidence in support of the similarity hypothesis.

Instrumental Hypothesis

The instrumental hypothesis was developed from earlier theorizing and empirical evidence suggesting that masculinity is a key determinant of psychological well-being for both men and women (Adams & Sherer, 1985; Whitley, 1983, 1984). The instrumental hypothesis suggests that marital quality is dependent on the extent to which partners possess stereotypically masculine qualities like assertiveness, self-sufficiency, and independence. Research findings in this area have been mixed, in part, due to the variation in the methodological rigor of studies testing this hypothesis. Whereas most studies in the larger literature on gender-typed attributes and marital quality have been cross-sectional, longitudinal designs have been utilized to test the extent to which spouse's instrumental personality attributes predict marital satisfaction. Findings from these longitudinal studies suggest that masculinity is at least as important as expressivity in predicting marital satisfaction over time. For example, Bradbury, Campbell, and Fincham (1995) found that husbands' instrumentality predicted wives' satisfaction over a 1-year period, finding that "wives' satisfaction declined to the extent that their husband endorsed fewer desirable masculine traits" (p. 328). Baucom & Aiken (1984) found that although femininity was associated with marital satisfaction, masculinity was associated with marital stability in distressed couples. In another study, Sayers and Baucom (1991) observed communication patterns in distressed, married couples and found that higher levels of wives' femininity was associated with higher levels of marital negativity, whereas wives' masculinity was related to shorter durations of negative interactions. The authors explained their findings by suggesting that feminine and masculine gender-typed

attributes may play different roles in distressed versus non-distressed couples. Furthermore, several studies have linked depression with lower levels of masculinity (e.g., Whisman & Jacobson, 1989; Whitley, 1984) and depression with marital discord (e.g., Beach, Sandeen, & O'Leary, 1990), suggesting that higher levels of masculinity may be protective for marriages by lowering the risk of depression (For a review see Baucom & Burnett, 1990). Taken together, the research examining the instrumental hypothesis is complex and evidences mixed findings. Although the research tends to suggest that masculinity is important in spouses' evaluations of marital satisfaction, this link may be more relevant under specific conditions, such as marital distress.

Expressive Hypothesis

In contrast to the instrumental hypothesis, the expressive hypothesis posits that marital satisfaction and quality depends on the extent to which both partners possess stereotypically feminine qualities like sensitivity, understanding, and compassion. This perspective tends to emphasize the importance of femininity to the exclusion of masculinity in predicting marital satisfaction. Research expanding Ickes (1981) theory on the influence of sex-roles on dyadic interaction to include long-term dyadic relationships led to a theoretical revision proposing that the type of relationship is important to consider. In intimate (versus non-intimate) relationships, partner's femininity, or the extent to which partners are emotionally supportive and responsive, is argued to be the key factor predicting satisfaction with the relationship (Antill, 1983; Ickes, 1985; Shaver, Pullis, & Olds, 1980).

Although several findings from their study seem to support the importance of androgyny in wives' evaluations of relationships, Shaver, Pullis, and Olds (1980) also found that women married to feminine men reported generally high levels of relationship satisfaction. Antill's (1983) study found evidence that both men and women were most satisfied in relationships with either androgynous or feminine partners. Although these studies show that androgyny is linked to relationship satisfaction, a closer examination of the findings suggested that it was really the high femininity component of androgyny that accounted for the link with relationship satisfaction. Considerable support has been garnered for the expressivity hypothesis across several decades of research. For example, in their study of distressed and non-distressed married and cohabiting couples, Burger and Jacobson (1979) noted the role femininity plays in communication and problemsolving, finding that positive communication and problem-solving strategies were linked with higher levels of femininity for both men and women. Similarly, research with rural couples (Lamke, 1989) found that partner's expressivity alone predicted marital adjustment for husbands and wives, and additional work with young adult married couples found that "husbands and wives who have expressive personalities are more affectionate, engage in more maintenance, report lower levels of marital conflict, and are more in love and satisfied with their marriage" (p. 143, Huston & Houts, 1998) than less expressive spouses. In one of the few studies to test the expressivity hypothesis with a non-White sample, Mirandé (1997) found that Mexican husbands' self-reported femininity was linked with marital happiness. Although the expressivity hypothesis has generally been supported in the empirical literature, a test of this hypothesis in a sample

of maritally distressed couples showed a positive link between wives' femininity and the amount of marital negativity expressed by spouses during a marital interaction task (Sayers & Baucom, 1981). This particular finding, suggests that wives' femininity may be problematic in the context of marital distress and further underscores the importance of attending to marital contexts in which the links between spouses' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction are embedded.

Gendered-Typed Attributes and Couples of Mexican Origin

With the exception of the Mirandé (1997), Gaunt (2006), and the Dasgupta and Basu (2011) studies, what is notably missing from this body of theoretical and empirical work linking gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction is an understanding of couples who are not White and middle-class. An examination of these links among Mexican immigrant couples is especially relevant because scholars have been theorizing and writing about gender-typed attributes and the implications for marriage among Latinos for decades. Early depictions of Latin American and specifically Mexican families were often based on impressionistic and ethnographic accounts from cultural outsiders whose depictions portrayed highly gender-typed marital relationships with extremely masculinized and dominant husbands and feminized and submissive wives (Clark, 1959; Jones, 1948; Lewis, 1961; Madsen, 1973; Peñalosa, 1968; Rubel, 1966 Stevens, 1973). In contrast, Mirandé (1997) argued that feminine attributes such as emotionality and sensitivity were actually more acceptable for men in Latino cultures compared to Anglo cultural norms. Mirandé further noted that an inadequate understanding of the nuances of the language and culture on the part of early

ethnographers resulted in gross misrepresentations regarding the gendered nature of Latino families.

There are two dominant theoretical perspectives surrounding the cult of masculinity in Latin America. Whereas one view approaches masculinity from a deficit perspective, suggesting that hypermasculinity was a consequence of feelings of inferiority and powerlessness from the Spanish conquest, the other viewpoint suggests machismo was essentially a code of ethics reflecting "a more positive...conception of Mexican culture and national character" (Mirandé, 1997, p. 67). However, "when applied to Mexicans or Latinos, 'machismo' remains imbued with such negative attributes as male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse," whereas when referring to the Anglo culture the same term is more typically a connotation of virility, masculinity, and sex appeal (Mirandé, 1997, p. 66). Regarding women in Latin America, the stereotype of the ideal woman was characterized by semi-divinity, moral superiority, and spiritual strength (Stevens, 1973). Stevens (1973) noted that these ideals engender abnegation and self-denial in women and promotes their deference to men. However, the stereotypical portrayal of Mexican men and women in relation to one another, often referred to as 'machismo' for men or 'marianismo' for women, has been contradicted in more recent literature (Cromwell & Cromwell, 1978; Cromwell & Ruiz, 1979; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, & De Leon, 1987).

Despite theoretical assertions about the gendered nature of Mexican relationships, studies have failed to empirically test the actual patterning of Mexican couples gender-

typed attributes; neither have the links between gender-typed attributes and spouses' marital satisfaction been examined. The links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction may be especially salient for Mexican couples in the context of immigration. Not only is it possible that the process of immigration selects couples with specific attributes, stressors due to immigration may require spouses to pull from personal resources to adapt to life in a new environment (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Helms et al., 2011). For example, masculine attributes, such as willingness to take risks, and assertiveness, may shape migration decisions, and may be a particularly salient resource for successful adaption to life in the United States for both husbands and wives. Furthermore, studies have failed to highlight the possibility of diversity within Mexican families. Ortiz (1995) noted that the singular portrayal of Mexican marital relationships serves to convolute the heterogeneous reality of family life. The current study seeks to capitalize on the possibility of within group diversity through a pattern-analytic, dyadic approach that will allow for a more nuanced depiction of spouses' gender-typed attributes and their links with both spouses' marital satisfaction.

Summary

In sum, the research linking gender-typed attributes with marital satisfaction has been mixed, albeit the androgyny and expressivity hypotheses have received the greatest empirical support and the complementarity perspective the least. The lack of diversity in sampling populations and the methodological limitations of previous work have limited current understanding regarding the variety of patterns of gender-typed attributes in couples and their link with marital satisfaction. The current study constitutes a major

advancement in this area with a sample consisting of low-income, Mexican-origin immigrant couples. Not only will the current study provide an empirical test of the theoretical assertions in an understudied population, it will also dispel current stereotypical and one-dimensional views about the gender-typed nature of Mexicanorigin spouses through a pattern analytic approach to data analysis that assumes within group heterogeneity. With the exception of the Helms et al. (2006) study, no study has taken a pattern-analytic approach to examine the links between couples' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction. Through the use of latent profile analysis, the current study hopes to better align the examination of the links between spouses' gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction with the underlying theoretical literature.

Goals of the Proposed Study

The proposed study will build on previous research through the use of a patternanalytic, dyadic approach to empirically examine the link between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction among Mexican immigrant couples. The goals of the study are twofold. First, I will use latent profile analysis to classify Mexican-origin, immigrant couples based on husbands' and wives' self-reported gender-typed attributes (i.e., wives' femininity, wives' masculinity, husbands' femininity, and husbands' masculinity). Utilizing a pattern-analytic approach to data analysis will allow for the identification of types of couples with similarly organized patterns of gender-typed attributes. This approach provides an empirical test of the best-fitting typology that represents the dyadic patterns across these four gender-typed attributes to capture withingroup heterogeneity in spouses' gender-typed attributes among Mexican immigrant

couples. Although the literature seems to most heavily support the role of expressivity and androgyny in predicting spouses' marital satisfaction, the proposed study should be viewed as exploratory. Given that this study will be the first to examine the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction for Mexican-origin couples as well as the first study to incorporate latent profile analyses to elucidate couple typologies based on spouses' gender-typed attributes, hypothesis testing is premature.

Second, I will examine the association between the couple typologies and husbands' and wives' reports of marital satisfaction to further explore the underlying hypotheses of the larger literature that depict how the patterning of spouses' gender-typed attributes is linked to their marital satisfaction. These analyses will provide an opportunity to expand current findings regarding the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction that were limited in scope due to the nature of their samples and methods. Furthermore, examining these links in an understudied population about whom much has been theorized regarding the gendered nature of their relationships will provide a first empirical examination of the patterning of gender-typed attributes and the subsequent links with marital satisfaction among couples of Mexican origin.

Controls

Because depressive symptoms have been consistently found to be associated negatively with marital satisfaction in previous research (e.g., Karney & Bradbury, 1995; Whisman, Uebelacker, & Weinstock, 2004), spouses' self-reported depressive symptoms will be treated as a control variable in the analyses. Also, Mexican immigrant couples are likely to vary in their legal marital status due to legal status as well as cultural norms

regarding marital vs. non-marital permanent unions (Phillips & Sweeney, 2005; Oropesa & Landale, 2004). Given that prior work found variations in marital satisfaction, health and well-being by couples' legal marital status (Helms et al., 2014; Kurdek & Schmitt, 1986), marital status (i.e., legally married vs. living as married) will also be treated also treated as a control variable in the substantive analyses.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

Data were collected between 2007 and 2008 as part of a larger study of marital relationships and economic stress among Mexican immigrants living in the United States. The sample was comprised of 120 first-generation, Mexican immigrant couples living in North Carolina. In order to be eligible for inclusion in the study, participants needed to be married or living as married, have biological children living in the household, and have both members of the couple be of Mexican or another Latin American origin. In 89% of couples, both spouses were from Mexico. Due to issues with legal status and cultural norms regarding the recognition of non-marital unions as "married", "living as married" couples were included in the study; 83 (69%) of the couples were legally married and 37 (31%) of the couples were living as married, with an average length of 'marriage' of seven years. Mean ages for husbands and wives were 30 and 28, respectively, and couples had an average of two children. Ninety-eight percent of husbands in the sample were employed with an average of 10 years of education, whereas 54% of wives in the sample were employed having an average of 9 years of education. In general, the husbands in the sample migrated to the United States before their wives and had been residing in the United States for approximately 11 years, with wives averaging approximately 9 years of residence in the United States. For the larger study on

economic stress, a low-income sample was specifically targeted. Of the recruited couples, 95% lived in neighborhoods characterized by high poverty (i.e., ranging from a poverty rate of 19% - 32%). Furthermore, a majority (49%) of the couples in our sample resided in neighborhoods classified as 50% Hispanic, 29% lived in neighborhoods ranging from 10-25% Hispanic, and 21% of couples resided in neighborhoods characterized by a less than 10% Hispanic composition. Participating couples lived in small towns (55%), cities (26%), and in rural areas (19%). (See Table 1.)

Procedure

Census tracts were used to identify geographic areas with high concentrations of Mexican-origin families, and recruitment was then targeted towards those specific areas. However, only 2% of participants in this sample were recruited through conventional methods (e.g., flyers, visits to social service agencies and health organizations). To recruit the other 98% of participants, the assistance of cultural insiders and snowball sampling was utilized. Interviews lasted approximately 2 to 3 hours in duration and were conducted in participants' homes by bilingual, Latina project staff. Consent forms and measures were available in both Spanish and English; participants had the option to complete the interview process in either language, with all but one couple choosing to be interviewed in Spanish. All questionnaires were presented orally in participants' language of choice to compensate for variations in literacy. After an initial introduction including an overview of informed consent, husbands and wives were interviewed separately. Couples were compensated with \$50 gift cards for their participation.

Measures

All measures used in the study were validated in or specifically adapted for use with samples of Mexican origin individuals. Measures were further verified as appropriate by Spanish translators staffed by an organization with culturally relevant knowledge of the local Mexican immigrant population.

Gender-Typed Attributes. Bem's (1974) BEM Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), used in prior work with Latino populations (Kulis, Marsiglia, Nagoshi, 2010; Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zeff, 1982), assessed husbands' and wives' gender-typed attributes. The measure used in this study excluded the 20 neutral items assessing social desirability and solely consisted of 20 masculine items (e.g. ambitious, assertive) and 20 feminine items (e.g., compassionate, sensitive). Participants were presented with laminated cards with either masculine or feminine adjectives and were asked to rate how well the adjective described their personality. Responses ranged from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true). Mean scores were created for the femininity and masculinity items. Cronbach's alpha for husbands' masculinity and femininity scores was .80 and .74, respectively. Cronbach's alpha was .81 and .73 for wives' masculinity and femininity, respectively.

Marital Satisfaction. The Domains of Satisfaction in Marriage measure, initially developed by Huston, McHale and Crouter (1986), assesses a variety of domains of marital satisfaction including spouses' satisfaction with marital communication (e.g., "How satisfied are you with how well the two of you talk over important and unimportant issues?"), the division of housework, and couple decision-making. A modified 16-item

version of the earlier measure was then adapted for use with Mexican Americans to address culturally specific dimensions of marital satisfaction (e.g., satisfaction with spouse's support of Mexican traditions) (Wheeler et al., 2010). The proposed study utilizes the adapted 16-item measure. Multi-group confirmatory factor analysis conducted with the sample in the proposed study (MGCFA) confirmed that the 16 items represented a single underlying construct (Helms et al., 2014). Participants were asked to report their satisfaction in each domain of marriage during the past year. Responses ranged from 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 9 (extremely satisfied). Scores were averaged across the 16 items, with higher scores indicating greater levels of marital satisfaction. This measure was reliable for husbands' and wives' ($\alpha = .90$, $\alpha = .94$, for husbands and wives respectively).

Marital Status. Through wives' reports, marital status was collected from each couple. The couples were dichotomously coded as either legally married or "living as married". Of the couples in our sample, 69% were legally married, and 31% were living as married.

Depressive Symptoms. Depressive Symptoms were assessed via a shortened version of the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D, Radloff, 1977). Respondents were asked 12 items measuring cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of depressive symptoms (e.g., "I felt depressed"). However, a revised 9-item scale was utilized after 3 items were dropped from the initial 12-item scale based on MGCFA conducted with the sample in the proposed study (Helms et al., 2014). Participants were asked to respond to each item, based on their feelings over the past

month, on a scale of 1 (rarely or none of the time) to 4 (most of the time). Higher scores indicated higher levels of depressive symptoms. Cronbach's alpha for the 9-item revised scale was .76 for husbands and .81 for wives'.

Analysis Plan

After conducting a series of preliminary descriptive analyses with the study variables, a Latent Profile Analyses using MPlus 6 was conducted to create typologies of couple profiles using husbands' and wives' self-reported gender-typed attributes (i.e. masculinity and femininity). The latent profiles were determined using multiple indicators of model fit as well as theoretical justification and interpretability. To further describe the profile differences, mixed model ANOVAs in SAS were conducted. Once the typologies were defined, a mixed model ANCOVA in SAS was conducted to examine the links between the couple profiles and husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction. This procedure allowed for the examination of within and between spouse differences in the links between couple typology membership and marital satisfaction while controlling for legal marital status and spouses' depressive symptoms. Significant effects for couple typology and interactions between couple typology and spouse were probed using the Tukey HSD test.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Findings

Table 2 provides the bivariate correlations between all the study variables. Wives' femininity was associated positively with their reports of masculinity (r = .51, p < .01). This was also the case for husbands (r = .47, p < .01). Both husbands' and wives' femininity was positively associated with their own reports of marital satisfaction (r = .34, p < .01, r = .29, p < .001, respectively); however, masculinity was not correlated with marital satisfaction for either husbands or wives and no significant associations were found linking spouses' own gender-typed attributes to their partners' reported marital satisfaction. Husbands and wives marital satisfaction was significantly and positively correlated (r = .21, p, <.05). Whereas wives' depressive symptoms were associated negatively with their own reports of marital satisfaction (r = ..37, p < .01), husbands' depressive symptoms were not significantly associated with their reports of marital satisfaction (r = ..37, p < .01), husbands', reports of marital satisfaction (r = .07, ns). Marital status was associated with wives', but not husbands', reports of marital satisfaction (r = .23, p < .05). Wives in couples who were legally married tended to report higher levels of marital satisfaction.

Couple Typology Identification and Description

The first goal in this study was to identify patterns of couples' gender-typed personal qualities based on husbands' and wives' masculine and feminine scores. A latent profile analysis (LPA) was conducted with Mplus version 6.0 to distinguish couple profiles utilizing husbands' and wives' self-reported masculine and feminine personal quality scores. LPA aligns with the person-centered and dyadic theoretical underpinnings of the study and is a variation of latent class analysis (LCA) in that the manifest variables are continuous as opposed to categorical. An advantage of LPA over other analytic grouping strategies is that LPA provides a statistical test of model fit. Model fit statistics are used to select the appropriate number of profiles and include the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1987), the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978), and the sample-size adjusted BIC (ABIC) estimates as well the Vuong–Lo– Mendell–Rubin Likelihood Ratio Test (VLMRT; Lo, Mendell, & Rubin, 2001), and the Parametric Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (BLRT). In general, lower AIC BIC, and ABIC values signify a better model fit, and the VLMRT and bootstrapped estimates provide a statistical test for whether the addition of a latent profile improves the overall model fit. Entropy denotes the accuracy of classification into each profile based on the manifest indicators and can also be used to determine the appropriate number of profiles. Higher entropy values denote higher classification accuracy, with the maximum being 1. In addition to the examination of model fit statistics, the current study also followed recommendations to consider theoretical justifications and applicability of the latent typology solutions (e.g., Muthén, 2004), latent typology separation (distinguishability of

profiles using manifest indicators), homogeneity of latent typologies, and model interpretability (e.g., relative size and meaningfulness of latent typologies) to determine the optimal number of couple profiles. In sum, to determine the optimal number of couple profiles the following criteria was considered: (a) model fit statistics (e.g., AIC, BIC, Entropy, VLMR, & BLRT), (b) model interpretability and homogeneity, and (c) typology separation.

Two-typology, 3-typology, and 4-typology solutions were examined for the current LPA; the 3-typology solution was deemed to fit the data best. (See table 3 for model fit statistics.) The AIC and ABIC were lowest in the 3 and 4-typology solutions and highest in the 2-typology solution, and the BIC was lowest in the 2-typology solution and highest in the 4-typology solution. Some work (e.g., Collins, Fidler, Wugalter, & Long, 1993) suggests that the BIC is the most appropriate indicator of profile enumeration, whereas others (e.g., Sclove, 1987) suggest adherence to the ABIC. To further differentiate between the 2-, 3-, and 4-typology solutions, the VLMRT was examined and indicated that the 4-typology solution did not fit the data better than the 3typology solution. Because one of the latent profiles in the 4-typology solution was comprised of only 4 couples (thus inhibiting further analysis and interpretability), the 4typology solution was removed from consideration. When comparing the remaining 2and 3-typology solutions, the significant BLRT indicated that the 3-typology solution fit the data better than the 2-typology solution (p = .03). In the context of the significant bootstrapped test, the non-significant VLMRT is immaterial (Nylund, Asparouhov, & Muthén, 2007). Entropy was notably higher in the 2- versus 3-typology solution;

however, typology separation, homogeneity of latent typologies, and model interpretability increased when examining a 3-typology versus 2-typology solution.

In sum, the LPA results offered the most compelling support for a 3-typology solution representing conceptually distinct typologies of couples based on partners' gender-typed attributes. (See Figure 1.) For Profile 1 (n = 45), *Androgynous Couples*, both husbands and wives were above the median for their sex on both femininity (Mdn = 4.75, 5.28, respectively) and masculinity (Mdn = 5.10, 4.60, respectively) and represented 37% of couples in the sample. Profile 2 (n = 20), *Undifferentiated Couples*, represented 17% of couples in which both husbands and wives scored below the median for their sex on both femininity and masculinity. The third and largest of the three profiles represented approximately 46% of the couples (n = 55) consisted of *Mismatched Couples* with wives who scored above the median for their sex on both femininity and masculinity married to husbands who scored below the median for their sex on both femininity and masculinity.

To further describe the couple typology, a 3 (typology) x 2 (gender-typed attribute) x 2 (spouse) mixed model analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the gender-typed personal quality variables with gender-typed attribute and spouse treated as within-groups factors was conducted. Mixed model analysis of variance is often used by researchers analyzing dyadic data because dyad membership can be treated as a repeated measure, thus accounting for the nonindependence of the data (Bray, Maxwell, & Cole, 1995; Maguire, 1999). Because cell sizes were unequal, Type III sums of squares were examined. Significant findings were followed up with post hoc Tukey tests of group differences.

Because LPA is designed to identify homogeneous groups that are maximally different, it was not surprising that the omnibus between-subjects test for typology was significant, F(2, 120) = 101.02, p < .0001, and indicated the profiles differed from each other across spouse and gender-typed attribute dimensions. (See table 4.) Significant within-subjects effects for spouse, F(1, 120) = 21.72, p < .0001, and personal quality dimension, F(1, 120) = 19.67, p < .0001, were also found. The within-subjects effects for spouse demonstrated that husbands scored higher overall, compared to wives, across their self-reports of masculine and feminine attributes (M = 4.91, SD = 0.56; M = 4.82, SD =0.61, for husbands and wives, respectively). The significant dimension effect suggested that spouses, on average, endorsed more feminine than masculine traits (M = 4.97, SD =0.42; M = 4.76, SD = 0.55, for femininity and masculinity, respectively). These withinsubject main effects were qualified, however, by a significant spouse X typology effect, F(1, 120) = 48.65, p < .0001, which demonstrated a gender difference in spouses' personal quality scores by profile membership. More specifically, this effect showed that wives in the Androgynous and Mismatched Profiles reported higher pooled levels of masculinity and femininity than the wives in the Undifferentiated Profile, whereas, across dimensions, the husbands in the Androgynous Profile reported higher pooled levels of masculinity and femininity than the husbands in the Undifferentiated or Mismatched profiles. An additional spouse X personal quality dimension effect, F(1, 120) = 94.04, p < .0001, demonstrated that wives reported higher levels of femininity than masculinity

(M = 5.15, SD = .61, M = 4.48, SD = .79, respectively) whereas husbands reported higher levels of masculinity than femininity (M = 5.04, SD = 70, M = 4.78, SD = .60,respectively).

Profile 1: Androgynous Couples. On average, spouses' in the Androgynous Profile scored significantly higher than those in either of the other couple profiles across masculine and feminine personal attribute dimensions. Results from the mixed model ANOVA showed a slight deviation from this general pattern of findings for wives. Main effects demonstrated significant profile differences among wives' levels of masculinity, F(2, 119) = 34.19, p < .001, and femininity, F(2, 119) = 50.57, p < .001. Specifically, wives in the Androgynous Profile were similar to wives in the Mismatched Profile in both masculinity and femininity but scored significantly higher on masculinity and femininity than the wives in the Undifferentiated Profile. Similar to the overall betweensubjects finding, husbands in the Androgynous Profile scored significantly higher on both masculinity, F(2, 119) = 39.58, p < .001, and femininity, F(2, 119) = 44.16, p < .001, than husbands in either of the other typologies.

Profile 2: Undifferentiated Couples. In the Undifferentiated Couple Profile, representing 20 (16.67%) of the couples, the between subjects finding indicated that spouses in this group averaged lower levels of masculinity and femininity than spouses in the other two groups. More specifically, wives in the Undifferentiated Couple Profile reported significantly lower levels of masculinity and femininity than the wives in the other two typologies as evidenced by the significant main effects referenced previously. Husbands' masculinity and femininity also varied across typology. In contrast to wives, husbands in the undifferentiated couple group did not differ from husbands in the Mismatched Couples Profile in masculinity and femininity but did score significantly lower in both domains than the husbands in the Androgynous Couple Profile.

Profile 3: Mismatched Couples. In the Mismatched Couple Profile, representing 55 (45.83%) of the couples, spouses' average scores across gender-typed attributes were lower than those of the couples in the Androgynous Profile but higher than the average scores for couples in the Undifferentiated Profile. Within this group, wives reported high levels of masculinity and femininity that were similar to (and not significantly different from) wives in the Androgynous Profile and were married to husbands who reported low levels of both masculinity and femininity. In this couple profile, wives scored higher than wives in the Undifferentiated Profile, whereas their husbands' reports of masculinity and femininity did not differ from husbands in the Undifferentiated Profile and were lower than those reported by husbands in the Androgynous Profile.

Linking Couple Typologies with Marital Satisfaction

The second goal of the current study was to examine the relationship between the patterning of couples' gender-typed attributes and their reports of marital satisfaction. The links between latent typologies of couple profiles and marital satisfaction were tested using a 3 (typology) X 2 (spouse) mixed model ANCOVA in SAS with marital status and husbands' and wives' depressive symptoms treated as covariates. The omnibus between-subjects test for the latent typologies was significant, F(2, 118) = 3.48, p < .05, and indicated spouses' marital satisfaction differed based on couple profile membership. (See Table 5 & Figure 2.) The Tukey follow-ups indicated that couples in the

Undifferentiated Profile reported significantly lower levels of marital satisfaction than couples in either the Androgynous or Mismatched Profiles. Androgynous and Mismatched couples did not differ in their reports of marital satisfaction. Significant effects for spouse were not found suggesting that spouses did not report significantly different levels of marital satisfaction. Furthermore, the interaction between spouse and typology was also non-significant underscoring that the within-couple patterning of spouses' marital satisfaction scores did not differ by profile membership.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Guided by a pattern-analytic and dyadic approach, the two goals of this study were to (a) identify latent profiles of Mexican immigrant couples based on their gendertyped attributes using LPA, and (b) assess the links between couple profiles and marital satisfaction. Three profiles were identified within the sample of Mexican-origin immigrant couples and were indeed linked with spouses' self-reported marital satisfaction. Previous scholars (e.g., Ortiz, 1995) have suggested that the heterogeneous reality of Mexican families has been obscured by their singular portrayal in the literature. Through the use of a pattern-analytic and dyadic approach, the current study capitalized on the heterogeneity within Mexican immigrant couples, with results further underscoring the within group diversity in spouses' gender-typed attributes. In the following sections, I will discuss (a) the profiles, (b) the links with marital satisfaction, (c) the strengths and limitations of the current study, and finally (d) some potential areas for future research.

Profiles

Early reports of Mexican-origin couples portrayed gender-typed relationships characterized by highly masculinized men, and highly feminized women. These characterizations were termed machismo for men and marianismo for women. Scholars have since challenged these stereotypical conceptualizations of Mexican-origin

individuals and couples (e.g., Cromwell & Cromwell, 1978; Cromwell & Ruiz, 1979; Torres, Solberg, & Carlstrom, 2002; Vazquez-Nuttall, Romero-Garcia, & De Leon, 1987). For example, in their review of four studies on decision making, Cromwell & Ruiz (1979) noted that male dominance in marital decision making was not supported by the literature. The current study, however, is one of the first studies to provide a dyadic and pattern-analytic empirical test of previous assertions about the gender-typed nature of Mexican-origin couples. It was found that a 3-typology profile solution fit the data best based on model fit statistics and interpretability. Profile 1 (Androgynous Couples) was characterized by husbands and wives who reported relatively high levels of both masculinity and femininity, whereas Profile 2 (Undifferentiated Couples) was characterized by husbands and wives who reported relatively low levels of both masculinity and femininity. The third and most prevalent group, Profile 3 (Mismatched Couples), was characterized by husbands who reported relatively low levels of both masculinity and femininity partnered with wives who reported relatively high levels of both masculinity and femininity. Although median levels for masculinity and femininity in this sample are consistent with previous studies (e.g. Bem, 1974, 1981; Helms et al., 2006), undifferentiated individuals in other samples tend to be closer to the median than is the case for wives in the current sample. Notably, the results from the LPA demonstrated no evidence of gender-typing at the individual or couple levels with only two classifications represented in the study at the individual level: androgynous and undifferentiated, and additional mismatched classification at the couple-level. These findings highlight the heterogeneity as well as lack of gender-typing in the patterning of

gender-typed attributes in Mexican immigrant couples, contrasting with the often onedimensional and highly gender-typed portrayal of Mexican-origin men and women.

A previous study that incorporated a pattern analytic approach with a middle-class White sample also found evidence of undifferentiated and androgynous couples; however, there were two clusters of gender-typed couples and no evidence of mismatched couples (Helms, 2006). Another study by Davison and Sollie (1987) found evidence for associations between partners gender-typed attributes with androgynous and undifferentiated husbands more frequently partnered with androgynous and undifferentiated wives, respectively. However, unlike the findings from the current study with Mismatched Couples being the most prevalent, Davidson and Sollie (1987) found that configuration to be one of the least common. In their article, Boneva and Frieze (2001) describe the concept of a migrant personality, arguing that selection effects could create personality differences between individuals who choose to migrate and those who do not. Although the authors do not discuss gendered dimensions of personality, similar processes may be operating in the current sample of Mexican immigrants. One potential reason there are not gender-typed couples in the current sample may be that immigration from Mexico may have selected for couples who are not gender-typed. The selection effects may operate by dictating which couples choose not to migrate (i.e., gender-typed) rather than selecting for those couples who do. This sort of comparative design has been illustrated in work examining variation in gendered behavior patterns between Mexican women who migrate and those who do not (e.g., Parrado & Flippen, 2005), finding that migration does not uniformly predict changes in gendered behavior. Future research that

includes samples of couples in Mexico may be able to provide a test of whether specific gender-typed patterns of couples are selected for by the process of migration.

Marital Satisfaction

The second goal of this study was to link the latent typologies of couple profiles with spouses' reports of marital satisfaction. By using a pattern-analytic approach to create typologies of Mexican immigrant couples, a more nuanced depiction of spouses' gender-typed attributes and their marital satisfaction was demonstrated. Consistent with previous work (e.g., Helms et al., 2006) couples in the Androgynous Profile reported relatively higher levels of marital satisfaction and couples in the Undifferentiated Profile reported relatively lower levels of marital satisfaction. In contrast with Antill's (1983) study finding that "the presence of one androgynous partner is not associated with greater happiness of the couple" (p. 150), the Mismatched Couples in the current study which included androgynous wives married to undifferentiated Profile, and were not significantly different than the couples in the Undifferentiated Profile. For couples in the Mismatched Profile, the presence of an androgynous wife may be protective for both husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction.

Links with Empirical and Theoretical Literature

Highlighting both a strength and potential limitation of the pattern-analytic latent profile analyses, the current study organized couples based on existing patterns in the data which did not necessarily conform to previous work using variable-centered approaches. The couple profiles identified through the pattern-analytic approach in this

study did not map well on to existing theoretical frameworks. Whereas couples in the Androgynous Profile tend to conform to the previous empirical and theoretical literature, the theoretical literature is somewhat limited in explaining the undifferentiated and androgynous-undifferentiated couple patterns found. Antill (1983) noted that couples with one androgynous and one undifferentiated partner illustrate another form of complementarity, as complementarity suggests "being on the opposite end of the sex role scale to one's spouse" (p. 146). However, the majority of literature detailing the complementary hypothesis proposes that gender-typed couples, specifically masculine husbands and feminine wives, represent complementarity. Therefore, couples with an androgynous and an undifferentiated partner were termed Mismatched in the current study as opposed to complementary in order to more closely align with the existing theoretical and empirical literature. Furthermore, due to a lack of gender-typed individuals and couples, the current study was unable to provide a test of assertions of the expressive and instrumental hypotheses as well. Based on the couple profiles identified, the current study was able to examine the propositions postulated by the similarity and androgyny hypotheses, providing additional insight into the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction under different cultural and economic contexts than has been previously studied.

The similarity hypothesis proposed that partners who are similar in their gendertyped attributes are more likely to be satisfied than couples who are more dissimilar. There has also been some research that supports the notion that similarity in gender-typed attributes is protective for evaluations of the marriage (e.g., Helms et al., 2006) as well as

linked with positive reports of marital functioning (e.g. Gaunt, 2006), whereas other studies have found that marital satisfaction did not differ among couples who were similar and dissimilar in gender-typed attributes (Juni & Grimm, 1994). There were three profiles in the current sample. Two of which (Androgynous and Undifferentiated Couples) were composed of partners who reported similar levels of masculinity and femininity, and one profile (Mismatched Couples) was composed of couples with wives who reported high levels of masculinity and femininity and husbands who reported low levels. There were no significant differences found between couples' marital satisfaction in the Androgynous Profile and in the Mismatched Profile, yet the couples in the Undifferentiated Profile reported significantly lower levels of marital satisfaction than couples in the other two profiles. In terms of similarity, the partners within the Androgynous and Undifferentiated Profiles were more similar to each other, with a greater disparity between husbands' and wives' gender-typed attributes in the Mismatched Profile. The results from the current study do not support similarity as a necessary precursor to marital satisfaction.

Findings from the current study do offer partial support for the androgyny hypothesis which suggests that the most satisfied couples are comprised of individuals who are androgynous. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Davidson & Sollie, 1987; Helms et al., 2006; Zammecheli, Gilroy, & Sherman, 1988) couples in the Androgynous Profile reported higher levels of marital satisfaction compared with couples in the Undifferentiated Profile. However, couples in the Androgynous Profile were not more satisfied than the couples in the Mismatched Profile in which only one partner,

specifically wives, were relatively androgynous. Davidson and Sollie (1987) noted that undifferentiated couples "may be lacking in the skills most necessary to handle the many situational demands of an intimate relationship such as marriage" (p. 67). The current results seem to suggest that similarity in gender-typed attributes may not be as important as having an androgynous partner and perhaps an androgynous wife specifically.

It is possible that there is not one best configuration for promoting marital satisfaction, and several configurations of couples may promote positive marriages. Although the theoretical literature tends to generalize the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction across all contexts, it is possible that various configurations of couples' gender-typed attributes may be more or less adaptive in particular environmental or cultural contexts. It has been suggested that androgynous individuals are more flexible and adaptive because they are less constrained by gendertyped responses to social situations. Accordingly, it may be that androgynous wives is are protective for couples' reports of marital satisfaction as these wives may be better able to draw from both instrumental and expressive capabilities to bring up, discuss, and successfully resolve marital concerns (e.g., Erikson, 2005). This may be especially salient in the context of immigration where previously available structural and familial supports are no longer readily available. Helms et al. (2011) noted that the macrosocietal context, such as immigration patterns and affiliated family processes, can either "facilitate or inhibit individual development and marital functioning" (p. 72). Researchers have often noted that one of the commonalities among migrants is the experience of stress. Bush, Bohon & Kim (2005) noted that "an immigrant family's

system will experience stress to the extent that the members find particular strategies they have used in the past to accomplish family tasks are not as effective in the social, economic, and political contexts of the United States" (p. 310). Masculine attributes, such as willingness to take risks, and assertiveness, may shape migration decisions, and may be particularly important for inner strength and successful adaption to life in the United States for both husbands and wives, and feminine attributes may influence spouses' relationship maintenance behaviors. Therefore it may be that having at least one androgynous spouse may attenuate some of the stress due to immigration and serve as a buffer for marital satisfaction.

Limitations and Strengths

Although the BSRI has been used successfully with Latino populations (Kulis, Marsiglia, Nagoshi, 2010; Kranau, Green, & Valencia-Weber, 1982; Zeff, 1982), some scholars have noted that the while BSRI is a valid cross-cultural measurement for discriminating between the sexes it "may be somewhat limited in identifying masculine and feminine traits in Mexican culture" (Lara-Cantu & Navarro-Arias, 1986; Reed-Sanders, Dodder, & Webster, 1985, p. 524). Consistent with the findings of Reed-Sanders, Dodder & Webster (1985) there was a notable percentage of undifferentiated individuals in the current study suggesting that the useability of the BSRI in Mexicanorigin populations may need to be re-evaluated. Replication of the current study with the PAQ (Spence, Helmreich, Stapp, 1975) may be useful. Or in accordance with recommendations by Lara-Cantu and Navarro-Arias (1986), an expansion of the BSRI to include four categories, demonstrating positive and negative aspects of both masculinity and femininity, may be merited with Latino samples. Generalizations to Latinos and immigrants more broadly should be made with caution considering the modest sample size and that couples in the current study represent a unique group of Latino immigrants in an emerging immigrant community in North Carolina. Somewhat surprisingly there were no examples of gender-typed couples in this study; however, it is also possible that gender-typed couples are rarer than the stereotypical portrayal of Mexican couples would suggest. Latent profile analyses are sample-dependent, and small sample sizes can contribute to sparseness of the contingency table which may limit identification (Lanza, Bray, & Collins, 2013). It is possible that the inclusion of more families would have increased the number of latent profiles identified.

There were several strengths of the current study. Incorporating a sample of Mexican immigrant couples serves to expand the research on the links between spouses' personal attributes and marital satisfaction beyond primarily White and middle-class samples, upon which previous theorizing has been based. Given the unique socioecological niches Mexican immigrant couples often inhabit—contexts that place demands on spouses that are often gendered and culturally bound, it is imperative to consider various economic and cultural contexts in generating comprehensive theories on the links between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction that are applicable beyond the White and middle-class (Helms, 2013; Helms, Supple, & Proulx, 2011). Furthermore, this study incorporated a pattern-analytic approach which challenged stereotypical assertions about the gendered nature of Mexican-origin couples. Neither the men nor the women in this study conformed to the stereotypical and highly gender-typed machismo

and marianismo image. The pattern-analytic approach constitutes an additional strength of this study in that it aligns with dyadic theoretical underpinnings linking spouses' gender-typed attributes to their marital quality that have been proposed but rarely tested. **Future Directions**

A pertinent area for future study should include the examination of processoriented mechanisms through which gender-typed attributes might affect marital satisfaction, such as emotion work or culturally specific values (e.g., familism). For example, in her work on emotion work, Erikson (2005) noted that for women both masculinity and femininity were linked with engaging in emotion work, but only femininity was link with emotion work for men. Erickson (1993) also found that engaging in emotion work was linked with marital quality. Process or behavioral variables, such as emotion work, may help to clarify how and why gender-typed attributes are linked with marital satisfaction. Previous research has suggested that femininity and masculinity may play specific roles in maritally distressed couples as well. For example, Baucom and Aiken (1984) noted that masculinity was associated with marital stability in maritally distressed couples, whereas femininity was associated with marital satisfaction. Future research may also benefit from including longitudinal measures of relationship satisfaction and stability as well as acculturative stress variables and negative dimensions of marital quality such as marital distress or conflict which may be particularly salient for low-income Mexican-origin couples who are dealing with a host of socioeconomic and cultural stressors. Examined together is a contextualized

process model, these factors may illustrate *how* androgyny in couples can be adaptive in stressful contexts.

Another area for future research might compare Mexican immigrant couples with those still living in Mexico to clarify if there are specific configurations of gender-typed attributes that are systematically selected for by couples who chose to migrate versus those who do not. This would help determine if there are specific personality traits, gendered or otherwise, that are selected by the process of migration and may help elucidate remaining questions about the gendered nature of Mexican couples. For example, previous work utilizing this comparative design (e.g., Parrado & Flippen, 2005) was able to examine gendered processes of migration across four sending communities in Mexico. Future studies in Mexico may reveal profiles of gender-typed couples that were not evident in the current sample, and perhaps their links with marital satisfaction may be different as well.

Conclusion

In sum, the findings from this study further highlight the complexity within Mexican immigrant couples as well as in the relationship between gender-typed attributes and marital satisfaction and the need to study these concepts utilizing dyadic and patternanalytic approaches and especially in more diverse samples. Furthermore, the current study provides an empirical basis for examining future process variables that may influence the links between gendered personal qualities and marital satisfaction in Mexican immigrant couples.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES

Variables ($N = 120$)	М	SD	Range		
Age (years)					
Wives	28.13	5.46	18-47		
Husbands	30.33	5.79	18-48		
First Born	5.87	3.88	0.08-13.64		
Years in the U.S.					
Wives	8.81	4.41	<1-22		
Husbands	11.4	5.26	2-27		
Nuclear Family Size	4.07	0.092	3-7		
Marital Duration (years)	7	3.96	1-15		
Education (years)					
Wives	9.66	3.17	0-16		
Husbands	9.01	3.18	1-18		
Work hours (per week)					
Employed Wives (54%)	38.21 6.35		16-60		
Employed Husbands (98%)	43.15	8.01	20-80		
Income (Annual)					
Wives	\$15,138	\$6,559	\$2,500-\$31,600		
Husbands	\$24,647	\$8,713	\$8,000-\$69,000		
Family	\$33,297	\$12,725	\$8,000-\$83,400		

Table 1. Descriptive Sample Characteristics

Table 2. Bivariate Correlations

Study Variables		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Wives' Marital Status ^a		-								
2. Wives' Depressive Symptoms		18†	-							
3. Husbands' Depressive Symptoms		.02	.10	-						
4. Wives' Femininity		.07	04	03	-					
5. Wives' Masculinity		14	05	01	51***	-				
6. Husbands' Femininity		16†	.04	05	01	.01	-			
7. Husbands' Masculinity		01	.10	01	.09	.09	.47***	-		
8. Wives' Marital Satisfaction		.23*	37***	.00	.29**	.17†	.01	05	-	
9. Husbands' Marital Satisfaction		.06	11	07	.14	.03	.34***	.05	.21*	-
	М	0.69	14.25	14.28	5.15	4.48	4.78	5.04	7.20	7.57
	SD	0.46	4.20	3.95	0.61	0.79	0.60	0.70	1.33	0.96
	Alpha	-	.81	.76	.73	.81	.74	.80	.94	.90

Note: †p < .10, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

^a Coded as 0 = not legally married (consensual union), 1 = legally married.

	2 Profile	3 Profile	4 Profile
Information Criteria	Solution	Solution	Solution
Akaike (AIC)	959.240	950.986	949.416
Bayesian (BIC)	995.477	1001.16	1013.529
Sample-Size Adjusted BIC (ABIC)	954.377	944.253	940.814
$(n^* = (n+2) / 24)$			
Entropy	0.774	0.614	0.715
Sample Sizes			
Couple Profile 1	23	45	32
Couple Profile 2	97	20	61
Couple Profile 3		55	23
Couple Profile 4			4
	1 vs 2	2 vs 3	3 vs 4
BLRT	Profiles	Profiles	Profiles
H0 Loglikelihood Value	-488.03	-466.62	-457.493
2 Times the Loglikelihood Difference	42.82	18.254	11.569
Difference in the Number of Parameters	5	5	5
Approximate P-Value	0.00000	0.03000	0.50000
Successful Bootstrap Draws	10	100	6

Table 3. Model Fit Statistics and Latent Profile Enumeration

Couple Typology	N	Gender- Typed Attributes (GTA)	Wives' Femininity	Wives' Masculinity	Wives' GTA	Husbands' Femininity	Husbands' Masculinity	Husbands' GTA
		M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)
Androgynous Couples (AC)	45	5.23 (0.29)	5.33 (0.48)	4.72 (0.59)	5.03 (0.40)	5.28 (0.41)	5.61 (0.46)	5.44 (0.33)
Undifferentiated Couples (UC)	20	4.27 (0.29)	4.23 (0.46)	3.42 (0.68)	3.82 (0.39)	4.59 (0.54)	4.83 (0.64)	4.71 (0.51)
Mismatched Couples (MC)	55	4.78 (0.27)	5.34 (0.42)	4.68 (0.65)	5.01 (0.44)	4.44 (0.46)	4.64 (0.58)	4.54 (0.35)

Table 4. Spouses Gender-Typed Attributes by Latent Typology Membership

Note: GTA values are a couple-level score averaging across spouse and masculinity and femininity domains. Wives GTA values and husbands' GTA values are averaged across the masculinity and femininity domains only.

Couple Typology	N	Wives' Marital Satisfaction	Husbands' Marital Satisfaction	Marital Satisfaction (Couple-Level)		
- J F 8J		M (SD)	M (SD)	M (SD)		
Androgynous Couples (AC)	44	7.22 (1.36)	7.76 (0.87)	7.49 (0.90)		
Undifferentiated Couples (UC)	20	6.49 (1.26)	7.22 (1.16)	6.86 (1.00)		
Mismatched Couples (MC)	55	7.45 (1.27)	7.54 (0.93)	7.50 (0.80)		

Table 5. Spouses Marital Satisfaction by Latent Typology Membership

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

Figure 1. Standardized Latent Typologies of Couple Profiles

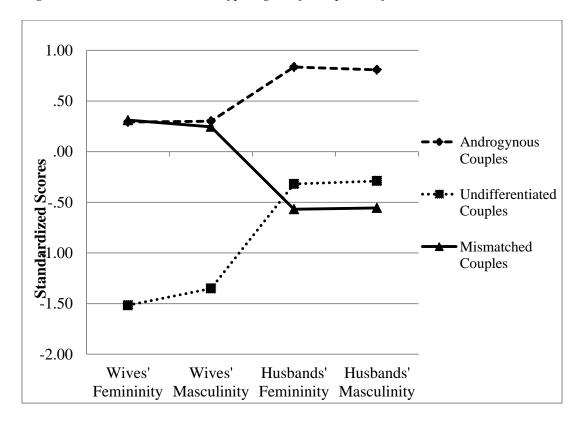


Figure 2. Links between Couple Typology and Marital Satisfaction

