Cohabitation and Domestic Labour

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Abstract

The division of domestic labour is something that affects most people in our society. Much research has been done on the issue of why women do far more domestic labour than men, even after controlling for the number of hours spent in paid labour. That work has predominantly focused on married couples although there is some work done on the division of domestic labour for cohabiting couples.

What has not been done before, and what will be presented in this thesis is an analysis of the division of domestic labour of three separate groups, couples that are currently cohabiting, couples that cohabited before their marriage, and couples that did not cohabit before their marriage. Given the theories from the literature on divorce, one would expect that cohabiters would have the most egalitarian division of domestic labour and married people that did not cohabit prior to marriage would have the least egalitarian division of domestic labour.

Significant statistical differences are found amongst the males in these three groups and the differences are in the expected direction. Differences were also found for the share of domestic labour performed by women, again in the expected direction, but these differences were not significant.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Domestic labour is something that affects almost every adult in Canada. Domestic labour is often a cause of marital disputes especially if the division of domestic labour is not seen as being fair (Pina and Bengston, 1993; Suitor, 1991; Blair, 1993).

Much is known about the division of domestic labour amongst married couples. Studies done for more than the past twenty years have all shown that women do a far greater share of domestic labour than men do (Antill and Cotton, 1988; Baxter, 1992; Brayfield, 1992; Coverman, 1985; Denmark, Shaw and Ciali, 1985; Ericksen, Yancey and Ericksen, 1979; Kotkin, 1983; Luxton, 1983; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987; Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994). Even when both spouses are working full time, women still do a significantly larger share of domestic labour than their husbands (Hardesty and Bokemeier, 1989; Maret and Finlay, 1984; Meissner et. al., 1975).

According to the 1996 Canadian Census, married couples are still far more common than couples who live common law, but there are now more than one million people living in common law relationships. Common law relationships are becoming more accepted in Canadian society such that the differences between legal marriage and common-law unions have been decreasing over the past few years[1].

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[1] For example, in 1993 the Federal Government of Canada changed the Income Tax laws so that common law partners were to be considered legally spouses.

Given the large increase in the number of couples that cohabit, and given the importance of domestic labour in the daily lives of adults, it seems that there should be some research into the division of domestic labour of cohabiting couples. The amount of research in this area is somewhat limited. The objective of this study is to examine the current division of domestic labour amongst cohabiting couples, and to compare that division of domestic labour to the division of domestic labour performed by married couples.

Stafford, Backman and Dibona (1977) first studied the differences in the division of domestic labour experienced by cohabiters and married couples. Since 1977 there have been a few studies comparing the division of domestic labour amongst married couples and cohabiting couples. These studies have all shown that cohabiters are more egalitarian in their division of domestic labour than are married couples (South and Spitze, 1994; Kotkin, 1983; Shelton and John, 1993; Denmark, Shaw and Ciali, 1985; Stafford, Backman and Dibona, 1977).

None of these studies examined whether there is a difference between married people who cohabited before marriage and married people who did not cohabit before marriage. Given that the literature on divorce indicates differences between married couples based on cohabitation experience, treating married people as a homogeneous group seems unreasonable.

The fact that cohabiters have a more egalitarian division of domestic labour does seem to be consistent with research into the *cohabitation effect*. The cohabitation effect is that couples who marry after they live common law are more likely to divorce than are couples who do not live common law prior to marriage. There have been many studies that have tried to explain the cohabitation effect (Axinn and Thornton, 1992; Bennett, Blanc and Bloom, 1988; Bumpass and

Sweet, 1989; Demaris and MacDonald, 1993; Demaris and Rao, 1992; Schoen, 1992; Teachman and Polonko, 1990). The most common explanation is the *unconventionality hypothesis* which states that the reason for the cohabitation effect is that cohabiters are more likely to divorce because of their unconventional attitudes toward the permanence of marriage (Demaris and MacDonald, 1993).

The view that cohabiters are different from married people does seem to be supported by the research comparing the division of domestic labour performed by cohabiters and married couples, but researchers have not taken the extra step of comparing the division of domestic labour done by the two separate groups of currently married people - cohabiters and non-cohabiters.

There are several possible outcomes of this comparison. Clearly from the literature, it can be seen that cohabiters are more egalitarian in their division of domestic labour than are married couples; what is not known is whether married people who cohabited prior to marriage are more like married people who did not cohabit or if they are more like cohabiting couples in their division of domestic labour.

There have been a number of theories designed to explain the differences in the division of domestic labour. One such theory is gender role ideology (Antill and Cotton 1988) which predicts, if the unconventionality hypothesis is correct, that married people who cohabited before marriage would have a division of domestic labour closer to that of cohabiters than to the division of domestic labour experienced by couples who did not cohabit prior to marriage.

Other theories have been proposed to explain the division of domestic labour. These theories include the *relative resource theory*, the *time availability theory,* and the *economic dependency*

theory (Coverman, 1985; Greenstien, 1996). Theories about the division of domestic labour, and the research that has been done on them is discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Included in that discussion is a rationale for what variables need to be considered in any analysis of the division of domestic labour.

As well, Chapter Two includes a brief discussion of the existing hypotheses for explaining the cohabitation effect, as well as presenting a new hypothesis, the *taken for granted hypothesis* to explain the cohabitation effect. Chapter Two also indicates how the division of domestic labour can provide some evidence in support of these hypotheses.

It is because of the support that division of domestic labour can provide for explaining the cohabitation effect, and because of the growing importance of cohabitation that I propose to study the difference in the division of domestic labour performed by three distinct groups of couples: cohabiting couples, married couples who lived common law prior to marriage, and married couples who did not live common law before marriage. Research presented in this thesis uses the 1990 Canadian General Social Survey. A description of the data that are used as well as a review of the variables used in this research is given in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four presents five statistical models, one for each of the four domestic labour variables included in the 1990 Canadian General Social Survey and a fifth that is for an aggregate variable of all of the "traditionally female" work.

There are two uses to this research. The first is to see if there is any distinction between these groups of people. The second, when combined with the theories of the division of domestic

labour, is to examine the cohabitation effect. The data can be used to examine the unconventionality and the taken for granted hypotheses for explaining the cohabitation effect. A full explanation of the theory and the results of analysis are given in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six provides a summary of the results as well as indicating some possibilities for further research.

Chapter 2

Background

Domestic labour is something that the vast majority of adults cannot avoid completely. However, some are more successful at avoiding it than others: the average woman spends over twenty percent of her waking hours performing domestic labour, while the average man spends just over ten percent (South and Spitze, 1994).

The great disparity between the amount of domestic labour performed by men and women continues, even though women are now performing much more paid work that in the past (South and Spitze, 1994; Ross, 1987; Meissner, Humphreys, Meis and Scheu, 1975). As well, the institution that was most associated with the gender role division of paid work and domestic work is also experiencing some changes, marriage is no longer seen as the only legitimate family union. Common law relationships are becoming far more common.

The importance of domestic labour and the changing nature of work roles and familial relationships indicate a need to study the gender division of domestic labour, both to see what changes are occurring because of the increase in the labour force participation of women, the rise in the numbers of common law relationships, and the number of couples who choose to cohabit before marriage.

As well, the analysis of the division of domestic labour could also tell us something about the issue of divorce. Any dispute about the division of domestic labour would certainly have a significant impact on marital satisfaction and thus on the probability of divorce. Thomson and

Colella (1992) discussed the role of disputes in the division of domestic labour in the assessment of marital quality. Any significant change in the division of domestic labour after a cohabiting couple marries may help to explain the fact that people who cohabit before marriage are more likely to divorce.

Similarly, given the gender role explanation (Luxton, 1983; Ross, 1987) that has been suggested to explain the division of domestic labour, no change in the division of domestic labour after a cohabiting couple marries constitutes additional evidence in support of a different explanation of why cohabiters are more likely to divorce. Before looking at the differing divisions of domestic labour, I will examine some of the theories that have been suggested for explaining the division of labour.

There are a number of theories proposed to explain why women do a disproportionate share of domestic labour. In the past, it was assumed that the man would provide the external income and the woman would cook and clean. Given that view, one would have expected the return of women into the paid workforce (Statistics Canada, 1975-1997) to result in a more equal division of domestic labour.

Research by Maret and Finlay (1984) indicated that progress toward an egalitarian division of domestic labour was being made, although there was still a long way to go. Luxton (1983) found that Canadian data indicate men are increasing their share of domestic labour, although again the distribution is not an egalitarian one. Meissner, Humphreys, Meis and Scheu (1975:432) found that if the wife was working outside the home that

> Husbands do a little more housework on weekends than on workdays, primarily in shopping and child care, but remain indifferent to the burdens of their wives' paid work.

Many studies have examined the division of domestic labour (Anthill and Cotton, 1988; Baxter, 1992; Brayfield, 1992; Coverman, 1985; Ericksen et. al., 1979; Greenstein, 1996; Hardesty and Bokemeier. 1989; Luxton, 1983; Maret and Finlay, 1984; Meissner et. al., 1975; Pinch and Storey, 1992; Presser, 1994; Ross, 1987), but only a few (Stafford, 1977; Denmark, Shaw and Ciali, 1985; Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994) have compared the division of domestic labour for cohabiting couples and married couples.

Comparisons between the division of domestic labour for married and cohabiting people always treated married people as a single group instead of two separate groups, those who lived common-law before marriage and those who did not. Differences in the division of domestic labour of these three groups: 1) cohabiters, 2) married people who cohabited before marriage, and 3) married people who did not cohabit before marriage may provide some insight into why there is a significant gender bias in the division of domestic labour. In particular, results may provide some evidence in support of one or more of the theories explaining the cohabitation effect as well as theories designed to explain the high domestic workload for women.

2.1 Existing Theories

Before looking at the results presented in this thesis on the division of domestic labour, it will be useful to consider the various theories that have been developed to explain why women do a disproportionately larger share of the domestic labour. Two theories explain the difference by considering the power of the male in the relationship.

2.1.1 The Marital Power Theory

There have been several variations of the marital power theory. The most common version

explains differences in the division of domestic labour by the relatively higher amount of power that the male has in the relationship. Some of this power can be explained by the differing abilities of the two members of a couple to earn income. This differing ability to earn income creates an *economic dependence* of the wife on the husband which leaves the man in a better position to negotiate the division of domestic labour (Meissner, 1975).

A second variation of the marital power theory is based on the idea of efficiency. A couple allegedly divides its workload up in a way that maximizes benefit to the couple (Becker, 1973). Men would argue that since they have the greater earning capacity, it would be better for the couple if the man worked outside the home. If both members of the couple were working, and there was a need for one of them to give up an hour of paid work to do an hour of domestic work, then the logical decision would be for the lower paid person, the woman, to give up an hour of paid work and perform an additional hour of domestic work. In other words, it is not "efficient" to have the man do more house work and the woman do more paid work. This "efficiency" gives men the power to distribute the domestic labour in a manner that they find desirable.

Both of these theories are effectively saying the same thing, but offering slightly different explanations for how income differences (or education differences) result in an increased domestic workload for the woman.

It is the difference in income that has most often been used to study the marital power theory, and there has been a significant amount of support for that theory. Baxter (1992), using the differences in the percent share of income earned as a measure of marital power, found that a higher level of marital power was correlated with a lower amount of domestic labour. Ericksen, Yancey and

Ericksen (1979) studied 1212 couples in the Philadelphia area. Using the husband's income and the wife's education to indicate marital power, they found strong support for the impact of marital power on the division of domestic labour.

A study by Presser (1994), using a subsample of dual earner married couples from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), found evidence supporting the marital power theory. Presser included both a log of the ratio of husband's earnings to wife's, as well as a second variable that is the log of the husband's earnings. The coefficient for the ratio variable achieved significance at the 0.01 level, but the husband's income variable was not significant.

One study has contradicted the marital power hypothesis. Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989), using data that excluded people who were not registered voters and who were not urban residents, found that marital power - as operationalized by the ratio of the wife's to the husband's income - was not significantly related to the division of labour.

In defending the marital power theory, Ross (1987), although not explicitly writing about Hardesty and Bokemeier, criticized other author's use of ratio variables to measure marital power. Ross argued that the use of such variables assumes that the impact of the man's income is similar to the woman's income. A ratio variable has the effect of producing an equation such as

$$Y = b_0 + b_1 \frac{\$_H}{\$_W}$$

which Ross argues should be replaced by an equation where the two variables $\$_H$ and $\$_W$ are treated separately, and the equation should include an interaction term as well. Ross (1987), using data from

a national probability sample of the United States, found that the husband's marital power, as operationalized by separate variables for the husband's and the wife's income, is significantly and negatively related to his participation in domestic labour.

A more recent paper by Brayfield (1992), who studied Canadian families, found that the lower the total family income, the greater the impact of an increase in the man's share of the total family income. Specifically, Brayfield (1992:28) qualifies Ross's findings stating that:

> the difference in income between the wife and the husband is a somewhat more effective tool for low earning men to minimize their participation in less desirable chores than for high-earning men.

Perhaps the reason for this finding is an idea that is consistent with the research of Becker et. al (1977) which showed that the probability of divorce declines with an increase in income. The possible loss of income and property resulting from a divorce is higher for the higher-earning man than the lower-earning man. As a result, the high-earning man may experience a greater fear of loss, leaving the woman with more power than the woman who is married to a lower-earning man.

A third possible marital power explanation is one based on physical power. Luxton (1983:35) cites the fact that at least some of the women in her study of Flin Flon indicated that they

> were afraid that if they pushed for more male participation, they would provoke their husbands' anger and rage. At least one woman said that her husband beat her for suggesting he help with domestic labour.

Of course, income may play a role in this kind of power as well. Luxton (1983) also found that men who did do domestic labour would not admit it to their friends.

2.1.2 The Gender Role Ideology Theory

Perhaps the reason that the men did not admit their participation in housework is related to their view of appropriate gender roles. The gender role ideology theory states that the division of domestic labour is affected by socialization. People who have been socialized to accept egalitarian views are more likely to have an equal distribution of domestic labour than those socialized with more traditional attitudes.

Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989), who found no support for the marital power hypothesis did, however, conclude that the women who worked outside the home had more liberal sex role attitudes and these attitudes resulted in changes to the division of domestic labour.

Many other studies indicate that only the attitudes of men have any impact on the division of domestic labour. In studies of the division of domestic labour in Australia, both Baxter (1992) and Antill and Cotton (1988) found that more liberal sex role attitudes of the husband were positively correlated with the amount of domestic work performed by the husband. Both studies also found that liberal attitudes of the wife were insignificant. Ross (1987) similarly reported that in the U.S. the husband would be more likely to help with housework if he had more liberal sex role attitudes, but that the sex role attitudes of the wife had no impact on the amount of housework done by the husband. Anthill and Cotton (1988:550) suggest that it is the fact that

> husbands' egalitarianism rather than their wives' that has more impact on their performance of feminine tasks may well reflect the power dynamics within the family

A study by Coverman (1985), however, found that liberal sex role ideology led to a less egalitarian division of domestic labour, but that a higher level of education (another item positively correlated to liberal sex role ideology) led to a more egalitarian division of household labour.

Coverman (1985:93) concludes that the gender role "ideology hypothesis, as presently conceptualized, receives little confirmation from this analysis". It is possible that the higher education of the woman would give her additional power to impose her sex role ideology.

Perhaps one of the flaws with these studies is the fact that they did not take into account interaction effects between gender role ideology of the man and the ideology of the woman. Greenstein (1996) suggested that for ideology to have some impact on the division of domestic labour, it was not sufficient that just one member of the couple to have an egalitarian view. Greenstein (1996), using the 1987 National Survey on Families and Households, determined that the division of domestic labour became more egalitarian only when both husband and wife had egalitarian views.

Presser (1994) also found an interaction effect between ideology and division of domestic labour. She found that the husband's share of domestic labour does not increase if he has egalitarian views, but his wife's share will decrease. If, however, both he and his wife have egalitarian views, then his hours of housework will increase and hers will decrease.

South and Spitze (1994) studied domestic labour performed by people in various family situations. They found that men perform similar amounts of domestic labour regardless of whether they were living on their own, cohabiting or were married. They also found that the number of hours women spend on domestic labour is least if they are living independently, increases if the women cohabit, and is highest when women are married. South and Spitze (1994:344) conclude by suggesting that their results are an indication that men and women "must be 'doing gender' when they live together".

Kotkin (1983) compared three groups of people, married people, cohabiters with plans to marry, and cohabiters with no plans to marry. He found that cohabiters with no plans to marry had an egalitarian division of domestic labour, and that engaged cohabiters actually had a less egalitarian division of domestic labour than did married couples. He concluded that the institution of marriage has an effect on the couple making them more conventional in the sex role ideology. However, because of the small size of his data set (N=40 couples), Kotkin suggests that it would be useful to do a similar analysis with a larger sample.

Sex role attitudes were also considered in a study by Shelton and John (1993). Using the NSFH data, they compared the division of domestic labour between cohabiting and married couples. Shelton and John found that while cohabiters did have a more egalitarian division of domestic labour it was not because of differing sex role ideologies. Shelton and John (1993:416) concluded that:

> the presence of a husband changes the way gender is produced through household labour.

The suggestion is that there is something about the institution of marriage that affects the division of domestic labour. Similar to South and Spitze (1994), Shelton and John argue that it is not sex role ideology per se, but the fact that couples after marriage tend to "do gender", and as a result, the division of domestic labour becomes less egalitarian.

2.1.3 The Time Availability Theory

The third explanation for the unequal distribution of domestic labour is the amount of spare time that each of the spouses has to contribute to the performance of domestic labour. The theory is that both partners have an equal amount of time to spend on work, be it market work or domestic labour. Based on this theory, the more hours of paid work the wife does, the fewer hours she has available for domestic labour, and as a result, the more housework the husband does.

Using data collected in Australia, Baxter (1992) examined the time availability theory and found that there was no support for it. Coverman (1985), using data from the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey, found that husbands with spare time, and experiencing some demand for help from their wives, were more likely to help with housework, although the increase in housework done by a male averaged only 5 minutes for each additional hour that the wife was working outside the home. Antill and Cotton (1988) reported no support for the theory that as women moved into the paid labour force men would do more work at home. Data from a probability sample of registered voters in rural Kentucky used by Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989) also supported the conclusion that paid employment of the wife had no direct effect on the division of domestic labour.

Presser (1994) did find some impact of the wife's paid labour on the domestic labour of the husband, but the effect was not related to hours of work, but to whether the husband was at home when the wife was at work. She found that husbands who are at home when their wives are at work are more likely to do traditionally female tasks. Similarly, she found that women who are at home when their husbands are at work will also do more traditionally female tasks.

Several authors (Brayfield, 1992; Presser, 1994) did find that the amount of time a woman spends at work effects the ratio of domestic labour, but this change in the ratio is due to the decline in the amount of domestic work done by the woman, not because of an increase in the amount of work done by the man.

2.2 Cohabitation and Domestic Labour

While there has been limited research into the differences in the division of domestic labour in cohabiting and married households, several authors (South and Spitze, 1994; Kotkin, 1983;

Shelton and John, 1993; Denmark Shaw and Ciali, 1985) have found that cohabiters do share the domestic labour more equally, but the more egalitarian division of domestic labour is due more to the lower amount of time the cohabiting woman spends on housework compared to her married counterpart. Specifically, Shelton and John (1993:415) found that

> after controlling for all sociodemographic, household and time variables, marital status is associated significantly with women's household labour time but not with men's.

Shelton and John found that even after controlling for other characteristics such as income and hours of work, married women spend an average of 6.3 hours more per week on domestic labour than cohabiting women.

An older study by Stafford, Backman and Dibona (1977) found that differences in the division of domestic labour between cohabiting couples and married couples were quite limited. Cohabiting men did slightly more of the "female" tasks, but in their sample of about one hundred college students, Stafford et. al. (1977) found that cohabiters and married couples had an almost identical division of the total domestic labour workload.

Interestingly, Shelton and John (1993) also compared cohabiting and married couples on the issue of disputes about domestic labour and found that

> the frequency with which respondents argue about housework is significantly higher among cohabiters than among married couples.

The authors suggest that this may explain some of the differences in the division of domestic labour between married and cohabiting couples.

2.3 Domestic Labour and Marital Satisfaction

Disputes about the division of domestic labour may result in a lower level of relationship satisfaction. Tepperman (1988) reported that in the 1981 quality of life survey married respondents were more satisfied with the division of domestic labour than were cohabiters. Similar to studies analysing the division of domestic labour, no analysis has been done on the differences of satisfaction with the division of domestic labour experienced by the three groups, cohabiters, now married cohabiters, and married people who never cohabited.

There has, however, been a significant amount of work done on the impact of the division of domestic labour on marital satisfaction. Pina and Bengtson (1993) used data from the third wave of the University of California Longitudinal Study of Generations to analyse four things: 1) the satisfaction that women had with the help they received from their husbands, 2) the frequency of the husband wanting too much help, 3) the marital quality perceived by the wife, and 4) the wife's psychological well being. However, the sample included only 287 women who were mostly white and middle class.

Pina and Bengtson (1993) used the number of hours the respondent and her husband spent on domestic labour as the independent variable. They also used gender role ideology as what they referred to as a "contingency variable". The study also included a number of control variables including age, education and children under six. The study found that the impact of an equal division of domestic labour for egalitarian women on their satisfaction with help from the husband was far greater than the impact of the same division of domestic labour on traditional women. Both groups of women were more satisfied with the help they received from their husband, if the division of domestic labour was equal, but the results for the traditional women did not reach statistical significance.

The study also examined the woman's perception of marital quality. Pina and Bengtson (1993:908) found that

> wives who are satisfied with the help and support they receive from their husbands perceive more positive interaction, closeness and affirmation in their marriages... [and] ... less negative sentiment and less conflict than those who desire more help and support from their husbands.

This satisfaction with help from the husband spills over into the realm of divorce. Pina and Bengtson (1993:909) indicate that

> Only satisfaction with help and support from husband was a significant predictor of thoughts of divorce.

The study found that both a satisfaction with spousal help and traditional gender role ideology predicted a lower likelihood of thoughts of divorce, but only the spousal support was significant ($p < .001$). Gender ideology was not significant ($p > .1$).

Using data from the 1976 National Survey on Family Violence, Suitor (1991) showed that wive's satisfaction with the division of domestic labour decreased as their share of it increased. Suitor also found that men were far more likely to be satisfied with the division of domestic labour, and that for both men and women, satisfaction with the division of domestic labour was important in predicting marital quality.

Blair (1993), using the household level data from 693 dual earner couples from the NSFH, also examined the impact of the division of domestic labour on marital satisfaction and the possibility of divorce. Blair found a significant relationship between the woman's perception of an unfair division of domestic labour and the possibility of divorce ($p < .01$), with women who perceive

an unfair division of domestic labour being more likely to think that divorce is possible. Similarly, women who did not perceive a fair division of domestic labour also felt that their marriage was unhappy. Unlike women, the division of domestic labour was not a significant consideration in predicting men's perception of their marital quality or their thoughts of divorce. The most interesting conclusion of Blair's (1993) study was that while perception of unfairness in the division of domestic labour significantly increases the possibility of divorce, the actual hours of domestic work performed is not a significant predictor of the possibility of divorce.

It is the impact of the perception of unfairness that leads to the need to study the division of domestic labour amongst cohabiters, people who are married and cohabited before the marriage, and people who married but did not live common law first. It is likely that if the common law union is perceived as a trial marriage, then the division of domestic labour would be modified by the view that the relationship is still on trial. Sanchez and Kane(1996) found that never married cohabiting men were significantly less likely to perceive the division of domestic labour as being unfair to their partner. This may be because of the effort that cohabiting men put into domestic labour and because their relationship is still on trial. This effort may create certain expectations as to how domestic labour would be divided after marriage which, if these expectations are not met, could mean that the woman may feel that the division of domestic labour is unfair, thus leading to thoughts of divorce.

A study by Benin and Agostinelli(1988) lends additional support to this view. They used a sample of married couples in which both partners worked at Arizona State University (N=148 couples). They found that it was the men's and women's share of domestic labour and the man's share of traditionally female tasks that determined satisfaction with the division of domestic labour for women. Considering that Stafford (1977) found that cohabiting men perform more of the

traditionally female tasks, it is possible that the dissatisfaction that the previously cohabiting woman feels with the division of domestic labour is heightened by the less egalitarian nature of the division of domestic labour that occurs after marriage. If this conjecture is true, it would perhaps explain part of the cohabitation effect.

2.4 Cohabitation, Domestic Labour and Divorce

The fact that people who cohabit are more likely to divorce than people who do not cohabit before marriage has been well documented (Axinn and Thronton, 1992; Bennett, Blanc and Bloom, 1988; Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; Demaris and Rao, 1992; Schoen, 1992; Teachman and Polonko, 1990). This phenomenon of pre-marital cohabitation being correlated with higher chances of divorce has been called the *cohabitation effect.*

The cohabitation effect seems counter-intuitive, especially given the possible role of cohabitation as a form of trial marriage (Gwartney-Gibbs, 1986; Schoen and Weinick, 1993; Thornton, 1988). As a result, there has been much interest in the cohabitation effect. It has been studied by a number of people and several hypotheses have been suggested for explaining the effect.

There are four existing hypotheses presented in this section, and at the end of this section a new hypothesis, the validity of which can be tested by examining the division of domestic labour, will be suggested.

The most common hypothesis is the *unconventionality hypothesis* (Axinn and Thornton, 1992; Demaris and MacDonald, 1984; Thompson and Colella, 1992) which states that people who cohabit have an unconventional attitude toward marriage and divorce, and it is this unconventional

attitude that leads to the higher divorce rates.

The other hypothesis that has been studied is the *marital duration hypothesis* (Bennett et. al., 1988; Teachman and Polonko, 1990; Demaris and Rao, 1992). This hypothesis states that difference in divorce rates can be explained by the duration of the relationship. For example, a couple who lived common law for three years and had been married for seven would have the same probability of divorcing as a couple who did not live common-law and had been married for ten years.

Several other hypotheses have been suggested, but little or no research has been done on these hypotheses. Schoen (1992), having concluded that the previously mentioned hypotheses did not fully explain the cohabitation effect, suggested two other hypotheses. Since he did not name his hypotheses I will refer to them as the *un-met expectation hypothesis* and the *juggernaught hypothesis.*

The un-met expectation hypothesis is that a couple marries in the hope that the wedding will restore happiness in their relationship, and when that expectation is not met, the couple divorces. It is therefore the un-met expectation of improved relationship satisfaction that produces the increased probability of divorce.

The final of the four hypotheses, the juggernaught hypothesis states that it is pressure from outside that causes the couple to get married. Having made the possibly easier-to-make decision of living common-law, the couple is then pressured into marrying. If the couple had not made the decision to live common law then they would not have experienced as much pressure to marry and so

a poor relationship would be less likely to result in marriage if the couple did not live together first.

2.5 The Taken For Granted Hypothesis

One of the reasons that research into the division of domestic labour is of interest is its potential for explaining the cohabitation effect. There have been several studies shown a connection between the division of domestic labour and marital satisfaction (Blair, 1993; Pina and Bengtson, 1993; Suitor, 1991). The new hypothesis presented here relates to the satisfaction that a couple has with their marriage. Before describing the hypothesis, it would be useful to present some background in the area of marital satisfaction.

A few studies have focused on the lower level of marital satisfaction that seems to be experienced by people who cohabit before marriage. DeMaris and Leslie (1984) collected data on 309 couples in Florida who had been married for between one and two years. They used the Spanier Dyadic Adjustment Scale to measure marital satisfaction and a subset of the Primary Communication Inventory to measure communication. After controlling for other influences, DeMaris and Leslie (1984) found that having cohabited before marriage predicts a significant reduction in marital satisfaction for women and an almost equally large, but not statistically significant, reduction in marital satisfaction for men. Watson (1983) using data from Victoria also found that cohabiters showed a lower rate of marital satisfaction as measured by the Spanier Dyadic Adjustment Scale.

Brown and Booth (1996) provided evidence that the difference in relationship quality between married people and cohabiters could be explained by the plans of the cohabiters to marry. If the cohabiters had plans to marry, then they reported similar levels of relationship quality (a composite variable made up of five variables, one of which was happiness) to married people (Brown

and Booth, 1996).

Given that one study indicates similar satisfaction between married people and cohabiters with plans to marry, why would married people who cohabited before marriage be less satisfied with their marriage than married people that did not cohabit before their marriage? Possibly that the lower level of satisfaction relates to changes that take place after marriage. If the common-law union is actually a trial marriage, it is possible that both partners in the trial marriage are still trying. However, once the couple is married, they do not think that they are on trial any more, and so they may become less responsive to their partner.

Some support for this possibility was found by Watson (1983:139). When comparing the marital adjustment of cohabiters and non-cohabiters, he referred to the result that non-cohabiters had higher levels of adjustment as "unexpected". Clearly if the relationship was a trial marriage, one would not expect any significant adjustments or changes after the marriage.

The change in how a couple interacts may lead to feelings of disappointment about being married, which then would lead to an increased chance of divorce. People who do not live together first do not have any evidence about how things will be when they are married and thus do not notice any change at the point of marriage. Thus, two married couples who were equally responsive to their partners' needs would have differing levels of marital satisfaction if one of the couples had lived common-law first and was more responsive before marriage than after.

Research has shown that first-time married people who lived common-law before marriage do have a lower level of marital satisfaction that is statistically significant (DeMaris, 1984). This

lower level of satisfaction could come from a perception that they were being taken for granted by their partner. This idea was hinted at by DeMaris and Leslie (1984:83) when they suggested a possible explanation for the lower marital satisfaction experienced by cohabiters:

> [it] may be due to the fact that these individuals expect more out of marriage from the beginning.

The expectation possibly comes from the effort that cohabiters put into their relationship before marriage. Once the couple is married, the trial is over, which may lead the couple not to try as hard to please each other. If after marriage the couple no longer tries to please each other as much, they would certainly experience a lower level of marital satisfaction. The lower level of marital satisfaction experienced by the married couple who lived common-law first would result in an increased probability of divorce. I call this explanation of the cohabitation effect the *taken for granted hypothesis*. The rationale for naming it the taken for granted hypothesis is that both partners in the couple, believing that the decision to marry is a final decision, decide that they no longer have to try as hard to keep their marriage together. The partners, in effect, take each other for granted.

One way of testing the taken for granted hypothesis is to examine the division of domestic labour. If the taken for granted hypothesis is correct, then cohabiting men would perform significantly more of the domestic labour than married men who cohabited before marriage.

2.6 The Control Variables

To accurately test the differences in the division of domestic labour between cohabiters, married people who cohabited before marriage, and married people who did not cohabit before marriage, various control variables need to be introduced. As indicated above, there are a number of factors that have been determined to have an impact on the division of domestic labour. The types of

control variables needed fall into two categories which, with some overlap, are those attributes associated with the probability to cohabit, and those associated with the division of domestic labour.

The reason for including variables related to cohabitation as controls for the division of domestic labour is because of the unconventionality hypothesis. Since it has been suggested that cohabiters are unconventional in their attitudes (Axinn and Thornton, 1992), and since more liberal attitudes have been shown to correlate with a more egalitarian division of domestic labour (Ross, 1987), variables correlated with the probability of cohabitation should be included as control variables when examining the division of domestic labour.

There are several variables that have been found to be correlated with cohabitation. These include religiosity, level of education, and employment status. Thornton, Axinn, and Hill (1992) found that the more religious someone was, the less likely they were to cohabit. As well, lower employment levels were found to correlate with higher rates of cohabitation (Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; Tanfer, 1987). Both Tanfer (1987) and Bumpass and Sweet (1989) also found that the higher the amount of education, the lower the chances of cohabiting.

Education level has also been found to correlate with the division of domestic labour (Coverman, 1985; Shelton and John, 1993) with more highly educated people performing a more equal share of domestic labour. Other variables that have found to be related to the division of domestic labour include: age (Coverman, 1985; Presser, 1994), income (Ericksen, Yancey and Ericksen, 1979; Maret and Finlay, 1985, Presser, 1994), hours of work (Coverman, 1985), the presence of children (Ericksen, Yancey and Ericksen, 1979), sex role ideology (Greenstein, 1996, Luxton, 1983) and home ownership (South and Spitze, 1994).

The biggest difference between the control variables used in other studies and the control variables used in this study is that instead of home ownership as a control variable, living in a house or duplex is used as the control variable. The rationale for using the type of residence is that if there is some truth to the marital power hypothesis, men, if they live in a dwelling that requires yard work and outside maintenance, may perform less of the routine inside domestic labour in favour of doing more outside maintenance.

Chapter 3

The Data

Having established what data are necessary to do the study, it is useful to consider possible sources of data. Since the number of cohabiters is still far smaller than the number of married people, it is necessary to have a big sample so that an accurate comparison of the three groups can be done. In addition, the data set needs to contain information about the division of domestic labour, information about the couple's current marital status, as well as, if the couple is married, whether the couple lived common law before their marriage. Two additional criteria were used in the selection of the data set, the age of the data and the country where the data were collected.

The most recent large data set that contains all of the required data is the 1990 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS). The survey includes data on over thirteen thousand individuals. The Canadian General Social Survey is done on a regular basis and has a number of different themes.

The 1990 GSS was conducted by Statistics Canada during the first three months of 1990. A probability sample of 13,495 men and women was drawn from the population of the 10 provinces and included only people who were at least 15 years old. People who were institutionalized were excluded from the survey, as were people who did not have a telephone, since the survey was conducted by telephone. The survey contacted men and women of all marital statuses.

While there are some obvious limitations with the data, the fact that it is cross sectional, the fact that the share of work is self reported and that their may be some social response bias that could be factored out in a study that was done via observation, the data in the GSS are the best available. In

addition, it would not be possible to have a sample the size of the GSS done via observation because it would be prohibitively expensive.

3.1 Independent Variables

Because the goal of this study is to examine differences in the division of domestic labour, only data about couples who are still living together are relevant. Specifically this thesis examines differences of domestic labour allocation based on which of three groups they fall into. The three groups are: (1) people who are currently married but did not cohabit before they were married, (2) people who are currently married and lived common law before they were married, and (3) people who are currently living common law. The independent variable is referred to as marital situation.

Since the purpose of the study is to examine the differences between the division of domestic labour of married couples that cohabited before marriage with the other two groups, those who lived common law before their marriage will be the reference group. As a result, the variable *marital situation* is coded as two dummy variables, *Currently Living Common Law* and *Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage*. If a person is legally married and he or she lived common law before his or her marriage, then both of the variables have the value zero.

3.1.1 Currently Cohabiting

The variable *currently living common law* is derived from GSS 5 variable J2. The variable J2 is a categorical variable which has the value 1 if the respondent is currently living common law. J2 has several other values including not applicable and not stated. The variable currently living common law was coded as one if J2 had the value one and was coded as zero otherwise. About eleven percent of the sample were currently living common law.

3.1.2 Did Not Cohabit

The variable *did not live common law before marriage* is also a yes/no variable and is coded from the GSS 5 variable H12. Coincidentally, most of the people who had not stated whether they had lived common law before their marriage were factored out because of the fact that they had indicated not applicable in one of the domestic workload variables. Only 14 of the 73 coded as not stated in variable H12 were left in the data set and it was assumed that they had not lived common law before their marriage. (The regression results were almost identical if those who did not state whether they lived common law before their marriage were excluded.) The variable *did not live common law before marriage* has the value one if the couple did not live common law before marriage and has the value zero otherwise.

The variable DVCURRM4 was used to exclude those people who were neither married (and not separated) nor living common law. This reduced the size of the usable data set to 7577. (The data set was reduced by 94 more because of an inconsistency in the data where one of the housework variables (F3WORK02, F4WORK02, F5WORK02, F6WORK02) for the amount of housework done by the spouse indicated that the question was not applicable.) The final data set includes 805 people who are currently living common law (group 3), 1,090 people who are married and lived common law before their marriage (group 2), and 5,588 people who are married and did not live common law before their marriage (group 1).

Of the 7483 people remaining in the data set, 3563 were male and 3920 were female. The models developed in this thesis are developed separately for each gender, so as a result, gender is not one of the variables in any of the linear regressions. The rationale for developing a separate model for each gender is to make this study comparable to all of the other studies of the division of domestic

labour.

3.2 Dependent Variables

The dependent variables in this study are the domestic labour variables. GSS 5 includes four different classifications of domestic labour. The classifications are Meal Preparation, Meal Cleanup, Household Cleaning and Laundry, and Outside Maintenance. The share of each of these types of housework is measured by a series of variables that indicate the share that the respondent does, the share that the spouse does, the share that children or parents do and the share that various other people do. Since the reports of workload share are estimated by the respondent for all other people, this study only uses four variables that indicate the share that respondents claim to do themselves. Those four variables are F3WORK01, F4WORK01, F5WORK01 and F6WORK01 which are the respondents share of Meal Preparation, Meal Cleanup, Household Cleaning and Laundry, and Outside Maintenance, respectively. All four of these variables are categorical variables with 5 categories representing the share of the work done by the respondent: (0) none, (1) less than one-quarter, (2) less than half, (3) one half or more, and (4) all. Each of these variables is derived from responses to similar questions in the GSS. The question for the Meal Preparation variable F3WORK01 was "During the past 12 months, how much of the meal preparation did you do? Was it none, less than 1/4, less than 1/2, 1/2 or more, all?"

In addition, since the goal of the study is, in part, to shed light on gender differences in the division of household labour, an additional variable was constructed to indicate the total amount of "female" work that was done by the respondent. This variable is constructed by summing the three variables that indicate the share of meal preparation, meal cleanup, and household cleaning and laundry. This new variable has a range between zero and twelve.

As one would expect, far more of the inside domestic labour is performed by women. Only outside maintenance was done to a greater extent by men. Details of the values of each of the dependent variables are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Definitions and descriptive statistics for dependent variables

	Women		Men	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Amount of meal preparation done by respondent (Categorical, 0=none, 1=less than 1/4, 2=less than ½ 3=1/2 or more, 4=all)	3.19	0.89	1.36	1.26
Amount of meal clean up done by respondent (Categorical, 0=none, 1=less than 1/4, 2=less than ½ 3=1/2 or more, 4=all)	2.93	1.07	1.69	1.28
Amount of cleaning and laundry done by respondent (Categorical, 0=none, 1=less than 1/4, 2=less than ½ 3=1/2 or more, 4=all)	3.22	0.95	1.21	1.28
Amount of outside maintenance done by respondent (Categorical, 0=none, 1=less than 1/4, 2=less than ½ 3=1/2 or more, 4=all)	0.85	1.26	2.95	1.44
Amount of female work done by respondent (Sum of meal preparation, meal cleanup and cleaning And laundry)	9.35	2.24	4.25	3.07

3.3 Control Variables

The variables are presented as characteristics of the respondent, characteristics of the spouse and familial characteristics. The type of residence was included as a characteristic of the respondent, but only because of the way the models will be presented in the next chapter.

The characteristics of the respondent used as control variables in this study include Age,

Education, Religion, Domicile, Hours of work, Evening shift, Weekend shift and Income. The age variable is an integer value indicating the age of the respondent and is the GSS variable AGE. The GSS variable DVEDUCR1 was used as the indicator of the respondents highest level of education. The variable DVEDUCR1 is a categorical variable with eleven different categories ranging from category 1 being masters degree or higher to category 11 being no formal education. For the purposes of the regression, the variable DVEDUCR1 was treated as an ordinal variable. The religion variable was coded as four dummy variables depending on the GSS variable DVREL1. The four dummy variables represented Baptist, Catholic, Protestant, and Other Religion. A respondent was coded as Catholic if the value of DVREL1 was 2 or 8; they were coded as Protestant if the value of DVREL1 was 3, 4, 5, 6 or 11; they were coded as Baptist if DVREL1 was 7 and they were coded as other religion if the value of DVREL1 was 9, 10 or 12. The frequency of religious attendance was also used as a control variable. GSS variable L24 reports religious attendance as an ordinal variable with categories ranging from (1) representing at least once a week to (5) representing never.

The GSS variable DVL6 was used to determine the type of residence the respondent's family lives in. This variable is included as a control variable since it is possible that if a family lives in an apartment there is limited scope to do outside maintenance and as a result, there may be more of a contribution by males in the other areas of domestic work since they cannot devote time to outside maintenance. Since some studies have reported that cohabiters are poorer and thus less likely to live in more expensive accommodation, the type of residence that the family lives in is expected to be a significant factor in the division of domestic labour. The residence variable, *Respondent lived in a house or duplex*, was coded as 1 if the value of GSS variable DVL6 was 1, 2, or 4, and was coded as 0 otherwise.

The four other respondent variables related to work. GSS variable L30 indicates the number of hours that the respondent worked, L31 indicates whether the respondent worked evening or night shift and L32 indicates whether the respondent worked on weekends. Both L31 and L32 have been recoded so that 0 is no and 1 is yes. The variable DVL47 gives the value, in 1990 Canadian dollars, of the respondent's income. The value of DVL47 was capped at $80,000.

The first of the spousal characteristic variables are DVAGESP which is a categorical variable indicating the age difference between the spouse and the respondent. DVAGESP had 16 categories ranging from (1) spouse more than 10 years younger to (16) spouse more than 10 years older. Most of the categories represented a single number of years and so DVAGESP was used as an ordinal variable in the regressions.

The other spousal characteristic variables were GSS variables L45, L42, L43 and L44 which represent the spouse's highest level of education, the number of hours per week the spouse worked, whether the spouse worked evening shift and whether the spouse worked on weekends. All four of these variables are coded the same way as the corresponding variables for the respondent.

The final two control variables are the number of children resident in the house who are under 15, (GSS variable DVC10) and the total family income represented in 1990 Canadian dollars. The variable LC50 was used to construct a dollar value variable by recoding each of the categories in LC50 to the middle of the range that the category represented. The category over $80,000 was coded as $80,000. A complete summary of the descriptive statistics of the independent and control variables is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Definitions and descriptive statistics for independent and control variables used in the analysis

	Women		Men	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Marital situation				
Currently living common law (1=yes, 0=no)	0.111		0.105	
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage (1=yes, 0=no)	0.731		0.764	
Respondent characteristics				
Age of Respondent	43.56	15.77	47.55	16.59
Respondent's highest level of education (Categorical, 1=Masters or higher,...,11=None)	6.33	2.74	6.38	2.90
Religion				
Baptist (1=yes, 0=no)	0.040		0.035	
Catholic (1=yes, 0=no)	0.412		0.411	
Protestant (1=yes, 0=no)	0.439		0.421	
Other Religion (1=yes, 0=no)	0.026		0.023	
Frequency of religious attendance (Categorical, 1=at least once a week,...,5=never)	2.72	1.54	2.95	1.58
Respondent lived in a house or duplex (1=yes, 0=no)	0.820		0.828	
Work characteristics				
Number of hours worked per week by respondent	34.94	12.21	45.29	12.35
Respondent worked evening or night shift (1=yes, 0=no)	0.28		0.36	
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday (1=yes, 0=no)	0.34		0.44	
Respondents income (in 1990 dollars)	14076.60	13713.97	32295.30	18361.18
Spousal characteristics				
Age difference between respondent and spouse (Categorical, 1=spouse 10 or more years younger, 3=spouse 5 years younger,...,14=spouse 5 years older, 16=spouse at least 10 years older)	10.71	3.34	6.00	3.18
Spouse's highest level of education attained (Categorical, 1=Masters or higher,...,11=None)	6.79	2.87	6.98	2.67

	Women		Men	
Work characteristics				
Number of hours spouse worked per week	44.19	10.89	35.21	11.29
Spouse worked evening or night shift (1=yes, 0=no)	0.31		0.27	
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday (1=yes, 0=no)	0.37		0.32	
Familial characteristics				
Number of children under 15	0.80	1.07	0.74	1.03
Total family income (Converted to dollars from categorical)	42325.80	20687.67	43981.50	21495.87

Chapter 4

The Models and Results

This chapter will describe the models and the results that were obtained. As one would expect from the literature, this study has found that women do a significantly greater share of the traditionally female tasks, meal preparation, meal cleanup, and laundry and cleaning. Men typically do more of the outside maintenance.

Similar to other studies (South and Spitze, 1994; Shelton and John, 1993; Blair and Lichter, 1991), separate models will be presented for each gender. The rationale for presenting the models in this way is that it will be possible to compare the impact of the different variables on each gender's share of domestic labour. As well, some variables may have an opposite effect when it comes to the division of domestic labour, for example, a higher level of education (Hardesty and Bokemier, 1989; Ericksen, Yancey and Ericksen, 1979).

Previous studies have found that cohabiting males do a greater share of the traditional female tasks than do married men (Stafford, 1977). This result is also replicated here with cohabiting men performing a greater share of each of the three traditionally female domestic labours. The five models presented include one for each of the four categories of domestic labour that were recorded in the Canadian General Social Survey conducted in 1990: Meal Preparation, Meal Cleanup, Laundry and Cleaning and Outside Maintenance.

Given the research that indicates that female satisfaction with the division of domestic labour is affected by the male partner's share of traditionally female work (Benin and Agostinelli,

1988), the fifth model presented in this chapter is designed to explain the total share of traditionally female work, an aggregate of laundry and cleaning, meal cleanup and meal preparation.

For each of the five dependent variables, three regressions are run for each gender. The first regression is designed to test the impact of only the marital situation, i.e. whether the couple cohabited before marriage, or whether the couple is even married. The second regression is designed to control for attributes of the respondent and the third regression introduces spousal and familial characteristics.

4.1 Meal Preparation

The first model presented compares the share of Meal Preparation done by men and women depending on their marital situation. Three groups of people are compared, those who live common law, those who are married and lived common law before they married and those who are married but did not live common law first. As mentioned above, cohabiting men do perform a greater share of the meal preparation than married men. Interestingly, cohabiting men perform a greater share of meal preparation than married men who cohabited before marriage, and married men who cohabited first perform a far greater share of the meal preparation than do men who are married and did not cohabit before hand. Figure 1 shows how cohabitation affects the share of meal preparation.

The effect is similar, but in the opposite direction for women. Cohabiting women performed a smaller share of meal preparation than did married women, and amongst married women the women who did not cohabit first performed the greatest share of meal preparation.

Tables 3 and 4 show three different ordinary least squares regression analyses for both genders. The first of the three involved only the independent variable, marital situation. In both genders' models, the dummy variables for currently living common law and did not live common law before marriage reached statistical significance. The share of meal preparation for cohabiting men being 0.248 ($p<.01$) higher than the share that was performed by the reference group, men who lived common law before marriage. Men who did not cohabit first performed the lowest share of meal preparation, their share being .451 ($p<.01$) less than the reference group. At the value of the men's share of meal preparation variable, an increase of 0.248 would represent doing approximately six percent more and a decrease of 0.451 would represent an decrease of about 11 percent. Cohabiting women performed 0.125 ($p<.05$) smaller share of meal preparation than did the reference group and non-cohabiting women experienced a 0.139 ($p<.01$) increase in their share of meal preparation. At the value of the woman's share, a decrease in share of 0.125 represents about six percent decrease in the cohabiter's share of meal preparation and increase of 0.139 represents about a seven percent increase in their share of meal preparation.

Figure 1

Division of Meal Preparation

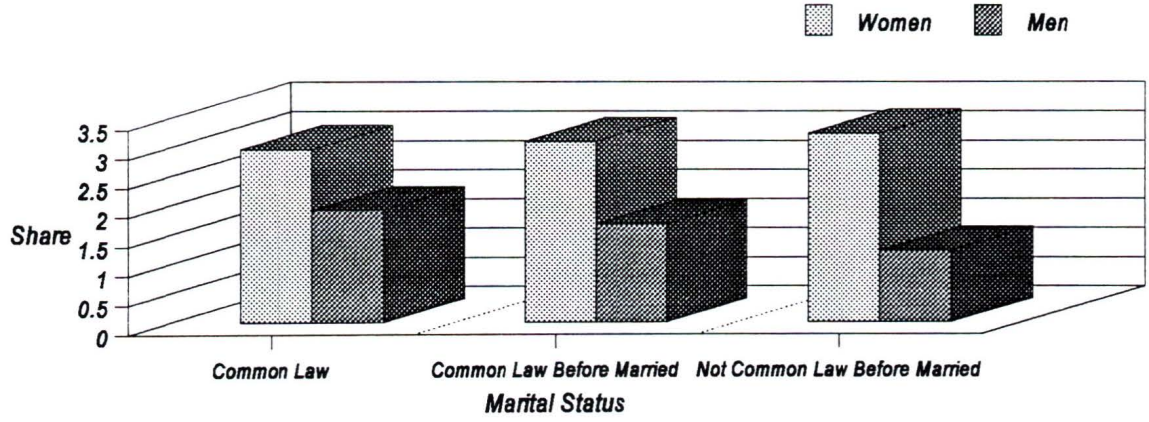


Table 3. Men's share of meal preparation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.677 (.057)***	3.033 (.152)***	2.649 (.197)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	0.248 (.086)***	0.135 (.085)	0.103 (.085)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-0.451 (.062)***	-0.243 (.064)***	-0.230 (.064)***
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.012 (.001)***	-0.011 (.002)***
Respondents Highest Level of Education		-0.048 (.008)***	-0.024 (.008)***
Religion			
Catholic		0.047 (.070)	0.056 (.069)
Baptist		-0.111 (.126)	-0.085 (.124)
Protestant		-0.036 (.071)	-0.021 (.070)
Other Religion		-0.276 (.148)*	-0.245 (.147)*
Frequency of religious attendance		0.029 (.014)**	0.023 (.014)*
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		-0.212 (.055)***	-0.207 (.055)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0071 (.002)***	-0.0080 (.002)***
Respondent worked evening or night shift		0.0020 (.055)	- 0.013 (.055)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.047 (.056)	0.041 (.055)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0077 (.000)***	-0.013 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.0058(.007)
Spouse's highest level of education attained			-0.050 (.009)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.012 (.002)***
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.179 (.073)**
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			0.012 (.069)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.038 (.024)
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0062 (.000)***
Adjusted R^2	0.038	0.085	0.110

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

Table 4. Women's share of meal preparation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	3.100 (.035)***	3.028 (.098)***	2.668 (.140)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.125 (.055)**	-0.097 (.055)*	-0.089 (.056)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	0.139 (.039)***	0.052 (.042)	0.049 (.042)
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		0.0032 (.001)***	0.0039 (.001)***
Respondents Highest Level of Education		0.012 (.006)**	0.013 (.006)**
Religion			
Catholic		0.046 (.054)	0.053 (.054)
Baptist		0.063 (.085)	0.066 (.085)
Protestant		0.025 (.054)	0.028 (.054)
Other Religion		0.117 (.100)	0.117 (.100)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.0060 (.010)	0.0053 (.010)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		0.092 (.037)**	0.077 (.038)**
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0012 (.002)	-0.0016 (.002)
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.038 (.046)	-0.034 (.046)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		-0.030 (.043)	-0.036 (.044)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.011 (.000)***	-0.012 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.011 (.004)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			0.0004 (.006)
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0035 (.002)**
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.007 (.039)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			0.034 (.038)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			0.0001 (.015)
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0016 (.000)
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.041	0.044

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

The second pair of linear regressions were done using the control variables associated with the respondent. The only joint characteristic that was used was whether the couple lived in a house or a duplex. When the control variables were included, the significance of the marital situation variables declined. Both currently living common law and did not live common law before marriage continued to have an effect in the same direction as for the smaller model, but the difference in share of meal preparation for male cohabiters declined to 0.135 from 0.248 and was no longer significant. The difference between the reference group and the non-cohabiting males declined by a similar fraction to 0.243, but the difference remained significant at the one percent level. The impact of marital situation for women also declined, but the drop in difference for the two coefficients was far different. Cohabiting women still performed a share that was 0.097 ($p<.1$) less than the reference group and the share of meal preparation done by non-cohabiting women was 0.052 more than the reference group, but that difference did not achieve significance.

Religion was a significant factor in predicting the share of meal preparation done by men. Men who were a member of a religion, but who were not Catholic, Baptist or Protestant did a share of meal preparation that was 0.276 ($p<.1$) less than men who claimed no religion. The frequency of religious attendance also impacted significantly ($p<.05$) on the share of meal preparation done by men with the more frequent attendees doing a smaller share. The exact coefficients for the religious attendance variable and all the other variables impacting on the man's share and the woman's share of meal preparation is given in tables 3 and 4. The impact of religion and frequency of religious attendance of the woman had no significant impact on what her share of meal preparation was.

Most of the other control variables used in the second regression were also significant for the male's share of meal preparation. The coefficients for both age and education were significant at the

one percent level with older men doing a smaller share of meal preparation and, similar to the finding of Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989), more educated men doing a greater share of meal preparation. The impact of living in a house was significant at the one percent level as well, with men who live in a house or a duplex doing 0.212 less. The man's income and the number of hours the man works also significantly ($p<.01$) impacted on the amount of meal preparation he does, and the impact is in the expected direction. Working evening shift or weekends had no significant effect on the share of meal preparation that would be done by the male.

The amount of meal preparation done by the female was significantly affected by age, education, income and residence type. Interestingly, while hours worked has a significant downward effect on the man's share of meal preparation, it has only a marginal and insignificant downward effect on the woman's share of meal preparation. As one would expect from a marital power perspective, two of the control variables, the woman's education and income have a significant impact. The difference in education level could explain as much as a six percent change ($p<.05$) in her share of meal preparation with more highly educated women doing less meal preparation, and for every thousand dollars she earned in income her share of meal preparation would decline by 0.011 ($p<.01$). If the woman lived in a duplex or house, her share of meal preparation would increase by 0.092 ($p<.05$). As with the men, older women seem to be more traditional in the division of meal preparation.

The final of the three regressions done on the dependent variable meal preparation included additional control variables related to the spouse and family. When adding these control variables, the only marital situation variable that remained significant was in the regression for men. Non-cohabiters still had a significantly lower share of meal preparation than did other married men, or

cohabiters. The direction of the other coefficients remained the same with cohabiting men doing more meal preparation than married men who cohabited before marriage. Cohabiting women had the smallest share of meal preparation and non-cohabiting women had the largest share of meal preparation although the coefficients of the marital status variables for the women were not significant.

The control variables from the second regression equation for both men and women retained their direction in the complete model and retained some or all of their significance. In the case of women, of the significant variables, only the residence type variable showed a decline in magnitude. For the men, only the religious attendance variable lost significance dropping to being only marginally significant ($p<.1$).

Several of the new control variables added in the third regression were significant, although which variables were significant differed depending on the gender of the respondent. Only number of hours the spouse worked per week achieved significance for both men ($p<.01$) and women ($p<.05$). For women, the only other newly introduced variable that was significant was the relative age of their spouse. Women with an older spouse performed a greater share of meal preparation ($p<.01$). For the men, an increase in the total family income lead to a significant increase ($p<.01$) in the man's share of meal preparation, as did the spouses highest level of education and whether the spouse worked evening or night shift.

Even with all of the control variables, very little of the variance in the women's share of meal preparation is explained by the model and only eleven percent of the variance of the men's share of meal preparation is explained by the complete model.

4.2 Meal Cleanup

The amount of variance explained by the models for meal cleanup is even smaller than the amount explained for meal preparation, but as with the division of meal preparation, men's and women's shares of meal cleanup follows the previous research on the division of domestic labour. Figure 2 shows that married men do less than cohabiting men who do less than cohabiting women who do less than married women. As well, married men who did not cohabit do the least amount of meal cleanup and married non-cohabiting women do the greatest share of meal cleanup.

Tables 5 and 6 show the linear regressions for the share of meal cleanup. In none of the three linear regressions for share of meal cleanup done by women did the marital situation achieve significance at the 5 percent level. In the simple model the coefficient for the dummy variable did not live common law before marriage was significant at the ten percent level, but the highest coefficient of either of the two dummy variables was for currently living common law in the complete model.

The marital situation for men was a significant predictor of the share of meal cleanup that they would do. In all three regressions, men who did not live common law before marriage did

Figure 2

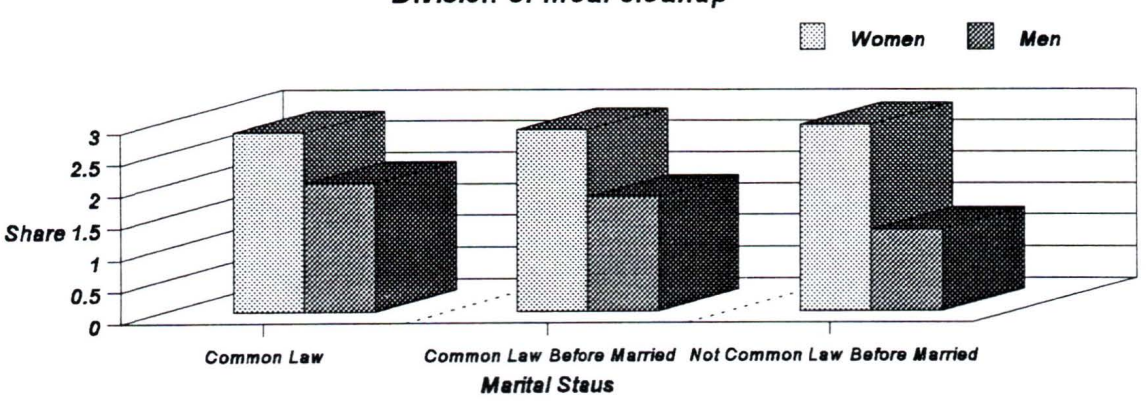


Table 5. Men's share of meal cleanup

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.814 (.059)***	2.982 (.158)***	2.796 (.206)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	0.218 (.088)**	0.143 (.088)	0.067 (.088)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-0.198 (.064)***	-0.178 (.067)***	-0.175 (.066)***
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.0007 (.001)	-0.0021 (.002)
Respondents Highest Level of Education		-0.053 (.008)***	-0.030 (.009)***
Religion			
Catholic		0.074 (.073)	0.090 (.072)
Baptist		-0.222 (.130)	-0.191 (.129)
Protestant		0.031 (.074)	0.058 (.073)
Other Religion		0.031 (.154)	0.097 (.153)
Frequency of religious attendance		-0.016 (.015)	-0.022 (.015)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		-0.340 (.058)***	-0.314 (.057)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0069 (.002)***	-0.0068 (.002)***
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.051 (.058)	-0.063 (.057)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		-0.033 (.058)	-0.046 (.057)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0050 (.000)***	-0.0078 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.019 (.007)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			-0.054 (.009)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0098 (.003)***
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.135 (.076)*
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			-0.034 (.072)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.110 (.025)***
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0033 (.000)*
Adjusted R^2	0.011	0.041	0.067

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

Table 6. Women's share of meal cleanup

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.876 (.043)***	2.660 (.119)***	2.876 (.169)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.035 (.067)	-0.018 (.067)	-0.089 (.067)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	0.084 (.047)*	0.011 (.051)	0.027 (.051)
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		0.0032 (.001)***	-0.0013 (.001)
Respondents Highest Level of Education		0.024 (.007)***	0.012 (.008)
Religion			
Catholic		0.105 (.065)	0.101 (.065)
Baptist		0.015 (.104)	-0.0035 (.103)
Protestant		0.079 (.066)	0.071 (.065)
Other Religion		0.037 (.121)	0.050 (.121)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.017 (.012)	0.019 (.012)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		0.033 (.045)	0.092 (.046)**
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0013 (.002)	-0.0026 (.002)
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.121 (.055)**	-0.114 (.055)**
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.053 (.052)	0.023 (.053)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0081 (.000)***	-0.0058 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.0071 (.005)
Spouse's highest level of education attained			0.016 (.007)**
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0010 (.002)
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.024 (.047)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			0.036 (.046)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.102 (.019)***
Total family income (in thousands)			-0.0035 (.000)***
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.022	0.034

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

significantly less ($p<.01$) meal cleanup than the reference group. Only in the simple model was the coefficient for currently living common law significant ($p<.05$).

In the second regression, the one that includes only marital situation and respondent characteristics, the respondent characteristic control variables that were significant for women were their age and their education with the higher age predicting a larger share of meal cleanup ($p<.01$) and a higher education predicting a lower share of meal cleanup ($p<.01$). Again, the number of hours the woman worked had no significant impact on her share of this type of domestic labour. If she worked evening or night shift she would have to perform a smaller share of meal cleanup, perhaps because she would be unavailable to do it.

As with meal preparation, in the second regression equation for men's share of meal cleanup, the variables representing his education, income and number of hours per

week worked were all significant in their effect on his share of meal cleanup. More educated men performed a greater share of the meal cleanup ($p<.01$) and men with a higher income or who performed paid work for more hours would do a smaller share of meal cleanup ($p<.01$ in both cases). Type of residence was also significant in its impact on the share of meal clean up done by the man. Men who lived in a house or duplex had a smaller share of meal cleanup that other men ($p<.01$). Other variables that were significant in predicting the men's share of meal preparation had no significant predictive capacity for meal cleanup.

When the full equation was done, all variables that were significant in the second equation retained their level of significance in the more complete equation. For men, after adding control variables related to spousal and familial characteristics, living in a house or duplex was a significant

indicator, predicting a decline of 0.314 in the man's share of meal clean up because of living in a house or duplex ($p<.01$).

All of the spousal and familial characteristics except for worked weekends were significant in their effect on the man's share of meal cleanup. Family income was only marginally significant ($p<.1$), but was in the expected direction. The age difference between the man and his wife was significant at the one percent level with relatively younger men doing a larger share of the meal cleanup. The higher the amount of education the spouse of the male respondent, the greater the share of meal cleanup was done by that respondent ($p<.01$). The number of hours the wife worked per week was also significant at the one percent level with men whose partner was working more hours having to perform a greater share of meal cleanup. The impact of the woman working evening or night shift was also an increase in the man's share of meal cleanup ($p<.1$).

The final variable that was a significant predictor of the male's share of meal cleanup was the number of children in the household that were under 15. Significant at the .01 level was a decrease in the man's share of meal cleanup of .108 for each child under the age of 15. Interestingly, women's share of meal cleanup was also significantly affected by the number of children under fifteen years of age ($p<.01$) and in the same direction. A natural conclusion to be drawn from this would be that the children were doing some of the meal cleanup.

Total family income had a significant ($p<.01$) but opposite effect on the woman's share of meal cleanup. For every one thousand dollars of total family income the share of meal cleanup done by the woman would decline by 0.0035 which is counter to what one would expect, since the majority of the difference between the woman's income and the total family income would be the man's

income, and previous studies (and results in this study) have shown that increases in the man's income lead to decreases in the man's share of meal cleanup.

The only other spousal characteristic variable that was a significant predictor of the woman's share of meal cleanup was the spouse's highest level of education which, like the same variable in the O.L.S. regression for meal preparation, predicted a lower share of meal cleanup for the woman the higher the man's education level ($p<.05$).

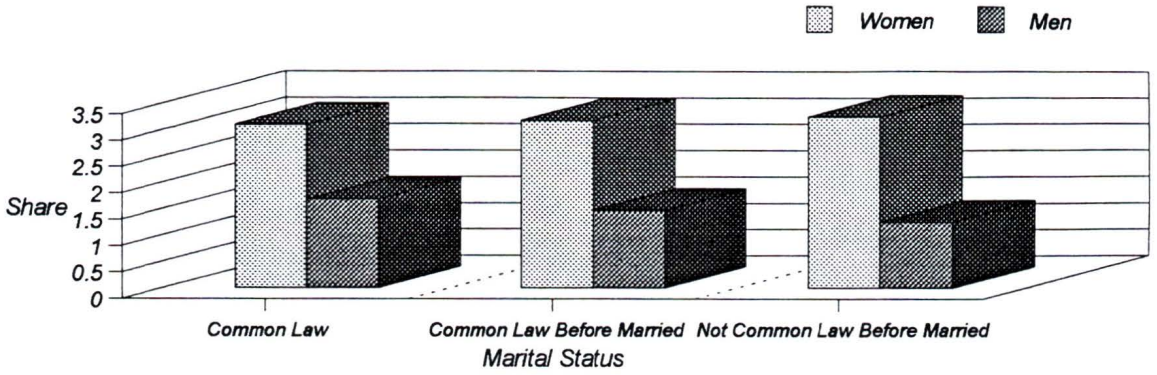
4.3 Laundry and Cleaning

The differences in the share of cleaning and laundry that are performed by the three groups, cohabiting men, married men that cohabited prior to marriage and married men that did not cohabit before marriage are not as pronounced as the differences that exist in the other two categories of domestic labour. As can be seen in Figure 3, the differences in the three groups of women are also smaller. As before, cohabiting men perform the largest share of cleaning and laundry of any of the three groups of men, and married men that did not cohabit first do the smallest share of cleaning and laundry. With the females, the opposite is the case. Cohabiting women are responsible for the smallest share of cleaning and laundry and married women that did not cohabit do the largest share.

The lower amount of difference between the common law men and the men that did not cohabit before marriage is due mostly to the smaller share of cleaning and laundry done by cohabiting men as compared to their share of meal preparation and meal cleanup. Similarly, the share

Figure 3

Division of houshold cleaning and laundry



of cleaning and laundry done by the women is higher than their share of any other domestic labour considered in this study.

The results of the simple linear regression equations, as well as the more complex regressions are given in Tables 7 and 8. The simple regression for men's and women's share of the household cleaning and laundry indicate that the marital situation plays a significant role in predicting the share of cleaning and laundry that a person who did not cohabit before marriage does. The coefficient for the dummy variable did not live common law before marriage was -0.386 ($p<.01$) for the male equation and it was 0.079 ($p<.1$) for the female equation. While the coefficients for the two marital status dummy variables were approximately the same for women, the coefficient for the cohabiting women did not reach statistical significance. The corresponding coefficient in the equation

Table 7. Men's share of cleaning and laundry

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.479 (0.058)***	2.835 (.156)***	2.566 (.203)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	0.207 (0.087)**	0.117 (.087)	0.055 (.087)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-0.386 (0.063)***	-0.235 (.066)***	-0.233 (.065)***
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.0074 (.001)***	-0.0079 (.002)***
Respondents Highest Level of Education		-0.060 (.008)***	-0.037 (.009)***
Religion			
Catholic		-0.066 (.072)	-0.052 (.071)
Baptist		-0.353 (.129)***	-0.323 (.127)**
Protestant		-0.100 (.073)	-0.078 (.072)
Other Religion		-0.188 (.152)	-0.134 (.151)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.010 (.015)	0.0058 (.015)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		-0.245 (.057)***	-0.227 (.057)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0049 (.002)**	-0.0050 (.002)**
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.033 (.057)	-0.038 (.056)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.023 (.057)	0.018 (.057)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0076 (.000)***	-0.012 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.020 (.007)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			-0.049 (.009)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.010 (.002)***
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.080 (.074)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			-0.091 (.071)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.088 (.024)***
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0045 (.000)
Adjusted R^2	0.025	0.066	0.090

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

Table 8. Women's share of cleaning and laundry

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	3.176 (.043)***	3.119 (.105)***	2.800 (.149)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.076 (.059)	-0.043 (.059)	-0.035 (.060)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	0.079 (.042)*	0.021 (.045)	0.017 (.045)
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		0.0009 (.001)	-0.0014 (.001)
Respondents Highest Level of Education		0.022 (.006)***	0.018 (.007)***
Religion			
Catholic		0.111 (.058)*	0.120 (.058)**
Baptist		0.152 (.091)*	0.156 (.091)*
Protestant		0.072 (.058)	0.076 (.058)
Other Religion		-0.122 (.107)	-0.119 (.107)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.018 (.011)*	-0.016 (.011)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		0.148 (.060)***	0.134 (.041)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0004 (.002)	-0.0051 (.002)
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.0076 (.049)	-0.0017 (.049)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.024 (.046)	0.014 (.047)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.011 (.000)***	-0.010 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.018 (.005)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			0.0044 (.006)
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0010 (.002)
Spouse worked evening or night shift			-0.031 (.041)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			0.057 (.041)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			0.013 (.017)***
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0003 (.000)***
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.036	0.039

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

for men was significant at the five percent level. Cohabiting men performed a 0.207 higher share of the cleaning and laundry than did the reference group.

In the second O.L.S. for the male's share of household cleaning and laundry, the dummy variable currently living common law lost its significance, but the coefficient for the variable did not live common law before marriage, although somewhat smaller than for the simple equation, retained its significance at the one percent level. As with the previous two models, the males' highest level of education was significant and a higher level of education led to a higher share of cleaning and laundry done by the male. Age of the male respondent was, unlike in the previous model, significant and in the direction that one would expect. As well, different from the previous two models, the age of the woman had no significant impact on her share of cleaning and laundry, but the impact of her education was significant at the one percent level and again, the higher her education the smaller her share of cleaning and laundry.

In the second O.L.S. equation, two of the religions differed significantly ($p<.1$) from the reference non religious group. Both female Catholics and female Baptists perform a greater share of household cleaning and laundry than do non religious women. One aspect of the religion variable was significant for men. The share of household cleaning and laundry done by men who are Baptist is smaller by 0.353 ($p<.01$). No other religion caused a significant difference in the share of cleaning and laundry performed by the men. Religious attendance was not significant for men, but reached significance at the ten percent level for women, with women who attend church more frequently also performing a greater share of cleaning and laundry.

Living in a house or duplex was significant in the second equation for both men and women. The share of cleaning and laundry performed by men was 0.245 ($p<.01$) lower than the share done by men who lived in apartments or condominiums and the share of household cleaning and laundry done by women who live in a house or duplex is 0.148 higher ($p<.01$) than the share performed by women who live in an apartment or condominium.

Again, in the second equation, the number of hours worked by the woman was not a significant predictor of her share of household cleaning and laundry, but the same variable for men achieved a significance level of 0.05, with men who work more hours in the paid labour force doing a smaller share of household cleaning and laundry.

The amount of income earned is significant for both genders in both the second and the third O.L.S. equation for the share of household cleaning and laundry. The direction is the same for both genders as well - a higher income leads to a smaller share of household cleaning and laundry ($p<.01$ for both men and women) and the impact for women (coefficient of -0.011) is much larger than the impact for men (coefficient is -0.0076) in the second equation, but in the third equation, when more control variables are introduced, the magnitude of the impact of the man's income is greater than the impact of the woman's income. The significance of the two coefficients remains at the 0.01 level.

In the third equation the coefficients for the respondents' attributes in the equation for men retain their significance and their direction except that the coefficient for Baptist declines slightly and its significance drops from the one percent level to being significant at the five percent level. Even though the number of hours that the woman works has no significant impact on her share of household cleaning in either the second or third regression equation, the number of hours that the

respondent man's partner works does have a significant impact on the share of household cleaning and laundry that the man does ($p<.01$). With each hour that the man's partner does in paid work, the man's share of cleaning and laundry rises by 0.01. As well, the age difference between the respondent man and his partner is significant with men who have younger spouses performing a smaller share of the household cleaning and laundry, and as with all of the other equations presented so far, the spouse's education level affects the man's share of cleaning and laundry in the usual way ($p<.01$).

The presence of children under the age of 15 causes a decrease in the share of cleaning and laundry performed by the man ($p<.01$). It also causes a small but insignificant increase in the woman's share of household cleaning and laundry. Of the other spousal and familial characteristics included in the third equation, only the age difference between the spouses had a significant impact on the share of household cleaning and laundry that was done by the women, with women who were younger than their spouse doing a larger share of household cleaning and laundry ($p<.01$).

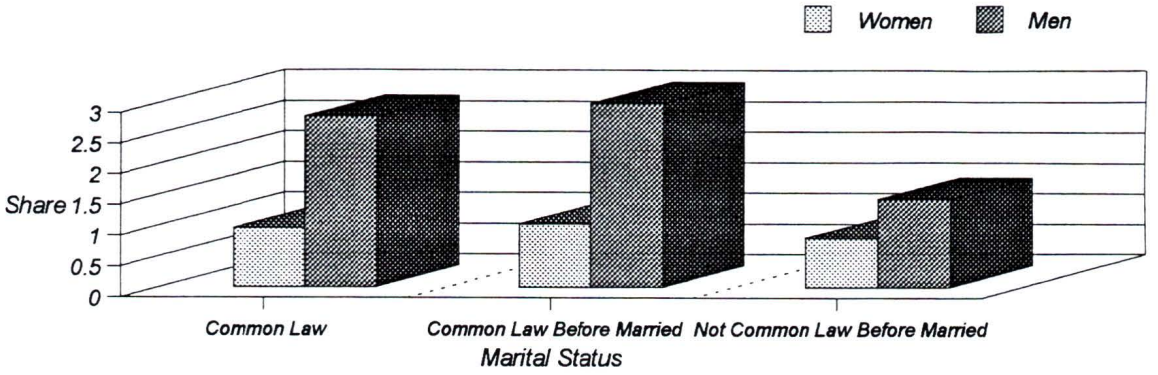
4.4 Outside Maintenance

The distribution of outside maintenance is far different from the distribution of the other three domestic labour variables, as can be seen in Figure 4, but it is not just the opposite. Married men who lived common law before marriage do the greatest share of outside maintenance (approximately one half of it), followed by cohabiting men and married men who did not cohabit before marriage performed the smallest share of outside maintenance.

Women perform far less of the outside maintenance, but unlike the distribution for the preceding three domestic labour variables, the distribution of outside labour for women follows the same and not the opposite pattern as for the men. Married women who cohabited prior to marriage

Figure 4

Division of outside maintenance



do the largest share of outside maintenance of any women. The smallest share of outside maintenance is done by non-cohabiting married women.

A series of linear regressions were run with the division of outside maintenance being the dependent variable. The results of those regression equations are given in Tables 9 and 10. The first of the three ordinary least square equations used in analysing the division of outside maintenance explained far less than one percent of the variance in that variable. Only the independent variable of marital situation was used. For men, the coefficient for currently living common law was significant ($p<.05$) and currently being common law predicted a smaller, by 0.203, share of outside maintenance. For women, in the simple equation, significant difference was found for non-cohabiting married women. Women who did not cohabit prior to marriage performed a 0.219 share ($p<.01$) less

Table 9. Men's share of outside maintenance

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.985 (0.066)***	2.586 (.169)***	2.918 (.223)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.203 (0.100)**	-0.069 (.094)	-0.064 (.095)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-0.012 (0.072)	0.059 (.072)	0.074 (.072)
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.014 (.002)***	-0.017 (.002)***
Respondents Highest Level of Education		0.0052 (.009)	0.0025 (.009)
Religion			
Catholic		0.297 (.078)***	0.283 (.078)***
Baptist		0.185 (.140)	0.185 (.140)
Protestant		0.177 (.079)**	0.166 (.079)**
Other Religion		-0.335 (.165)**	-0.393 (.165)**
Frequency of religious attendance		-0.0080 (.016)	-0.0082 (.016)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		1.255 (.062)***	1.265 (.062)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0032 (.002)	-0.0036 (.002)
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.010 (.062)	0.010 (.062)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		-0.048 (.062)	-0.040 (.062)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0017 (.000)	-0.0001 (.000)
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			-0.035 (.007)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			0.014 (.010)
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			-0.0001 (.003)
Spouse worked evening or night shift			-0.030 (.082)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			-0.019 (.078)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			0.0063 (.027)
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0021 (.000)
Adjusted R^2	0.001	0.128	0.133

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

Table 10. Women's share of outside maintenance

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.021 (.050)***	1.181 (.140)***	1.095 (.199)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.065 (.079)	-0.0088 (.079)	0.014 (.080)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-0.219 (.056)***	-0.193 (.060)***	-0.190 (.060)***
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.0036 (.001)**	-0.0036 (.002)**
Respondents Highest Level of Education		-0.017 (.008)**	-0.0077 (.009)
Religion			
Catholic		-0.258 (.077)***	-0.262 (.077)***
Baptist		-0.268 (.122)**	-0.266 (.122)**
Protestant		-0.211 (.077)***	-0.218 (.077)***
Other Religion		-0.365 (.143)**	-0.368 (.143)***
Frequency of religious attendance		0.013 (.014)	0.0087 (.014)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		0.465 (.053)***	0.458 (.055)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0033 (.002)	-0.0040 (.002)*
Respondent worked evening or night shift		0.159 (.065)**	0.167 (.065)***
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		-0.0001 (.062)	-0.0077 (.062)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.0038 (.000)**	-0.0053 (.000)**
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			-0.017 (.006)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			-0.011 (.008)
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0058 (.002) ***
Spouse worked evening or night shift			-0.030 (.055)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			0.106 (.055)*
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.012 (.022)
Total family income (in thousands)			0.0019 (.000)
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.030	0.035

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

than the reference group of married women who cohabited before marriage. The share of outside maintenance done by cohabiting women was predicted to be 0.065 less than the reference group, but the coefficient was not significant.

When the first set of control variables were introduced, the amount of variance explained increased somewhat for the women, but by a large amount to 13 percent for the men. For women, the second equation still indicated that a significantly smaller share of outside maintenance was done by non-cohabiting women ($p<.01$) and almost all of the control variables were significant. The older a woman was the smaller her share of outside labour ($p<.05$). Her education level also had a significant predictive capacity in the direction that one would expect from previous results, that women with a higher education do more outside maintenance. All of the religious women perform significantly less outside maintenance than the reference group who claimed no religion. The sizes of the coefficients for the dummy variables used for the religions varied from -0.211 to -0.365, and all were significant at the five percent level.

The woman's income was significant as well, predicting a decline in the amount of outside maintenance done of 0.0038 ($p<.05$) for every one thousand dollars of her income. The time that she worked also had a significant impact on her share of outside labour. If she worked evening or night shift, her share of outside domestic work would increase by 0.159 ($p<.05$).

The tables show that the biggest impact of any variable on the share of outside maintenance is whether the respondent lives in a house or duplex. For women this is significant at the one percent level and predicts an increased share of 0.465. The change is far greater for men. Men's share of outside maintenance rises by 1.255 ($p<.01$), which is about 40 percent at the value of the intercept

Interestingly, none of the work related variables are significant for the man's share of outside maintenance. Similar to the three previous models, the coefficient for the man's income is negative, but it is not significant in this model. The age of the man however, is significant with older men doing less outside maintenance ($p<.01$). Similar to the women, religion plays a role in predicting the man's share of outside maintenance with coefficients for the dummy variables for the various religious groups ranging from 0.177 to -0.335. Being Catholic, Protestant or Baptist predicted a higher share of outside maintenance for the men, but being any other religion predicted significantly less work. All of the religion variables were significant except for the Baptist variable. Neither of the variables representing marital situation were significant for the men.

The coefficients that were significant predictors in the second equation retained their significance in the complete regression equation. The impact of living in a house increased in the completed equation for men's share of outside maintenance as did the impact of being of other religion. The only newly introduced variable that showed any significance was the age difference between the respondent and the spouse. Men whose spouse was younger would perform a greater share of outside maintenance than men whose spouse was older than them.

The number of variables introduced in the third equation for women that were significant was higher, and most of the significant variables for the second equation retained their significance except for education. In the complete equation, one of the variables that was insignificant in the second equation gained significance in the third. An increase in the number of hours worked by the woman predicted a decrease in her share of outside maintenance ($p<.1$).

Spousal characteristics play a significant role in predicting the share of outside maintenance

that a woman will do. If the woman is younger than her spouse, her share of outside maintenance is less than if she is older than her spouse ($p<.01$). Spouse's number of hours worked and whether the spouse worked on weekends also have a significant effect on the share of outside maintenance done by the female partner. For each hour of paid work done by the male spouse, the female spouse experiences a 0.0058 increase in her share of outside maintenance ($p<.01$), and if her spouse works weekends then she will do a larger share of the outside maintenance ($p<.1$). The spouses level of education was not significant, but the coefficient indicated that the higher the male spouse's education, the more outside maintenance was done by the female which would be the direction that one would expect if education of the male was positively correlated with egalitarian views.

4.5 "Female" work

An aggregate of the three domestic labour variables, meal preparation, meal cleanup, and household cleaning and laundry, are combined into a single variable that represents the total amount of traditionally female work. The evidence presented above suggests that that work is still predominantly done by women. As would be expected, and as can be seen in Figure 5, cohabiters have the most egalitarian division of that work and married people who did not cohabit before marriage have the least egalitarian division of inside domestic labour.

As with the previous four types of domestic labour, three different ordinary least square regression equations were constructed for each gender. The results of the are given in Tables 11 and 12. In the simplest of the three equations, both dummy variables of the marital situation variable for each gender were significant. All but the coefficient for women who are currently living common law were significant at the .01 level. The coefficient for women who are currently living common law was only significant at the .1 level. The share of female work done by a cohabiting male is 0.665 more than the share of female work done by the married man who cohabited first. Non-cohabiting men have a share of female work that is lower by 1.031. The differences in the share of female work done by the woman in the three categories are not as pronounced as the differences between the men. As well, the amount of variance explained by the marital situation is not very much for the females. Non-cohabiting women take on a 0.303 larger share of traditionally female work in the simple equation.

When some of the control variables are introduced, as with some of the previous models, the age and education of the woman is a significant predictor of the woman's share of traditionally female work. For each year of age, the share of traditionally female work performed by the woman increases

Figure 5

Division of total "female" work

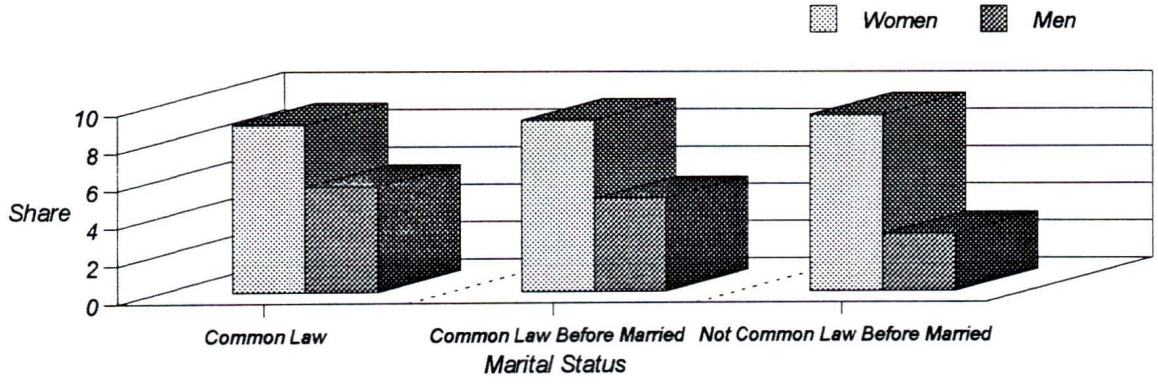


Table 11. Men's share of total "female" work

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	4.965 (.139)***	8.834 (.369)***	7.997(.476)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	0.665 (.209)***	0.386 (.205)*	0.215 (.204)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	-1.031 (.151)***	-0.652 (.156)***	-0.633 (.153)***
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		-0.020 (.003)***	-0.021 (.004)***
Respondents Highest Level of Education		-0.161 (.019)***	-0.091 (.020)***
Religion			
Catholic		0.059 (.170)	0.098 (.166)
Baptist		-0.686 (.305)**	-0.599 (.299)**
Protestant		-0.101 (.173)	-0.039 (.169)
Other Religion		-0.428 (.360)	-0.277 (.353)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.024 (.035)	0.009 (.034)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		-0.802 (.134)***	-0.752 (.133)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.019 (.005)***	-0.020 (.005)***
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.080 (.135)	-0.114 (.133)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.035 (.135)	-0.001 (.133)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.020 (.000)***	-0.033 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.044 (.016)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			-0.152 (.022)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.032 (.006)***
Spouse worked evening or night shift			0.401 (.175)**
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			-0.111 (.166)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.234 (.057)***
Total family income (in thousands)			0.014 (.000)***
Adjusted R^2	0.036	0.091	0.130

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

Table 12. Women's share of total "female" work

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	9.152 (.090)***	8.796 (.248)***	8.307 (.446)***
Marital situation			
Currently living common law	-0.237 (.140)*	-0.158 (.139)	-0.214 (.141)
Did Not Live Common Law Before Marriage	0.303 (.099)***	0.085 (.105)	0.095 (.105)
Respondent characteristics			
Age of Respondent		0.0055 (.003)**	0.0028 (.003)
Respondents Highest Level of Education		0.058 (.014)***	0.044 (.016)***
Religion			
Catholic		0.263 (.135)*	0.274 (.135)**
Baptist		0.230 (.215)	0.218 (.215)
Protestant		0.176 (.136)	0.175 (.136)
Other Religion		0.031 (.252)	0.048 (.251)
Frequency of religious attendance		0.0059 (.025)	0.0086 (.026)
Respondent lived in a house or duplex		0.273 (.094)***	0.304 (.096)***
Work characteristics			
Number of hours worked per week by respondent		-0.0028 (.004)	-0.0046 (.004)
Respondent worked evening or night shift		-0.164 (.115)	0.148 (.115)
Respondent worked Saturday or Sunday		0.049 (.109)	-0.0017 (.110)
Respondents income (in thousands)		-0.029 (.000)***	-0.028 (.000)***
Spousal characteristics			
Age difference between respondent and spouse			0.037 (.011)***
Spouse's highest level of education attained			0.021 (.015)
Work characteristics			
Number of hours spouse worked per week			0.0056 (.004)
Spouse worked evening or night shift			-0.0056 (.097)
Spouse worked Saturday or Sunday			-0.127 (.097)
Familial characteristics			
Number of children in household under 15			-0.088 (.039)**
Total family income (in thousands)			-0.0016 (.000)
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.050	0.056

Note: Standard errors are in parenthesis *p<.1 **p<.05 ***p<.01

by 0.0055 ($p<.05$) and the higher the education that the woman has, the lower her share of the traditionally female workload ($p<.01$).

Of the religion variables, only being Catholic is a significant predictor of the woman's share of domestic labour with her share of traditionally female work being 0.263 ($p<.1$) more than the share of the non religious women. The woman's income, as in previous models, was also significant with a decrease of 0.029 ($p<.01$) in the woman's share of traditionally female tasks for each additional thousand dollars of income. However, the number of hours the woman worked in the paid labour force was not a significant predictor of her share of traditionally female tasks. The only other variable that was significant was whether the couple lived in a house or duplex. The coefficient of this variable was 0.273 ($p<.01$), the largest of all of the coefficients in the second equation for women.

The coefficient for the type of residence variable was also the largest of any dummy variable in the second equation for men. If the couple lived in a house or a duplex, then the amount of the man's share of traditionally female work was 0.802 ($p<.01$) less than it was if the couple lived in an apartment or condominium. The second largest coefficient for a dummy variable, and a somewhat surprising result, is the value of the coefficient for people who identify themselves as Baptists. A Baptist man will perform a share of traditionally female tasks that is 0.686 ($p<.05$) less than the share performed by men who claim to have no religion.

As in the other models associated with traditionally female work, the man's share of this work is significantly impacted by his age and his education with more highly educated men doing a larger share of the traditionally female tasks ($p<.01$) and the share of female work done by men

declining by 0.020 ($p<.01$) for each year of age of the man. As well, both the male's income and the number of hours that the man works for pay are significant at the one percent level and in the expected direction.

The independent variable of marital situation remains significant in the second equation for men. Males that live common law do a share of traditionally female work that is 0.386 ($p<.1$) more than men who are married and lived common law before their marriage. Non-cohabiting men do a significantly smaller share of traditionally female house work with their share being 0.652 less than married men that did cohabit before marriage.

When the control variables related to spousal and familial characteristics are added, the significance of the difference between the share of traditional female work done by cohabiters and married men who cohabited before marriage disappears, but all of the other variables that were significant in the second equation retain their significance and direction. Of the spousal and familial characteristics, only spouse worked weekends was not significant. All other newly added variables were significant at the five or one percent level in predicting the man's share of female work.

An increase in total family income, an indicator of the income of the female spouse, caused an increase in the share of female work done by the man ($p<.01$). The presence of children under the age of 15 led to a significant ($p<.01$) drop in the share of female work done by the man. As for the work characteristics of the spouse, an increase of one hour of paid work performed by the spouse led to an increase of 0.032 ($p<.01$) in the share of female work done by the man. The time of day that the spouse worked also impacted on the man's share of female work. If the female spouse worked evening shift, then the share of housework done by the man increased by 0.401 ($p<.05$). The

spouses' education also impacts on the man's share of housework with a higher educated spouse implying a greater share of work for the man.

The age difference was one of only two variables introduced in the third equation that was significant for both the share of work done by the man and by the woman. Men with older spouses performed a larger share of the traditionally female work ($p<.01$), as did women with an older spouse ($p<.01$). The only other spousal or familial variable that is a significant predictor of the share of traditionally female work that is done by the woman is the number of children under the age of fifteen. Women who have children under the age of 15 do a smaller share of the domestic labour.

All of the female's characteristics that were significant in the second regression equation retained their significance and direction, except that the woman's age ceased to be a significant predictor and being Catholic became more significant ($p<.05$). Neither of the marital situation dummy variables had a significant predictive capacity for the woman's share of traditionally female work.

Chapter 5

Discussion

Various models were presented in the previous chapter and many of the results are what one would expect from the literature on the division of domestic labour. The impact of education, income and hours worked have all been found before, but none of the previous research has examined the differences in the division of domestic labour that exist between cohabiters, married people who cohabited before their marriage and married people who did not cohabit before they married.

The fact that people who cohabit before they marry are more likely to divorce (Bennett, Blanc and Bloom, 1988) has led many researchers to try and develop an explanation for this cohabitation effect. Several hypotheses have been proposed that the research in this thesis could shed some light on. The two hypotheses that the division of domestic labour could provide evidence about are the *unconventionality hypothesis* and the *taken for granted hypothesis.* If the study found that cohabiting men did a significantly larger share of the traditionally female tasks than married men who cohabited before their marriage, then that would provide some support for the taken for granted hypothesis. This would be because married men who cohabited do less because they change after they are married. This change in the share of work done by the man would lead to the unhappiness of the wife and thus thoughts of divorce.

The other possible evidence that could help explain the cohabitation effect is the difference between the share of domestic labour performed by people who lived common law before their marriage and people who did not live common law before their marriage. If there is a significant difference between the share of traditionally female work done by married people who previously

cohabited and married non-cohabiters, then that would provide support, albeit indirectly, for the unconventionality hypothesis. Similarly, if there is a significant difference in the divisions of outside maintenance, then that could also provide some support for the unconventionality hypothesis. In both cases, one could argue that the difference in the divisions of domestic labour reflects differences in ideology.

The results presented in this thesis are mixed. The fact that currently cohabiting is a significant predictor of the male performing a higher share of traditionally female work when the equation included only respondent attributes as control variables indicates some support for the taken for granted hypothesis. However, the fact that the coefficient for currently living common law lost its significance when the spousal and familial characteristics were brought in as additional control variables indicates that at best, the results presented in this thesis provide limited support for the taken for granted hypothesis. An additional regression equation was run with two new variables, a dummy variable indicating whether the common law couple had been together for more than three years and a variable representing the duration of the union. With the addition of these two variables, the coefficient of the currently living common law dummy variable doubled and became a marginally significant ($p<.1$) predictor of cohabiting males performing a larger share of traditionally female work. The coefficient for not having cohabited declined slightly but retained its significance. The coefficients for the two new variables were also significant, duration at the one percent level and common law over three years at the five percent level. The significance of all other variables was unaffected.

The rationale for this one additional equation was that there is some chance that there is a qualitative difference between long term cohabiters and short term cohabiters. Long term cohabiters

are probably not viewing cohabitation as a trial marriage, but as an alternate form of marriage, and so if the taken for granted hypothesis was true, then long term cohabiting males would do a smaller share of the traditionally female tasks than would shorter term cohabiters. This result was found to be the case with men who have cohabited more than three years, their share of traditionally female work being reduced by 0.647 ($p<.05$). Given the indication that cohabiting men, once married are inclined to do a smaller share of traditionally female work, and given the research that shows that if a man is not meeting the expectations of his wife regarding his share of the domestic labour workload, the results of this equation do suggest that there is some support for the taken for granted hypothesis.

The various results for the difference between the two groups of married people are somewhat contradictory. The man's share of the interior domestic labour seems to be somewhat supportive of the unconventionality hypothesis, but the results of the O.L.S. equation for outside maintenance are not what one would expect if the unconventionality hypothesis was true.

The simplest ordinary least squares regression equation for women's share of outside maintenance explained less than one half of one percent of the variance. Although the coefficient for did not cohabit before marriage was significant in all three equations, the fact that even the complete model explained only 3.5 percent of the variance suggests that this model has little explanatory power. Clearly there must be something other than cohabitation, and the control variables, that explains the differences in the woman's share of outside maintenance. As a result, the results of the outside maintenance model do not lend significant support to the unconventionality hypothesis.

The results of the regression equations for women and their share of traditionally female tasks also provides no real support for the unconventionality hypothesis. If women who cohabit were

significantly different in their ideology, then they should perform significantly less of the traditionally female tasks. The results of each of the individual domestic workload models did not indicate, at least once the control variables were introduced, any significant difference between the domestic labour workload of women who cohabited before their marriage and women who did not cohabit before their marriage.

The one set of models that does provide some support for the unconventionality hypothesis are the models that explain the man's share of traditionally female tasks. In all four models, even after the all of the control variables were introduced, the impact of the marital situation dummy variable for did not cohabit before marriage was significant at the one percent level, with an average value of -0.211.

There are several issues that temper the claim that this result provides support for the unconventionality hypothesis. The first is the fact that the models explained at most 13 percent of the variance of the domestic workload variable. Given this, there must be other variables that are necessary to explain why men do a smaller share of the internal domestic labour. The second concern is whether it is reasonable to use the division of domestic labour as a proxy for an unconventional ideology, especially since men's share of traditionally female tasks was shown in this thesis to increase with the man's level of education and the level of the man's education has been shown to be correlated with marital stability (Martin and Bumpass, 1989).

While the interest in the impact of cohabiting on the division of domestic labour was motivated by an interest in the cohabitation effect, a result was found that was unrelated to the cohabitation effect. The fact that living in a house or duplex was such a large significant predictor of

the division of internal domestic labour is surprising. This result ought to be considered as part of any study on the marital power theory for the division of domestic labour. The coefficient of this variable in the model explaining the share of traditional female work was the largest, in absolute value, of any dummy variable in the model with being a resident of a house or duplex implying a smaller share of traditionally female tasks for the man and a larger share for the woman. The most likely explanation for this is that where there can be a substitution of the more interesting outside maintenance for the less interesting traditionally female tasks, the men are able to make that substitution. Obviously a man living in an apartment cannot claim that he is unable to do the dishes because he has to fix the roof.

The only other set of findings that needs discussing is a comparison of various respondent and spousal characteristic variables. A number of variables that are significant for the male equation as respondent characteristics are insignificant as spousal characteristics in the equation for females. One would expect that there would be a trade off in the division of domestic labour in that if the share of the man decreases, the share of the woman should increase by a similar amount. There seems to be a similar discrepancy between the respondent variables for women and the spousal variables for men.

A number of these discrepancies exist. The education level of the man is a significant predictor of his share of traditionally female tasks, but his educational level is not a significant predictor of his spouses share of domestic labour. One of the biggest discrepancies is in the religion variable. The share of traditionally female work done by Baptist men is 0.599 less than the share done by non religious men and yet the share of that same work done by Baptist women is only 0.218 higher. Obviously the Baptist men could be with other women, but Baptist women have close to the

highest share, so that explanation does not work. Another large discrepancy exists between the impact of the woman working night or evening shift. The man's share of traditionally female tasks increases significantly, and yet the woman's share of these same tasks is only marginally decreased and the change is not significant. These discrepancies are odd and could be the result of some kind of social response bias or an indication of some other social psychological phenomenon where men and women perceive their power differently and as a result the same situation affects males and females differently.

Even though there are some discrepancies between the religious variable's impact on the division of domestic labour, the largest impact of any of the religious variables is with Baptist men. This fact seem to provide some support for the gender role ideology theory for the explanation of the division of domestic labour. All religious women preformed a greater share of domestic labour which may also provide some limited support for the ideology theory.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

In this thesis we have examined the difference in the share of various types of domestic labour that occur between three groups of people, cohabiters, married people who cohabited before marriage and married people who did not cohabit before their marriage. While some research has been done comparing the domestic workload of cohabiters and married people, none has ever been done that considers the three groups separately.

The advantage of considering the division of domestic labour amongst the three different groups is that it is possible to use that information to determine how similar married people who cohabited prior to their marriage are to either cohabiters or married people who did not cohabit prior to their marriage. These possible differences could go a long way toward explaining the cohabitation effect, and in this thesis we saw some limited evidence in support of both the unconventionality hypothesis and a new taken for granted hypothesis.

The evidence in support of the two hypotheses is based on the finding that to some extent the share of traditionally female housework done by cohabiting men is significantly different from the share of that same work done by married men who cohabited prior to marriage. As well, and more significant, is the difference between the share of traditionally female work that is done by non-cohabiting men and married men who cohabited prior to marriage. Considering the impact of higher education on the division of domestic labour and given the differences in workload share, there are other interpretations of the data that make it more difficult to believe that this evidence is conclusive

proof of either the unconventionality hypothesis or the taken for granted hypothesis.

It would be possible to improve the results by using a longitudinal study instead of the cross sectional data available in the Canadian General Social Survey. As well, it would be useful to have data from both spouses and have the actual time spent on various tasks instead of the share of the task that each person does.

As a final note, it should be pointed out that the impact of living in a house or duplex has on the share of traditionally female tasks done by both spouses. The residence type seems to provide a preferred outlet for domestic labour that men seem to be better able to take advantage of. It would be interesting to be able to do a more thorough analysis of the impact of residence type on domestic labour, and it would be useful to have longitudinal data with hours spent on tasks to do a more complete analysis of the impact of cohabitation on the division of domestic labour.

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Publications:

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