

The Gender Gap in Household Labour: Differences between Married and Cohabiting People in
Canada

A Thesis

Submitted to the College of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

In the Department of Sociology

University of Saskatchewan

Saskatoon

By

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ABSTRACT

Time availability and relative resources theories have been shown to explain some of the gender gap in housework among married Canadians however, we do not know whether these theories explain the gender differences among cohabiting couples in Canada. Using the 2010 General Social Survey, this study seeks to estimate (1) the gender gap in time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people in Canada, and (2) the usefulness of time availability and relative resource theories for married and cohabiting couples. The results show that married women perform more than an extra hour of housework compared to married men but there is significantly less gender difference in housework among cohabiting women and men. Time availability explains more of the gender difference among cohabiting people and relative resource theory is a better explanation of the gender differences among married people, however neither of these theories can explain all the gender difference for either type of partnership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work will not have been successful without the help of the Almighty God who has been my strength, defender and the source of knowledge. I also acknowledge the tremendous support of my supervisor Dr. Laura Wright and my committee member Dr. Sarah Knudson for their helpful suggestions and inputs to make this work efficient. I also thank my husband, Christopher Takyi for his encouraging words and support toward this work. I duly acknowledge all various authors whose work I have also cited in my work.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the Almighty God, to my father Mr. Baffour Asare and my mother Mrs. Esther Owusu and to my siblings for their massive support and prayers to make my education here successful.

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THE GENDER GAP IN HOUSEWORK: DIFFERENCES AMONG MARRIED AND COHABITING PEOPLE IN CANADA

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Gender inequality and gender difference exist and permeate all aspects of society. Due to this, gender equality has become one of the dominant subjects in academia, policy and political circles. Across the globe, some of the issues discussed are the gender pay gap, formal labour force participation and the differential treatment accorded men and women in the workplace (Arulampalam, Booth and Bryan, 2007). Another major area of research focuses on how unpaid work within the home is gendered and a large body of research has found there are large differences in the amount of time women and men spend on housework in many countries, both historically and today with women doing more of the housework than men despite women entering the workforce (Bhalla, 2008; Bianchi et al, 2000; Cunningham, 2007; Pinto and Coltrane, 2009).

In some parts of Africa, social norms dictate a very strict gendered division of household labour. In Ghana for instance, wives must carry foodstuffs from the farm, take water to the bathroom for the husband and show humility in action and speech to the husband, while the traditional role of men is to provide for the family, earning money by working a full-time job, providing information and guidance relating to sports, careers and financial matters (Diabah and Amfo, 2015).

This highly gendered division of household labour is not restricted to developing countries. In America and other developed Western countries, husbands have traditionally held the role of the breadwinner while the wife took on the role of caregiver (Hawke, 2007). In the early 1950s, about 24% of women aged 25 to 54 participated in the labour market whereas almost every man in the same age group participated in the labour market during this period (Goldin, 2006). This means that most women didn't work outside the home during the 1950s. The 1980s brought about dramatic changes in the labour force participation of women in Canada and the US. The labour force participation rate of women in Canada increased from "less than 50 percent in the mid 1970s to 70 percent in the late 1980s" (Beaudry and Lemieux, 1999: 1). Women's increasing responsibility in the public sphere was not matched by a decrease in their responsibilities in the private sphere. According to Hochschild (1989), on average, in 1989, employed wives worked fewer hours for pay and spent roughly 15 hours per week longer than men on domestic work subjecting many women to a double day or as Hochschild termed it, the second shift. Similarly, wives spend more time on housework than their husbands in most cases (e.g. Coltrane, 2000; Dempsey, 2002). Gender differences in the time spent on housework like cooking, cleaning, and laundry have decreased in the Canada over the past several decades, but large gender differences remain with women still performing the bulk of unpaid work. In 1986, Canadian wives did about 200 percent more unpaid work than husbands, compared to about 50 percent more unpaid work in 2015 (Fletcher, 2017). This large body of research shows that gender inequality still exists in household labour in Canada.

Why is the gender gap in the time spent on housework so persistent? According to past research, there are three explanations for the gendered division of labour namely: time availability theory, relative resources theory, and gender socialization. The time availability perspective

postulates that the amount of time each partner spends on paid work influences his/her share of housework, so housework is divided according to the time each partner has available (Davis et al. 2007). Time availability theory argues that couples rationally allocate time spent on housework based on spouses' relative hours in the paid labor market and the amount of housework to be done (Gough and Killeward, 2010). The theory also suggests that the division of household labour is allocated according to the availability of household members in connection with the amount of housework to be done (Bianchi et al, 2000). According to the findings of Wright (2007), women in Australia allocate, on average, 26.3 hours per week to house chores while men allocate 11.3 hours per week—which is twice the time women allocate to housework. Most research using time availability finds that women spend more time on housework compared to men (e.g. Davis and Greenstein, 2004; Pinto and Coltrane, 2009; Bianchi et al, 2000; Kroska, 2004) and most of these studies suggest that most of the difference is attributed to the differences in time spent on paid work.

Time availability may explain some of the gender gap in time spent on housework, but it is not a complete explanation. Research shows that even when husbands and wives are both employed full-time, wives still spend more time on chores than husbands (Gupta, 2006; Hersch and Stratton, 1994; Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994). According to a study by Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) in the United States on how both employed men and women allocate their time to housework, they found that full-time employed men spent 18.2 hours per week on housework which represents 34.5% of all housework done by the couple while full time employed women spent 33.2 hours per week which represents 66.2% of all housework. Similarly, a study by Craig (2007) in Australia found that employed women spent less than 3 hours per day on housework while unemployed women spent 5 hours per day on housework but for men, both employed and

unemployed spent about 2 hours per day on housework. This shows that women dedicate more of their time to housework whether being employed or unemployed compared to men.

Other research using the time availability approach stresses that the number of hours that husbands and wives spend working for pay is more important than their employment status. Even though employed women are still doing most of the housework, the amount of time spent on housework can also be determined by the number of hours spent on paid work. A woman can still be employed and be doing most of the housework because she spends less time on paid work than the partner. According to research by Artis and Pavalko (2003), employment status is a significant predictor of household labor, but the actual hours women spend on paid labor are strongly linked to the time allocated to housework. In particular, the hours a woman spends on paid labor decreases her contribution to housework (Pinto and Coltrane, 2009) and tends to increase her husband's contribution to housework (Cunningham, 2007; Noonan et al, 2007; Kroska 2004). However, there is still gender gap in these studies. Time availability theory seems to explain some of the gender differences in time spent on housework, but significant gender gaps remain even after accounting for hours spent in paid work (Gough and Killeward, 2010).

The second approach used by past research to explain household division of labor is the Relative Resources approach. This approach argues that the division of household labor is the result of a negotiation between spouses in which their relative resources, such as earnings and education play an important role in the bargaining process. Consequently, the more an individual earns in relation to his or her partner, the less housework he or she does (Aassve et al, 2014). Some research uses income and education as measures of a couple's relative resources (e.g. Bernhardt et al, 2008), while some research uses only income to measure of relative resource (e.g. Baxter and Hewitt, 2013). The literature suggests that the level of education men and women have, has an

impact on their allocation of time to housework. It has mostly been reported that higher levels of education have a negative association with the time both men and women allocate to housework (Craig et al 2007; Craig 2006; Miller and Mulvey, 2000). For example, Miller and Mulvey (2000) reported that women with postsecondary qualifications in Australia allocate approximately 33 minutes less a day to housework than women with less than a high school education. Past research also suggests that relative income affects the time men and women allocate to housework. According a study by Bernhardt et al (2008) in Europe, if a man earns relatively high income and his partner low income, the likelihood for his partner to spend more time on housework is high and if a woman earns relatively higher income than her partner, there is a greater likelihood that housework will be shared equally. Likewise, Bittman et al. (2003) found that, in America and Australia, men in two-earner families typically do less housework than their wives because they earn more, and women also use higher earnings to bargain for a reduction in their own domestic work or an increase in their husbands' housework. This means that the more income an individual has in relation to his/her partner, the greater the possibilities of negotiating away household duties (Evertsson and Neramo, 2004). Looking at the relative resource approach, a high-income person will contribute less to housework since he or she is contributing more to the household in terms of earnings (Evertsson, 2007). The relative resources approach suggests that the persistent gender differences in housework may be due to gender differences in earnings.

The third approach to explaining gender differences in housework is the gender socialization approach or gender perspective. This approach argues that the set of beliefs and attitudes about the appropriate roles of men and women in society influence couples' behavior, especially when they find themselves in adverse situations (Thebaud, 2010). Gender influences household division of labor not only through the wealth that couples bring into the relationship but

also through gender expectations about behavior (Bittman et al, 2003). Gender socialization, particularly the way children are trained from infancy to specialize in housework, affects their behaviour and contribution to housework when they become adults (Frost, 2009). According to Penha (2006), socialization and childhood experiences have an additional impact on adult lives since most adults pattern their family behaviour based on their socially constructed memories as from childhood. The household is a place where gender is constructed because housework is symbolically “women’s work” (Goldberg, 2013). Thus, men sometimes do not engage in what they view as feminine activities such as housework because of their perceptions about how they should express their masculinity (Penha, 2006).

These three theories are often used in concert to explain gender differences in household labour (Aassve et al, 2014; Cunningham, 2007; Bianchi et al, 2000; Starrels, 1994). Often one or the other is argued to be a better explanation in different national or historical contexts. For instance, Gough and Killeward (2010) argue that relative resources theory is a better explanation of the gendered division of labour among married and cohabiting couples in the United States of America than time availability.

1.2. Motivation of the research

There is a growing body of research showing that a more equal sharing of household duties is good for women and good for families (Dew and Wilcox, 2011; Frisco and Williams, 2003; Starrels, 1994). Wives in the United States benefit when their husbands share housework more equally (Hochschild, 1989). According to Tang and Curran (2012), wives are happier and more satisfied in marriages when their husbands participate in household labour because they believe that when men participate in household labour, it shows a sign of love and care for their wives. In addition,

wives' reports of marital quality are higher when husbands allocate more of their time to housework (Amato et al, 2003).

Most research done on gendered division of labour has focused mainly on married couples (Coltrane, 2000, Evertsson and Neramo, 2007). Only a few studies on household labour have focused on other marital statuses or the distinction between cohabiting and married men and women. Some of these studies found that married women spend more time on house chores than cohabiting women even after controlling for sociodemographic and household characteristics (Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Shelton and Daphne, 1993) and housework is more equitable in cohabitation than marriage (Davis and Greenstein, 2007). This is an important limitation of the current research since family forms have changed dramatically in the past several decades and 'the family' does not only consist of married people with children, but also alternative family forms including cohabiting couples (Le Bourdais & Juby, 2002). Cohabitation has become increasingly prevalent in Canada over the last three decades. In fact, most Canadians now enter their first partnership through cohabitation rather than marriage (Wright, 2016), and 53 percent of Canadians have been in a cohabiting relationship (Le Bourdais and Lapierre Adamcyk, 2004).

Cohabiting couples may divide their unpaid household labour differently than married couples because cohabiters are generally more egalitarian than married people (Cohen and Batalova, 2002), therefore couples might want to divide housework equally unlike married people. Or, despite one partner not totally "wanting" to do things equally, the cohabiters' dynamic may result in more negotiation toward a situation where housework is shared equally or almost equally. Therefore, understanding the gender difference in household labour time based on married couples limits our understanding of how the division of labour is done within the family and an examination of the way household labour is divided in cohabitation is warranted. Based on this, I will be

examining the relative usefulness of time availability and relative resource explanations for different types of unions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This literature entails presentation of findings from other research, indication of sources and critical evaluation of relevant work done in the field of household division of labour. Most of the findings, theories and concepts in this literature were generated in other countries due to limited Canadian research on household division of labour. This chapter consist of various sections that examine the following themes

- Household division of labour: what is it and who does more
- Why study the household division of labour
- Men's contribution to housework over time
- Has there been any change in the contribution of household labour for men and women?
- Reasons for studying household division of labour among married and cohabiting couples
- Ways in which cohabitation might be different from marriage

2.2. Household division of labour: What is it and who does more?

Housework is mostly unpaid work done at home in order to ensure cleanliness, a healthy environment or home, as well the maintenance of family members (Coltrane, 2000). Household labor has also been conceptualized to include cleaning, grocery shopping, laundry, cooking, caring for aged family members, yard work, snow removal, car maintenance and repairs, and taking out garbage (Cunningham, 2007; Bianchi et al 2000; Arrighi and Maume 2000). Measures usually consist of four or more of these tasks which are considered as a group of tasks to be accomplished (Lachance and Bouchard, 2010). Household labour has been distinguished into different types by

scholars, but more often, housework is classified into two categories: routine housework and occasional or irregular housework. Routine housework is mostly considered time consuming, repetitive, burdensome, and never-ending tasks (Coltrane, 2000), while occasional or irregular housework is considered as time flexible, voluntary, and more enjoyable than routine housework (Gupta and Ash, 2008). Routine housework mostly includes cooking, cleaning after meal, shopping, and laundry while irregular housework includes yard work and car maintenance. Most studies on the household division of labor have focused on routine housework (Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Cunningham, 2007; Bianchi et al, 2000; Batalova and Cohen, 2002) and the results indicate that women spend more time doing housework compared to men. The conceptualization of household labour sometimes includes childcare tasks in some cases (Hook, 2006). But in most cases, researchers have excluded childcare from their studies because it is believed that household and childcare are two unique activities (Coltrane and Adams, 2001).

Who does more of this routine household labour? Most studies on the gendered division of labour have found that women are responsible for most of the housework, even when their paid labour increases (Bianchi et al, 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Evertsson and Neramo, 2007). Men, on the other hand, have been found to do less of the housework compared to women (Baxter, 2000; Bittman et al, 2003). However, recent studies show that men have increased their contribution to housework overtime even though women are still responsible for most of the housework (Fletcher, 2017). According to Fletcher, in 1986, Canadian mothers did two hundred percent of unpaid work compared to fathers, but this gender difference has decreased since in 2015, Canadian women spent 3.6 hours per day on unpaid work compared to 2.4 hours spent on unpaid work by Canadian men. This is similar to a study done in the United States of America by Bianchi et al (2012). They found that time spent on housework per week by women in the United States decreased from 30

hours in 1965 to 16.2 hours in 2010 while that of men increased from 4.9 in 1965 to 10.0 hours in 2010 but women still do more of the housework than men. Looking at the literature, men have increased their time spent on housework since the 1950s but, there is a huge variation between time spent on housework by men and women because women are still responsible for most of the household labour. In addition, most research focuses on married men and women, and little is known between cohabiting and married people.

2.3. Why study the household division of labour?

Human beings feed themselves, clothe, shelter and care for children as well as adults. As a matter of fact, we need to study household labour because human beings depend on these activities for continuing survival (Coltrane, 2000). Unpaid work is important for the maintenance of the family and society, just as paid work is, and both are equally stressful (MacDonald and Lethbridge, 2005). Nonetheless, housework is mostly considered women's work (Sayer, 2005). In general, women have been obliged to perform housework, and men have assumed that housework is mainly the responsibility of wives and children (Coltrane, 2000). Therefore, studying household labour broadens our knowledge about the family and how marital status, age, resources and social status affect time spent on housework. Also, understanding the factors that influence the gendered division of household labour for different groups can help reduce this inequality and contribute to stronger and happier families.

2.4. Men's Contribution to Housework over Time

Even though women are responsible for most of the housework, literature shows that men have increased their contribution to housework over time. A study on the gendered division of labour by Sayer (2005) found that women are still responsible for most household duties but, men have

substantially increased their contribution to housework by 30 minutes from 1965 to 1998. Similarly, Sayer et al (2001) found that in 2001, husbands in the United States did 13 hours per week of house chores while wives did 18 hours per week compared to in the 1980s when wives did 23 hours per week of housework and men did 11 hours. Furthermore, Hook (2006) found that men's contribution to housework in 20 industrialized countries has increased from less than one fifth in 1965 to more than one third in 2003. In addition, an analysis of couples' relative contribution to housework in Britain found a faster growth in the percentage of families where the man contributed more time to housework than the woman (Sullivan, 2008). Even though the gender gap in housework is decreasing and men are beginning to do more of the housework, recent studies show that women are still responsible for most of the housework (Lachance and Bouchard, 2010; Bianchi et al, 2000; Coltrane, 2000).

2.5. Has there been any change in the household division of labour for men and women over time?

Gender roles are behaviors and attitudes considered by particular cultures as suitable for men and women (Lindsey, 2015). Gender roles determine when and if a woman should be able to join the workforce, who should clean the dishes, and who should throw away the garbage (Bianchi et al, 2000). According to Hill Collins (1998), ideal families of the 1950s used to have a specific authority structure, namely, a father who works to earn adequate family income, a stay-at-home wife, and children. This is similar to the ideology of separate spheres where women's place was in the private sphere including family life and home while men's place was in the public spheres such as politics which become increasingly separate from home life (Lewis, 2019). Women in this patriarchal traditional, ideal family type were responsible for the majority of the housework since the wife stayed at home while the husband worked to make income for the family (Ruggles, 2015).

There have been large scale changes in the institution of the family that have moved families away from this idealized, separate-spheres version of the nuclear family dominant in the 1950s. Family as an institution has undergone great changes in Canada comprising delayed marriage, declining fertility, changing gender attitude at home and increased diversity of family forms (Wright, 2019). The patriarchal, traditional bread-winner model began to weaken with the rise of female wage labour and the rise of wage labour for women undermined the authority of husbands (Ruggles, 2015). Similarly, gender attitudes are changing and an increasingly proportion of the population of women are in the labour force, and support for egalitarianism over male breadwinner model is growing (Kaufman, 2005). About one-third of women in the United States would want to stay at home without working in paid sector (Kaufman, 2005) unlike in the 1950s where fathers worked and mothers stayed at home (Lewis, 2019). Support for the breadwinner model is declining because three quarters of American adults support an egalitarian model while only one quarter of adult think that men should work while the women tend to the home, and this declining support of male breadwinner model occurred earlier for women than for men (Allred, 2018). Gerson (2010) conducted an in-depth interview in 2009 with one hundred and twenty men and women between the ages of 18 and 32 and found that, most men and women expressed support for working mothers and the desire for stable, long lasting relationship and egalitarian partnership for their own life and not a relationship based on traditional model of gender division between work and family. This implies that egalitarian model of partnership is mostly preferred by young people in the United States rather than the traditional model of partnership where the man provides financial supports for the family and the woman does the domestic tasks.

There has also been an increase in the educational attainment and labour force participation rate of women than the 1950s. According to Sims and Ciuriak (1980), the labour force participation

rate of Canadian women has increased from about 22% in 1953 to about 34% in 1979. In 2014, women represent about 47% of the entire Canadian workforce (Statistics Canada, 2014) and in 2015, the labour force participation rate of women increased to about 81% (Drolet et al, 2016). This trend shows that, women are increasingly participating in paid work compared to the 1950s. In addition to the increasing rate of women in the labour force, women are doing better than men in terms of education (Statistics Canada, 2011). In Canada, more girls than boys earn their high school diploma within the expected time frame and the proportion of young women age 25 to 34 with a bachelor's degree has increased from 32.8% in 2006 to 40.7% in 2016 compared to 29.1% of young men with bachelors degree in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2016). Similarly, the proportion of Canadian women age 25 to 64 with university degree has more than doubled between 1991 and 2015 from 15% to 35% while the proportion of men with university degree increased less dramatically from 19% in 1991 to 30% in 2015 (Ferguson, 2016). There is also a decline in proportion of women with no formal education or certificate from 31% in 1991 to 9% in 2015 (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Have these broad changes in the family resulted in any changes to the gendered division of household labour? The above increase of women in the labour force participation, the increase in women's education and the decline for breadwinner model shows how families have changed since the 1950s and how women are participating both academically and in paid work. Since women have increased their participation in paid work, it may be reasonable to expect that men would help with the household chores since it will ease pressure on wives (Baxter et al, 2008), or at least that the gender gap in time spent on housework would be greatly reduced. Nevertheless, this is far from the case. Despite the gains for women outside the home (Berthoud and Gershuny, 2000), and the increase of women's paid work time (MacDonald and Lethbridge, 2005), women are still

responsible for most of the housework. Even in dual-earner couples in which spouses spend comparable hours in paid labor, women spend nearly three times as many hours per week doing housework (Grunow et al, 2012; Lachance and Bouchard, 2010). A recent study has shown that women in North America are responsible for two thirds of the daily housework tasks (Hook, 2006). A study found that, in the United States, wives still perform a greater proportion of housework even in situations where both the wives and the husbands' work hours are relatively equal (Bartley et al, 2005). This means that despite the changes in family and women's role outside the home, women still spend more time on housework than men.

2.6. Reasons for studying household division of labour among married and cohabiting couples

It's important to study the gendered division of labour but most of our knowledge of the way that people divide their unpaid labour comes from studies of married people. Although studies of married people are very useful, they are limited because they ignore a growing proportion of people who are partnered but not legally married. In most countries and throughout history, marriage has played an important role in the life of most adults, but the central role of marriage in some regions has diminished (Williams, 2003). There have been dramatic changes in marital patterns in Canada, the US and other Western countries, including divorce and delayed marriage, and an increase in cohabitation and nonmarital childbearing (Cherlin, 2010; Kiernan, 2004; Smock, 2000). According to Kiernan (2004), Western European countries such as Sweden, Norway and Denmark have the highest cohabitation rates while Poland, Spain and Italy have the lowest cohabitation rates. Similarly, marriage rates in U.S. have fallen, while the number of U.S. adults in cohabiting relationships has increased, reaching about 18 million in 2016 which is about a 29% increase from

2007 (Stepler, 2017). Currently, most research shows that cohabitation in the U.S. is still increasing.

The marriage rate in Canada has fallen from 84% in 2001 to 78.7% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017) while the rate of cohabitation has increased from 7% in 1981 (Rao, 1990) to 16.4% in 2001 and to 21% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). In addition, Le Bourdais and Lapierre-Adamcyk (2004) found that, in the 1960s, nine out of ten Canadian women would marry at least once in their life, compared to just more than half of Canadian women in 2000. The increasing rate of cohabitation is one of the reasons to examine the differences in household labor time between married and cohabiting men and women.

Another reason studies focusing only on married people's division of labour are limited is because most Canadians now form their first union through cohabitation. According to Wright (2016), cohabitation has been accepted as part of the family system and has become the most frequent way to form first union in Canada with about 60% of people born in the 1970s cohabiting with their first partner. Similarly, in the 1970s, marriage was the normal way to start first unions but now, most young cohorts who enter their first union prefer to start with cohabitation rather than go straight into marriage (Le Bourdais and Adamcyk, 2004; Bumpass and Lu, 2000). Research has also shown reasons why people prefer to cohabit in their first union. According Johnson et al (2001), many young people believe cohabitation is the best way to test a relationship before marriage. A study also found that cohabitation help the couples to build some sort of fundamental mutual commitment (Markman et al, 2006). Since most young adults prefer to cohabit prior to marriage, this would mean that married couples who cohabited prior to marriage might establish their routines and decide how they divide their labour early on while they are cohabiting therefore, the need to study housework between married and cohabiting people.

There have been a few studies conducted in the US that examine the gendered division of labour among both married and cohabiting people. These studies found that married women spend more time on housework than cohabiting women while cohabiting men spend more time on housework than married men (Greenstein, 2007; Shelton and Daphne, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994). However, most of these studies are outdated since there is a continued change in the labour force participation of women, rapid increasing rate of cohabitation and changing gender attitudes, this offers a unique angle to study contemporary Canadians. Also, we need to research this area in Canada because, to my knowledge, there have been no Canadian studies examining the gendered division of labor and differences among married and cohabiting people. This is a significant gap in our knowledge because cohabitation has become extremely common in Canada and some people see it as an alternative to marriage especially for those who have married before (Smock, 2000). This study seeks to fill this gap by examining the gendered division of labor among married and cohabiting men and women in Canada.

2.7. Ways in which cohabitation might be different from marriage

Cohabitation has greatly increased in many western countries (Waite, 2000). Many scholars in family behaviour are now concerned with the existence of differences that exist between married and cohabiting couples (Arosio, 2017). There are various facets of marriage or cohabitation relationship that can be compared. According Hamplova (2002), areas of concern between marriage and cohabitation that need to be examined are the type of relationship that exists among the partners, the expectation of each partner, the level of commitment, risk of instability and the division of both paid and unpaid work among partners. Differences between marriage and cohabitation may be less or more depending on the status of cohabitation in the country (Dominguez, 2013). For instance, marriage and cohabitation are more similar in Scandinavian

countries where one cannot distinguish between marriage and cohabitation but will be different in a country like Italy where cohabitation rate is low.

Studies have found that cohabiting men and women on average are more liberal and less religious (Balatova and Cohen, 2002), and are more supportive of egalitarian gender relations and non-traditional family roles (Le Bourdais and Lapierre Adamcyk, 2004) than married people. People who cohabit have also been shown to place more importance on individual freedom within relationships than married people (Thomson & Colella, 1992). In addition, cohabiting couples have a greater urge for independence in their relationships (Baizan et al, 2002). This may mean that cohabiting couples might be more willing to divide house chores equally among themselves than married people.

Studies in the US have shown that there is more equitable sharing of domestic labour among cohabiting couples than married people. Married people are more likely to divide their paid and unpaid labour along gendered lines and this is referred to as specialization and trading model (Oppenheimer, 1997; Becker, 1973). Gender specialization is a model in which people tasks or labour are determined by their gender (Treas, 2008). In Becker's (1981) specialization and trading model of marriage, he viewed married men and women as trading partners who choose to marry on the belief that they will be better off in marriage than being single. Becker continued by arguing that the gains to marriage are greatest when men and women specialize in paid work and home (Sweeney, 2002). Based on this perspective, Bardasi and Taylor (2008) argued that married men may specialize in paid work while married women specialize in unpaid work. The higher degree of specialization in marriage than in cohabitation is one way in which marriage might be different from cohabitation. The labour force participation rates of married and cohabiting people contribute to this argument because the proportion of cohabiting women in paid work is higher than married

women (Kerr et al, 2006), meaning that cohabiting women may spend less time on housework than married women. Considering all these differences, there is the need to study household division of labour among married and cohabiting people.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical framework used in this thesis. This study seeks to examine the gendered division of unpaid labour and there are three theories namely time availability theory, relative resources theory and gender socialization theory that are commonly used to explain gender differences in household labour in past research. To understand gender differences in household labour among married and cohabiting people in Canada, this study will specifically draw on time availability, relative resources and gender socialization theory.

3.2. Time availability theory

Time availability theory posits that the amount of time that individuals spend on housework depends on the amount of free time they have available to devote to these activities outside of work, leisure, and other activities (Starrels, 1994). Time availability theory also argues that couples rationally apportion time to housework based on spouses' relative hours in the paid labor market (Bianchi et al, 2000). Essentially, time availability theory suggests that people who have more free time are expected to spend more time doing housework.

3.2.1. Time availability: Empirical findings

Time availability theory would propose that as women dedicate more time to paid work, they will have less time to devote to household chores. This means that, women spend more time on housework than men because they work fewer hours in the paid labour force. Women dedicate more of their productive labour to unpaid work while men dedicate more of their productive labour

to paid work. But the time spent on the combination of paid and unpaid work should be relatively equal. Also, the difference between husbands' and wives' time spent on housework should decrease as the difference in their time spent on paid work decreases. However, some studies show that time availability can explain some of the differences between men's and women's unpaid labour, but many studies also show that time availability is not a complete explanation. A study has shown that unemployed husbands still do fewer chores than employed wives while employed wives are still responsible for most of the household chores (Berthoud and Gershuny, 2000). This means that the amount of time spent on housework by men or husbands is partially dependent on their wives' employment (Bianchi et al, 2012). Since time availability theory argues that couples apportion time to housework based on their spouse's relative hours spent on paid work, it is expected in a situation where both people in a couple are unemployed people, housework would be shared equally. However, a study found that women still do more of the housework even when they spend more hours in paid work (Gupta, 2006).

Research also shows that transitions in employment affect time spent on housework. According to Gershuny et al (2005), the transition of wives from full-time employment to part time is associated with an approximately 7 hours increase in housework per week. Women changing from part-time work to nonemployment increase their housework hours by approximately 2.5 hours per week. While, men increase their housework hours by only 0.7 hours per week when changing from full-time work to non-employment. This means, irrespective of the employment status of men and women, there is still gender inequality in household labour.

3.2.2. Time availability, gender and housework

Focusing on the amount of time men and women spend on housework, Bianchi et.al (2000) found that American married women devote approximately twice as much time to housework than

married men; even though hours spent on housework by women keeps on decreasing, it is still more than the time men devote to housework. Similarly, Canadian women spend approximately 6 hours more per week than men on household chores (Moyser and Burlock, 2018). Sayer (2005) also found that even though men in the United States have substantially increased their time in core household activities such as cooking, laundry and cleaning by 30 minutes per day women are still doing most of the housework. Considering existing literature on the gendered division of labour, there is no doubt that women are still responsible for most of the housework despite the increasing rate of women in the workforce. Essentially, women's paid working hours have increased over time much more dramatically, but this has not reflected in their time spent on housework. This suggests that time availability is not a complete explanation for who does the housework.

3.3. Relative Resource Theory

Relative resource theory refers to the disparity in power between spouses and is frequently measured by relative income of the spouses (Starrels, 1994). It is based upon the assumption that a partner's external resources, such as income and education, permit decision making power in negotiating with his/her partner (Lachance and Bouchard, 2010). Relative resource theory also argues that the level of resources a person brings to a relationship relative to the resources their partner brings to the relationship determines how much domestic labor each partner does (Hallerod, 2005). Therefore, a partner with more resources, like income, may be better able to negotiate away household duties (Evertson and Nermon, 2004). Studies in the United States and other countries have also shown that spouses' relative incomes as well as relative levels of education are significant for the division of housework (Evertsson and Nermon, 2007). Similarly, Kan Yee (2008) found that greater female resources are associated with increased rates of

housework done by husbands. According to Bittman et al. (2003), men in two-earner families mostly do less housework than their wives because they earn more, and women can use their earnings to bargain for a reduction in their housework. This indicates that housework is indirectly affected by gender via gender differences in relative earnings.

The relative education of partners is another resource used to determine how much men and women contribute to household chores. According to Lachance and Bouchard (2010), relative education is also related to the household division of labour in a similar way to that of relative income. Research indicates that married women with high levels of education relative to their partners tend to perform less housework as compared to those with relatively lower levels of education (Evertsson and Neramo, 2004). According to Davis and Greenstein (2004), the time men spend on housework increases as the educational attainment of women increases. Other studies have shown that men with a higher level of education relative to their partners contribute more to housework than men with lower education relative to their partners (Gershuny and Sullivan, 2003) while other studies found otherwise (Erickson, 2005; Evertsson and Neramo, 2007). According to Bianchi et al (2000), an individual with a higher level of education relative to his or her partner tends to do less housework because higher education increases a person's comparative advantage and bargaining power within the couple.

In addition, Cunningham (2005) argued that the more education a woman has, the higher her support for gender egalitarian values, that is, the idea of sharing housework equally among partners. Past research suggests that relative resource theory is an important explanation for gender differences in time spent on housework among married couples; however, it has not been well established whether it is the best explanation for the division of household labour in cohabiting unions.

3.4. Gender Socialization Theory

The third explanation for gender differences in time spent on housework is gendered socialization or gender ideology. The term socialization refers to the process by which skills, behavior patterns and culture are imparted to individuals especially during early childhood in order to behave in a way that is acceptable in the society (Grusec and Hasting, 2015). Similarly, gender ideology refers to the set of beliefs and attitudes about the appropriate roles of men and women in society and the way a person positions himself/herself with regard to work and family roles (Davis and Greenstein, 2009). This means there can be many different gender ideologies ranging from traditional gender ideologies that hold that men and women are fundamentally different and should not participate in the same types of tasks, to an egalitarian gender ideology which holds that gender should not determine the roles and tasks that people take on. According to Mencarini and Sironi (2010), although there has been a progressive increase in gender equality in almost all dimensions of society, roles concerning domestic work remain highly gender specific. The socialization theory suggests that men and women develop gender attitudes and behavior relevant to housework starting in infancy and childhood and carry them over to their adult lives (Gupta, 2006). According to Cunningham (2005), gender socialization in early stages of childhood has direct influence on housework allocation. Children learn specific sets of gender symbolic behaviors by following their parents' daily communication (Cunningham, 2001). In this study, Cunningham found that fathers' involvement in household labour while the children are young has a positive association in the children's own lives when they become adults—especially the male child. In other words, boys whose fathers are not involved in housework find it difficult to engage in housework when they marry (Cunningham, 2001). This shows that socialization is an important predictor of housework allocation and, more broadly, of attitudes toward and willingness to do housework.

3.5. The Present Study and research questions

There have been no studies examining differences in household labour between both married and cohabiting men and women in the Canadian context. However, considering the increasing rate of cohabitation in Canada (Kerr et al, 2006), there is a need to do research on the gendered division of labour among married and cohabiting Canadians because this is a gap in our knowledge. Furthermore, time availability and relative resources have been shown to be useful in past research focusing mostly on married people. This research will examine the usefulness of these theories in explaining the gender differences in the time spent on unpaid household labour among married and cohabiting Canadians. Gough and Killward (2010) found that, relative resources is a better explanation for both married and cohabiting couples in the U.S. However, we do not know whether these theories work for married and cohabiting people in Canada.

The United States and Canada are similar in that they both have an increasingly terms individualistic culture (Twenge et al, 2013; Ali et al, 1993). However, Canada may be different from the US and Scandinavian countries because Canada is more gender egalitarian than the US, but less gender egalitarian than the Scandinavian countries (Fuwa, 2004; Baxter and Kane, 1995). Also, symbolically, cohabitation is more likely to be used as an alternative to being single in the United States (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2006) while in Canada, cohabitation is more likely to be used as a long-term alternative to marriage (Le Bourdais and Adamcyk, 2004).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is as follows: (1) To estimate the gender gap in time spent on housework among a) married people and b) cohabiting people in Canada. (2) To estimate whether time availability or relative resource is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among a) married people and b) cohabiting people in Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter articulates the methodology used in this thesis. These include the data, sample, measures, analytical strategy and models.

4.2. Data

This study draws on data from Cycle 24 of the General Social Survey conducted in 2010. The 2010 GSS is ideal for this study because it contains all the variables needed to answer the research questions of this study. The core content of the 2010 GSS (cycle 24) was time use and well-being of Canadians and is the fifth cycle of the GSS to collect data on time use. Previous cycles on the same topic were collected in 1986, 1992, 1998 and 2005. The survey was completed from January to December 2010 and is representative of all persons age 15 and older in Canada, excluding residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, and full-time institutionalized residents. Households were selected using a Random Digit Dialing (RDD) while Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) was used to collect data across the ten provinces in Canada. The target population excluded households without telephones, which were estimated at 1.1 per cent of all Canadian households in 2010.

A respondent age 15 and above was randomly selected from each household to complete the entire questionnaire. Once a household was contacted by telephone, the GSS staff recorded all household members and collected basic demographic information such as sex, age and marital status. The target sample for the Cycle 24 was 22,000, however, out of the target sample of 22,000, a total of 15,930 respondents completed the interviews resulting in an overall response rate of 55 percent. This response rate is typical of recent General Social Surveys (GSS, 2016). Since this is time use data, diary information on what the respondent did in a 24-hour period was collected. For

this survey, the diary listing started at 4:00 am as most people are expected to be asleep at that time. The respondents were asked to report the nature of the main activities and related questions regarding the length, the location and who the respondent was with. Respondents were interviewed in an official language of their choice and interview by proxy was not permitted.

4.3. Sample

The 2010 GSS has a total sample size of 15,390 consisting of 6,701 men and 8,689 women. Since this research is focused on married and cohabiting people, the analytic sample was restricted to respondents who were married or cohabiting at the time of the survey. The analytic sample is made up of 7,602 married people and 1,251 cohabiting people for a total sample size of 8,853. A sample of 7,241 respondents who are separated, single (never married), widowed, or divorced are excluded from this research, as are respondents with same sex marital or cohabiting partners. Same sex marital or cohabiting partners were excluded from this analysis because the focus of this research is heterosexual couples. In addition, cases with missing or invalid data on marital status, respondent or household income, education of either the respondent or the spouse, hours spent on paid work by the respondent or the spouse, religious attendance, age, residence of the respondent, or the number of children the respondent has are excluded from this analysis resulting in a final analytic sample of 6,612. All the analyses are weighted to be representative of the Canadian population using the survey weights provided by Statistics Canada.

4.4. MEASURES

4.4.1. Dependent variable: Time spent on housework: I created a variable measuring the total time spent on diary day on unpaid housework by summing the number of minutes the respondent reported spending on 1) cooking, 2) grocery shopping, 3) laundry, and 4) indoor routine cleaning. These tasks are included in the measure of unpaid housework because it has been established that

these tasks are the most repetitive, time consuming, burdensome and most considered as everyday routine tasks (Coltrane, 2000). Moreover, while these tasks are not representative of the full range of domestic activities undertaken in households, the aim is to capture routine, daily housework rather than irregular housework, such as yard work or repairs because irregular housework are considered as time flexible, voluntary and more enjoyable than routine housework (Gupta and Ash, 2008). Some of the respondents recorded zero minutes which indicated that no time was spent on these activities. The daily time spent on cooking reported by the respondents ranges from 2 minutes to 785 minutes, routine indoor cleaning ranges from zero (0) to 915 minutes, grocery shopping ranges from zero (0) to 505 minutes while the daily time spent on laundry ranges from zero (0) to 780 minutes. The final measure of unpaid housework, including each of these tasks, ranges from zero (0) to 915 minutes.

4.4.2. Independent variables

Marital status: Marital status of the respondents was measured in the 2010 General Social Survey with a variable with six categories including married, living common-law (cohabiting), widowed, separated, divorced, and single. The federal government defines cohabitation as two people living together for at least one-year, but the definition of cohabitation varies across provinces (Brown and Gardiner, 2018). The General Social Survey asks people to self-identify their cohabiting relationship, even if its shorter than one year. This study only considers married and cohabiting individuals (those living common-law) since my focus is to examine the usefulness of the time availability and relative resources explanation for the gender difference in housework among married and cohabiting people. Therefore, I created a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent is either legally married or cohabiting.

Time availability variables

Hours spent on paid work: As an indicator for time availability I included hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse. I used these variables as a measure for time availability because if an individual spends more hours on jobs outside the home, they may have less time to spend on housework (Bianchi et al, 2000). The survey first asked respondents whether they worked for pay in the last week, and if so, how many hours they spent at work last week. These questions were repeated to gather information about the work activities of the respondent's spouse. Respondents who reported that they did not work and respondents who reported that their spouse did not work were coded as working zero hours. The number of hours spent in paid work range from 1 hour to 75 or more hours for the respondents and 0 to 75 or more hours for the respondent spouses.

Relative resource variables

Education: The 2010 GSS includes measures for the highest level of education obtained by the respondent and his or her spouse. These measures include ten categories ranging from Doctorate degree to no formal schooling. I recoded the education variable into four categories including 1) bachelor's degree or higher, 2) some post-secondary, 3) high school, and 4) less than high school. The bachelor's degree or higher category includes those respondents with a completed doctorate, masters or a bachelor's degree. The some post-secondary category includes respondents who have completed some university but who have not earned a degree, those who have earned a certificate from a community or vocational college or trade/technical school, as well as those who have completed some community college, vocational, or trade/technical education but have not earned a certificate or diploma. The high school category includes respondents whose highest level of education is a high school diploma or General Education Diploma (GED) and finally, the less than

high school category includes respondents with less than a high school diploma. This is an important variable because earlier studies found that relative resources such as education have a significant effect on household division of labour (Evertsson and Nermon, 2004). These recoded measures of the educational attainment of the respondent and his or her spouse are then used to create a relative education variable described in the next section.

Relative education: In order to derive the relative education variable, I created a variable representing the respondent's education relative to their spouse's education. This relative education variable includes three categories: 1) the respondent has higher education than their partner; 2) the respondent has the same education as their partner; and (3) the respondent has lower education than their partner.

Income: The 2010 GSS includes a measure of personal annual income but unfortunately does not include a measure for the personal income of the respondent's spouse. It does, however, include a measure of household annual income which I used to approximate the respondent's spouses' income and to create a measure of relative income between the respondent and their spouse. Personal income in the GSS 2010 data is a categorical variable including 12 categories grouping respondents with (1) no income, (2) those with an income of less than \$5,000, (3) \$5,000 to \$9,999, (4) \$10,000 to \$14,999, (5) \$15,000 to \$19,999 (6) 20,000 to \$29,999 (7) \$30,000 to \$39,999, (8) \$40,000 to \$49,999, (9) \$50,000 to \$59,999, (10) \$60,000 to \$79,999, (11) \$80,000 to \$99,999, and (12) respondents with income of \$100,000 or more. The household income measure includes (1) no income, (2) those with income of less than \$5,000, (3) \$5,000 to \$9,999, (4) \$10,000 to \$14,999, (5) \$15,000 to \$19,999 (6) 20,000 to \$29,999 (7) \$30,000 to \$39,999, (8) \$40,000 to \$49,999, (9) \$50,000 to \$59,999, (10) \$60,000 to \$79,999, (11) \$80,000 to \$99,999, (12) \$100,000 to 149,999 and (13) respondents with income of \$150,000 and more.

Relative Income: I created a relative income variable by using household income and respondent income variable to approximate the partner's income then I compare the respondent's income to the estimated income of their partner. First, I calculated the midpoint of the income interval for each of the categories of both the personal income and household income variables. For instance, respondents who reported annual personal income between \$10,000 and \$14,999 were assigned a personal income of \$12,500. A respondent who reported a household income between \$40,000 and \$49,999 were assigned a household income of \$45,000. Then, using the assumption that the household income is made up of the respondent's personal income plus their spouse's income, I calculate the proportion of the household income that the respondent contributes and I create a categorical variable for relative income with three categories: 1) respondent earns more than their spouse, 2) respondent and spouse earn approximately the same, and 3) the respondent earns less than their spouse.

As an example, if the household makes an income of \$30,000 to \$39,999 and the respondent makes a personal income between of \$5,000 and \$9,999 then, the midpoint of the household income will be about \$35,000 while the midpoint of the respondent income will be about \$7,500. Dividing the midpoint of the personal income by the midpoint of the household income provides an estimate of the proportion of the household income that the respondent contributes. In this example, the respondent contributes about 20% of the household income ($7,500 / 35,000 = 0.20$), which I classify as the respondent earning relatively less than their spouse. As another example, if the household makes an income between \$50,000 to \$59,999 dollars (midpoint=\$55,000) and the respondent's income ranges between \$50,000 to \$59,999 (midpoint=\$55,000). In this example the respondent is estimated to contribute about 100% of the household income and I classify this arrangement as the respondent earning more relative to their

spouse. If the respondent earns between 0 and 45% of the household income, I classify this respondent as earning relatively less than their spouse. If the respondent earns between 46 and 54% of the household income, I classify this respondent as earning roughly the same as their spouse. Finally, if the respondent earns between 55% and 100% of the household income, I classify the respondent as earning relatively more than their spouse.

4.4.3. Control Variables

The analyses include controls for several measures associated with gender differences in housework. These include age (Szinovacz, 2000), the presence of children (Bittman et al, 2003), religious attendance (Voicu et al, 2008), province of residence (Le Bourdais and Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004) and immigration status (Van De Vijver, 2007). These variables were included as controls because of the significant relationships found between these additional variables and household division of labour by previous researchers. By controlling for these factors, I can isolate the unique effect of time availability and relative resources measures on the gendered division of household labour.

Age of the respondent: The respondent's age is measured in GSS 2010 as a seven-category variable ranging from (1) 15 to 24, (2) 25 to 34, (3) 35 to 44, (4) 45 to 54, (5) 55 to 64, (6) 65 to 74, and (7) 75 years and above. I included this variable as a control because it has been established that older people (65 years and above) spend more time on housework than the youth (Szinovacz, 2000). Blanchard et al (2004) in their analysis grouped age as young adult (18 to 39), middle age (40 – 64) and older adult (65 years and above). In this research, I recoded age as young adult (15 – 34), middle age (35- 64) and older age (65 years and above) because of the expected effect of age difference on the number of minutes spent on housework.

Number of children: I used the number of children aged 0 to 14 living in the household with the respondent as a control variable to control for differences in the time on household labour based on the number of children in the household. I considered children age 0 to 14 because it has been established that women with children under 15 years often decrease their time spent on paid work and increase their time spent on housework and childcare (Campana and Molina, 2015). This variable in the 2010 GSS includes four categories: no children under age 15 in the household, one child under age 15 in the household, two children under age 15 in the household, and three or more children under age 15 in the household. However, I recoded this variable into a dichotomous variable indicating whether the respondent lives with at least one child under age 15, or not. The reason why I recoded this variable as a dichotomous was because I wanted to know the effect of having children in the household versus no children on the gender difference in housework. The inclusion of this variable was important because earlier studies show that people with children spend more time on housework than those without children (Bittman et al, 2003; Bianchi et al, 2000).

Religious attendance: I included this variable as a control because religious belief and practices have a significant impact on gender roles, as those who are more religious are less likely to hold egalitarian gender ideologies (Voicu et al, 2008). This variable is measured in the 2010 GSS as a categorical variable with seven categories: respondent attends religious activities (1) at least once a week, (2) at least once a month, (3) a few times a year, (4) at least once a year, (5) respondent does not attend religious activities at all, (6) not stated and (7) don't know. In this analysis, respondents who did not state their religious attendance as well as those who do not know their religious attendance were all treated as missing. I recoded religious attendance into three (3) categories: often attend religious activities, rarely attend religious activities and never attend

religious activities. The ‘often attend religious activities’ category includes respondents who attend religious activities at least once a month, the ‘rarely attend religious activities’ category includes respondents who attend church at least once a year, but no more than a few times a year, and the ‘never attend religious activities category includes those who do not attend religious activities at all.

Province of residence: A measure for whether the respondent lives in Quebec or another province in Canada is included in this analysis as a control variable. I controlled for Quebec versus the rest of Canada because it is known that Quebec have different laws, marriage is less popular, and people living in Quebec have more egalitarian gender ideologies (Le Bourdais and Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004). All respondents recorded their province of residence and I recoded the respondent’s province of residence into two categories; (1) Quebec and (2) the rest of Canada.

Immigrant: A measure for whether the respondent was born in Canada or outside Canada is included in this analysis as a control because it is known that immigrants in Canada have different culture, gender roles and beliefs (Van De Vijver, 2007). I recoded this variable into two categories: people born in Canada; and those born outside Canada.

Homeownership: A measure for whether the respondent owns their home or rents their home is included in this analysis as a control because homeowners may spend more time on housework than renters, since owned units tend to be larger than rental units (Bianchi et al, 2000: 206). This variable is measured in the 2010 GSS as a dichotomous variable.

4.5. Method and analytical strategy

With the help of Stata, ordinary least squares regression is used in this study since the dependent variable is continuous. OLS is a method used to predict values of a continuous variable using one

or more explanatory variables in the regression model (Hutcheson, 2011). This method was used to estimate the gender differences in housework among married and cohabiters and to determine whether time availability or relative resources is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among married or cohabiting people.

First, weighted descriptive statistics by gender and marital status are estimated for each of the variables included in the analysis. This analysis helps to establish a baseline gender gap in housework among married and cohabiting people, and to determine the proportion of the respondents with lower, same or higher education as well as income for both married and cohabiting relationships. Next, I estimated a series of OLS models to determine whether time availability or relative resources explain the gender difference in housework. In order to examine whether time availability is a better explanation of the gender differences in housework, I estimated a model with hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse to determine the effect of time availability on the gender difference in housework. In addition, I estimate a model with the relative income and education of the spouses to determine the effect of relative resources on the time spent on unpaid household labour.

4.6. MODELS

The first two models examine the gender gap in the time spent on housework for married and cohabiting people separately. These models do not account for gender differences in time availability and relative resources but establish the baseline gender gap that will be explained in subsequent models. To answer research question 1, ‘what is the difference in time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people’, I estimated two bivariate ordinary least squares regression models predicting gender difference in housework among 1) married people and 2) cohabiting people. The first two models are represented by model 1a and 1b.

Model 1a: Married Canadians

Time spent on housework = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least one child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious services) + β_6 (never attend religious services) + β_7 (Quebec) + β_8 (Born in Canada) + ϵ

Model 1b: Cohabiting Canadians

Time spent on housework = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least one child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious services) + β_6 (never attend religious services) + β_7 (Quebec) + β_8 (Born in Canada) + ϵ

Time availability models: The second set of models adds the time availability variables to models 1a and 1b. Models 2a and 2b examine the relationship between the time available to be spent on housework aside from time spent in the labour market and the actual time spent on housework by married and cohabiting people. The inclusion of time availability variables in these models help determine whether time availability explains the gender gap in time spent on chores between married and cohabiting people.

I estimated a multivariate OLS regression to determine the effects of time availability on time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people. The second set of models are represented by model 2a and 2b.

Model 2a: Married Canadians

Time spent on housework = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least on child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious activities) + β_6 (never attend religious activities) + β_7 (Quebec)

+ β_8 (Born in Canada) + β_9 (Respondent hours of paid work) + β_{10} (Spouse hours of paid work) + ϵ

Model 2b: Cohabiting Canadians

Time spent on housework = β_0 + β_1 (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least on child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious activities) + β_6 (never attend religious activities) + β_7 (Quebec) + β_8 (Born in Canada) + β_9 (Respondent hours of paid work) + β_{10} (Spouse hours of paid work) + ϵ

Relative resource models: The third set of models adds the relative resource variables to models 1a and 1b to account for income and education (relative resources) to determine whether it explains the gender gap in time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people. I estimated a multivariate OLS regression to determine the effect of relative resource on the gender difference in time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people. The third set of models are represented by model 3a and 3b.

Model 3a: Married Canadians

Time spent on housework = β_0 + β_1 (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least on child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious activities) + β_6 (Never attend religious activities) + β_7 (Quebec) + β_8 (Born in Canada) + β_9 (Respondent educ. same as spouse's) + β_{10} (Respondent educ. Higher than spouse's) + β_{11} (Respondent income same as spouse's) + β_{12} (Respondent income Higher than spouse's) + ϵ

Model 3b: Cohabiting Canadians

Time spent on housework = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (Women) + β_2 (Middle age) + β_3 (Older age) + β_4 (At least on child) + β_5 (Rarely attend religious activities) + β_6 (Never attend religious activities) + β_7 (Quebec) + β_8 (Born in Canada) + β_9 (Respondent educ. same as spouse's) + β_{10} (Respondent educ. Higher than spouse's) + β_{11} (Respondent income same as spouse's) + β_{12} (Respondent income Higher than spouse's) + ε

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study. The chapter also relates the findings to the research questions outlined in chapter three. The 2010 General Social Survey, a quantitative data set, was analyzed to address the research questions. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the weighted descriptive results, by gender and marital status. The second section entails the gender differences in time spent on housework per day by married and cohabiting people. The third section details the usefulness of time availability or relative resources a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting people.

5.2. Weighted Descriptive Results, by Gender and Marital Status

Table 5.1 presents weighted descriptive statistics by gender and marital status for all variables in the analysis. This table shows the average minutes married and cohabiting men and women in Canada spent on unpaid housework. Table 5.1 also presents the hours they spent on paid work per week, the relative education and income of men and women in both types of relationships, along with all the covariates included in the later models.

Table 5.1: Weighted descriptive statistics, by Gender and Marital Status (n=6612)

	Married people		Cohabiting people	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Mean (standard deviation) or Proportion			
Minutes spent on housework per day	53.10 (1.74)	129.51 (2.65)	62.73 (5.08)	112.26 (6.08)
<u>Time availability</u>				
Hours spent on paid work by Resp per week	33.31 (0.51)	23.71 (0.45)	37.84 (1.01)	27.74 (0.95)
Hours spent on paid work by Spouse per week	20.31(0.46)	31.50 (0.50)	22.63 (1.08)	32.35 (1.09)
<u>Relative Resources</u>				
Relative Education				
Respondent's education is lower than spouse's	0.17	0.18	0.20	0.15
Respondent's education is same as spouse's	0.52	0.53	0.49	0.54
Respondent's education is higher than spouse's	0.31	0.29	0.31	0.31
Relative Income				
Respondent's income lower than spouse's	0.15	0.58	0.19	0.48
Respondent's income same as spouse's	0.13	0.15	0.13	0.17
Respondent's income higher than spouse's	0.72	0.27	0.68	0.35
Respondent Education				
Bachelor's degree or higher	0.31	0.31	0.27	0.31
Some post- secondary	0.54	0.52	0.58	0.55
High school	0.13	0.16	0.13	0.13
Less than high school	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01
Spouse Education				
Bachelor's degree or higher	0.30	0.29	0.29	0.24
Some post- secondary	0.39	0.43	0.39	0.49
High school	0.28	0.24	0.30	0.25
Less than high school	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.02
Income				
Personal income	50,000- 59,999	30,000- 39,999	40,000- 49,999	30,000- 39,999
Household income	80,000- 99,999	60,000- 79,999	60,000- 79,999	60,000- 79,999
Religious attendance				
Often	0.32	0.36	0.08	0.09
Rarely	0.30	0.30	0.32	0.31
Not at all	0.38	0.34	0.60	0.60
Quebec	0.10	0.09	0.35	0.37
Rest of Canada	0.90	0.91	0.65	0.63
Homeownership				
Yes	0.90	0.90	0.77	0.77
No	0.10	0.10	0.23	0.23
Immigrant				
Born in Canada	0.80	0.82	0.92	0.93
Born outside Canada	0.20	0.18	0.08	0.07

Children under 15 years				
No	0.68	0.66	0.67	0.62
At least one child	0.32	0.34	0.33	0.38
Age				
Young adults	0.11	0.16	0.32	0.36
Middle age	0.65	0.69	0.60	0.62
Older age	0.24	0.15	0.08	0.02

Source: 2010 General Social Survey

Standard deviations are only reported for continuous variables

The first column of Table 5.1 shows that women spent more time on housework compared to men in both married and cohabiting unions however, this gender gap in housework is much smaller in cohabiting relationships than in marriage. Married men report spending 53 minutes per day on housework, on average, while married women report spending on average 130 minutes per day on housework (a difference of 77 minutes). Cohabiting men report spending on average 63 minutes per day on housework while cohabiting women report spending 112 minutes per day, on average, on housework (a difference of 49 minutes).

Women spend less time in paid work than men in both types of unions, however, this gender difference is much smaller among cohabiting people. On average, married men spend about 33 hours per week on paid work while married women spend about 24 hours per week. Cohabiting men on the other hand spend about 38 hours per on paid work while cohabiting women spend about 28 hours on paid work. This means that men (either married or cohabiting) spend more time on paid work than either married or cohabiting women.

Additionally, the educational attainment of partners tends to be quite similar, but men's income tends to be higher, regardless of the type of union. Roughly half of married men and women report having the same education as their spouse, just less than 20 percent report having lower education, and around 30 percent report having a higher level of educational attainment than their spouse. This result is similar for cohabiting people, about half of cohabiting men and women

report having the same education as their spouse, just less than 20 percent report having lower education, and around 30 percent report having a higher level of educational attainment than their spouse.

The relative income results in Table 5.1 also show that there are large gender differences in relative income for people in both married and cohabiting relationships, but this gender difference is greater for married people than cohabiting people. Most married women (58 percent) report lower income than their husbands compared to 15 percent of married men who report lower income than their wives. Only 27 percent of married women report higher income than their husbands compared to 72 percent of married men who report higher income than their wives. This income difference is smaller for cohabiting people. Forty-eight percent of cohabiting women report lower income than their spouses compared to 19 percent of cohabiting men who report lower income than their spouse and 35 percent of cohabiting women report higher income than their spouses compared to 68 percent of cohabiting men with higher income than their spouses.

In addition to relative income, there are gender differences in the average personal income and household income received per annum by both married and cohabiting people, but the gender differences for income are smaller for cohabiting people than for married people. In Table 5.1, the average personal income per year reported by married men falls between \$50,000 and \$59,999 while that reported by married women falls between \$30,000 and \$39,999. Also, the average household income reported by married men falls between \$80,000 and \$99,999 while the average household income reported by married women falls between \$60,000 and \$79,999 dollars per annum. In the case of cohabiting people, the average personal income per annum reported by cohabiting men falls between \$40,000 and \$49,999 while the average personal income per annum reported by cohabiting women falls between \$30,000 and \$39,999. However, both cohabiting men

and women report the same amount of household income (60,000 and 79,999 dollars) per annum. This means there is a larger gender gap in personal income among married people than cohabiting people.

Regarding the control variables, Table 5.1 shows that cohabiting people are less likely to attend religious services than married people and there are few gender differences in this pattern within union type. Over 30 percent of married men and women reported to attend religious services more often (at least once a week or a month), 30 percent reported that they rarely attend religious service (a few times in a year or at least once a year), and roughly 40 percent of married men and women reported that they do not attend religious service at all. For cohabiting men and women, just nine percent reported to attend religious services often, 31 percent reported they rarely attend religious services, and 60 percent of cohabiting men and women reported that they do not attend religious service at all. This means married men and women, on average, attend religious services more often than cohabiting men and women.

The results on province of residence in Table 5.1 also show that the majority of married men and women (90 percent and 91 percent respectively) live in other provinces outside of Quebec. Only 10 percent of married men and nine percent of married women live in the province of Quebec. However, among cohabiting people, more than one-third of cohabiting men and women live in the province of Quebec. Married people are more likely to live outside Quebec than cohabiting people.

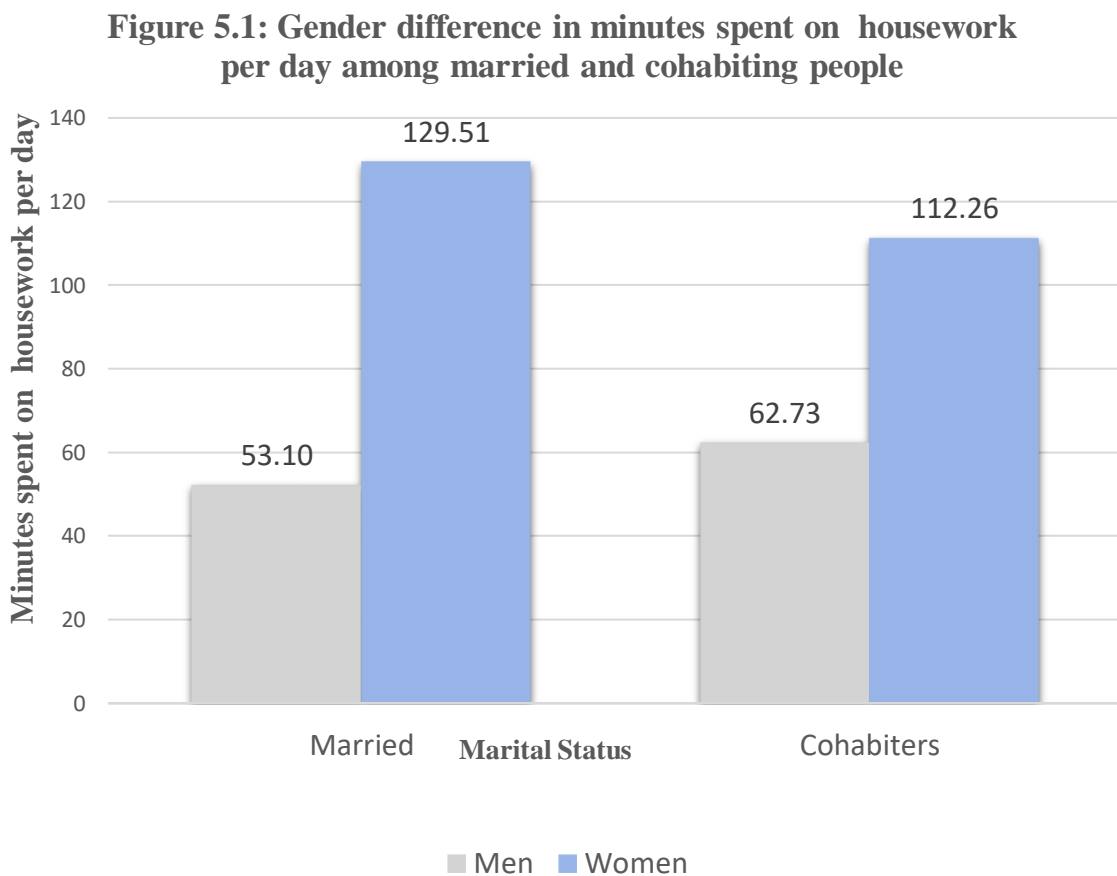
The results on homeownership in Table 5.1 show that 90 percent of married men and women own a house. Only 10 percent of married men and women do not own a house (renting). However, among cohabiting people, 77 percent of cohabiting men and women own a house while 23 percent of cohabiting men and women do not own a house (renting). This means that married men and women are more likely to own a house compared to cohabiting men and women.

Table 5.1 also shows that married Canadians are more likely to be immigrants than Canadians who are cohabiting. Ninety-two percent and 93 percent of cohabiting men and women respectively are born in Canada compared to 80 percent and 82 percent of married men and women. Table 5.1 also shows that, about two-thirds of the respondents, both married and cohabiting, have no children under 15 years of age living at home. Lastly, there is a difference in the age distribution among married and cohabiting people. Cohabiting men and women are much younger than married men and women on average. About one-third of cohabiting men and women fall into the young adult age category (15-34), compared to only 11 to 16 percent of married men and women, 60 and 62 percent of cohabiting men and women respectively reported to be in their middle age compared 65 and 69 percent of married men and women respectively and only 2 to 8 percent of cohabiting men and women reported to be in their old age while 15 to 24 percent of married men and women reported to be in their old age.

5.3. Gender differences in time spent on housework per day by marital status

Figure 5.1 draws on the weighted descriptive estimates provided in Table 5.1 to show the gender differences in minutes spent on housework per day by married and cohabiting people. There is a gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day among both married and cohabiting men and women, however, this gender difference is greater for married people than it is for cohabiting people. Married women spend approximately 130 minutes on housework per day while married men spend approximately 53 minutes on housework per day and this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Cohabiting women on the other hand spend approximately 112 minutes on housework per day while cohabiting men spend about 63 minutes on housework per day and this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This means married women spend more than an hour longer on housework per day compared to married men while cohabiting women

spend less than an hour more on housework per day compared to cohabiting men. These results indicate that the gender gap in time spent on unpaid housework found in most research persists (Hochschild and Machung 2012; Lachance and Bouchard, 2010; Bianchi et al, 2000). The results also indicate that married women spend more time on housework than cohabiting women, but cohabiting men spend more time on housework than married men as found in other research (Batalova and Cohen, 2002).



5.4. Is time availability or relative resources a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting people in Canada?

Married people

Table 5.2 presents results from multivariate ordinary least square regression analyses of married people. Model 1 in Table 5.2 includes only gender and the control variables in order to establish the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day between married men and women. Results show that married women spend approximately 77 minutes longer than married men on housework per day controlling for age, number of children under 15 years in the household, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership and immigrant status, and that this gender difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 5.2: Weighted multivariate OLS regression analysis for married people (n=6612)

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Gender</u>			
Men (Ref)	-	-	-
Women	77.30 ***	64.89***	60.21***
<u>Time availability</u>			
Hours spent on paid work by the respondent		-0.87***	-
Hours on paid work by the spouse		0.27***	-
<u>Relative Resource</u>			
<u>Relative Income</u>			
Respondent's income is lower than spouse's (Ref)			-
Respondent's income is same as spouse's			-15.35 ***
Respondent's income is higher than spouse's			-23.94 ***
<u>Relative Education</u>			
Respondent's education is lower than spouse's (Ref)			-
Respondent's education is same as spouse's			-2.95
Respondent's education is higher than spouse's			-1.83
<u>Homeownership</u>			
Yes (Ref)	-	-	-
No	3.02	0.76	3.30
<u>Religious attendance</u>			
Rarely	-2.69	-1.21	-2.48
Not at all	-5.31	-4.83	-5.57
<u>Province of residence</u>			
Rest of Canada (Ref)	-	-	-
Quebec	-3.31	-5.69	-2.88
<u>Immigrant</u>			
Born outside Canada (Ref)	-	-	-
Born in Canada	-5.77	-6.03	-5.80
<u>Children under 15 years</u>			
No (Ref)	-	-	-
At least one child	19.64***	20.69***	19.26***
<u>Age</u>			
Young adult (Ref)	-	-	-
Middle age	10.54**	10.54**	12.22**
Older age	21.90***	1.94	23.07***
Constant	44.23***	69.31***	55.75***

Notes: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001,
The numbers displayed are coefficient estimates.
Standard deviations are only reported for continuous variables.
Source: 2010 General Social Survey

Model 2 in Table 5.2 includes hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse in order to test whether time availability explains the gender difference in minutes spent on housework between married men and women. The inclusion of hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse (time availability) in Model 2 decreases the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day from 77 minutes to approximately 65 minutes. This shows that time availability explains approximately 12 minutes of the gender difference between married men and women controlling for age, number of children under 15 years, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership, and immigrant status and this difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The time a married respondent spends on unpaid household labour daily decreases by roughly one minute for every hour they spend on paid work weekly, on average. For every additional hour their spouse spends on paid work weekly, a respondent is expected to do an additional third of a minute of housework daily.

Model 3 in Table 5.2 includes the relative education and income variables to test whether relative resources explain the gender differences in minutes spent on housework between married men and women. The inclusion of relative education and income (relative resources) in Model 3 decreases the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day from 77 minutes to approximately 60 minutes. This shows that relative resources explain 17 minutes of the gender difference between married men and women controlling for age, number of children under 15 years, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership, and immigrant status and this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Married respondents who make the same income as their spouse decrease their time spent housework per day by approximately fifteen minutes compared to married respondents who make lower income than their spouse. Married respondents who make higher income than their spouse decrease their time spent on housework per day by approximately

twenty-four minutes compared to married respondents who make lower income than their spouse. However, there is not significant relationship between relative education and minutes spent on housework per day among married people. Respondents with same education as their spouse decrease their time spent on housework per day by approximately three minutes while respondent with higher education decreases their time spent on paid work by approximately two minutes, but this is not statistically significant.

The results in Table 5.2 show that relative resources is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework between married men and women than time availability. This is because the inclusion of relative resources measures in Model 3 was able to reduce more of the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day between married men and women than time availability measure. In addition, income and education were classified as relative resources in this research, however the relative education coefficients were not significant. There is a significant relationship between relative income and minutes spent on housework per day among married people. This means that, the gender difference in housework among married men and women is partly explained by their relative income but not their relative education.

Cohabiting people

Table 5.3 presents results from multivariate ordinary least square regression analysis of cohabiting people. Model 1 in Table 5.3 includes gender and the control variables in order to estimate the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day between cohabiting men and women. Results show that cohabiting women spend approximately 47 minutes longer than cohabiting men on housework per day controlling for age, number of children under 15 years in the household, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership, and immigrant status, and that this gender difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

**Table 5.3: Weighted multivariate OLS regression analysis for cohabiting people
(n= 6612)**

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<u>Gender</u>			
Men (Ref)	-	-	-
Women	47.23***	33.44***	43.80***
<u>Time availability</u>			
Hours spent on paid work by the respondent		1.08***	-
Hours on paid work by the spouse		-0.28	-
<u>Relative Resources</u>			
<u>Relative Income</u>			
Respondent's income is lower than spouse's (Ref)			-
Respondent's income is same as spouse's			-15.96
Respondent's income is higher than spouse's			-15.49
<u>Relative Education</u>			
Respondent's education is lower than spouse's (Ref)			-
Respondent's education is same as spouse's			-18.73
Respondent's education is higher than spouse's			-11.91
<u>Homeownership</u>			
Yes (Ref)	-	-	-
No	21.74**	17.03	22.25*
<u>Religious attendance</u>			
Often (Ref)	-	-	-
Rarely	-2.28	-1.54	-4.47
Not at all	-15.92	-11.32	-15.87
<u>Province of residence</u>			
Rest of Canada (Ref)	-	-	-
Quebec	-11.46	-10.70	-8.70
<u>Immigrant</u>			
Born outside Canada (Ref)	-	-	-
Born in Canada	4.14	-2.67	6.38
<u>Children under 15 years</u>			
No (Ref)	-	-	-
At least on child	20.21*	20.26**	19.39**
<u>Age</u>			
Young adults (Ref)	-	-	-
Middle age	9.36	7.88	10.78
Older age	-16.76	-41.35***	-17.01
Constant	53.31***	91.92***	79.98***

Notes: * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

The numbers displayed are coefficient estimates.

Standard deviations are only reported for continuous variables.

Source: 2010 General Social Survey

Model 2 in Table 5.3 includes hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse in order to test whether time availability explains the gender difference in minutes spent on housework between cohabiting men and women. The inclusion of hours spent on paid work by the respondent and their spouse in Model 2 decreases the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day from 47 minutes to approximately 33 minutes. This shows that time availability explains approximately 14 minutes of the gender difference between cohabiting men and women controlling for age, number of children under 15 years in the household, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership, and immigrant status and this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). The time cohabiting respondents spend on unpaid household labour daily decreases by roughly one minute for every hour they spend on paid work weekly, on average, and this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). However, there is no significant relationship between time spent on paid work by the respondent's spouse and minutes spent on housework per day by the respondents.

Model 3 in Table 5.3 includes relative education and income to test whether relative resources explain the gender difference in minutes spent on housework between cohabiting men and women. The inclusion of relative education and income Model 3 decreases the gender difference in minutes spent on housework per day from 47 minutes to approximately 44 minutes. This shows that relative resources explain only three minutes of the gender difference between cohabiting men and women controlling for age, number of children under 15 years in the household, religious attendance, province of residence, homeownership, and immigrant status, and this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Cohabiting respondents who make the same income as their spouse decrease their time spent housework per day by approximately 16 minutes compared to cohabiting respondents who make lower income than their spouses. Cohabiting respondent who

make higher income than their spouses decreases their time spent on housework per day by approximately 15 minutes compared to cohabiting respondents who make lower income than their spouse. However, there is not a significant relationship between relative education and minutes spent on housework per day among cohabiting people. Cohabiting respondents with the same education as their spouse decrease their time spent on housework per day by approximately nineteen minutes while respondents with higher education decrease their time spent on paid work by approximately thirteen minutes, but this is not statistically significant.

The results in Table 5.3 show that time availability is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework between cohabiting men and women than the relative resources explanation. This is because the inclusion of time availability in Model 2 was able to reduce more of the gender differences in minutes spent on housework per day between cohabiting men and women than the relative resources measures and the lack of statistical significance of the relative resources variables in Table 3 examining cohabiting people.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary of the results

Past research has focused on gender division of labour within the home and has found that women in most countries spend more time on housework than men (Aassve et al, 2014, Lachance and Bouchard, 2010, Davis and Greenstein 2007, Bianchi et al, 2000). In addition, time availability, relative resource and gender socialization have been established as the dominant three explanations for gender differences in household labour. Other research, especially in the United States, has focused on the division of unpaid labour among married and cohabiting people and finds that married women spend more time on housework than cohabiting women while cohabiting men spend more time on housework than married men (Greenstein, 2007; Shelton and John, 1993). However, this is the first study to be done in Canada on the gendered division of household labour among married and cohabiting people. Using Cycle 24 of the General Social Survey conducted in 2010 with a final analytic sample of 6,612, this study examined the gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting people in Canada and assessed whether time availability or relative resources is a better explanation of the gender differences among married and cohabiting people since one or the other is argued to be a better explanation in different national or historical contexts (Gough and Killeward, 2010). Overall, the findings indicate that there is more gender inequality in marriage than cohabitation in terms of household division of labour. Furthermore, the results of this study suggest that time availability is a better explanation of the gender differences among cohabiting men and women while relative resources is a better explanation of the gender differences among married men and women.

Even though the gender gap in housework among cohabiting people is not as large as the gender gap in marriage, there is still a significant gender gap among both married and cohabiting men and women. In this analysis, both married and cohabiting women spend more minutes per day on housework compared to married and cohabiting men. The question is, what are the reasons for the gender gap in unpaid labour in marriage and cohabitation? Is it that women are available to do most of the domestic tasks, as suggested by time availability theory, or do women do more unpaid household labour because they have fewer resources compared to their male partners who can bargain out of these responsibilities, as suggested by relative resources theory? Time availability theory suggests that the division of household labor is allocated according to the availability of household members in connection with the amount of housework to be done (Bianchi et al, 2000). Time availability theory also posits that the amount of time that individuals spend on housework depends on the amount of free time they have available to devote to these activities outside of work, leisure, and other activities (Pinto and Coltrane, 2009; Starrels, 1994). In other words, people who have more free time outside of paid work and other activities are expected to spend more time doing housework. Time availability theory would argue that the reason why women in the past and today spend more time on housework is because they have more time for it; women are dedicating more of their productive labour to unpaid work while men are dedicating more of their productive labour to paid work.

Even though, time availability argues that women spend more time on housework because they have more time to do it, this shouldn't be the case. Men, either married or cohabiting, should be able and willing to spend more time on housework since this will reduce role strain and increase marital quality (Frisco and Williams, 2003). Studies investigating household labour and paid work suggest that the increased rate of women entering the labour force has not resulted in a consequent

shift in men's contribution to domestic work (Risman and Summerford, 1998). This is what Hochschild termed as the stalled revolution (Hochschild, 1989). This stalled revolution which Hochschild (1989) documented 30 years ago is still evident in this study. In most American families, even when wives spent as many hours in paid work as their husbands, they remain responsible for home making and childcare (Lachance and Bouchard, 2010). Although, some women do not see the inequitable division of labour because of high income of their partners and stronger belief for traditional ideals than egalitarian ideals (Dempsey, 1997), many do. In fact, the division of household labour is one of the greatest areas of dispute within the home (Kluwer et al, 2000) and resentment for many couples (Kluwer, 1998). In the United States, wives often wish their husbands would participate more often in housework than they actually do (Mannino and Deutsch, 2007; Kluwer et al, 2000). Similarly, in Canada, Fox (2009) found that, many women are angry with their husbands for their lack of contribution towards domestic tasks, but they often protect their husband's time because they felt more dependent on them due to high salary of their husbands and this can lead to divorce in the long run especially for women (Frisco and Williams, 2003). This means that even though women spent more time housework, this is not a happy process.

The other explanation of the gender difference in housework is relative resource theory. This theory argues that the level of resources a person brings to a relationship relative to the resources of his or her partner determines how much domestic labor each partner does (Hallerod, 2005). In other words, the level of resources a person contributes in a relationship gives him or her the bargaining power or the ability to bargain out of doing undesirable housework. The relative resource explanation is also based upon the assumption that a partner's external resources, most importantly income and education, permit decision making power in negotiating with his/her

partner (Lachance and Bouchard, 2010). Even though external resources permit a person to negotiate household duties with his or her partner, how these negotiations happen within the home gives us more insight on how couples make decisions regarding household division of labour (Coltrane, 2000). When couples enter marriage or cohabitation, they negotiate about who should do what in the home (Mannino and Deutsch, 2007; Kirchler, 1993) and these decisions/negotiations determine their daily routine as well as their future behaviours and the balance of power between them (Coltrane, 2000). In negotiating the division of labour among couples, a study done by Mannino and Deutsch (2007) in the United States found that some couples mutually agree to do specific housework tasks based on their work but in some couples, women are responsible for most of the housework and have tried changing it but have given up with the hope that negotiations about division of labour would change especially when they get a job. However, divorce is likely to occur if housework negotiations remain unfair (Frisco and Williams, 2003). In addition, other women negotiate household duties by directly or indirectly asking for assistance from their husbands to accomplish certain tasks while others negotiate housework duties when there is a change in the husband's work, especially when the man is unemployed (Fox, 2001). The occupational status or position of men and women in paid work as well as hours spent in paid work are very important to how couples negotiate labour in the home (Fox 2009). As stated by Fox (2009), in Canada, women can negotiate better over domestic work if they have high positions and make more money than their husbands. In addition, fathers participate more in housework when mothers are fully employed in Canada (Ranson, 2010). From the findings of this research, most married and cohabiting women have lower income relative to their spouses while majority of married and cohabiting men have higher income relative to their spouses. This means that, the relatively higher income of married and cohabiting men gives them more bargaining power to do

less household tasks. But in order to ensure gender equality, housework should be negotiated and shared equally among partners whether or not women have high positions or work full time because lack of equal sharing points to the durability/power of gender socialization.

Gender socialization may also be another reason why there are gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting people. Gender socialization, mostly defined as the way children are trained from infancy to specialize in housework affects their behavior and contribution to housework when they become adults (Frost, 2009). According to West and Zimmerman (1987), to do femininity is to do care by maintaining the home or providing a clean environment for your spouse or children and for men, doing gender is to earn or to be in paid work. American men sometimes view housework as feminine tasks and doing more of the housework limit their level of masculinity (Penha, 2006). In Ghana for instance, to do femininity is to do more of the housework including cooking, cleaning, laundry, as well as caring for the children (Diabah, 2015).

The results of this study show that married and cohabiting women spend more minutes on housework per day than married and cohabiting men, regardless of their time in paid work. Women spend more minutes per day on housework compared to men because women are trained to take up domestic roles compared to men and they have grown to accept these domestic tasks as their duties (Penha, 2006; West and Zimmerman, 1987) but most women see it to be unfair (Walzer, 1996; Hochschild, 1989). Even though people are socialized throughout life to engage in specific tasks, as we move into relationships we bring what we have learnt and in accordance with the relationship, we have to figure out the bargaining process in terms of who will do what. Most women spend more time on housework and in fact, a lot of research shows that not only should we expect that (Cunningham, 2007; Bianchi, 2000) but we can actually see the negotiation and we can see that this bargaining is not always a happy process (Fox, 2009). Most women see the

division of labour to be unfair since they often work as much as their husband but still end up doing more of the household labour (Mannino and Deutsch, 2007; Walzer, 1996; Hochschild, 1989).

In addition, gender socialization would argue that women spend more time on household labour because housework has been conceptualized as feminine tasks and women are trained to do more than men; that said, research shows that decision making about who should do what in a relationship is not only influenced by socialization but also the available time they have to do these domestic tasks. For instance, couples can decide the man should be responsible for the domestic tasks in a situation where the woman is a full-time worker and the man is unemployed or part time worker (Mannino and Deutsch, 2009). Although, gender socialization may explain why women spent more housework compared to men but as we grow, they become more enlightened about gender inequality within the home through education and this can lead to changes in gender attitudes (Goldin, 2006). According to Buchmann et al (2008), there have been large changes in gender role attitudes in the United States as a declining number of Americans support traditional gender roles and a greater number supporting egalitarian gender roles. Although, the majority of women spend more time doing housework, men on the other hand should learn to increase their time spent on housework as gender inequality leads to unhappiness and dissolution of the relationship (Frisco and Williams, 2003).

As time availability and relative resources have been established as partial explanations of the gender gap in household labour, this study found that time availability is a better explanation of the gender gap in housework among cohabiting people while relative resources theory is a better explanation of the gender gap in housework among married people. In addition, this research used income and education as measures for relative resources. However, there was not much difference

among married men and women in terms of education but there were large differences in income among married men and women. For married people, once relative income was accounted for, the gender gap in household labour significantly decreased, suggesting that relative resource (income) is an important explanation for the gendered division of labour for married people.

Some reasons have been given to explain why relative resources theory is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among married people. First, gender specialization is a model in which people's tasks or labour are determined by their gender (Treas, 2008). According to Killeward and Gough (2013), the formation of a marriage household may encourage gender role specialization in which one partner spends more time in certain tasks and less time in other tasks. Becker (1981) argued, in his specialization and trading model, that the gain to marriage depends on mutual dependence of the couples arising out of specialization- a situation where the woman specializes in domestic work and the man specialize in labour market. He continued to argue that the increasing economic independence of women resulting from the rapid growth of women in the workforce has led to a decline in marriage rates (Becker 1981). Based on this perspective, Hersch and Stratton (2000) found that married women increase their time spent on housework after marriage by doing additional eight hours per week while married men decrease their time spent on housework after marriage by three hours per week. Similarly, a study in the United States of America by Greenstein (2000) found that, married women spend on average 37.6 hours on housework and 33.1 hours on paid work per week while married men spend 17.7 hours on housework and 44.4 hours on paid work per week. Specialization in marriage may result in men becoming more invested in paid labour which enhances the man's productivity and leads to increase in wages (Bardasi and Taylor, 2008). This rising wage as a result of specialization increases the relative power of married men compared to married women since married men

specialize in paid work than housework (Hersch and Stratton, 1994). In a household where specialization is practiced, a wife or husband with no or little income exhibits large income dependency on the other and must therefore make other important contributions in order for there to be a gain or an overall sense of reciprocity in the relationship (Oppenheimer, 1997). In this case, if women are always specializing in domestic work then they become dependent on their husband which leads to low relative power and greater contribution to household tasks. Although specialization may be good for some marriages, it can also be risky on the other hand. According to Oppenheimer (1997), specialization entails high risk and an inflexible family strategy because of its associated social cost. She continues by arguing that if a husband or father who specializes in paid work dies or even loses his job, then the family will be left with no major source of income or if the mother dies then there will be no one to take care of the children which might lead to family break up when children are being parcelled among family relatives or assumed by another legal guardian. Another study done in Britain found that there is an increase in marital stability when a husband participates in housework compared to if he does not (Sigle-Rushton, 2010). Based on this, there is a need for contemporary married men and women to participate more in the labour market as well as helping each other with domestic work to ensure an increase in family income and happiness in the home as research has shown that couples especially women become happy when there is mutual contribution to housework (Mencarini, and Sironi, 2010; Frisco and Williams, 2003).

Another reason why relative resources is a better explanation for the gender differences in housework among people is the reinforcement of traditional gender roles due to the transition to parenthood. The transition to parenthood, which is defined as giving birth to or fathering a first child, is associated with changes in gender role attitudes for men and women (Katz et al, 2010).

Lang and Neyer (2006) argue that becoming a parent is associated with changes in personality and social responsibility because the transition to parenthood involves a lot of tasks and demands. When couples become parents, their division of labour tends to become more traditional (Goldberg and Perry, 2004) with women spending less time outside the home and performing more housework than men (Gjerdingen and Center, 2005). Similarly, Fox (2001) mentioned that in the transition to parenthood, women become more responsible for baby care while men become helpers to their wives. This pattern increases the gender differentiation and decreased marital satisfaction, especially for women (Walzer, 1996). Even though, women are more likely to stay at home following the birth of a first child (Katz et al, 2010), this is an unhappy decision for most women (Walzer, 1996; Hochschild, 1989). A study of heterosexual couples in Toronto found that women who stayed at home following transition to parenthood ended up doing most of the housework because they were at home at the time and they had time to notice the state of the house (Fox, 2001). Another study argues that women spend more time on housework because it relates to their sense of identity (West and Zimmerman, 1987). But, this happens because of the gender norms in most societies.

However, it is not fair for women to be responsible for most of the housework and childcare after the transition to parenthood. The gender role attitudes and resultant practices following the transition to parenthood need to more egalitarian rather than traditional (Rogers and Amato, 2000), and the fact that the transition to parenthood is associated with an increase in household labour and increasing dependence by women on men does not mean changes cannot happen, so both people in a couple can negotiate when there is a change in their lives and help each other with the domestic work and as well as the raising of children (Fox, 2001).

The other reason why relative resources theory might a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among married people may be motherhood wage penalty, as married women are more likely to be mothers than cohabiting women (Soons and Kalmijn, 2009). This is defined as the disadvantages mothers experience at the workplace compared to non-mothers (Smock 2003) and the fact that average wages for mothers are less than those of women without children (Anderson et al, 2002; Budig and England, 2001). The motherhood wage penalty increases the gender pay gap and causes men to have more bargaining power. One of the causes of the motherhood wage penalty is the fact that women often opt to reduce their hours of work or drop out of the labour force all together in order to care for their children (Smock, 2003) without spousal pressure (Rosin and Korabik, 1990). However, there are some structural forces such as work policies and cultures that don't support families, the cost of childcare, and the expectation for intensive mothering that shape the choices that women make. The cost of affordable and quality daycare is one of the main reasons why women in Canada may reduce their work hours or even leave the workforce (Howard, 2018). Howard (2018) argued that about 44 percent of Canadian children stay at home without attending daycare. Similarly, Prentice (1999) found that, few children have access to early childhood education in Canada despite the positive impact of early childhood education on child's development. The high cost of daycare has been associated with a higher gender employment gap because fewer women stay in the labour force (Moyser, 2017). Women dropping out the labour force to care for their children reduces the wages of women and increases the gender pay gap (Howard, 2018). In addition, women staying at home without being paid for their labour causes them to do more of the domestic tasks (Gupta and Ash, 2008). It is also not fair that women are the only ones responsible for raising children. The choices they make about their work have lasting implications for gender equality at home.

Unfavourable work policies against families is another cause of motherhood wage penalty. According to Howard (2018), lack of supportive environment for fathers to take parental leave causes most husband to remain in the paid sector after the birth of a child unlike mothers. Howard (2018) argues that in 2018 in Canada, about 49.8% of women aged 25 to 54 took at least one maternal leave while only 3.8% of men took paternal leave. Similarly, Rehel (2014) argued that the time frame as well as incentives of paternal leave in Canada should be increased so that husbands can support their wives in domestic work and child rearing as this will allow men to develop the type of parental responsibilities that enable them to be active co-parents.

Therefore, the Canadian government should make daycare affordable in order to improve early childhood education as well as increasing the likelihood of women staying in full time employment and reducing time spent on housework. In addition, workplaces need to provide a friendly environment to encourage paternal leave so that the burden of housework and child rearing will be shared among partners since gender inequality is not good for women, marriages or even children.

On the other hand, this study finds that time availability is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among cohabiting people rather than relative resources theory. Several reasons have been advanced to explain why time availability is a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among people in cohabiting unions. The first explanation is the relative instability of many cohabitations. Marriage entails a legal commitment because there is legal a contract protecting marriage and the assets and property owned by married couples (Haider and Joslyn, 2005). Conversely, cohabitation is often a tentative, with different legal obligations depending on the province and these unions tend to be less stable than marriages (Guzzo, 2014; Kennedy and Bumpass, 2008; Waite, 2000). Due to this instability, cohabiting people might not

be thinking the union will last forever and may view a gender-based specialization and trading arrangement as too risky. They might view this specialization and trading as risky because the union can be dissolved very easily (Poortman and Mills, 2012). Cohabiting women might think it is especially risky to give up on opportunities for career advancement if there is a real possibility the union will end because they may have difficulty in entering or re-entering the labour market and may be subject to financial risks when the union dissolves (Kalmijn and Manting, 2007). Cohabiting people may decide to divide housework according to who has the most available time since neither of the partners will be willing to give up his or her career. Cohabiting women especially will not be interested in specializing in housework but rather engage in housework based on the available time she has. This explains why time availability is a better explanation of the gender differences among people in cohabiting unions.

The other related reason why time availability is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among cohabiting people is that we know cohabiting people tend to be more egalitarian than married people (Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Coltrane, 2000). Similarly, Kaufman (2000), also found that egalitarian men and women are more likely to enter cohabitation than marriage. Deciding who does what at home based on how much time the partners have is a much more egalitarian, or gender-neutral, way to divide labour than dividing labour based on the specialization and trading model. Studies have found that cohabiting people are more likely to divide housework more equally (Baxter, 2005; Batalova and Cohen, 2002). Even though the household division of labour was not shared equally among cohabiting men and women in this research, the division of labour is shared according to the available time cohabiting men and women have. Considering marriage or cohabitation, it is better for housework to be shared according to the available time each partner has rather than sharing housework based on relative resources.

It has been established that there are three explanations for the gendered division of labour namely: time availability theory, relative resources theory, and gender socialization. These theories are often used in concert to explain gender difference in household labour (Aassve et al, 2014; Cunningham, 2007; Bianchi et al, 2000). In this research, time availability was found to be a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among cohabiting couple while relative resources explain the gender difference in housework among married people better. However, there are still gender differences in the time spent on unpaid domestic labour that were left unexplained by either the time availability or relative resources explanations. Even after accounting for differences in men's and women's time spent on paid labour and differences in education and income, women do more unpaid household labour than men, regardless of union type. This suggests that gendered expectations for who does domestic labour remain.

The remaining gender differences in housework in either type of relationship is not due to the available time both married or cohabiting men and women have to devote to this kind of domestic tasks nor the resources they have but broader societal expectations about gender roles. This gender socialization is also interpreted as the way in which men are normatively expected to be responsible for providing financial support for the family while women are expected to be responsible for household duties (Cunningham, 2005). This perspective would portray women to be doing more of the domestic tasks than men, even when they are fully employed because of societal expectations and the fact that household work is viewed as feminine tasks (Arosio, 2017). This societal expectation of gender roles includes intensive mothering. According to Hays (1998), women are expected to take care of their home as well as responding to every need of their babies at all times. This idea of intensive mothering influences the way couples organize their home as well as parenting (Fox, 2001). Likewise, as women are expected to manage their home, including

housework and childcare, it is not easy for most women to cope with the heavy demands associated with these duties (Walzer, 1996). As the findings of this research suggest, women spent more time on housework per day than men in either cohabitation or marriage, it will be fair if men and women in either type of relationship negotiate equally on how to divide household tasks without putting most of the housework burden on women.

It is known that people with strong egalitarian beliefs are more likely to enter cohabitation unions (Kaufman, 2000) and are more likely to share housework equally than married people (Batalova and Cohen, 2002). This section discusses why the gender gap in housework is smaller for people in cohabiting unions. The findings of this research shows that the gender gap in unpaid labour is smaller for cohabiting people than married people. Several reasons have been advanced to explain the smaller gender difference in unpaid labour among cohabiting people compared to married people. First, gender egalitarianism, which is defined by McDaniel (2008) as a belief that men and women should hold a certain degree of equality within public and private domains, may be one reason for the smaller gender gap in unpaid labour among Canadian cohabiting people because it has been established in Canada and other countries that cohabiting men and women on average are more liberal and less religious and hold more egalitarian attitudes towards gender relations and non-traditional family roles, while marriage has been associated with less egalitarianism (Zhang, 2006; Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Le Bourdais and Lapierre Adamcyk, 2004).

Second, research has established that cohabiting people tend to be younger than married people (Kasearu and Kutsar, 2011; Dempsey and De Vaus, 2004). According to Dempsey and De Vaus (2004), in Australia, cohabitation is less common among those in their late 50s but much more common among young people with about 40 percent of people between the age of 25 – 34

cohabiting at least once in their lifetime. While age at first marriage continues to increase in Canada with an average age of 30.2 and 28.2 for men and women respectively in 2002 (Le Bourdais and Lapierre-Adamcyk, 2004), average age at first partnership including cohabitation has not increased to nearly the same extent (Wright, 2016). The reason why age may explain why the gender gap in unpaid labour is smaller for cohabiting people than married people is that, cohabiting people tend to be much younger as compared to married people (Kuperberg, 2014), and they are more likely to spend less time on housework than their married counterparts (Greenstein, 2007; Shelton and John, 1993). However, this research still found differences in unpaid labour even after controlling for age.

Another reason why we see this less significant difference in housework among cohabiting people compared to married people is due to differences in the labour force participation of men and women in these partnerships. Cohabiting women are more likely to be in paid work than married women (Arosio, 2017), while men who cohabit are less likely to be employed compared to married men (Oppenheimer, 2003; Shelton and John, 1993). Similarly, the findings of this research show that cohabiting women spend more hours in paid work compared to married women. And, as time availability theory argues, couples rationally allocate time in housework based on spouses' relative hours in the paid labor market (Gough and Killeward, 2010) or the amount of free time they have available to devote to these activities outside of work, leisure, and other activities (Starrels, 1994). The gender gap in housework is smaller in cohabitation because cohabiting women spend more time on paid work and therefore may have less time to spend on housework than married women.

The smaller gender difference in housework among cohabiting men and women may also be due to the traditional expectations that come along with the role of wife that may be different

from the expectations that come along with being a cohabiting partner. Married women are generally expected to take care of the home (Kaufman, 2000) but cohabiting people tend to be more gender egalitarian and less likely to specialize in the division of labour. This egalitarian attitude and less specialization in cohabitation makes cohabiting women spend less time on unpaid labour leading to a smaller gender gap in unpaid labour among cohabiting men and women. Unfortunately, while this is interesting, the data used in this study do not permit me to take into consideration all these differences among married and cohabiting men and women.

6.2. Strengths and Limitations

This study is the first study in the Canadian context to examine the gender gap in time spent on housework among a) married people and b) cohabiting people in Canada and to estimate whether time availability or relative resource is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among a) married people and b) cohabiting people. In addition, this study broadens our knowledge of the gender difference in the time that married and cohabiting people spend on unpaid domestic labour and provides more insight on the effect of time availability and relative resource on the gender difference in housework among Canadians. Unlike a study done in the United States which found that relative resources theory is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among both married and cohabiting couples (Gough and Killeward, 2010), this study found that relative resources (income) is a better explanation of the gender difference among married people while time availability explains the gender differences among cohabiting people better. One thing that might cause this difference is that Canada is more gender egalitarian than the US (Fuwa, 2004; Baxter and Kane, 1995), has a much higher cohabitation rate than the United States (Mrozek and Mitchell, 2017), and it is more likely for cohabitation to be used as an alternative to marriage in Canada than the United States (Heuveline and Timberlake, 2004).

Despite the strengths of this research there are several limitations. First, this study employed individual-level data since there is no couple-level data in the 2010 General Social Survey. Although individual-level data can provide interesting and important information about the amount of time men and women in marriages and cohabiting unions spend on housework, it would also be valuable to know more about what *couples* do and how much time people in couples spend on housework. Another limitation of this study is that the GSS does not include a measure for spouse's income, so I had to create it using the midpoint of the household income and the respondent income because using the midpoint gives an accurate reflection of the spouse's income. In addition, this study is new and important because it focuses on Canadian data, but I am looking at Canadian data using a lot of concepts and findings that was generated in other countries such as research from the United States with generally similar circumstances but with big differences such as marriage rate, cohabitation and pay gap. Also, this study is limited in terms of the depth of my understanding by using quantitative data. Including qualitative data could have help me look more deeply into gender ideologies at play, and the negotiation processes surrounding who does what domestic work.

6.3. Directions for Future Research

This study focused on time spent on housework among married and cohabiting people in Canada as a whole. However, it will also be interesting to explore time spent on housework among men and women in each of the ten provinces to determine whether women spend more time on housework across all the provinces or if there are other provinces where men do more housework than women since data are only available for the ten provinces, and not for the three territories. It would be especially interesting to look at Quebec separately as cohabitation has become quite normative and they report more gender egalitarian attitudes (Kerr et al, 2006; Laplante, 2006).

Also, Quebec has more generous paternal leave policies which likely influence the gendered division of labour (Beaujot et al, 2013; Tremblay, 2010). Future research may also investigate time spent on housework among single mothers and fathers. This would be interesting since it is known that time spent on housework increases with the presence of children and women are known to spend more time on housework. Research in this area will help us know whether female single parents perform more housework than male single parents and what factors contribute to these differences. I would expect to see that female single parents will spend more time on housework than male single parents since men are known to spend less time on paid work than women.

Another future direction could explore *why* relative resources theory is a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among married people and *why* time availability is a better explanation of the gender differences in housework among cohabiting people. It will be very fascinating to know how men understand housework, their feelings about housework, what type of housework are they interested in spending more time on and what will make them spend more time on housework. It will be very important to collect more and rich qualitative data in order to understand how couples negotiate. For instance, it will be interesting to observe couples' daily routines and interview them separately and together to examine how they negotiate household duties. This approach would allow for an in-depth examination of the kind of negotiation approaches couples use to divide housework duties, and their outcomes of these negotiations. The current study focused on heterosexual married and cohabiting men and women; other future studies can also look at same sex couples. Researching same-sex couples will provide more insight to our understanding of gender and housework and help to determine how housework is perceived and performed among same-sex couples.

6.4. Conclusion

Doing housework is a part of life, yet few studies have investigated housework patterns in Canada, and this is the first study to be done on housework among both married and cohabiting people. The main issue that this research aimed to address was determining the gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting people and whether time availability or relative resource is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework among married and cohabiting people. From the analysis carried out, I am able to conclude that there are gender differences in housework among married and cohabiting men and women. Nevertheless, the findings show that there is more gender inequality in unpaid labour among married people than cohabiting people even after controlling for some sociodemographic and household characteristics. Also, unlike Gough and Killeward, (2010), who found in the United States that relative resource is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework for both married and cohabiting couples than time availability, this study found that relative resource (income) is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework for married people while time availability is a better explanation of the gender difference in housework for cohabiting people in Canada. This means that for married people, more of the gender difference in housework is not about who has the most available time, but rather who has greater resources (income) to bargain out of these domestic tasks. For cohabiting people, more of the gender difference is explained by who has the most available time to engage in housework. However, there was still gender difference in the time spent on unpaid labour at home in both marriage and cohabitation unions left unexplained by relative resource and time availability theories. This means that even though relative resources theory does a better job in explaining the gender differences in housework among married people, and time availability explains most of the gender differences in housework among cohabiting people, neither of these

theories are enough to explain all the gender differences in both unions; gender inequality in the division of household labour persists in Canada in both marriages and cohabiting unions.

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