

# The Influence of Socio-Economic Background of Parents on Academic Expectations of Their Children: Data From Indonesian Family Live Survey in 2014

Deri Indrahadi  
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.  
dindrahadi@gmail.com

Amika Wardana  
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.  
a.wardana@uny.ac.id

Yunike Sulistyosari  
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.  
yunikesulistyosari96@gmail.com

Sigit Wisnu Tomo  
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.  
wisnu1594@gmail.com

Ike Sylvia  
Padang State University  
Padang, Indonesia  
sya.anindya@yahoo.com

Nadiyya Qurrotu Aini Zummi  
Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta  
Yogyakarta, Indonesia.  
nadiyyazumi@gmail.com

**Abstract**—This study was conducted to explain various socio-economic background factors, specifically parental education level, parent's income, parental employment status, and family size that influence parental expectations on children's education. Data comes from IFLS-5. Parents' academic expectations are measured by the highest level of education a child will achieve. OLS correlation analysis and regression were applied to examine the effect of various factors on parental academic expectations. The results revealed that parental academic expectations were influenced by a certain degree of socioeconomic status and significance. Parental education is the main key to the formation of parents' academic expectations. High socio-economic backgrounds and averages affect academic expectations more than lower. This findings suggest that parental education is more meaningful than their income in relation to academic expectations. But the level of education supported by high-income influences very high academic expectations. This shows that each of the socio-economic background indicators supports one another and works hand in hand with academic expectations.

**Keywords:** *academic expectations, socio-economic background, parental income, parental education.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

The study of the socio-economic background or the socioeconomic background of parents has become a growing study in the last two decades. Some recent studies have focused on various fields including health, psychology, and education. The results of several studies indicate that socioeconomic background has shown a significant influence on student academic achievement, for example, some other studies use expectations as a mediator variable between socio-economic backgrounds on student academic achievement [1]–[3]. Parental academic expectations become an indirect variable that affects the socio-economic background of parents on academic achievement. This means that parents' academic expectations, on the one hand, have an indirect relationship to students' academic achievement, on the other hand, they are directly influenced by parents' socioeconomic status.

Recent research found a relationship that there is a direct influence between socioeconomic background on student academic achievement. For example, research that reveals the direct positive effect of parental education on children's achievement and simultaneously predicts parents' expectations and beliefs that lead positively to children's achievement [4]. In addition, research also reveals that parental expectations function as a link between socioeconomic background and academic achievement [5]. Therefore this research takes a step back to investigate directly the influence of socio-economic background on parents' educational expectations. We do not take the view of whether expectations have a causal effect on student academic achievement [6]. So that researchers do not yet have a well-established understanding of how parents' socioeconomic background can affect the expectations of children's educational achievement in the future.

This research builds on several recent studies of socioeconomic backgrounds that are assumed to influence parents' academic expectations and are evident from the research findings found. The results of several previous studies that examined the relationship of socioeconomic background to academic expectations and found positive results. For example, the results of studies that reveal that middle and high-income parents have higher academic expectations than low-income families, and conversely low-income families have a negative correlation with expectations and beliefs of children's school performance [7]. Besides, research in families below the median income found that mothers with higher education had higher expectations for the academic achievement of their children and that these expectations were related to their children's subsequent achievement in mathematics and reading [8].

Finally, the key question of this study is how much influence the socio-economic background has on parents' academic expectations. We are quite confident that parental academic expectations are a process and social phenomenon that is based and motivated by the influence of socioeconomic backgrounds such as parental education, income, employment, and family size including some selected

control variables. To support this speculation we provide support regarding the relationship of socio-economic background to parents' academic expectations.

#### *A. Parental Academic Expectation*

There are differing views by some experts on the term "academic expectations" in recent studies. Most researchers characterize parents' academic expectations as the beliefs or judgments parents have about their children's future as reflected in their achievements, the highest level of schooling achieved, or college attendance [7][9][10]. In general, researchers measure parents' academic expectations by asking how far parents want their children to go to school. Researchers also asked about students' perceptions of parental expectations as projections of parental expectations themselves. Parental expectations are generally contrasted with parental aspirations, which usually refers to the wishes, desires or goals that have been formed by parents regarding the future achievements of their children [11]. The terms parental expectations and parental aspirations although conceptually the two are different, the term is sometimes used interchangeably [13][15].

Measurements of parents' academic expectations in some previous studies were measured using a questionnaire with questions to school-level parents that their children wanted or expected to achieve [10][12]. Empirical research on parental expectations has been carried out in Europe and America. Some of these studies added ethnic and racial group variables in their sample. Race and ethnicity considered In recent years, several large studies have included measures of parental expectations including the National Longitudinal Education Study (NELS) and Early Childhood Longitudinal Studies (ECLS-K) [16].

#### *B. Socio-economic Background and Parents' Academic Expectations*

Parental education is called the socioeconomic background measure that most influences academic achievement and academic expectations of parents. Most of the study results reveal that parental education is directly related, a positive influence on academic achievement [17][18]. In addition, other research also shows that socioeconomic background influences parents' academic expectations, which in turn affects student academic achievement [4]. Recent research reveals three important findings [19]. First, the socio-economic background significantly influences students' academic achievement. Second, the socio-economic background also has a significant effect on parental expectations, and finally reveals that the socio-economic background has a greater influence and on students' academic achievement through mediating parental expectations.

Recent study has found that parents who earn above average have higher expectations than low income families, whereas families with below average incomes have low educational expectations [7]. In addition, studies using samples from low income minority families also found that mothers with higher education had higher expectations for their children's academic achievement and that this expectation was related to their children's subsequent achievement in mathematics and reading. In addition, the study also revealed that more positive beliefs and

expectations have an impact on good maternal behavior towards children, and high expectation of mothers can also build positive perceptions of mothers towards academic achievement [8].

#### *C. Gender Different in Academic Expectations*

Most prior studies include gender variables in measuring socioeconomic background and academic achievement. However, the research has not found consistent results between parents' expectations for boys and girls. Several studies have shown that educational expectations for girls are higher than expectations for boys [20][21]. On the contrary, other findings show different results. Men and women have the same academic expectations between men and women in the hope of attending higher education [22][23][24]. Then, a study of adolescents in America from longitudinal data and found results that did not differ between levels of education expectations of men and women [24]. This explains that gender differences in academic expectations so far have not shown a consistent effect.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS

### *A. Dataset*

Data from the 2014 5th Indonesian Family Live Survey (IFLS) was used for this study. IFLS is a unique household survey in Indonesia. The IFLS provides longitudinal data representing 80% nationally of the entire Indonesian population living in 13 of the 26 provinces. This survey collects respondents' data on various socio-economic and socio-demographic variables at the level of individuals, families, households and communities where they live, and includes education and employment. The first wave of IFLS was carried out in 1993 to individuals living in 7224 households. IFLS 3 and 4 re-interviewed the same respondents in 1997 and 2007. IFLS 5 was reported in 2014 in the same IFLS household group with a participation rate of 92% [25], with 16,204 households and 50,148 individuals [26] [25].

The IFLS provides a series of data that can be used to measure socioeconomic backgrounds including household income, parental education, parental employment status, and the number of household members who have all been used in measuring socio-economic backgrounds [27]. The researcher chose the variables to be used in this study which included parental education, parental income, and parental employment status and data related to student academic expectations, the researcher also included demographic variables from respondents such as gender, age, ethnicity, location of urban residence or rural. The results of the selection of these variables produced 12,252 parental data. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for all variables used in the analysis of this study.

### *B. Dependent Variables*

The dependent variable measured in this study is parent's expectations. various measures of education have been established in recent studies [5][29][30]. These measures range from completing elementary school to completing a doctorate. In this study, parents' expectations were measured by the parents' answers to the questionnaire, "What would be the highest level of education that would be achieved by children?" The researcher then categorizes the responses into 4 categories. 1 = "Elementary School", 2

= "Middle School", 3 = "Higher Education D3 / S1", and 4 = "Postgraduate S2 / S3".

**C. Socio-economic Background Measurement**

Four main indicators are used to measure a parent's socio-economic background, namely; parental education level, parental income, employment status and family size. IFLS provides information about the education of parents as head of the household (both men and women, and generally men). This study uses the highest level of parental education as an indicator of parental education to get accurate results. The level of parental education is divided into 4 categories. 1 = "Elementary School", 2 = "Middle School", 3 = "Higher Education D3 / S1", and 4 = "Postgraduate S2 / S3". The highest average education of household heads is senior high school or equivalent.

Parents' employment status is measured by 1 "unpaid worker", 2 "free workers", 3 "public and private workers", 4 "self employed", 5 "self-employed and employee assistance". Family income for this study is based on a household income questionnaire, respondents answered the question "what is the net salary obtained in the last month?" The average family income is Rp. 1.846.061. For family size is a continuous variable ranging from 1 to 16 people, mean = 5 people in one family.

**D. Control Variables**

Study on parental education expectations in recent years has often been linked to gender, race or ethnicity, location of residence and parents' age [30]–[32]. This research uses gender and ethnic dummy variables as control variables. Gender encoded 1 = male and 0 = female, ethnic coded 1 = Javanese ethnicity, and 0 = Non-Javanese ethnicity, location of residence encoded 1 = Urban and 0 = Village. Researchers also included the age of parents in the control variable, the average age of parents was 40 years. The socio-economic background in some studies is also related to well-being and hope. Families from high socioeconomic backgrounds can directly improve subjective well-being [33][34]. Well-being in this study was measured by the question "How satisfied are you with your current life?", Answers on five scales from very dissatisfied to very satisfied.

**E. Statistical Analysis**

The purpose of this research analysis is to measure the effect of socio-economic background on parents' academic expectations. Three stages of statistical analysis were applied in this study. The first stage the researcher made a descriptive analysis of all variables used. The second step the researcher tested the correlation of each explanatory variable on parental academic expectations. Third, using multiple linear regression analysis with two models to explain the effect of socio-economic background and control variables on parental academic expectations. First, each socio-economic background variable including level of education, income, employment status, and family size is included in model I. Second, the researcher includes all control variables including age, number of children, urban / village, java / non-java, type child sex, subjective well-being and household happiness.

Table I. Descriptive Statistic in Indonesian Family Live Survey-5

Variables	Mean	(SD)
Parental Expectation	2.74	.67
<b>Socio-economic Background</b>		
Parents' Educational Level	2.83	.66
Work Status	3.17	1.4
Parents' Income	1.846.061	2.27e+07
Number of Household Member	5	1.8
<b>Control Variables</b>		
Javanese	.55	.49
Urban	.57	.49
Parents' Age	40	7.3
Female	.48	.49
Number of Child	3	1.31
Well-being	3.34	.80
n = 12.252 IFLS Samples		

**III. RESULTS**

Table 1 shows the distribution of variables taken from IFLS 5. Overall, our descriptive statistics in Table 1 show that the majority of parents answered expecting their children to graduate from college diploma / bachelor degree. The average for this sample is 2.7 indicating that half of the sample (50.07%) expect that their children will graduate from college diploma / bachelor degree. We then performed correlation analysis to examine the relationship of each explanatory variable to parental academic expectations. Table II. indicates that the overall socio-economic background of parents and the dick variable correlate significantly with parents' academic expectations. The education level of parents gave a positive and quite high correlation (r = 0.55). The table above also shows that almost all variables correlate significantly with parents' academic expectations, including control variables.

Table II. Summary of Correlation Selected Variables and Parental Expectation Result

Variable	Parental Expectation (r)
<b>Socio-economic Background</b>	
Parents' Education	0.55*
Work Status	0.23*
Parents' Income	0.40*
Number of Household Member	-0.04*
<b>Control Variables</b>	
Javanese	-0.08*
Urban	0.15*
Parent Age	0.11*
Female	0.01 ns
Number of Child	-0.13*
Well-being	0.11*

n = 12.252 IFLS Samples. Reported associations are the coefficients of Spearman correlation, \*p <.05. unless stated in ns (not statistically significant)

Table III. Regression Analysis Effect of Socio-Economic Background on Parents' Academic Expectation

Variables	Model I β	Model II β
<b>Socio-economic Background</b>		
Parents' Educational Level	0.49***	0.45***
Work Status	0.08***	0.07***
Parents' Income	6.69e-11	1.57e-10
Number of Household Member	-0.02**	-0.01**
<b>Control Variables</b>		
Javanese		-0.08***
Urban		0.09***
Parent Age		0.01***
Felame		0.01
Number of Child		-0.03***
Well-being		0.06***
R <sup>2</sup>	0.29***	0.33***

n = 12.252 IFLS Samples

Signif. codes: 0 '\*\*\*' 0.001 '\*\*' 0.01 '\*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

This section show result from the empirical analysis. Using multiple linier regressions of parental expectation on the socio-economic background variables and control variables. Regression analysis results generally show a high and significant influence of socio-economic background on parental academic expectations in both models ( $R^2 = 0.29$ ) in model I and ( $R^2 = 0.33$ ) in model II. This influence increased and remained significant when the control variables were included in the regression model (model II in table III). Parental income in both models consistently shows a non-significant effect. Expectations of girls are higher than boys ( $\beta = 0.01$ ) but this result is not significant in the two regression models. Two proposed regression models that we propose work well, this is evidenced by an increase after the control variables are entered into the regression.

#### IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study explains the influence of parental socio-economic background including parental education level and other socio-economic background indicators such as employment status, income, and number of family members including control variables such as ethnicity, residence, parent's age, child sex, number of children, and the level of welfare directly influences children's educational expectations. Based on the results of the statistical analysis, several important findings are described in this section. First, our hypothesis that parental education influences parental expectations is supported through the results of correlation analysis and regression results. Parental education, from these results, is the main factor determining parents' expectations for the child's academics. The theoretical model proposed based on the results of the analysis works well in explaining the strong influence of parental education on children's educational expectations. Our second finding is related to parental income factors which show insignificant influence of parents' academic expectations on children in the future. This is not a surprising finding. This opposes the general hypothesis that all indicators of parental socio-economic background are the factors forming parents' academic expectations. The higher parental income does not guarantee that it will have an impact on the child's educational expectations. Based on this discussion it appears that future studies must further examine the effect of parental income on educational expectations. Our third finding is a small but significant difference in ethnic expectations. So far there has been no empirical evidence that has found consistent results, especially in Indonesia. The findings show a negative influence on ethnic Javanese, this shows that children from Javanese ethnicity are less likely to pursue higher education (diploma, undergraduate and graduate) than families with ethnic backgrounds outside Java. But families who live in cities affect parents' academic expectations. This means that they must be careful in interpreting differences in expectations between ethnic groups, given the relatively small effect. Similarly, findings related to the sex of the child showed a small and insignificant influence. There is almost no difference in parents' expectations for girls and boys. This supports the previous findings [22][23][24]. It needs to be stressed, regardless of gender differences parental expectations are strongly influenced by socioeconomic status.

We further found that parental academic expectations increased in families with high welfare levels. Welfare, in some previous studies is a direct impact of the socio-economic background of parents. Parents with a high level of welfare place high expectations of their children in education as well. The findings of this study illustrate the complexity in the relationship between socio-economic background and parental academic expectations. Furthermore, socio-demographic conditions such as ethnicity, gender, and residence make the findings of this study vary. These findings have important implications in increasing parents' academic expectations, especially for policy makers. Several limitations to this study need to be acknowledged. The most important limitation lies in the fact that not all of the many factors are potentially related to parents' academic expectations in this study. For example, parental income is an important component of socio-economic background, but does not have a significant partial effect. This limitation means that study findings need to be interpreted cautiously. It is recognized that there may be other factors associated with parents' academic expectations. In addition, the limitation of this study is the low response rate. Parents are reluctant to report their income in this study.

Future studies are needed to examine other factors (eg prior academic achievement, teacher expectations). Some recent studies have included these variables in relation to parents' academic expectations. it is also necessary to investigate the effects of parental expectations on children's expectations. The question is whether parents' academic expectations are in line with the child's expectations and includes their impact on student academic achievement. A third limitation is that the data collected is a cross section. IFLS makes it possible to collect panel or time series data which allows more accurate results and changes in certain periods can be explained. Finally, this research has raised many questions that require further investigation.

Future research can be recommended examining the relationship of socioeconomic status and parents' academic expectations to academic achievement and child development [6]. This is expected to be able to provide an understanding of the extent to which the socio-economic background works for children [5]. In addition, the use of various methods in measuring parents' academic expectations is needed. Data collection such as time series or longitudinal data enables future researchers to provide representations regarding the formation of parents' academic expectations and changes in expectations over a certain period of time.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study takes data from IFLS. The authors would like to thank the availability of data from the IFLS. Thank you to all parties involved in this study. Thank you also to Adi Cilik Pierewan for review in writing this manuscript.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] A. D. Benner and R. S. Mistry, "Congruence of Mother and Teacher Educational Expectations and Low-Income Youth ' s Academic Competence," *J. Educ. Psychol.*, vol. 99, no. 1, pp. 140–153, 2007.
- [2] M. Zhan, "Assets , Expectations , and Children ' s Educational Achievement in Female- Headed Households," *Child. Youth Serv. Rev.*, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 191–211, 2014.

- [3] K. Goyette and Y. Xie, "Educational Expectations of Asian American Youths : Determinants and Ethnic Differences," *Sociol. Educ.*, vol. 72, no. 1, pp. 22–36, 1999.
- [4] J. S. Eccles, "Influences of parents ' education on their children ' s educational attainments : the role of parent and child perceptions," vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 191–204, 2005.
- [5] P. E. Davis-kean, "The Influence of Parent Education and Family Income on Child Achievement : The Indirect Role of Parental Expectations and the Home Environment," *J. Fam. Psychol.*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 294–304, 2005.
- [6] J. Anders, "Oxford Review of Education The influence of socioeconomic status on changes in young people ' s expectations of applying to university," *Oxford Rev. Educ.*, vol. 4985, no. June, pp. 1–21, 2017.
- [7] D. R. Entwisle and N. M. Astone, "Invited Paper Some Practical Guidelines for Measuring Youth ' s Race / Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status," *Child Dev.*, vol. 65, pp. 1521–1540, 1994.
- [8] T. G. Halle, B. Kurtz-costes, and J. L. Mahoney, "Family Influences on School Achievement in Low-Income , African American Children," no. January 2016, 1997.
- [9] Jennifer E . Glick and Michael J . White, "The Academic Trajectories of Immigrant Youths : Analysis within and across Cohorts," *Demography*, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 759–783, 2003.
- [10] R. Gallimore, L. Reese, and H. Garnier, "Cause or effect? A longitudinal Study of Immigrant Latinos' Parents Aspirations and Expectations and Their Children's School Performance.," *Am. Educ. Res. J.*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 547–582, 2001.
- [11] R. Seginer, "Parenting : Science and Practice Parents ' Educational Involvement : A Developmental Ecology Perspective," *Parent. Sci. Pract.*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 37–41, 2009.
- [12] W. -C Mau, "Educational Planning and Academic Achievement of Middle School Students : A Racial and Cultural Comparison," *J. Couns. Dev.*, vol. 73, no. 5, pp. 518–526, 1995.
- [13] L. P. Juang and R. K. Silbereisen, "The relationship between adolescent academic capability beliefs, parenting and school grades," *J. Adolesc.*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 3–18, 2002.
- [14] X. Fan- and M. Chen, "Parental Involvement and Students ' Academic Achievement : A Meta-Analysis," *Educ. Psychol. Rev.*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 1–22, 2016.
- [15] J. Aldous, "Immigrant Youths ' Educational Achievements," *J. Fam. Issues*, vol. 27, no. 12, pp. 1633–1667, 2006.
- [16] Y. Yamamoto and S. D. Holloway, "Parental Expectations and Children ' s Academic Performance in Sociocultural Context," *Educ Psychol Rev*, vol. 22, pp. 189–214, 2010.
- [17] S. Jimerson, B. Egeland, and A. Teo, "A longitudinal study of achievement trajectories: Factors associated with change," *J. Educ. Psychol.*, vol. 91, no. 1, pp. 116–126, 1999.
- [18] T. Luster, K. Rhoades, and B. Haas, "The Relation between Parental Values and Parenting Behavior: A Test of the Kohn Hypothesis," *J. Marriage Fam.*, vol. 51, no. 1, p. 139, 2006.
- [19] D. D. Dixon *et al.*, "The magic of hope : Hope mediates the relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement and academic achievement," *J. Educ. Res.*, vol. 0, no. 0, pp. 1–9, 2017.
- [20] B. C. Rosen and C. S. Aneshensel, "Sex Differences in the Educational-Occupational Expectation Process," *Soc. Forces*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 164–186, 1978.
- [21] E. Flouri and D. Hawkes, "Ambitious mothers-successful daughters: Mothers' early expectations for children's education and children's earnings and sense of control in adult life," *Br. J. Educ. Psychol.*, vol. 78, no. 3, pp. 411–433, 2008.
- [22] M. Fraser and R. Garg, "Educational Aspirations," *Encycl. Adolesc.*, vol. 29, pp. 1136–1143, 2018.
- [23] Z. R. Mello, "Gender Variation in Developmental Trajectories of Educational and Occupational Expectations and Attainment From Adolescence to Adulthood," *Dev. Psychol.*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 1069–1080, 2008.
- [24] J. Trusty and J. Trusty, "High Educational Expectations and Low Achievement : Stability of Educational Goals Across Adolescence," *J. Educ. Res.*, vol. 93, no. 6, pp. 37–41, 2010.
- [25] D. Thomas *et al.*, "User ' s Guide for the Indonesia Family Life Survey , Wave 5 Volume 2," *Wave 5 Vol. 2*, vol. 2, no. March, pp. 108–123, 2016.
- [26] B. S. *et al.* J. Strauss, F. Witoelar, *User ' s Guide for the Indonesia Family Life Survey , Wave 5 Volume 2*, vol. 2, no. March. 2016.
- [27] R. M. Hauser, "Measuring Socioeconomic Status in Studies of Child Development," *Child Dev.*, vol. 65, no. 1975, pp. 1541–1545, 1994.
- [28] H. Long and W. Pang, "Family Socioeconomic Status, Parental Expectations, and Adolescents' Academic Achievements : A Case of China," *Educ. Res. Eval.*, vol. 22, no. 5–6, pp. 283–304, 2016.
- [29] Y. Zhang, E. Haddad, B. Torres, and C. Chen, "The Reciprocal Relationships Among Parents ' Expectations , Adolescents ' Expectations , and Adolescents ' Achievement : A Two-Wave Longitudinal Analysis of the NELS Data," *J Youth Adolesc.*, vol. 40, pp. 479–489, 2011.
- [30] C. M. Kirk, R. K. L. Moss, C. Nilsen, and D. Q. Colvin, "The role of parent expectations on adolescent educational aspirations," *Educ. Stud.*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 37–41, 2011.
- [31] L. Ren and C. P. Edwards, "Chinese Parents ' Expectations and Child Preacademic Skills : The Indirect Role of Parenting and Social Competence Chinese Parents ' Expectations and Child Preacademic Skills ;," *Early Educ. Dev.*, vol. 00, no. 00, pp. 1–20, 2017.
- [32] P. Koshy, A. M. Dockery, R. Seymour, P. Koshy, A. M. Dockery, and R. S. Parental, "Studies in Higher Education Parental expectations for young people ' s participation in higher education in Australia Parental expectations for young people ' s participation in higher," *Stud. High. Educ.*, vol. 0, no. 0, pp. 1–16, 2017.
- [33] T. Guse and Y. Vermaak, "Hope , Psychosocial Well-Being and Socioeconomic Status Among a Group of South African Adolescents Hope , Psychosocial Well-Being and Socioeconomic Status Among a Group of South African Adolescents," *J. Psychol. Africa*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 527–533, 2014.
- [34] R. D. Conger, L. E. Wallace, Y. Sun, R. L. Simons, V. C. Mcloyd, and G. H. Brody, "Economic Pressure in African American Families : A Replication and Extension of the Family Stress Model," *J. Marriage Fam.*, vol. 72, no. Juni 2010, pp. 685–704, 2010.