

DOMESTIC CAPITAL, PORTATIVE CAPITAL AND GENDER CAPITAL:
THE EFFECTS OF INDEPENDENT LIVING AND FAMILY OF DESTINATION
ON MEN'S HOUSEHOLD LABOR PARTICIPATION

By

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ABSTRACT

This study argues that domestic skills—accumulated, transferred, and elicited by different aspects of the life course—act as a major influence on men’s household labor participation. Specifically, I argue that as men *increase their skills* via independent living, as they *are presumed to have more relevant skills* when raising older biological/step male children, or as they *become more proficient in skills* relative to other household workers, they are more or less likely to assume (or be assigned) different responsibilities in the household.

First, I tested to what extent the years a man lives without some kind of caregiver—whether that caregiver is tied to him through consanguinal, romantic, or institutional ties—affected the amount of housework he does once married. I discovered that men who live independently for long periods of time are responsible for *creating* less housework than men who are not. They do not do any more or less housework than their peers who are married, cohabiting, or in military service longer, but their wives have less of it to do. A man’s years of independent living is unrelated to his own contribution to housework.

I also tested whether a husband’s holdings of particular occupational characteristics—namely, high levels of female sex composition, a service orientation, and routine and repetitive work tasks—affect the amount of housework he does in the home and his share of the overall housework that is done. I found mixed effects of these characteristics on household division of labor. Men whose jobs are especially routine and repetitive create more housework and do more of the additional housework they create. Conversely,

wives do spend more time doing housework when their jobs are more masculine in composition and/or less service oriented than their husbands' jobs.

Finally, I investigated the relationship between children's characteristics—sex, age, birth order, and relationship to the father—and their father's contributions to both housework and childcare interactions. I found no effect of children's characteristics on men's housework participation and limited effects of children's characteristics on men's childcare interactions; men spend more time in unorganized play/non-play activities when they have male children.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

For the past three decades, one of the paradoxes facing contemporary gender researchers was why, in spite of the dramatic shifts in gendered opportunities outside of the home (i.e., in the workplace), were women still likely to do more housework and childcare than their husbands (Brines 1994, Marini and Shelton 1993, Robinson 1988)? This broadly stated fact, that women do more housework than men, concealed another important trend in household labor. While it is true that women spend more time doing housework than men, both men's actual and relative contributions to housework have been growing (Blair and Lichter 1991, Bianchi 2000, Presser 1994). Women do only twice the amount of housework as men now, compared to roughly six or seven times more in the sixties (Robinson 1988, South and Spitze 1994, Bianchi et al 2000, Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992). For women, this amounts to an average of 18 hours per week; for men, 10 hours per week. Trends are down for women and up for men. While most of the change has been in the amount of work women do, clearly the trend in housework is toward more equality, and that change is not solely a result of women coming down to men's levels of household labor participation. Men are beginning to do more housework, but we do not have satisfying explanations for why this is occurring.

Human capital theory has a central prediction that seems applicable here: people maximize the efficiency of a system by assigning tasks to people according to the resources they bring to the system. Becker's (1973, 1981) economic approach to

household decision-making suggests that households decide how to distribute their members' time and effort between the production of income and the production of services in the home. He posits that people rationally divide these responsibilities based on resources the parties bring to the task that needs to be done. There is growing evidence that the two primary human capital explanations used to explain inequality in household division of labor—time availability and relative resources—account for the changes in women's household behavior but are less useful explanations of men's increases in household labor participation (Bianchi et al 2000, Shelton and John 1996). These theories suggest that women had more of some resources (e.g., time) and less of others (e.g., income). As a result, they assumed the bulk of the household labor because they had more time to do it and because they contributed less in the provider role. Therefore changes in women's resources (i.e., education, income) and constraints on her time (i.e., paid labor hours or number of children) are expected to have an effect on the amount of household labor both she and her partner does. These changes do have an effect on her; she does less household labor. But, results of studies of the relationship between women's earnings, women's employment, women's hours of work, and number of children show weak, inconsistent, or nonsignificant relationships between these factors and their husband's housework time (Shelton 1990, Kamo 1991, Brines 1993, Presser 1994, South and Spitze 1994). In fact, the adjusted R-squares in Table 1.1 show that, in most cases, not much of the total variation in husband's shares of female-typical household tasks is accounted for in models using these and other explanatory variables.

I suggest that the answers to household labor equity are not going to be found in

lopsided analyses and theories that only explain why women do less housework while ignoring why men are doing more. This dissertation is intended to remedy this problem by looking at social conditions which promote an increase in men's participation in household labor. I am particularly interested in how the skills and dispositions necessary to participate in household labor are accumulated and elicited by different aspects of the life course.

Specifically, I argue that as more heterosexual men increase their domestic skills via bachelorhood, as they are presumed to have more relevant skills (i.e., modeling maleness), or as they employ portable skills (i.e., dispositions to do certain kinds of work) honed in their occupational setting, they are more likely to assume (or be assigned) different responsibilities in the household.

Why Household Division of Labor?

Housework

Cowan (1983, 1987) suggests that in pre-1800 America, women and men both did a great deal of labor-intensive housework. She writes that “if you had been a housewife living before 1800, you would have cooked and baked aplenty, but your husband would have done much of the preparation—such as chopping wood, shelling corn, and pounding grain into meal; and your children would have helped as well” (Cowan 1983: 47). In fact, until the middle of the nineteenth century, there was no distinction between work done at home and work done in other places. Yet as the Industrial Revolution moved heavy manual work outside of the home, the participation of men in household work

decreased. In the overriding ideology of the time, men's labor was focused outside the home, while the women's sphere was domestic (Cowan 1987).

As women have entered the labor force in increasing numbers during the last fifty years and women's real wages have increased, more attention has been paid to shared housework and how men and women divide household labor. Part of the reason that housework is important is that most people report that they dislike it (DeVault 1991; Robinson and Godbey 1997), and there is little argument that women tend to do the least desirable jobs. According to research by Robinson and Godbey (1997), the least desirable household activity is laundry, followed by routine housework, doing dishes, and shopping for food. Women do over ninety percent of all cooking, dishwashing, ironing, washing, and cleaning—all repetitive, boring tasks that leave little room for individual scheduling (i.e. they have to get done) (Blair and Lichter 1991). Men are likely to do those household chores that are easiest (Lein 1984), least regular, and less redundant than the chores performed by their wives (Blair and Lichter 1991). For instance, men are more likely to do outdoor tasks, auto maintenance, and managing bills (Blair and Lichter 1991; Bianchi et al. 2000). These tasks involve more discretion about time management, and are less frequent. In fact, Blair and Lichter (1991) find that household work patterns are so sex-segregated, males would have to reallocate over sixty percent of their housework to make the division of labor equal. They argue that these patterns reflect men's domination of women, and gender role socialization that encourages men to think of most housework as "women's work."

Men's attitudes and related housework behavior also have an impact on marital

satisfaction (Petrucci et al 1979, Piña and Bergtson 1993), divorce (Piña and Bergtson 1993, Hochschild 1989), and wives' mental health (Ross et. al 1983, Glass and Fujimoto 1994). Perry-Jenkins and Crouter (1990) found that men who consider themselves to be co-providers and share in housework are more satisfied than those who are ambivalent about gender roles. Wives who perceive that their husbands do not help them enough with housework are less happy with their marriages, and more personally unhappy (Piña and Bergtson 1993). As a result, men suffer negative emotions and lowered psychological well-being. Dissatisfaction with household division of labor is likely to lead to divorce, as noted by Piña and Bergtson (1993) and Hochschild (1989) in her work on "the second shift." A related issue is women's mental health. Ross, et. al (1983) found that the wives of men with traditional gender role attitudes are more likely to exhibit elevated levels of depression. Glass and Fujimoto (1994) find that wives are much more likely to feel depressed if they perceive that they are doing an unequal share of housework. Men's attitudes about gender roles and their related participation in domestic labor, can affect both husband and wife's health and happiness.

Women do about twice the amount of housework as men now, compared to seven times in the sixties (Robinson 1988). For women, this amounts to an average of 18 hours per week; for men, 10 hours per week (Bianchi et al. 2000). There is some controversy about whether or not men are doing more household work, in *actual* hours/tasks, as compared to in the past. Pleck (1985) and Robinson (1988) believe that men do more work at home (particularly childcare), while Coverman and Shelley (1986) and Cowan

(1987) argue that not much has changed since the 1960s.¹ What definitely has changed is the *relative* amount of men's contribution, as compared to women's. Women are doing less housework than they did in the past, in part because of labor-saving devices like the dishwasher², the prevalence of fast food and frozen meals, and also because of a decrease in the birth rate (Cowan 1987). Men may not be on par with the amount of housework their wives do, but recent studies show that their actual amounts and relative proportion of household labor has increased considerably (Blair and Lichter 1991, Bianchi 2000, Presser 1994)). Therefore it is important to try to determine why.

Childcare

Just as the nature of men's household involvement has changed, there have been similar shifts in the character of fathering. While mothers have always provided most of the caregiving that infants and young children received, fathers were originally expected to have much greater responsibility for their children. In fact, in pre-1800 America, fathers were often synonymous with family and the home was a masculine domain where fathers instructed children in "what God and well as the world required of them" (Pleck 1987: 85). Rarely were mothers even mentioned in most prescriptions on parenting; most of that responsibility fell on men. This conceptualization of fatherhood began to change in the early nineteenth through the mid-twentieth century. Displacement of many of the rights and duties of the father by the state, restructuring of the economy, and changes in

¹ Part of the reason for the different results presented in the literature on household labor involves the way that housework has been measured (see Blair and Lichter 1991; Kamo 1988).

² Using time-use data, Robinson and Milkie (1997) contend that laborsaving devices are not really very timesaving. For instance, those with a dishwasher save under two minutes a day doing dishes, while those with a clothes washer actually spend over five minutes more per day doing laundry.

the emphasis on infancy and early childhood prompted the separation of the domains of mother and father. Mothers became associated with the family and the home, while fathers generally withdrew from infant care and education. It is with this shift that the identity of father became associated with the image of the good provider and men began to gradually lose touch with what was actually taking place within their families.

That image dominated until the mid-twentieth century when the importance of fathering (i.e., men taking a greater role in their children's lives) had a resurgence. Soon after World War II, fears of the effeminizing effects of physically and emotionally absent fathers, women entering the workforce to replace men fighting in or lost in war, and the "requirement of learning which demanded 'feminine' passivity and sedentariness" led to calls for more paternal involvement with children (Hantover 1978:18). Even in Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), she suggested—while arguing against the housewife role—that mothers who had too close a relationship with their sons were likely responsible for homosexuality. In addition, new research on father absence and paternal separation suggested that children without fathers suffered a number of negative outcomes, ranging from increased delinquency and early sexual behavior to poor achievement in school and emotional distress (Blankenhorn 1995, Harris 1998, Amato 1999, Coley 1998, Cooksey 1996, Williams 1999, Pleck 1981 and 1983).

There has been some movement toward greater paternal involvement since the 1970s. Whether called *enlightened or third-stage fathers* (Barnett and Baruch 1987), *hands-on fathers* (Daniels and Wingarten 1988), *modern fathers* (Giveans and Robinson 1985), or the more commonly used *new fathers* (Pleck 1987), men are spending more time in the

family, both absolutely and relative to women. My goal is to flesh out why—beyond the usual explanations offered, such as increased workforce participation by wives—this is taking place.

Usual Explanations For The Division of Household Labor

There are three broad factors that can contribute to men's household labor allocation: relative resource bargaining, time availability, and the influence of socialization into gender role attitudes. These perspectives have guided much of the research on household division of labor for the past 30 years. I will outline the assumptions of these perspectives and the empirical work either supporting or refuting these assumptions.

Relative Resources

The relative resources perspective focuses on structural influences on men's household labor participation. Drawing from Blood and Wolfe's (1960) study of marital power, these researchers take two approaches to understanding how married couples determine who does how much housework: a resource dependency approach and a resource bargaining approach. In both cases, men's household labor participation is the result of men's greater access to resources, but the first approach—resource dependency—describes a household situation where the wife has little to offer in the way of valued resources while the second approach—resource bargaining—describes one where the wife has *different* resources to offer.

The resource dependency approach suggests that the one partner depends on the other to get his or her needs met. This creates a power imbalance in the latter partner's

favor. If evidence of power can be drawn from an actor's ability to achieve a favorable outcome at the expense of another, this approach argues that this partner has power in these situations. The power is a result of his or her greater control over the kinds of resources—usually economic—needed to satisfy the other's needs for subsistence support. This asymmetry sets up two classes in the household: a bread-winner class and a dependent class. This model does not give an account for the gendering of this relationship, except through extension when it is determined which gender has greater access to these “necessary” resources.

It is important to note that the dependent partner does bring something to the table to be exchanged: household labor. The dependent partner exchanges that service for other goods offered by the breadwinning partner, such as money or status. Specifically, the dependent partner trades household service for financial support; the breadwinner trades money and status for a comfortable home life. Husbands, the traditional breadwinners, have more power because they contributed more of the valuable resource: money (Walby 1986; Orbuch and Eyster 1997). But why wasn't the traditional dependents', wives, household services—household labor, child care, social labor—seen as equally valuable, thereby creating a high level of dependency for the husband? Not only does the wife offer a clean home, but she also offers unpaid childcare for his offspring, meals cooked as the husband prefers them, and even someone to manage the families' social calendar and social networks. Isn't he dependent on these things? He is, but the principle of least interest is at work here. He is less dependent on her offerings because the resources he invests in and then offers in exchange—money, prestige, social status—are, essentially,

liquid assets. They are transferable to new relationships because they have exchange value beyond the specific relationship. Housework, on the other hand, is a much less fungible resource. She cannot easily transfer the fruits of her investments to other relationships. Her resources do not have the same kinds of exchange value as his in a free market for exchange. She has more to lose in a relationship dissolution because she has fewer resources to offer an alternative exchange partner. Therefore, the partner with the greater and more liquid resources had more power and could dominate decisions about household labor allocation (Berardo et al 1987; Geerken and Gove 1983).

The alternative approach, resource bargaining, softens some of the resource dependency approaches' rhetoric. The former's focus on differential power seems to lead, inevitably, to purposeful exploitation or, at a minimum, "benevolent despotism" (Brines 1994). This marketplace kind of approach needed to be tempered to account for marriage as something other than another market for exchange. In fact, some exchange theorists were resistant to focusing on power in marital relationships because families were supposed to be locations of intimacy and communalism, places where people could escape the exchange relationships in the public sphere.

Advocates of a resource bargaining approach suggest that spouses rationally divide household labor between them. They look at the total of the work—production (employment) and maintenance (housework)—that needs to be done and then, in an effort create the most efficient division of that labor, decide who should do what. There is, then, a balancing of the relative contributions of both husbands and wives to the family's base of resources and the partner best suited to do certain tasks is given the

responsibility for those tasks. On the surface, this approach may seem less unequal. After all, the family makes the decision together according to what is in the best interests of the family unit; the goal here is efficiency, not control/power. But the way proponents of this approach describe which resources are useful in determining how household labor is allocated still creates an underlying current of power and differential exchange value in the home. Production labor is still elevated in the hierarchy of household labor activities. Maintenance labor is trivialized as “largely, if not exclusively, a source of disutility. That is, it must be unpleasant and boring, and must provide very little satisfaction” (Berk 1985:14). Therefore, it follows that neither partner gets any benefit out of this labor and so the partner who can most effectively bargain their way out of doing it is in the better position at the end of the exchange (Hiller 1984). In fact, some early scholars did not even view housework as labor at all and did not study it in a context of division of labor (Oakley 1974, Ross 1987). So, in this approach, the spouse with more labor market oriented resources—education, earning potential—was able to use these resources as a bargaining chip to escape doing housework. Researchers then extended this reasoning to include other resources, such as age and occupational status, that one spouse (usually the husband) could use to better implement his preferences related to household labor. He could buy his way out of doing the least rewarding of the two household labor options: housework.

Empirical support for the theory, however realized, is mixed. The empirical evidence supports the notion that relative income matters. Researchers have found that the smaller the gap between husbands’ and wives’ earnings, the more equal the division

of household labor. (Blair and Lichter 1991, Goldscheider and Waite 1991, Kamo 1988, Maret and Finlay 1984, Model 1981, Presser 1994, Ross 1987, Shelton and John 1993). Maret and Finlay (1984) also found that a wife's earnings, measured alone, are linked to more equal divisions of household labor. Men whose wives have high incomes do relatively more housework than men with comparable incomes whose wives have low incomes (Brayfield 1992). Some researchers have found no effect of relative income on men's household labor (Berardo et al 1987, Coverman 1985, Farkas 1976), but most have found an association.

There is some support for including job-status as a measure of relative resource holdings, but the findings are mixed. In a study on Australian homes, McAllister (1990) found that husbands in high status occupations do a smaller proportion of the housework than those in low-status occupations. In American studies, some found positive effects of status, reporting that men in high status occupations do a greater proportion of family work than husbands in low-status occupations (Berk and Berk 1978, Deutsch 1993). Others have found no evidence of an effect of status on men's household labor participation (Aytac 1990, Coverman 1985).

When exploring the effects of men's relative educational levels on their levels of housework, most researchers find that men's educational level is positively associated with housework (Berardo et al 1987, Bergen 1991, Brayfield 1992, Farkas 1976, Haddad 1994, Hardesty and Bokemeier 1989, Huber and Spitze 1983, Kamo 1988, Presser 1994, Shelton and John 1993, South and Spitze 1994). This is, of course, contrary to what the theory would predict. The explanations for these findings are hinted at by Kamo's (1994)

findings which show that this effect vanishes when gender ideology is included. This suggests, as some researchers do directly, the effect of education is a subcultural issue and not one of resource bargaining.

Time Availability

An alternative perspective, drawn at some level from the same kind of logic as resource dependency, sees time as a resource. But, unlike money or education, high levels of this resource cannot be used to buy one's way out of doing housework. On the contrary, time actually obligates its owner to contribute more to the daily maintenance of the household. Essentially, this approach suggests that housework is something done after all of one's "important" paid labor-market work is completed. Then, the housework responsibilities are divided up according to who has the free time to do the less important unpaid household labor. Much of the work in this line of reasoning looks at the relative supply of time each partner has. So, in a single-earner family, the spouse who is working does not escape housework because she is bringing home more income; she escapes it because she has less time to contribute to housework than her non-working partner. Work as a time constraint is usually measured by the employment status, number of hours each partner works, how flexible their work schedules are, and if they work different schedules/shifts than their partners (Hiller 1984; Isshii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992; Pleck and Staines 1985; Walker and Woods 1976).

A variation on this supply approach is a demand/response approach offered by Coverman (1985). This approach looks at additional factors which might increase the time necessary to complete household tasks. These kinds of factors may include both

presence and number of children in the home. For example, children create more housework for both parents (Coltrane 1990; Kamo 1991; South 1994) but, according to these researchers, don't necessarily affect who does a greater proportion of it.

Researchers tend not to find that husbands of employed women spend significantly more time doing housework than husbands of non-employed women (Fox and Nickols 1983, Walker and Woods 1976). Goldscheider and Waite (1991), for example, found that wives' employment, by itself, is not associated with men's participation in household labor; it must be coupled with a tally of their relative work hours. In that vein, a number of studies do provide evidence that time availability, measured as relative holdings of non-work related time, does help shape the division of labor in households. Women's total work hours are positively associated with men's household labor participation (Barnett and Baruch 1987, Blaire and Lichter 1991, Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992, Kamo 1988, Nickols and Metzen 1982, Rexroat and Shehan 1987, Ross 1987) and men's work hours are negatively associated with their household labor participation (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992, Coverman 1985, Geerken and Gove 1983, Hardesty and Bokemeier 1989, McAllister 1990). A similar pattern appears when researchers look at household task segregation. Blair and Lichter (1991) found that men's work hours are negatively associated with female-typical household tasks, such as cooking, and other researchers find that husbands do more female-typical tasks when their wives spend more time than they do in paid labor (Atkinson and Huston 1984, Presland and Antill 1987). It is important to note Brines' (1994) findings of a nonlinear relationship between men's relative income and their household labor allocation because there may be a similar—or

at least correlated—nonlinear effect of men’s relative time availability as well.

While most researchers do find some effect of time availability on household labor allocation, some (Brayfield 1992) find no association between relative work hours and men’s housework time. Others find that in different marital contexts, the effect of relative time availability may be lessened or strengthened. For example, Goldscheider and Waite (1991) found that, in dual-earner (i.e., non-professional) couples, a wife’s hours of employment have a stronger effect on her husbands’ household labor participation than did her husband’s hours of employment.

Research on shift work and its effect on household labor tends to support the theory, but with mixed success dependant on how shift work is measured. If spouses work different hours, men are more likely to do housework (Presser 1994, Blair and Lichter 1991, Kingston and Nock 1985). Staines and Pleck (1983) found that men who work at night tend to do more housework than men who work during the day; they found no similar effect for women. There have been studies, though, that have not supported the theory. Barnett and Baruch (1987) found no association between wives’ flexible work schedules and their husband’s household labor participation.

Finally, drawing on the demand approach, some studies do find that children have an effect (while small) on men’s housework time. The more children a couple has and the younger those children are, the more housework men do (Bergen 1991, Brines 1993, Presser 1994, Shelton and John 1993).

Gender Ideology

The final of the three major approaches to household labor allocation focuses on

gender role ideology. This approach assumes that housework is a symbolic enactment of gender beliefs. Arguments about gender role socialization suggest that men's attitudes or beliefs about sex or gender roles are crucial to understanding the household division of labor (Harpster and Monk Turner 1998). Bird, Bird, and Scruggs (1984:346) define a gender role orientation as the "preferences individuals have for roles that reflect normative prescriptions for behavior in the enactment of family and employment responsibilities." Attitudes, shaped by the lifelong process of socialization, determine the roles that men and women choose to perform (see Blumstein and Schwartz 1991).

"Through interaction with cultural sources (e.g., media, religion), subcultural sources (e.g., ethnic group), and familial sources (e.g., parents), gender may come to symbolically represent expectations or beliefs about performance in household behaviors and responsibilities within marriage." (Orbuch and Eyster 1997:301)

Marriage and, to a lesser degree, cohabitation provides a location where these gender ideologies can be "played out". Husbands and wives both validate their identities as male and female by displaying the appropriate aspects of their gender ideology.

West and Fenstermaker's (1979) approach to this kind of behavior, labeled appropriately enough "doing gender", states that our society has a normative system in which women "do feminine" and men "do masculine". This perspective analyzes gender not as something essential to men and women, nor fixed in biological status or social roles. Instead, it sees people as constantly re-creating gender meanings and gendered social structures whenever they act in gender-typical ways. From this point of view,

gender is routinely reproduced in everyday interaction, particularly in family and household interactions. As a result, gender stops being solely an individual trait; rather, it is one created through social interaction. Whenever a husband interacts with his wife in a way that displays a particular configuration of gender, gender is “done.” This kind of behavior reinforces the gender attitudes and behaviors actors learn through early childhood socialization. So, a man may refuse to do housework because he must show that he is a competent portrayer of the gender role expectations held, not only by him, but by the society he’s been raised in.

But, the emphasis in the “Doing Gender” tradition is on the fluid character of gender identity and gender role behavior. Rather than seeing gender as a fixed or learned set of roles, this framework interprets gender as an ongoing and fluctuating series of behaviors that are created through social interaction. The challenge to this theory rests in some evidence that even when gendered norms are contested—for example, if a wife chooses or is forced by circumstance to be the primary provider—men’s socialization into gender role norms may supercede the shift in field, resulting in very little change in his gender schema or his gendered behavior. For example, Brines (1994) has shown that evolution of the feminine identity sometimes causes a kind of entrenchment in the behaviors of the masculine identity. Specifically, she found that a male who is dependent on a provider-wife will refuse to do housework as a way of “doing gender” and maintaining his, now-threatened, masculine identity. If “men’s work” is defined as being the provider, when this definition is threatened or even coopted by what women do, men may try to reclaim their gendered identity by not doing something that has always been explicitly “women’s

work.” The net result is an expanded normative conception of “womenly” nature, but no concomitant expansion in the normative conception of “manly nature”. The strength of these conceptions, these gender role attitudes, plays a role in determining how labor is differently distributed or assumed in households.

Most of the literature on the connection between these gender role attitudes and household division of labor has concluded that husbands with less traditional sex-role attitudes are more likely to participate in housework (Kamo 1988; Perry-Jenkins and Crouter 1990; Blair and Lichter 1991; Baxter 1992; Coltrane and Ishiie-Kuntz, Hardesty and Bokemeir, Hiller and Philliber 1986, Huber and Spitze 1983, Perry-Jenkins and Crouter 1990, Sanchez 1994). Thus, liberal gender role attitudes are associated with an egalitarian division of labor. Barnett and Baruch (1987) also find that men with less egalitarian role attitudes were less likely to do “feminine home chores” like cooking and cleaning. Atkinson and Huston (1984) found that the wives of “liberal” husbands tend to do less domestic work.

In fact, several authors regard men’s attitudes as a lynchpin. Baxter (1992:179) states that “a change of men’s attitudes to gender roles appears to be a necessary precondition for the emergence of egalitarian domestic labour arrangements.” Further, wives’ attitudes do not seem to have the same predictive effect (Ross 1987). While Stafford, Backman, and Dibona (1977) find that wives with less traditional gender-role attitudes spent less time on household tasks than those with more traditional gender-role attitudes, others have found that this relationship is weaker than the link between men’s attitudes and housework contributions. Ross (1987:83) concludes that “since the home is

defined as the wife's responsibility, her belief that an equal sharing of the household chores is the fair division will have little impact unless her husband agrees." Kamo (1988:193) concurs, arguing that the reason that men's sex role attitudes have a less predictive effect than women's is that a husband's willingness to share household labor supercedes his wife's demands: "the husband's ideology seems to be a more important condition for his participation in domestic work than his wife's." Hiller and Philliber (1986) found similar results. While most of the literature maintains that men's gender role attitudes are crucial to determining the division of household labor, some found empirical evidence to the contrary. Barnett and Baruch (1987) found that wives' work variables and gender role attitudes predicted male participation. Likewise, Hardesty and Bokemeier (1989) find that it is women's attitudes, rather than men's, which make a difference.

While most of the literature does support the idea that gender ideology matters in household labor allocation decisions, some researchers had different findings. For example, Brayfield (1992) found that men's attitudes about whether housework should be shared in dual-career families are not associated with their share of housework; this suggests that professional status matters. Also most studies measure men's participation in household labor relative to their wives. Those studies which have measured men's absolute hours spent in household labor found no effect of ideology on men's hours of household labor (Coverman 1985; Crouter et al 1987, Geerken and Gove 1983).

New Explanations for Changes in Household Labor Participation

Though these three broad theories are a significant contribution to understanding household division of labor, the mixed findings for each of them call for more detailed analyses of the determinants of the division of household labor. Part of the problem may be that they offer functional, structural, and cultural solutions without allowing for the opportunity for any psychological changes to take place in men. Resource arguments limit husbands and wives to prescribed roles based on stereotypical beliefs about earning power, time availability arguments reduce decision making to schedule management, and gender socialization is a done deal at age 16. I offer life course explanations as a way out of this theoretical rut.

This would follow from Gerson's 1993 discussion of life course explanations for men's later household behavior. In explaining how men are differently positioned as breadwinning men who spend very little time or energy in participating in what goes on in the home, family-involved men who spend an appreciable amount of time and energy in family-related activities, and autonomous men who opt out of family-involved or bread-winning responsibilities entirely, she points to events beyond primary socialization as catalysts for further change. In discussing egalitarian, family-involved men, she states that:

“It is tempting to attribute this outlook to early childhood experiences in the family. We have seen, however, that as a group, these men did not hold notably different outlooks in childhood than other men. Nor did their relationships with

their mothers and fathers differ in significant ways. Instead these men developed more egalitarian outlooks in late adolescence and early adulthood when their early expectatations clashed with real experiences.” (Gerson 1993:161).

She suggests that various post-adolescent experiences—choosing nondomestic mates, choosing less demanding jobs that have other intrinsic values, being forced into dead end jobs, or being forced out of an unworkable traditional marriage approach (by economics or spousal dissatisfaction)—leads men to reconsider their initial attitudes towards their role in the home; their behavior also changes. For Gerson, primary socialization is no more satisfying as an answer to men’s behavior as it is for women. In her earlier book, *Hard Choices* (1985), she shows that primary socialization theories do not work in the ways the theories suggest. There is too much variation in women’s lives. Sometimes the reinforcement backfired and the women’s behavior became a contrary reaction to the reinforcement itself. Similarly, clear changes in the social world of women (e.g., decline of stable marriages) prompted women to move beyond the sphere that socialization would have (if as stable as some theorists would lead us to believe) corraled them into. Instead, women’s gender roles and gendered behavior was able to change as the social structure around them changed. Men, according to Gersons, should and can be similarly positioned to change their behavior as a result of life course events’ influences.

Therefore, recognizing the continuing role of culture and social structure throughout the life course enables us to consider the possibility of some evolution in adults’ gender role attitudes and gender-related behaviors. Behavior is not fixed according to early childhood patterns. Rather, behavior and attitudes change as the situations and

expectations in the environment change. Gender role learning, although very significant in childhood, continues throughout life. As a consequence, one's gender identity is not fixed or permanent except when the social environment continues to reinforce it. A change in a man's social environment that makes his doing "women's work" necessary, valuable, and possible creates an opportunity for a behavioral shift away from traditional gender roles. Some of these changes occur well beyond the 16-18 years of primary socialization. As actors move beyond adolescence, life course activities like "leaving the nest", finding employment, marrying, and having children create new challenges and opportunities. Some of these opportunities have the potential to act as catalysts for a kind of adult socialization, particularly as relates to gender roles and behavior in a "gender factory" like the household.

I am particularly interested in how the skills and/or dispositions necessary to participate in household labor are accumulated and elicited by different aspects of the life course. I posit that skills and dispositions act as a major determinant of the amount of time men spend in household activities. As men increase their resources (i.e., "domestic capital" via independent living), as they become sufficient in resources relative to other household workers (i.e., "portative capital" gained from his market labor), or as they are presumed to have more resources (i.e., "gender capital" in the case of fathers with young sons), they are more or less likely to assume greater levels of responsibility in the household.

Independent Living

I hypothesize that living independent of a wife, parents, opposite-sex partner, or

institutional caregiver socializes men to “un-Do Gender” as relates to household labor. Single and non-cohabiting young men do not have the opportunity to take a “Doing Gender” approach to washing dishes, cooking meals, shopping, and other household duties. More likely than not, they do not have the resources to outsource these responsibilities to a domestic servant, so they have to do them themselves. As a result, they gain this kind of “domestic capital” : practical knowledge and skills related to household labor activities. They learn how to do housework by having to do it without the assistance of other people.

When a man is no longer being supported by his parents or other caregivers—in the military, in marriages, and in opposite sex cohabiting arrangements, for example—he assumes responsibility for at least a minimal level of household functioning; he must prepare meals, keep himself and his home clean, etc.. Elizabeth Borland and I argued that this period of living on his own affects a single man’s beliefs that men can and should do domestic work, and that it is not the sole responsibility of women. I extend this argument to show that not only are men’s attitudes toward household work modified, but their inclinations to participate in it are as well. Essentially, living alone as a single man helps promote more egalitarian gender ideologies and a broader skills set which leads to a more egalitarian division of household labor once he is married.

Occupational Characteristics

I also look at men who have entered marriage by analyzing the effects of their and their wives’ labor force participation on his household division of labor. There is empirical evidence which suggests that men’s household labor participation is affected by

the fact that they and their wives work (Suzuki 1999, Banaszak and Plutzer 1993). There is no analysis of how the nature of that work—as opposed to the length of time spent in that work—might affect him. Essentially this chapter aims to answer the question: does HOW he brings home the bacon have a different effect than THAT he brings it home?

I argue that the orientations to particular kinds of work that the he brings (or doesn't bring) to the household labor equation would play a role in addition to his income or number of hours worked. So, just as employers and employment sectors parcel out job responsibilities based on both imagined and real differences in gendered holdings of applicable skills, husbands and wives would be expected to respond the same way when choosing the most productive arrangement for household labor. Granted, husbands may have to “creatively appropriate tasks or even aspects of tasks that can be labeled ‘masculine’,” as suggested by Williams (1995:17), but if he has the aptitudes (and she does not), we would expect him to use them in settings other than his place of employment. All of the values, preferences, and labor tolerances transferred are not automatically categorizable as masculine or feminine; they do not need to be. The question is do the job orientations, regardless of their gendered connotations, transfer as “portative capital” to the household and cause men to respond differently to household labor needs. While men are not likely to choose a spouse or partner based on any of these characteristics, we can expect that, once married, the interacting husband and wife will have to make sense of any imbalances in these characteristics when deciding who will be responsible for household labor.

Children's Characteristics

Finally, I am interested in what happens once men become parents. I argue that men and women are assumed to have something I refer to as “gender capital”: abilities to exhibit, model, and reinforce masculinity and femininity, respectively. Because an important component of parenting is socializing children, especially in the area of gender roles, men and women bring different presumed resources to this part of the parenting equation. Ability to socialize a boy into manhood is a skill that men have (or more precisely, are assumed to have) and that women do not. This is probably the greatest case of “doing gender” in my project. Being a father is the ultimate case of “doing gender”. The responsibility men have to exhibit correct gendered behavior is heightened when they have to participate as models of that behavior.

Ironically, it is men’s beliefs in the role they should play raising, mentoring, and serving as a model for boys that creates an opportunity for development of less traditional gender behavior in some ways and more traditional gender behavior in others. Men participate in childcare with sons, but may also decrease their involvement in other household labor (e.g., washing dishes) in order to model masculine behavior in front of these sons; instead, they may use their limited leisure or free time to wash the car or fix gutters. Men’s interaction with their children, elicited by certain characteristics of the child, may lead to a less traditional approach to their capabilities in one area (childcare) even as they become more traditional in others (housework). These and other questions are important and, therefore, I will attempt to answer them with this project.

Plan of the Dissertation

Each of the explanations I have described represents independent variables which, I argue, could potentially affect men's household labor participation. In determining their potential influence on men's housework and childcare activities—and to highlight their different effects—the most parsimonious approach to organizing this project is to continue grouping the explanations into subsets of independent variables. These explanations become the focus of three specific analyses of domestic capital investments, portative capital investments, and gender capital holdings on men's household labor participation.

Chapter Two presents the data and methodology used to answer to answer the questions I pose in later chapters. I describe the National Survey of Families and Households, the primary data source for this project, and then explain how I measure the key independent, dependent, theoretical, and prosaic control variables used in the study. I also give the descriptive outlay of the sample characteristics on all of these factors. The remainder of the dissertation is devoted to each of the three specific domains of theoretical information and independent variables.

Chapter Three considers the impact living on his own has on men's later household labor participation. Specifically, I test to what extent (if any) the years a man lives without some kind of caregiver—whether that caregiver is tied to him through consanguinal, romantic, or institutional ties—affects the amount of housework he does in the home. I suggest that during this time, he gains what I term "domestic capital", the skills necessary to complete household labor tasks. He also modifies his beliefs about

housework as strictly women's work. This argument follows my earlier work which shows that men's housework-related attitudes become less traditional the longer he lives independently. Not only does he believe that women should be able to work outside of the home, but he also believes that men should contribute to work inside of the home. It, therefore, follows that net of other influences on men's household labor participation, having lived independently for long periods of time should increase a married man's contributions to core household tasks. I expect to find increases in men's absolute and relative contributions to housework as a result of men's longer periods of independent living.

In Chapter Four, I test whether a husband's holdings of particular occupational characteristics—namely, high levels of female sex composition, a service orientation, and routine and repetitive work tasks—affect the amount of housework he does in the home and his share of the overall housework that is done. I build on a line of research that shows that experiences in certain labor tasks affect attitudes related to those tasks. These attitudes then lead to changes in behavior in other similar labor tasks. Housework is always characterized in the gender/family literature as female-typical, done for the presumed good of others, and as routine and repetitive. I reason that if a husband's market labor has these same characteristics, both absolute and relative to his spouse, he is likely to do more of the core household tasks. I expect to find that men whose jobs have higher proportions of women in them than their wives' jobs, whose jobs have a stronger service orientation than their wives' jobs, and whose jobs require a higher tolerance for routine and repetitive work than their wives' job do more housework and share more of

the total housework burden.

In the third, and final, substantive chapter, I investigate the relationship between children's characteristics—sex, age, birth order, and relationship to the father—and their father's contributions to both housework and childcare interactions. Married households are a major location for doing gender, but this obligation to perform gender roles competently is heightened by the presence of children. Men and women, separately, have different levels of what I refer to as “gender capital”, the ability to competently display appropriate gender roles related to, in this case, non-market household labor. I suggest that father's gender capital is put into play when they have sons; they have to display gender appropriately before their sons while being actively engaged enough to be a gender-reinforcing influence. As a result, not only do I expect sons to decrease their father's contributions to female-typical core housework, but I also expect sons to increase their father's involvement in four different levels of parent-child engagement: meal sharing, unorganized play/non-play activities, behavior reinforcement behaviors (e.g., hugging, yelling), and organized community activities.

CHAPTER TWO

DATA AND METHODS

Study Population

The National Survey of Families and Households

Data for this study is drawn from the first wave of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), which is a nationally representative sample of 13,017 adults aged 19 and older. This survey, conducted by the Center for Demography and Ecology at the University of Wisconsin in 1987, contains 17,000 housing units drawn from 100 sampling areas in the United States. Blacks and Latinos, single parents, cohabiting persons, persons with stepchildren, and newlyweds were oversampled in order to enable comparisons of household variables among persons in relatively rare household situations. The survey includes a diverse array of questions including an employment schedule for the period covered by the survey, and numerous pieces of information about human capital, demographics, family background, job and local labor markets, and the attitudes of the respondents. Respondents were interviewed and also answered a secondary self-administered questionnaire. The response rate was approximately 74 percent. Spouses were also asked to complete self-administered questionnaires; none were interviewed. The spousal response rate was 80 percent. Only married, male respondents whose spouses answered secondary questionnaires (n=2991) are used in the analysis. Means and standard deviations for all NSFH variables used in this analysis are

presented in Table 2.5.

Other Sources of Data

In order to analyze the effects of spouse's or partner's employment characteristics, I also use the 1980 Census, the U.S. Department of Labor's Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT), and the Quality of Employment Survey (QES).³ Because the Census provides detailed occupational classifications, many survey instruments use Census codes to categorize respondent's occupations. Jobs are categorized into 500 occupational categories which map onto the coding used in all of the other instruments I use: NSFH, DOT, and QES. The NSFH used 1980 codes in the first wave. The only data I draw specifically from the Census—other than the coding—is the percentage of men or women in each occupation in each year. Beyond that, the Census' usefulness for my project lies solely in its “consistent” coding scheme which provides a method for mapping the occupational characteristics found in the DOT and QES onto the NSFH data. Each NSFH respondent and his spouse is asked what their current (or if retired, most recent) occupation is. This answer is then assigned a number from the 1980 Census detailed occupational classification. This number is then matched to a corresponding occupational code in the U.S. Department of Labor's Dictionary of Occupational Titles in order to determine certain characteristics of the respondent's and his spouse's occupations.

³ My thanks go to Paula England for her assistance in coding most of this data. Some of the variables used in this analysis were provided by her. These include a cognitive factor which measures cognitive skill and training demands and a social factor which indicates level at which respondents engage in personal relationships at work. These variables are described in England (1992).

The *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (U.S. Department of Labor 1977) includes information about approximately 12,000 occupations which have been placed into the 500 Census occupational categories. The US Department of Labor maintained ten field centers throughout the country, each of which employed a staff of full-time occupational analysts. Each analyst was assigned to a particular industry, familiarized herself with that industry, and then observed workers at several representative establishments within that industry. She added interviews of workers and supervisors to her observations and completed a job analysis schedule—a written description of the job and ratings of 44 different characteristics of the job. Occupations received codes based on the demands of that occupation. Included among these demands were characteristics such as level of complexity of the job, training required to do the job, various aptitudes (e.g., verbal and spatial) needed to perform the job, and physical demands of the job. A score (average) on each variable was then computed for each occupational category. This score meant different things depending on which kind of characteristic was being measured. For example, if the score represented the amount of time needed for specific vocational preparation, it would range from 1 to 9, with 1 equaling “a short demonstration of the tasks necessary to complete in the occupation” and 9 equaling “over 10 years of specific vocational training”. If the score represented the level at which workers in the occupation were required to perform under stress, it would be coded as a percentage ranging from 0 to 100, with 0 equaling “no workers in that occupational group have high stress jobs” and 100 equaling “all workers in that occupational group have high stress jobs”. Reliability tests for these ratings have been done and the average reliability

estimate for these variables is 83 percent. (Cain and Treiman 1981)

The *Quality of Employment Survey* (Quinn and Staines 1979) is the third survey of its kind.⁴ The dataset is based on a nationally representative sample of 1515 respondents aged 16 and older who were working for pay for 20 or more hours per week. Another Labor Department sponsored instrument, it is often used to show the impact of work on workers in terms of job satisfaction, job security, health, and financial well-being. I am interested in its questions about cognitive skills and training demands.

Dependent Variables

Housework

The dataset includes a number of questions about household labor behavior, measured as amount of time spent in a particular behavior. The questions about household involvement ask how much time in a week the respondent is a) responsible for taking care of automobile maintenance and repairs; b) responsible for driving other household members to work, school or other activities; c) responsible for cooking and preparing meals; d) responsible for washing dishes and cleaning up after meals; e) responsible for doing laundry (washing, ironing, and mending); f) responsible for cleaning house (inside); g) responsible for shopping for groceries and other household goods; h) responsible for paying bills and keeping financial records; and i) responsible for outside and other household maintenance. In the analysis, I used the time-intensive, mundane

⁴ The other two are the *Survey of Working Conditions*, 1969-1970, and the *Quality of Employment Survey*, 1972-1973.

housework traditionally and routinely assigned to women: cooking, cleaning up after meals, laundry, shopping for groceries and other household goods, and cleaning the inside of the house.

In the NSFH, respondents (both the husbands and their spouses) are asked to indicate the number of hours spent on any given activity. They could answer the number of hours, no time, or “some” time spent. In this study, housework is measured in a number of ways. Each of these variables was coded as an integral variable measuring the amount of time (in hours) the respondent spent on that activity. In those cases where respondents answered “some” unspecified amount of time, I substituted the mean value for that task. These five variables were then totalled to create a variable indicating total number of hours spent doing female-typical housework. Another variable was created and coded as an interval variable measuring the contribution of the respondent as a percentage of the total time spent on female-typical housework in the household. Finally, I created a variable intended to measure the gender gap in household labor participation. Ratio dependent variables (e.g., percentage of total hours contributed by husbands) create a potential measurement problem. Is the husband’s contribution (in total hours) growing or is the wife’s contribution (again, in total hours) shrinking as a result of change in the independent variable? Measuring the gender gap allows movement in both husbands’ and wife’s contributions, thereby giving us a clearer sense of the effect of the independent variable on the husband’s particular contribution compared to that of his wife. Some respondents reported spending inordinate amounts of hours on specific tasks. I adjusted values above 100 hours by recoding them as 100 hours. This adjustment

reduces skewness in the summed variables. This adjustment was necessary for less than 0.3 percent of respondents.

The descriptive statistics for both the respondents and their wives are consistent with those reported in previous studies and are shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Husbands average about 10 hours per week in female-typical household tasks and wives average about 32 hours; there's a 21 hour gap between the two genders. Husbands contribute about 24 percent of the hours spent on this particular kind of household labor, about a third (32 percent) of the wife's contribution. Husbands and wives both spend more of their time in meal-related activities. Between meal preparation and post-meal cleanup, husbands spend 5.3 hours—less than an hour a day—doing these tasks. Their wives spend 16.5 hours—a little more than 2 hours a day—on these tasks. Men rarely do laundry (0.9 hours) and women spend less time shopping (3.0 hours) than they do any of the other core household tasks. A result of women's lessened attention to shopping is men's high share of that responsibility, especially relative to other ones. Husbands do 33 percent of the shopping. That still leaves wives doing two-thirds of it, so it remains categorized in this analysis as a female-typical (core) household task.

A similar, and actually more dramatic, imbalance can be seen in what are categorized as male-typical household tasks. While time spent on them only accounts for 18 percent of the total housework time budget, husbands spend more time on at least one of them than the whole family spends on laundry or shopping. Husbands spend 2.1 hours on automobile maintenance and repair and 5.9 hours on outdoor tasks and other household maintenance work. Their wives spend a total of 2.6 hours on both of these tasks

combined. Husbands, therefore, do 92 percent of the auto maintenance and 73 percent of the household maintenance. The gaps between husband's and wife's hours spent on these tasks may appear to be small and irrelevant, but they are more than or equal to the gap existing for some of the core female-typed tasks, such as laundry.

There is much more parity in the final two household tasks: maintaining financial records and driving household members to activities. Husbands and wives both spend about 2 hours a week working on bills and about an hour and a half driving family members around. Wives spend slightly more time on financial records, leaving men with 43 percent of the share of that household task. Men do 48 percent of the driving of family members.

In summary, female-typical household tasks are appropriately categorized because husbands tend not to participate in them. Wives spend more actual time than husbands on all five tasks—meal preparation, meal cleanup, housecleaning, laundry, and shopping—and do a far greater share of these tasks. Husbands only share about a quarter of the total time spent on household tasks. Conversely, male-typical household tasks could be considered almost exclusively male tasks. While only about 11-12 hours are spent on these two tasks each week (compared to the 40-45 hours spent on core tasks), women rarely participate in these tasks. Men do almost all of the automobile maintenance and repair and three-quarters of the outdoor and other maintenance tasks. Finally, there are some activities that both sexes participate in at similar levels: keeping household financial records straight and driving family members to activities. Men contribute about 46% of the time necessary to complete these tasks.

Childcare

Childcare is a more complicated measure because childcare behaviors change with age of children and they take different forms. Lamb (1986) describes three different forms of paternal involvement: accessibility, engagement, and responsibility.

Accessibility requires the father to be available to the child in case the child needs him.

This is the weakest form of paternal involvement and may be represented in this analysis as low levels of paternal involvement; for example, simply being a residential father may suggest a man's involvement via accessibility. Conversely, the most intense form of involvement is responsibility. Men rarely participate in children's lives at this level. In fact, there is convincing evidence that even if he desires to be involved at this level, mothers discourage it because it threatens her authority over the child and the childcare realm (Allen and Hawkins 1999, Haas 1980, Yogeve 1981, Jump and Haas 1987).

Because it is rare and often handicapped by circumstances outside of the father's control, I will not focus on a man's responsibility for childcare. I suspect that, in some ways, this kind of child management (as opposed to strictly child care) will still be represented in the analysis because some men's high level of engagement with their children will reflect some similarly high level of responsibility for them as well.

Between these two poles is a more general form, engagement, which is more intense than accessibility and less intense than responsibility. It is a measure of the time the father spends in interactions with the child. In the NSFH data, there are four categories of engagement between fathers and their children. For those fathers with children who are

between 5 and 18 years of age⁵, those categories are as follows: sharing meals, spending time in various activities with children, reinforcing (positively or negative) children's behavior, and participation in organized youth activities with children.⁶ These levels of engagement will be measured using the following variables.

Two variables are included that indicate the amount of time fathers spend sharing mealtimes with their children. The variables are responses to the question “how many days last week did you eat breakfast or dinner with at least one of your children” and are coded integrally, from zero (none) to seven (everyday). There are two sets of answers, one for the respondent and one for his spouse. Each partners’ responses to the two separate questions were combined (summed) to create summary variables indicating the amount of time each spent sharing mealtimes with their children.

The two sets of four variables used to measure the amount of time fathers spend in playmate and non-playmate interactions with their children are drawn from the question “how often do you spend time with the children in the following activities?” The four items were: (a) in leisure activities away from home, (b) at home working on a project or playing together, (c) having private talks, and (d) helping with reading or homework. The four variables were originally coded as a 6 response Likert-type index with 1 equaling “never or rarely” and 6 equaling “almost everyday”. These questions were also

⁵ Like Hall et al (1995) and Cooksey and Fondell (1996), I focus on respondents who have children older than four years old because different questions are asked about children younger than 5.

⁶ A potential drawback to these data is that neither dataset asks fathers about the specific amounts of time spent with particular/individual children. They both asked about father’s relationships with all of his children in general. I am not, particularly, interested in fathers’ interactions with specific children, but in their overall parenting characteristics. So, while I cannot determine if a specific daughter benefits by having older brothers, I can still determine if girls with older brothers are more likely to live in households where fathers parent (generally) than do first-born girls or girls without brothers at all.

asked of the respondents' spouses. In order to determine approximate time contributions (shares) to these activities, it was necessary to recode these responses as numbers.

Because the range in affirmative responses was "once a month" to "almost everyday", I recoded these responses so that respondents' answers were in weekday amounts.

Respondents (and their spouses) were, therefore, coded as spending zero (0), one (1), two (2), four (4), twelve (12), and/or twenty (20) days in each of the four activities. Each partners' responses to the four separate questions were combined (averaged) to create summary variables indicating the amount of time each spent sharing mealtimes with their children. An average was used because it is likely that more than one of these activities could have taken place on the same day.

I also thought it would be useful to measure how much time the parents spent in emotional—both positive and negative—interactions with their children. Both respondents and their spouses were asked the following question: "Listed below are several ways that parents behave with their children. Please indicate how often you do each." The four items were: (a) praise child, (b) hug child, (c) spank or slap child, and (d) yell at child." Each set of responses was originally coded as a 4 response Likert-type index with 1 equaling "never" and 4 equaling "very often". There is no way of determining what time span parents may have been thinking of when they answered this question; a time period was not indicated in the question itself. In order to determine approximate time contributions (shares) to these interactions, it was necessary to recode these responses as numbers. Given the range in affirmative responses, I recoded the responses so that the answers were across one week's time. Respondents (and their

spouses) were, therefore, coded as spending zero (0), two (2), four (4), and/or six (6) days in each of the four activities. Each partners' responses to the four separate questions were combined (averaged) to create summary variables indicating the amount of time each spent sharing mealtimes with their children. An average was used because it is likely that more than one of these kinds of interactions could have taken place on the same day.

Finally, I measure the amount of time each parent spends in their children's organized youth activities. The two sets of four variables used to measure this were drawn from the question "during the past 12 months, how much time did you and your spouse spend in an average week in each of the following organized youth activities as a participant, advisor, coach, or leader? a) parent-teacher organization or other school activities, b) religious youth group, c) community youth group such as scouting, and d) team sports or youth athletic clubs. Responses were (and remain) coded integrally as hours per week in each activity. Each partners' responses to the four separate questions were combined (summed) to create summary variables indicating the amount of time each spent sharing mealtimes with their children.

In the primary analysis, four sets of variables are used for each kind of interaction. Each of these summary variables was coded as an interval variable measuring the amount of time (in hours or days) the respondent spent on that activity and the amount of time his wife spent on that activity. Another variable was created and coded as an interval variable measuring the contribution of the respondent as a percentage of the total time spent on each of these engagement variables in the household. Finally, I created

variables intended to measure the gender gap in child engagement.

Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show that, unlike housework tasks, there is much more parity in the contributions of husbands and wives in the raising of children in this 3-18 year-old age range. It is still the case, though, that mothers do slightly more childcare than fathers. On average, fathers contribute 45% of the total time spent eating with children, 43% of the time spent in general activities with children, 47% of the time spent either positively or negative reinforcing child behaviors, and 42% of the time spent participating in their children's organized youth activities.

Fathers eat breakfast with their children an average of 2.7 days a week. Mothers eat breakfast with them 3.2 days. Of the total amount of parental time spent each week eating breakfast with children, fathers share 45% of the responsibility. Both parents eat dinner with their children about three more days than they do breakfast, with mothers spending (on average) more time with the children than fathers. Fathers share 46% of the total time spent by both parents on dinner.

While, on average, fathers share nearly as much (43%) of the overall responsibility for spending time in various unorganized activities with their children as they do sharing meals, there are some disparities in the amount of time fathers and mothers spend with their children. Fathers and mothers spend similar amounts of time in leisure activities away from home: 4.9 days per month and 5.1 days per month, respectively. This is likely because these activities are probably not simply parent-child activities, but are actually activities that the entire family participates in, such as going to the movies, amusement parks, or sporting events. Similarly, fathers and mothers report spending nearly the same

amount of time at home working on projects or playing with the children. Fathers spend 7.6 days per month and mothers spend 8.1 days per month in at-home activities with children. These activities may also take the form of family activities, such as playing board games or watching television together. The disparity comes when activities shift from family leisure-type activities to more individual parent-to-child activities, such as talking privately or helping with homework. In both cases, mothers do a greater share of these activities than fathers do. Fathers have private talks with their kids about 6 days per month, while mothers do this almost 9 days per month; fathers do only 38% of this responsibility. Fathers help their children with reading or homework about 6 days each month compared to mothers who do so approximately 10 days. Again, fathers only contribute 39% of the time this task requires.

When both parents are present in a home, they tend to contribute equally to reinforcing the behavior of their children through reward or punishment, with some subtle differences. Fathers praise and/or hug their children about 4.9 days a week, while mother do so 5.3 days a week. The few tenths of a day notwithstanding, both parents share equally in this activity, with fathers actual share being about 48 percent. Fathers are also slightly less likely to negatively reinforce behavior by spanking or yelling at their children; fathers do this about 2.3 days a week. Mothers do so 2.6 days a week. Fathers, therefore, contribute about 46% of the time necessary to complete this responsibility.

Finally, parents also participate as participants, advisors, coaches, and leaders in their children's community activities. Fathers are more likely (in one case, much more likely) to participate in some kinds of activities than others. Fathers spend less than an hour a

week in parent-teacher type organizations, religious youth groups, and non-sports-related community youth activities. They spend a little more than an hour (1.4) participating as coaches or advisors in their children's sporting or youth athletic leagues. Mothers spend more than an hour in parent-teacher organizations, close to an hour on religious youth groups, and about an hour serving as coaches/advisors for their children's sports teams. Like fathers, they spend very little time in other kinds of community youth groups (e.g., scouting). Fathers contribute about 42% of the total time spent in their children's organized youth activities, with much less of that contribution, relative to their wives, spent in school-related activities (28%) and much more of that contribution, again relative to their wives, spent in sports-related activities (63%).

In summary, fathers contribute much more to childcare than they do to the core household tasks, but the details of these contributions are shaped by the activity. Fathers are more likely to contribute to family and group activities, rather than one-on-one activities. They are also more far more likely to participate with their children's sports-related activities than their school- or religion-related ones. Their contributions to these activities either meet or exceed those of their spouses. As measured in the National Survey of Families and Households, fathers do share meals with and interact emotionally with their children at similar levels as the children's mothers.

Independent Variables

There are three sets of independent variables: a variable representing years the respondent lived unmarried, not cohabiting, not in his parent's home, and not enlisted as active-duty in the military]; a set of variables representing certain job characteristics of

his and his wife's occupations; and a set of variables representing sex, age, relationship, and birth order characteristics of his children.

Living Independently

In this study, being a "bachelor" is not simply defined by one's marital status. It is my contention that being in a position to do one's own housework (i.e., laundry, cooking, etc.) as a bachelor creates less traditional attitudes about that work and who should do it. Therefore, it is important that a definition of bachelorhood (and the resulting operationalization of that definition) include one's living situation. The number of years a man was a "bachelor" for the purposes of this study took three things into account: years not married, years not cohabiting with an opposite sex partner, and years not on active duty in the military. If the respondent was married in any year between the survey year (1988) and 1912, he was coded as 1 in that year; otherwise he was coded 0 for that year. If the respondent reported living with an opposite-sex partner (cohabiting) in any year during that time, he was also coded as 1 in that year. Finally, if the respondent reported that he was enlisted full-time in the military, he was also coded as 1 in that year.

So, if a respondent was in the military from 1980-1982 (2 years), cohabiting from 1982-1985 (3 years), and then married from 1985-1988 (3 years), he would be coded as a non-bachelor (i.e., "1") for each of those years. Of course, if he married, divorced, and remarried, he would only be coded as a non-bachelor for the years of marriage on either side of the divorce. While it would be unlikely that he was cohabiting with a partner while married, his military service could be concomitant with either a marital situation or a cohabiting situation. He would be coded a 1 for that year by being in either of those

statuses in any given year. Therefore, a cohabiting man who is on active duty in 1975 would be coded 1 as a non-bachelor in 1975; otherwise, he would be coded 0 in that year.

Another variable, not used in the analysis, was the difference between his age during the survey year and the age at which he reports leaving his parents' or some other guardian's home. This variable determined the amount of time "at risk" of bachelorhood. The number of years of independent living for each respondent was determined by subtracting the total of the years he was a non-bachelor (the sum of each year coded "1") from this "at-risk" variable. So, for every year beyond the point at which the respondents left their parent's or some other guardian's house, any year in which he was not either married, cohabiting, or enrolled in the military was counted as one in which he living independently. This number is recorded integrally in the dataset.

An example might be helpful here. A 40-year-old respondent who left his parent's home at 18, enlisted in the military for 4 years, lived with his girlfriend for two of those years and an additional 4, was married to her for 3 years, divorced and lived on his own for two, and then remarried would have had only had 2 years (the years he was divorced) as an "independent" man.

Children's Characteristics

The NSFH data includes the birth years, genders, and biological relationship to the respondent of all of his living children. Deceased children are included in the data, but their genders are not given. Therefore, all men with deceased children are excluded from the final analyses involving children. The list of living children includes biological, step, and adopted children whether they are living with the respondent or not. Because the

childcare analysis focuses on the effects of children living at home on their fathers' household labor participation, analyses in which children are integral to either the key-independent or the dependent variables exclude those respondents whose children either

The children were then coded for age (i.e., the difference between the survey year and their birth year), gender ("0" if male and "1" if female), and biological relationship ("0" if biological, "1" if adopted or step). They were also coded according to their birth order, which was based on age.

Using this basic information, I coded summary aspects of the respondents' children's characteristics as follows. Number of children is an interval variable representing the number of infant to 18-year-old children each respondent has. A dummy variable representing respondents without children was coded 0 if the respondent had children and 1 if the respondent did not. The age of the oldest child is an interval variable as is the number of sons, the number of daughters, the number of step children, and the ratio of step children to biological children in the home.

I am also interested in the birth order and sex composition of the respondents' children. Three dummy variables were created representing whether the respondent had sons only (yes=1), daughters only (yes=1), or had a mixed set of children (yes=1); respondents with mixed children were omitted variables in the analysis. Other dummy variables measured birth order by sex. Because I'm especially interested in the effect of boys, the variables are written with the birth order of sons as the primary characteristic. These variables represent those respondents with (a) sons as their oldest child regardless

of the sexes of other children, (b) sons as their youngest child regardless of the sexes of other children, (c) a single son followed by only daughters, (d) a single son followed by both daughters and sons, (e) sons followed by a single daughter, (f) sons preceded by a single daughter, and (g) a son preceded by more than one daughter. Each variable is coded "1" if it meets the condition and "0" if it does not.

I am interested in the age-sex and relationship-sex interactive characteristics of the children so I have included counts of the numbers of teenage (12-18 year old) sons and daughters, the numbers of preschool (0-5 year old) sons and daughters, and the numbers of non-biological sons and daughters. These are all coded as integral count variables.

Spouse's Occupational Characteristics

Three different variables are used as indications of various dimensions of the men's and their spouses' occupations. They represent female-typical labor, service-oriented labor, and routinized, repetitive labor. Each respondent and his spouse indicated their occupational title from a list of 1980 Census occupational titles. Each occupation was then coded for these three dimensions using 1980 Census figures and the Dictionary of Occupational Titles codings. For each occupational characteristic listed below, three separate variables were created representing characteristics of the respondent's job, the respondent's spouse's job, and the difference in job ratings between the respondent and his spouse.

Female-typical labor is measured by a scale, ranging from 0% to 100%, of what percentage of those employed full-time and year-round in the occupation were female according to the 1980 U.S. Census (U.S. Census 1980). A low score is indicative of a

characteristically male occupation while a high score is indicative of a characteristically female occupation.

Service orientation is measured by a scale, ranging from 0% to 100%, indicating what percentage of workers in each occupation have jobs which require this kind of preference. Therefore, the higher the score, the higher the degree to which workers in that profession do their jobs because of some benefit that work will have for either their customers or an extended community. This is an occupational amenity and is tied more directly to occupational preferences.

Routinized work is measured by a scale, ranging from 0% to 100%, indicating the percent of workers within a given occupational group for which an ability to adapt to performing repetitive work, or to continuously performing the same work, according to set procedures, sequence or pace is required. The higher an occupation's score, the higher the degree to which workers in that profession can handle doing repetitive or predictable work. This is a occupational disamenity and is tied more directly to occupational tolerances.

I use the respondent's occupation variables as a measure of his absolute holdings of each occupational characteristic and the difference between the respondent's occupational characteristics and his spouse's to measure his occupational characteristics relative to his wife's occupational characteristics. Therefore, a husband who is a plumber—which scores at 1 percent female—married to a secretary—which scores at 99 percent female will have a relative female-typical score of negative 98 percent. A plumber who is married to a female plumber would have a relative female-typical score

of 0 percent. And finally, a male secretary who is married to a female plumber would have a relative female-typical score of positive 98 percent.

Control Variables

There are four levels of control variables: the respondent's characteristics, other job-characteristic controls, theoretical controls, and controls intended to account for bias caused by missing cases. These are variables that are known or would be expected to have some relationship with the dependent or independent variables. Their descriptive statistics are shown in Table 2.5.

*Respondent Characteristic Controls*⁷

Race was represented as a dummy variable where Non-White (either Black, Latino, Asian, and Native American) was coded one (1) and White was coded zero (0). The respondents' fathers' education level was represented by an interval variable measuring the years of schooling he had completed. Working mother was coded 1 if the adult female in the respondent's childhood home worked.⁸ Respondents' age at the time of the survey was coded as an integral measure.

While most of these men were employed at the time they answered the NSFH survey, some were either retired or were on short-term leaves from their otherwise steady

⁷ Other variables were used in an initial analysis, but proved insignificant and were excluded from this report. These variables were dummies (i.e., 1 if condition met and 0 if condition not met) for respondent changed religion or denomination since age 14, respondent was raised in a two parent home, respondent currently lives in a metropolitan area, and respondent lives in the south or midwest. I also included mother's education and age at which the respondent's current marriage began.

⁸ Cunningham's (2001) research suggests that mother's employment has a significant effect on daughter's—rather than son's—participation in routine housework. He suggests that having a father who helped in the household would affect a man's beliefs that men generally should do so. Unfortunately, there is no question about father's household labor in this dataset.

employment. Therefore, I included a variable to account for their lack of employment. This is particularly important to correct for this problem in analyses of job characteristics. If the respondent is employed fulltime at the time of his NSFH survey, a dummy variable was coded 1 for full-time employment.

Home ownership was represented by a dummy variable coded 1 for respondents who own/live in a house and 0 for those who do not. Religiosity was represented by an interval variable measuring how many times a week the respondent goes to a religious service. Disability was measured by the response to a question “do you have a physical or mental condition that limits your ability to do day-to-day household task?” Respondents who reported having such a condition were coded 1 on this dummy variable; others were coded 0.

Respondent’s education, like the respondent’s father’s years of education, is measured integrally as the number of years of schooling he completed. Personal income was coded as a logged form of the reported income. The logarithm of earnings is used rather than a linear specification because the distribution of earnings tends to be skewed to the right and corresponds more closely to a log-normal distribution than a normal distribution. Current school enrollment is measured by a dummy variable coded 1 for those husbands enrolled at the time of their interview. Prior active-duty enlistment in a branch of the military is measured by a dummy variable coded 1 for those husbands with at least a year of active-duty military service.

Marital duration was computed by subtracting the year the couple was married from the interview year. A measure of previous marital history is represented by a dummy

variable coded 1 if the husband was previously married. Prior research suggests that the division of labor may be more equitable among mixed-race couples (Jones 2001), so I include interracial marriage status in the models. Interracial marriages are operationalized as a dummy variable coded 1 for couples that do not share the same racial/ethnic background.

The sample is primarily white, with only 20 percent of the respondents being in other racial categories. The average respondent is 43 years old. The average respondent's father had little more than a 10th grade education and nearly half of the respondent's mothers worked when they were children. Seventy-nine percent of the respondents live in or own their own homes and they attend religious services less than 1 day per week. Four percent report having disabilities that limit their day-to-day activities

Seventy-eight percent of the respondents were currently employed full-time when they completed the survey, four percent were currently enrolled in school, and 36% had some active-duty military service background. The average respondent has at least a high school degree and earns \$29,280 per year.

Finally, the average respondent has been married to his current wife for 17 years and married his current wife when he was 27 years old. Twenty-two percent of them had been married before, eighteen percent had cohabited before, and six percent of them are in interracial marriages.

Job Characteristics

Three other job characteristics, drawn from the Dictionary of Occupational titles and the Quality of Employment Survey, are also controlled for in this analysis. They are

composite scales of social skill demands, cognitive skill demands, and physical skill demands.⁹

The social skills measure represents a job's social complexity. The variable, a scale, is the average of means of two different measures: a measure of the complexity of job tasks in relation to people (as opposed to data or things) and a measure of the percentage of workers required to deal with people beyond giving and taking instructions.

The cognitive skills measure represents a job's requirements for cognitive skills and training. It is a factor created with the following eleven variables using principal components factor analysis: complexity of job tasks in relation to data, vocational or on-the-job training time (in months), how much the job requires a need to learn new things on the job, general educational required for job, intelligence aptitude, verbal aptitude, numerical aptitude, the mean education of women in the occupation, the mean education of men in the occupation, the percentage of women with 4 or more years of college in the occupation, and the percentage of men with 4 or more years of college in the occupation. These eleven variables are also drawn from the Census, the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, and the Quality of Employment Survey.

Finally, the physical skills measure represents a job's requirements for physical stamina and coordination. It is a factor created with the following nine variables and was, essentially, a count of the number of these variables that characterized the occupation: complexity of job tasks in relation to things, eye-hand-foot coordination, spatial aptitude, motor coordination, manual dexterity, strength, clerical perception,

⁹ These three factorial variables were created by Paula England. See England's (1992) "Comparable Worth" for more information.

percentage of workers required to make judgments based on measurement, and percentage of workers required to meet precise technical standards. These variables are all drawn from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles.

Theoretical Controls

I test the relative resources perspective using measures of relative income, education, age, and job prestige. Relative income was measured in terms of the husband's proportion of the couple's total reported income. The couple's earnings were combined into a gross household income; his earnings were then divided by the couple's earnings to get the measure used in the analysis. Relative education was coded as the difference between the respondent's years of education and his wife's years of education. A positive number represents a more educated husband and a negative number represents a more educated wife. Relative age was coded the same way, as a difference between the respondent's age and his wife's age. A positive number represents an older husband and a negative number represents an older wife. To measure relative status of each partner's job, each job was rated on an index that measures the prestige associated with that occupation or job classification (Stevens and Cho 1985). If the husband's job status rating was at least 50 points higher than the wife's, his relative job status was coded 1 indicating a higher status position.

I test the time availability perspective using measures of employment status (i.e., hours worked), shift work, number of children, and percentage of pre-school children. Employment status is measured by the usual number of hours each partner works per week in the labor force. To take into account possible effects of their employment shifts,

I consider if the respondent or his wife works what the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1981) refers to as a fixed day shift; that is, they work at least half of their full-time work hours between 8:00 am and 4:00 pm with no work on the weekends. The impact of children on the respondents' household labor activities was measured two ways: with an interval variable that equaled the number of children in the home and a variable equaling the percentage of those children who were preschool-aged (ages 0 to 4 years).

I test the gender ideology perspective using a scale consisting of seven questions that have been used in previous analyses to measure gender ideology (Bianchi et al 2000, Greenstein 1996). Respondents and their spouses were asked to indicate to what degree they agreed with the following statements: (1) "It is all right for mothers to work full time when their youngest child is under age 5"; (2) "It is all right for children under three years of age to be cared for all day in a day care center."; (3) "It is all right for mothers to work part time when their youngest child is under age 5"; (4) "It is much better for everyone if the man earns the main living and the women takes care of the home and family."; (5) "Preschool children are likely to suffer if their mother is employed."; (6) "Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons."; and (7) "If a husband and a wife both work full-time, they should share household tasks equally." Spouses answered using a 1-to-5 scale, where 1 indicated the strong agreement with the statement and 5 indicating their strong disagreement with the statement. Items 4 and 5 were reverse-coded so that high scores on these questions indicated a more egalitarian gender ideology. These responses were then recoded so that they centered around a neutral or moderate position (0) with 1 representing agreement

with a more traditional ideology and -1 representing agreement with the less traditional ideology. Responses to the 7 questions were then summed for both the husbands and their wives, yielding two scores—one for each partner—ranging from 1 (traditional) to -1 (egalitarian).

The descriptive statistics for the relative resources, time availability, and gender ideology measures are consistent with estimates from earlier studies. Husbands bring home about 67% of the household income. There tends not to be a huge gap between husbands' holding of a college degree and their wives' holdings of one. Husbands are usually older than their wives and 58% of the men in the sample have jobs that have a higher prestige rating than their wives' jobs. Husbands work more hours, on average, than their wives; 45 hours and 36 hours, respectively. Seventy-percent of the respondents' wives work a normal day shift and couples tend to have few children. These respondents average one child and 34 percent of them have small children in the home. Neither husbands nor wives are very traditional in their gender role ideologies. They tend toward less traditionalism, with husbands ($X=-.047$) tending to be slightly less liberal than their wives ($X=-.159$).

Missing Cases

Finally, missing data may pose a problem in multivariate analysis if they are not missing at random. For respondents with missing data on any of these variables, I used mean substitution. Specifically, I substituted a constant, the mean value for that variable, when data were missing for any independent variable. I then entered a separate dummy variable into the regression models to account for the possible selection bias introduced

by the otherwise missing data. Although not shown in the results, the dummies for missing variables were included in each of the models. All missing-value dummies proved not to be significant, which suggests this is an appropriate, if conservative, method of substitution. Cohen and Cohen (1983) explain this strategy in greater detail.

CHAPTER THREE

EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC CAPITAL INVESTMENTS ON DOMESTIC LABOR

Today more than 11 million men in the United States live alone—nearly twice as many as in 1980—and more than half of them have never been married. In fact, the number of single, never-married men grew from 18% in 1980 to the 26% that it is now. Fifty-eight percent of young men, aged 18 to 35, are bachelors (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1999). The average age at first marriage for men is steadily rising, and more heterosexual men are remaining unwed well into their thirties. As being single receives greater acceptance as a lifestyle and young people feel less pressure to rush into early marriage, these numbers are likely to increase in the future (Qian and Preston 1993; South 1993; Axinn and Thornton 1995). Other trends, such as the decline in young men's earning power and women's increased degree of independence (Schoen and Owens 1992; Oppenheimer 1994; Oppenheimer et al 1997), also contribute to delayed marriage for heterosexual men.

Concomitant to the growing numbers of men delaying marriage is the similar trend of men who do marry, but find themselves living alone as a result of divorce or being widowed. While intact married couples are still in the majority, the fastest growing category related to marital status is divorcees with the number of divorced adults quadrupling from 1970 to 1994. (Saluter 1996, Kreider and Fields 2002). There has been some leveling of this effect in the 1990's, but current projections still predict that 43-50 percent of all first marriages for men under 45 will end in divorce. While remarriage is

likely after a first marriage ends, there still remains time (on average, about 3 years) after these divorces and prior to either a cohabiting or remarriage relationship where these men are living alone (Fields 2001; Kreider and Fields 2002). As a result, many of these men remain unmarried and live independently for some time.

Both of these trends show that men are living independently for longer periods of time and, I suggest, are learning more domestic skills while modifying their attitudes towards these tasks as “women’s work.” When a man is no longer being supported by his parents or other potential providers of household maintenance services—in the military, in marriages, and in opposite sex cohabiting arrangements, for example—he assumes responsibility for at least a minimal level of household functioning; he must prepare meals, keep himself and his home clean, etc.. This fact is supported in one of the few studies that has examined housework patterns in non-couple households.

“Single men living independently (and not cohabiting) are forced, to a certain extent, to do their own housework, because their living situations are unlikely to provide household services.” (South and Spitze 1994:331).

“[Divorced] persons have had the prior experience of living with a heterosexual partner. Women may experience a decrease in housework hours if in fact their partner was creating more housework than he was doing. Men’s experience, on the other hand, may be similar to that of moving out of the parental household, that is, of having to do some household tasks for themselves that were previously performed by others. Those who never lived independently before may have to do some of these chores for the first time.” (South and Spitze 1994:332).

I argue that this period of living on his own affects a man's beliefs that men can and should do domestic work, and that it is not the sole responsibility of women. I extend this argument to show that not only are men's attitudes toward household work modified, but their inclinations to participate in it are as well. During this time, he gains what I term "domestic capital", the skills and disposition necessary to complete household labor tasks. I expect to find that men forced to participate as domestic laborers while single will be more likely to put these attitudes into action once married. He also modifies his beliefs about housework as strictly women's work. It follows, therefore, that net of other influences on men's household labor participation, having lived independently for long periods of time should increase a married man's contributions to core female-typical household tasks. I expect to find increases in men's absolute and relative contributions to housework in marriage as a result of men's longer periods of independent living.

Living Independently

I hypothesize that extended bachelorhood socializes men to "un-Do Gender" as relates to non-parenting household labor. Single and non-cohabiting young men do not have the opportunity to take a "Doing Gender" approach to washing dishes, cooking meals, shopping, and other household duties. More likely than not, they do not have the resources to outsource these responsibilities to a domestic servant, so they have to do them themselves. As a result, they gain this kind of "domestic capital" : practical knowledge and skills related to household labor activities. I argue that living independently increases men's abilities to do female-typical household labor and, as a result, men who live independently for long periods of time will contribute more time to

household labor when married.

There are few studies which have examined the effects of non-family living on men's attitudes, and research on bachelorhood provides little insight into how being a bachelor—a man who is neither married nor cohabiting who lives outside of his parents' home or some other institutional housing—may be a socializing experience for men. Those few studies that have directly analyzed the effects of bachelorhood are generally out of date, and they tend to find negative outcomes associated with social isolation and lack of social integration. They also generally view bachelorhood as a deviant status (Hughes and Gove 1981; Davis and Strong 1977; Schwartz and Wolf 1976; DeJong-Gierveld 1971), though they concede that bachelors are highly likely to marry eventually (Darling 1978) and that entering into marital unions is advantageous for men (Gupta 1999). Though Waite, Goldschneider, and Witsberger (1986) studied the effects of non-family living on young adults' attitudes, their work does not separate bachelorhood from other non-family, non-marital living arrangements—like cohabitation, dorm living, or living in some other institution—and it focuses on young women. No sociological study has analyzed the potential effects of bachelorhood as a socializing experience on adult men, particularly as relates to changes in their attitudes toward women, gender roles, or ideology about household labor. This research attempts to explore some of these effects.

Domestic Capital and Attitudes

I posit that participation in and competence in household labor activities acts as a determinant of men's attitudes toward less traditional roles related to housework. For

example, many black men were “socialized for competence” in that they grew up doing housework. This provides a context for egalitarian gender ideologies as it diminishes the impact of the ideology of separate spheres. Family work is expected of black men because they are capable of doing it (Penha-Lopes 1999; Edwards 2001). Similar support for the role of skills development comes from research on same-sex couples. The default explanation of gender difference isn’t applicable with same-sex couples. Kurdek (1993) discovered that homosexual male couples and lesbian couples participate in household labor in different ways. Homosexual men take a balanced approach where each partner specializes in an equal number of household activities, while lesbians take an equal approach where they do the tasks together or alternate doing them. Kurdek explains that these different approaches are the result of differing methods of skills development. Girls do more household chores than boys, so they have a higher level of competence in a range of household chores. Kurdek suggests that because two homosexual men do not have the same kind of skill at the range of household chores, they must develop expertise in particular areas may be easier than increasing skills in all areas. These cases show that the perception of skill mastery is an important factor for the division of labor.

Living independently forces men to “un-Do Gender” as relates to non-parenting household labor. Single and non-cohabiting young men do not have the opportunity to take a *doing-gender*¹⁰ approach to washing dishes, cooking meals, shopping, doing

¹⁰ It could be argued that when a single man cleans his home, his dishes, or his clothing, he is not “doing gender” in the classic sense. For example, South and Spitze (1994) suggest that the reinforcement of gender roles through housework would be more salient for married men than for single ones because of the gendered roles of wife and husband. We might agree if the single man performed all of these tasks in a vacuum and never had to interact with male peers, family members, or women. The behaviors do not lose their gendered character simply because there is no female alter to perform them. We might even suggest

laundry, and cleaning the house. As I discuss earlier, these tasks are the most repetitive and pressing of the household duties, therefore single men can't simply put them off altogether. More likely than not, they also do not have the resources to outsource all of these responsibilities to someone else, so they have to do at least some of them themselves. As a result, single men gain a kind of "domestic capital": practical knowledge and skills related to household labor activities. I argue that living independently for long periods of time also decreases men's traditional gender role ideology because men learn, while doing housework, that it isn't work that only women should or can do. It is also my contention that it is not simply marital or cohabiting status that serves as the catalyst for changes in sex role attitudes. If he still has a primary caregiver—for example, his parents or other managers of his living situation—a man neither gains new domestic skills nor an increased belief in his (or more globally, men's) abilities to participate in domestic labor. So, it is also important that he does not live with his parents or something like a military barracks.

In an earlier study, Elizabeth Borland and I used three dependent variables to measure men's attitudes about gender roles as they relate to household labor and workforce participation. The three dependent variables question if 1) men agree that women should have a role in the workforce, 2) if men agree that men should play a shared role in the upkeep of a household, and 3) if men agree that traditional family gender roles are best.

that doing these behaviors consistently and over a long period of time creates a greater threat (i.e. incident of identity dissonance) to a man's masculine identity and that he learns ways to manage the perceived identity discrepancy both for himself and for others. He is not reproducing normal gender roles any more than Williams' (1995) nurses and teachers do. Like them, he must have some mechanism (for example, rationalization) whereby he is able to show others that there is no loss of maleness. In either case, we suggest, he becomes less traditional in his attitudes towards male and female gender role expectations related to household labor.

Our central premise was that bachelorhood is a socializing experience; for single men, there is no division of labor. Therefore, the domestic tasks normally viewed as sex-typical and relegated to women—doing laundry, preparing meals, cleaning, and washing dishes—are practiced by single men who live on their own. The longer a man has the opportunity to perform those skills, the more likely he is to recognize that he, as a man, is capable of handling those tasks. He learns that there is no gender-specific ability tied to the performance of the skills and, we show, he becomes more likely to agree that women should be free to work outside of the home and men should be expected to share household labor with women.

Attitudes and Behavior

Arguments about gender role socialization suggest that men's attitudes or beliefs about sex or gender roles are crucial to understanding the household division of labor (Harpster and Monk Turner 1998). Bird et al (1984) define a sex role orientation as the "preferences individuals have for roles that reflect normative prescriptions for behavior in the enactment of family and employment responsibilities" (346). Attitudes, shaped by the lifelong process of socialization, determine the roles that men and women choose to perform (see Blumstein and Schwartz 1983).

More and more researchers are finding that men's egalitarian gender role attitudes are positively correlated with their participation in female domestic tasks. Baxter (1992), Huber and Spitze (1983), and others show quite persuasively that men with liberal gender role attitudes do a greater share of domestic housework labor. They also spend more time on housework generally, including lawn mowing and other outside housework tasks. As

social conditions delay marriage, and men have more opportunities to experience living on their own (without a parent, partner, or other caregiver), it is likely that we will see a corresponding trend for men to have more egalitarian behaviors when they become husbands and domestic partners.

Thus, liberal gender role attitudes are associated with an egalitarian division of labor. Most of the literature on the connection between gender role attitudes and the household division of labor has concluded that husbands with less traditional sex-role attitudes are more likely to participate in housework (Ross 1987; Kamo 1988; Perry-Jenkins and Crouter 1990; Blair and Lichter 1991, and Baxter 1992). Barnett and Baruch (1987) also find that men with less egalitarian role attitudes were less likely to do “feminine home chores” like cooking and cleaning. Atkinson and Huston (1984) found that the wife of a “liberal” husband tended to do less domestic work. In fact, several authors regard men’s attitudes as a lynchpin. Baxter (1992) states that “a change of men’s attitudes to sex roles appears to be a necessary precondition for the emergence of egalitarian domestic labour arrangements” (179).

Descriptive Statistics For Independent Variable: Living Independently

Chart 3.1 shows the percentages of NSFH respondents in different non-independent statuses from 1912 to 1988. Each marker represents the percentage of respondents living that year who were living in any given non-independent situation. For example, in 1944, at the height of World War II, four percent of respondents living at that time were in the military, twelve percent were married (some of these were also in the military), and none were cohabiting. The steadily rising line representing married suggests fairly stable

nature of marriage compared to the other two statuses. People did limited service in the military and there are clear peaks in that service around WWII, the Korean conflict, and the Vietnam war. After the Vietnam war, enrollment in the military (and that form of non-independent status) was decreased. It was replaced, as the triangle-marked line suggests by these men's willingness to cohabit. The rates of cohabitation have been rising consistently since about 1966 with a slow decline in the mid-80's.

Table 3.1 presents the basic descriptive statistics for the respondents' living situations. The average respondent was living with a wife for about nineteen years; the range of responses was 0 to 69 years of marriage. He was living with a cohabiting partner for about one year, with a range for the panel of 0 to 24 years cohabiting. It should not be assumed that these numbers represent the lifespan of a single relationship. For example, a 50 year old respondent who has been married for 20 years may have been married for 5 of them, divorced for 2 years, cohabiting for 2 years, and then remarried to a new spouse for the past 15 years. These years are not counted as continuing or successive years; they represent a count of the years he was in a married or cohabiting status.

These husbands have spent about two years on active duty in the military, with active duty enrollment representing a likely residence in a barracks or some other institutional arrangement where he would have some assistance with core household tasks. The range of responses was 0 to 38 years and, like marriage and cohabitation, may include interrupted service. Also, his military service could be concomitant with either a marital situation or a cohabiting situation. In both of those cases, it is likely that he was not

living alone, but was instead living with his spouse or partner.

So, for every year beyond the point at which the respondents left their parent's or some other guardian's house, any year in which he was either married, cohabiting, or enrolled in the military was counted as one in which he was not living independently. As such, his current age minus these years gives us the respondent's years of living independently. These years range from 1 to 63 years, with a mean of about 6 years. That is, the average respondent in this sample has lived in a situation where he was not living with a wife, a girlfriend, his parents or some other guardian, or a military institutional setting for about 6 years. Some have lived independently most of their lives, starting as early as 15 years of age. Others have never lived independently, going from their parents' household to either a military barracks or some kind of romantic domestic arrangement.

Regression Analysis (Totals and Shares)

Independent Variable: Living Independently

Table 3.2 shows the zero-order correlations for living independently and four dependent variables: the number of hours husbands spent on five traditionally female (core) household tasks; the number of hours their wives spent on those tasks; the husband's share of total hours spent on female tasks; and the gap between the hours the husband spent and the hours his wife spent on female tasks. These correlations show that increases in the husband's years living independently is associated with a significant decrease in wives' housework, while his housework remains unchanged. This suggests that the change in the amount of housework she does (if he has lived independently a

long time) is not big enough to affect his share of the housework or the disadvantage his wife experiences in the move toward equal sharing of the housework.

The regression model controlling for the independent effects of the predictor variables confirms this conclusion. To test potential relationships between living independently and household division of labor, I estimated goodness-of-fit statistics by estimating the full additive models (shown in table 3.3) and testing changes in goodness of fit by removing factors separately. When the extraneous effects of control variables in these equations are partialled out, the number of years that the respondents lived independent of his parents, a wife, cohabiting lover, or the military did not explain significant incremental variance in his amount of housework, in his share of the housework, or in the gap between the hours of housework he and his wife contribute. But surprisingly, the husbands' years as a single man provide a fairly strong improvement to the fit of his wife's housework model.

Control Variables

Table 3.3 also shows the impact of the most commonly used theoretical and/or more prosaic variables on household labor. There is weak support for the relative resources approach in this model. Relative resource levels—when measured as income contribution, age stratification, and differences in job prestige—are not significant predictors of either the number of hours spent by husbands or wives on core household tasks or on husbands' share of these responsibilities. There is more support for a relative resources approach when applied to education. Relative education has a significant effect on men, but not on their wives. The more years of education the husband has relative to

his wife, the fewer the hours of housework he does (-.055). As a result, every year of education gap between them increases the gender gap in his favor (0.111). He also does a smaller share of the total core housework activities (-0.107). In sum, only the education variables provide support for the relative resources hypothesis.

There is much stronger support for the time availability perspective. Increases in the husband's and wife's average weekly hours of labor-market work have a marked impact on his participation in household labor, but none on his wife's. The number of hours husbands spend on housework decreases significantly (-.049) with long days at work, but increases significantly (0.064) with his wife's average weekly hours of work. As a result, he does a smaller share of the housework when he works long hours, but a greater share of the housework when his wife works long hours. There is no significant effect of his (or her) hours of work on the gender gap.

Husbands also do less housework (-.075) if their wives don't work at night or on weekends. Their wives also do less housework (-0.046) if they don't work during these times. In spite of the fact that this variable has a negative impact on both spouses' household labor participation, it still has the net effect of reducing the husband's share of the housework responsibilities. He has a smaller share of it when his wife doesn't work at night or on weekends. The gender gap is positively affected.

My findings confirm those of earlier researchers who determined that children do have an effect on men's household labor participation. Specifically, I find that husbands with many children do more total hours of housework (0.109); so do their wives (0.163). While number of children seems to have no effect on his share of the housework, it does

increase the gender gap. Having babies in the household does not affect husbands' contribution to or total hours of housework, but does increase the number of hours of housework his spouse does (0.054).

Husbands' traditional gender ideologies are significantly related to their and their wives' household labor participation; their wives' traditional gender ideologies are not. The more traditional the husbands' ideologies related to gender, the less housework he does (-.123) and the more his wife does (.040). This not only decreases his share of the total housework done, it also increases the gender gap; a shift which occurs because of both his movement away from housework and his wife's slight amount of increased attention to it. Conversely, his wife's attitudes have no significant effect on the amount of housework he or she does. There is a significant increase in the gender gap though.

Of the remaining controls, only four have significant associations with husbands' household labor allocation: the husband's father's level of education, the respondent's current fulltime employment, homeownership, and the respondent's year's of education. Two of these—their fulltime employment status and years of education—also have an effect on their wives' number of hours spent on housework.

The more educated the husband's father is, the greater the husband's share of the total female-typical housework. His father's education doesn't have a significant effect on the amount of housework he or his wife actually does.

If the respondent is currently employed full-time, both he and his spouse do less housework each week, with coefficients of -.185 and -.114, respectively. His hours are affected more than hers, and there is no effect of his full-time employment on his total

share of household labor. There is a decrease in the household division of labor gender gap in those homes as a result of his full-time employment. This effect is net of the number of hours he worked and his income.

Contrary to expectations, men who live in homes (rather than apartments or some other dwelling) do less housework (-.045) than men who don't. Because their wives' household labor is not affected by homeownership, men share less of the total housework done in these homes.

Net of the effects of relative educational holdings mentioned earlier, husbands' educational attainment has a significant effect on them, increasing their total number of hours (.089) spent in housework activity; it has the opposite effect (-.110) on his spouse. Husbands with more education do a significantly larger share of female household tasks, and this is a result of both a reduction in the number of hours wives spend on housework and an increase in husband's hours.

These husbands' races, mothers' employment statuses, levels of religiosity, incomes (net of their relative contribution to the home's income), ages, current school enrollment status, past military service, and health conditions are not factors in determining either their absolute or relative contributions to housework.

There are no significant effects of the respondent's relationships on household labor allocation. Whether the respondent is in an interracial relationship, how long the couple has been married, and the respondent's previous marital status are all insignificant in these models.

Discussion and Conclusions

In sum, little support can be found here for my hypothesis. Using years not married, not cohabiting, and years not serving full-time in the military, I found no evidence that the number of years a man lives independent of another caregiver is useful as a predictor of his participation in core household work task once married. Surprisingly though, and certainly not foreshadowed by any hypothetical expectations of my own, the number of years he lives independently prior to the current marriage is a significant predictor of the amount of housework his wife does. For every year he has lived outside of one of the aforementioned conditions, his wife spends about 11 minutes less time doing the core housework tasks.

This suggests one of two things. The first possibility is that there is a selection effect and men who live these fairly untraditional lives (i.e., they don't live with some caregiver for a long period of time) are likely to marry equally untraditional wives who do not do housework. In an analysis done, but not included here, this hypothesis is shown to be an inadequate explanation for this surprising trend. While it has an expected negative coefficient, with a p-value of .38, a husband's number of years living independent is not a significant predictor of his wife's traditional attitudes. That is to say, men who live independently for long periods of time are not necessarily married to less traditional spouses.

Another possibility could be that men who have lived independently for long periods of time reduce the amount of core housework that needs to be done in the household. It is possible to test this assertion by determining the affect, if any, his living independently

has on the total amount of female-typical housework—meal preparation, housecleaning, laundry, and shopping—done in his current household. Using an OLS regression, I discovered that, in fact, there is a significant and negative relationship ($p < .05$, $B = -.24$) between a husband's years spent living independently and the total amount of hours it takes the family to do the housework. For every year he lives alone, the total housework burden decreases by about fifteen minutes regardless of most aspects of the current marriage (e.g., his age when it started, if he had been married previously).

What remains is the question why. Why would living independently create less overall need for the fundamental daily housework tasks while not creating a concomitant reduction in the amount of time husbands spend doing it? Well, first it might be useful to determine which specific tasks are affected. After analyzing the data further, I determined that the number of hours spent doing all four of the primary tasks—meal preparation (not cleanup), housecleaning, laundry, and shopping—are significantly related ($p < .05$) to his years of independent living. The couple spends 5 minutes less cooking, 5 minutes less cleaning the house, 2 minutes less grocery shopping, and 3 minutes less doing laundry related tasks for every year he lives independent of some other caregiver.

The two of these tasks with the greatest time change seem to be cooking and housecleaning, both of which are tasks that can take different amounts of time based primarily on standards. For example, the amount of time it takes to cook meals is determined by how extravagant that meal might be; i.e., it takes more time to make pancakes than it does to make a bowl of cereal. If we assume that men living

independently are cooking for themselves in the morning rather than having meals prepared for them by a wife, lover, or military kitchen, it can be expected that the single man is accustomed to eating a bowl of cereal for that meal compared to the man with a caregiver who may be accustomed to eating a full meal (i.e., bacon, eggs, pancakes). Similarly, a single man who is exempt from the rigid cleaning standards of the military or a female housemate (see Coltrane 1996, 2000 for more on this) may also be accustomed to a house that isn't as clean or unkempt as the household of a differently situated married, cohabiting, or enlisted single man. Therefore, single men may have lesser standards for these two tasks. While they do clean and cook, they do it in a way that requires a minimal amount of time. When they marry, they may be no more likely to do housework than other men, but they also may excuse their wives from doing cooking more time-consuming meals or spending more time cleaning the house. They neither make their own ham and eggs or ask their wives for it in the morning; they continue to eat cereal. Similarly, they do not mop the kitchen floor every day and they don't impress upon their spouses to do so either. As a result, his reduced standards for household labor outcomes create a situation where the overall time—and his wife's time, specifically—spent doing household labor is reduced. This possibility must be explored further, but would certainly require a much more detailed look at attitudes than this data allows.

While this finding does exist and is a useful one for further research, there is still the problem of the insignificant findings regarding living independently and *men's* household labor participation. Usually there are two reasons for the absence of support for hypotheses: the theory that prompts this hypothesis may be flawed or there may be

methodological limitations. I am persuaded by my aforementioned work with Elizabeth Borland to believe that it is more likely a methodological limitation and that this line of reasoning should be pursued further. In that work, where we determined that there is a significant impact (i.e., causal relationship) of men's years living independently on their attitudes related to household division of labor, we were able to use a much more precise and expanded set of criterion to determine their status as a "single" man. While the NSFH is very useful in offering a longterm history of men's military experience, educational attainment, and marital/cohabiting statuses through his lifetime, it is lacking in specifics about the actual living situations said men experienced in these periods. Not having information about marital or cohabiting living situations is not likely to have affected these findings because, almost by stint of their definitions, living in a marital or cohabiting situation would imply that there is an additional helper available to handle some of the core household tasks. The limitation applies primarily to my measures of institutional living situations.

The previous, foundational work includes measures representing lived experience in certain actual institutional settings and not simply the broad "involvement" measures I use here. Therefore, we were able to determine and account for not simply the fact that these men were in the military, but that they lived in military barracks. We were also able to include other institutional settings (e.g., dormitories, fraternity houses, prisons) in order to account for more than simply being in college or having a criminal record. Because these very important specific measures were absent from the data, I did not use a similarly less precise accounting of the number of years the respondents were in some

kind of educational institution. Unlike my suspicions about the relationship between military service and military housing, any assertions about relationships between enrollment in college—whether they be full or part-time—and the respondents' living situations during that enrollment would be simply guesses and not likely to affect these findings in any defensible manner. I, therefore, believe that a study using data that more closely delineates the actual living arrangements for men during these times would more appropriately follow the line of thought this project was precipitated by and would, as a result, offer either a more persuasive rejection of the hypothesis or, as I suspect, support for it.

CHAPTER FOUR

EFFECTS OF PORTATIVE CAPITAL INVESTMENTS ON DOMESTIC LABOR

In this chapter, I analyze the effects of married men's labor force participation on their household division of labor. I argue that the orientations to particular kinds of work that he brings (or doesn't bring) to the household labor equation would play a role in addition to his income or number of hours worked. So, just as employers and employment sectors parcel out job responsibilities based on both imagined and real differences in gendered holdings of applicable skills, husbands and wives would be expected to respond the same way when choosing the most productive arrangement for household labor. Granted, husbands may have to "creatively appropriate tasks or even aspects of tasks that can be labeled 'masculine'," as suggested by Williams (1995:17), but if he has the aptitudes (and she does not), we would expect him to use them in settings other than his place of employment. All of the values, preferences, skills and tolerances for different types of labor that might be transferred are not automatically categorizable as masculine or feminine; they do not need to be. The question is do the job orientations, regardless of their gendered connotations, transfer to the household and cause men to respond differently to household labor needs. While men are not likely to choose a spouse or partner based on any of these characteristics, we can expect that, once married, the interacting husband and wife will have to make sense of any imbalances in these characteristics when deciding who will be responsible for household labor.

I test whether a husband's holdings of particular occupational characteristics—

namely, high levels of female sex composition, a service orientation, and routine and repetitive work tasks—affect the amount of housework he does in the home and his share of the overall housework that is done. I build on a line of research that shows that experiences in certain types of labor tasks affects attitudes related to those tasks. These attitudes then lead to changes in behavior in other similar tasks. Housework is always characterized in the gender/family literature as female-typical, done for the presumed good of others, and as routine and repetitive. I reason that if a husband's market labor has these same characteristics, both absolute and relative to his spouse, he is likely to do more of the core household tasks. I expect to find that men whose jobs have a higher proportion of women in them than their wives' jobs, whose jobs have a stronger service orientation than their wives' jobs, and whose jobs require a higher tolerance for routine and repetitive work than their wives' job do more housework and share more of the total housework burden.

Relative Occupational Characteristics

A New Look At Human Capital

In her analysis of men and women in corporations, Kanter (1977) suggests that workers' self-esteem, morale, and job satisfaction are often based on their comparisons of themselves with their peers. I argue that the comparison group for married men is not limited to coworkers, supervisors, and their peers; men also compare themselves to their wives. For example, we know that gender is often acted out even more (by both spouses) when there are income discrepancies (Brines 1993 and 1994). Does a husband change

his behavior when his wife is in a less housework compatible field than he is in? What about when her job is one with low levels of routine or repetitive work and his isn't? This would be the "doing gender" response described by Brines. Wives may receive an occupational benefit to having a job with masculine characteristics and then suffer gendered inequality in the home as a result of the interaction of this kind of job with their husbands' job.

A human capital approach would suggest a very different outcome. The human capital investments for labor in the workforce should lend themselves to labor in the household. For example, a husband trained as a mechanic would be expected to use those skills when there are problems with the family car. It would not simply be *his* expectation that he would be responsible for this area of household labor; his wife would have similar expectations based on his skill level in that area. Similarly, certain dispositions toward market labor could be expected to generalize to non-market labor. A human capital theorist would also expect a husband with other less skill-based, but nonetheless critical, labor orientations to transfer those from the job to the home. These labor orientations are what I focus on in this project.

Labor Orientations

There are essentially three broad non-skilled-based groupings of characteristics in the occupational choice literature: environmental conditions, task amenities, and task disamenities. Workers' attitudes toward these job characteristics are called "value orientations" (Schwarzweiler 1960), "vocational preferences" (Davis 1965, Holland

1976), "occupational tastes" (Filer 1986), "work values" (Padavic 1992, Reskin 1993), "occupational temperaments" (England 1992), and "job values" (Marini et al 1996).

I use the term labor orientations to reflect my belief that these are not simply characteristics of market labor, but that many of these characteristics may be useful in understanding non-market (i.e., household) labor as well. The use of the term orientation is not meant to suggest some biologically or psychologically induced preference toward a particular kind of work or work conditions. Instead, I suggest (and will explain later) that a preference for or tolerance for certain kinds of labor environments or activities is the result of socialization and/or participation in that or similar kinds of labor environments and activities.

Labor orientations related to environmental conditions tend to take two forms. The first represents a worker's preferences and tolerance for different work conditions or work locations. Padavic (1992), for example, analyzes women's interests in blue collar jobs and raises the possibility that job setting is an important aspect of occupational choice. While the extent to which preferences for certain work settings may determine gendered choice of jobs remains unclear, the fact that setting is a generally important characteristic of a job remains. Setting may be measured directly as a function of actual location where work takes place: shop floor, office, laboratory, stage, studio, health care facility, etc.. Setting can also be measured as a function of environmental conditions where jobs may be performed indoors or outdoors, may involve extreme temperatures or temperature changes, may involve very wet or humid conditions, or may expose the worker to constant loud noises or vibrations (DOT 1977).

The second aspect of environmental conditions represents a worker's preferences and tolerance for working with different kinds of people. We turn to Padavic here as well. In her description of kinds of normative preferences women may hold for white-collar work attributes, she lists "the opportunity to socialize on the job with people similar to themselves" (Padavic 1992: 217). While few studies have explicit measures of this kind of preference in occupational choices, personnel characteristics do play a role in such things as tokenism (Kanter 1977), comparable worth (England 1992), and job queues (Reskin and Roos 1990).

For example, in Williams' (1995) *Still A Man's World*, the sex composition of one's work environment is offered as an issue for men working in atypical men's job. The complaint raised by these men is not just a function of them wanting the status or other non-pecuniary rewards that a different level of gender or race composition may bring but a feeling of isolation in the workplace. Williams gives an example to illustrate this idea:

"I really do have the feeling of being by myself. Some of it is just fluff stuff. I mean, like, 'I went to the ball game last night.' My colleagues could care less. Now some women like baseball; I happen to work with three who don't. Or, 'I went fishing on my vacation.' I have three colleagues who don't fish"

(Williams:151)

It is clear in examples like this that men and women do value working in a work environment where their colleagues have some similarities, beyond work aptitudes or training, to them.

The second grouping of labor orientations are those associated with activity amenities

and preferences for those amenities. Different work activities may carry intrinsic value or extrinsic value.

Intrinsic values are values that “attach importance to the work itself, valuing work for its inherent interest and importance.” (Marini et al:50). These values reflect the rewards of working in a particular occupation and can include general rewards, such as the opportunity to receive tangible productive satisfaction; interpersonal rewards, such as the opportunity to interact with people and receive prestige and esteem from them; and altruistic rewards, such as the opportunity to work for the presumed good of others. Usually these values were framed by researchers as the kinds of values women looked for in jobs, suggesting and then showing that women tended to place a higher value on these kinds of characteristics (Herzog 1982, Leuptow 1980, Marini and Brinton 1984, Lindsay and Knox 1984). Other examples of intrinsic value preferences would be preferences for abstract and creative activities, preferences for activities involving business contacts with people, and preferences for activities that are scientific and technical in nature.

Descriptions of extrinsic values, on the other hand, originally focused on more instrumental resources, such as income, job stability, and generalized prestige and were perceived to be stereotypically male occupational values. Actually, few studies found any gender differences in the importance of these characteristics in choosing or evaluating a job (Herzog 1982). The category was expanded to include other characteristics of work such as the opportunity to have responsibility for the direction, control or planning of activities; the opportunity to influence people in their opinions about ideas or things; autonomy in the form of greater freedom from supervision. These

additions started to blur the lines between intrinsic and extrinsic values, eventually becoming a way for researchers to frame occupational orientations and values in the gendered context they began to reflect.

The final grouping of labor orientations accounts for the fact that all work conditions are not pleasant or ideal. These are disamenities that are not necessarily preferred aspects of the job; they are more likely tolerated as a characteristic of one's occupation. Examples of these would be having to perform repetitive work or to continuously perform the same work; having to perform under stress when confronted with emergency, critical or unusual situation; having little control over one's work activities or work speed; or a job's lack of opportunity for advancement.

Gary Becker's New Home Economics

Gary Becker's (1973, 1981) economic approach to household decision-making suggests that households decide how to distribute their members' time and effort between the production of income and the production of services in the home. He posits that people rationally divide these responsibilities based on resources the parties bring to the task that needs to be done. The goal of this apportionment of time and effort is to maximize total household production. Because there is a limited amount of time and energy available to any household to get both productive and maintenance needs taken care of, Becker suggests that he (or she) who is most capable of doing either task is given the responsibility to do it. While Becker's approach precedes much of the current status attainment research, it has some of the same core assumptions. Household resource management is a joint activity with a goal: get the house's needs met with the most output

for the least costs. The two parties here, a husband and a wife, have to look at the split responsibilities, two apparently separate labor spheres, and make a rational decision about economic efficiency. In the traditional arrangement, one must bring home financial resources by doing paid labor and the other must create a nurturing home environment that furthers promotes the wellbeing of the other. Of course this division is usually framed in the light of the paid labor; paid productive labor is seen as the more important of the two. So, the relative resources approach that Becker responds to sees the efficient household as one that allocates more paid labor to the spouse who can draw greater earnings and then the leftover, seemingly useless, unpaid labor to the other spouse. Unlike market labor, household labor was not assigned to the person most capable of doing it; it was assigned to the person least capable of doing anything else.

Becker takes a slightly different view. For him, marital partners are not imbalanced, with husbands having useful skills and wives having none. Instead, he suggests that they are balanced in an exchange of equals, where the parts are differentially skilled in either market or nonmarket labor. Men had a comparative advantage in wage earning either because of their greater holdings, at that time, of labor market-ready resources (e.g., training, education) or because of discrimination in the workforce. Therefore, their energy was best concentrated in market labor. Their wives, on the other hand, had a comparative advantage in domestic labor because of their role as mothers and the socialization that promoted that role. As a result, women were not just doing housework to fill the time. They were the spouse thought best capable of doing housework and therefore concentrated their energy on nonmarket work.

For Becker, couples maximized the efficiency of the total system by assigning tasks to people according to the resources they brought to the system. It is probably fair to say that Becker, like Parsons (1959), took a functional approach here. He justified these gender arrangements—described again and again in surveys as fair by both men and women, but nonetheless described by researchers as inequitable—as a function of family utility. This, in effect, mirrors Parsons' "biology-as-destiny" argument by suggesting that, in families, socialization is destiny. Men's and women's distinctly separate participation levels in market and nonmarket labor is depicted as the optimal arrangement because of their similarly separate holdings of the resources necessary to be successful in those spheres.

I agree with Becker that resources matter and in order for a system to function effectively, the person with more applicable resources is likely to be the one assigned or to assume responsibility for certain tasks. I go beyond Becker, Parsons, and relative resource theorists to suggest two subtle, but important, changes to this approach. First, I am pushing for an evolution for men that is similar to the evolution for women; primary socialization is not the limiting source of mankind's potential and future behavior. Secondly, I suggest that we move beyond exchange-value explanations for why resources are important to use-value explanations.

Like other symbolic interactionists (e.g., Becker 1970; Stryker 1980) and contrary to Parsons (1951) and Gilligan (1982), I do not believe that these resources are innate and that men's instrumentality and women's expressiveness are biologically linked. Neither are we stuck in the path imprinted upon us by 14-16 years of primary socialization.

Stryker (1980), for example, posits that we cannot explain adult behavior by referring primarily to unchanged personality aspects internalized via the primary socialization process. Socialization is a lifelong activity with every new experience providing a new opportunity to change the way new situations are viewed and responded to. Bourdieu's (1990) multidirectional conception of field and habitus points to the possibility that new exposures to particular people, institutions, or opportunities (field) can radically impact both children's and adult's unique perceptions of themselves and how they should respond to new situations (habitus).

There is certainly support for a less deterministic approach to adult behavior throughout the gender literature, but much of it is directed at expanded gender role expectations/opportunities for women particularly as relates to women's entry into the market labor force (England and Farkas 1980; Hayghe and Bianchi 1994; Reskin and Padavic 1994; Risman 1998; Stacey 1990; Hochschild with Machung 1989; Coontz 1997). I argue that just as we have seen, for almost 40 years now, women's capacities to move beyond pink dresses and purses to business suits and briefcases, we should be able to find evidence that men can undo their childhood socialization and participate more readily in nonmarket labor. While there are still many other barriers to a wholesale shift of men out of market labor, there is still room for them—even a need for them—to participate in a more balanced way in filling the aprons and house-shoes left empty by their working wives. There is growing evidence (Pruett 1987; Beer 1983; Lutwin and Siperstein 1985; Coltrane 1996) that some men are doing just that.

In order for this to happen on a larger scale, in the world Becker lays out, men must

begin to invest in nonmarket labor resources even as their wives invest—through education and other means—in market labor resources. As I suggest in my discussion of bachelorhood, some of this investment will take place prior to their marriage where, as independents, some men will learn actual skills that are relevant to getting the task done.

We also must move beyond exchange-value explanations to use-value explanations to understand why certain resources are important. In this part of the project, I explore another kind of resource: task and value orientations. Because personality and attitudes play such a strong role in behavior, it is not simply the relevant skills that are necessary. Men need a relevant approach or orientation to the work that needs to be done in the home. Even Parsons' approach pointed to the importance of personality—which includes not only beliefs, but tolerances and preferences as well—in the allocation of household labor. Just as an instrumental personality or role leads to successful market labor participation and an expressive personality or role leads to successful nonmarket household labor participation, other relevant task/value orientations should be useful in an efficient apportionment of household production activities. So, first, I suggest that we need to revise what kinds of resources we think are necessary to effectively do the work involved in household labor.

There is growing evidence that the two primary resource explanations used to explain inequality in household division of labor—time availability and relative resources—account for the changes in women's household behavior but are not useful explanations of men's increases in household labor participation (Bianchi et al 2000, Shelton and John 1996). These theories suggest that women had more of some resources (e.g., time) and

less of others (e.g., income). As a result, they assumed the bulk of the household labor because they had more time to do it and because they contribute less in the provider role. Therefore changes in women's resources (i.e., education, income) and constraints on her time (i.e., paid labor hours or number of children) are expected to have an effect on the amount of household labor both she and her partner does. These changes do have an effect on her; she does less household labor. But, results of studies of the relationship between women's earnings, women's employment, women's hours of work, and number of children show weak, inconsistent, or nonsignificant relationships between these factors and their husband's housework time (Shelton 1990, Kamo 1991, Brines 1993, Presser 1994, South and Spitze 1994).

The problem with these resources—time, education, income, status—is that their primary value comes as exchange value. What these theorists overlook, but Becker draws us back to, is the importance of resources' use value. It is not just important that the wife does housework in exchange for her husbands' earnings. This is simple exchange and has in many ways been undone in our society by the fact that women are now finding parity with their men. They're no longer needing to barter a clean house for an expense account; they now make as much as or more than their spouses. And yet, they still do 3 times as much housework as their husbands. Brines certainly shows us in here 1994 research that an imbalance in financial resources, to the wife's advantage, does not automatically (in a structural tipping fashion) cause husbands to do housework. I propose looking beyond these exchange resources to the kind of resources that have some direct application to the work at hand. These resources are not simply skills, like ability

to wash dishes quickly, but they also take the form of orientations to, preferences for, and tolerances of particular aspects of household labor. These dispositions, like skills, can be learned throughout the life course and, like skills, can be invested in and learned “on the job.” I suggest that the investment in these orientations does not have to take time away from the market labor in the same way a cooking class might, but in fact, these orientations are invested in vis a vis men’s participation in market labor that has similar orientations. Paul Breer and Edwin Locke (1965) and Melvin Kohn (1969, 1983) give us theoretical tools by which to explore this form of domestic capital accumulation.

Breer and Locke’s Generalized Attitudes and Dispositions

In their classic book, *Task Experience as a Source of Attitudes*, Paul Breer and Edwin Locke (1965) were among the first social psychologists to suggest that there is a relationship between the work we do and attitudes we have. They looked at a host of attitudes, ranging from individualism to religious attitudes, and suggested that we don’t create these attitudes out of whole cloth. We’re either socialized with them (i.e., get them growing up) or, they suggest, we pick them up by doing activities that relate to those attitudes. Those beliefs, preferences, and tolerances developed in one task situation generalize to other similar situations. How these initial tasks are differently given to us is not important necessarily. Breer and Locke deem whether we find ourselves working in certain environments because of ecological, cultural, or historical reasons as somewhat irrelevant. This kind of puzzle only explains the different nuances our attitudes might have and is entirely too difficult a question to get our hands around. So, these researchers take the fact of people work on specific tasks as a theoretical given. They then aimed to

determine what effect those task experiences might have on individuals, leaving open the door (which Kohn and Schooler later walked through) to the idea that there may be a reciprocal relationship between self-selectivity and task/attitude generalization.

They describe this effect as a cycle of response variables—behavior, cognition, cathexis, and legitimation. In any task situation, these four variables are important to the creation of a behavioral or attitudinal norm for people. First, behavior. We find ourselves participating in some socially structured task (work is one of these, obviously) which comes with its own structure of rewards and penalties. That structure precedes our involvement in the task and certain approaches to the task lead to further rewards or penalties. So, it is not simply the overall task that is important and carries some kind of instrumental value. At some level, the way we handle the task can yield rewards or punishments that arise separate from whether or not the task is completed at all.

For example, if the task is to carry pebbles across a playground, there may be a tangible reward given for completion of that task. But there are any number of ways to get those pebbles from one place to another. One person may throw the pebbles across the expanse. Another person might carry the pebbles one at a time and then carefully place them in a pattern on the other side. Yet another person might put the pebbles in a pail and carry them over. Some of those ways are more pleasurable, more expedient, or less taxing than others. But no matter how different the approaches to getting the pebbles moved may be, without any prior knowledge of these rewards, the particular approach (a task) must be accomplished. That, for Breer and Locke, is a behavior; the first stage in their theory of values orientation education.

Their second response variable, cognition, follows the behavior. There is an interaction between the values/needs she brings to the task environment and the behavior itself. The actor constructs a crude hypothesis to determine which behaviors would be most appropriate for getting her needs met. If she values her time, she'll do one behavior. If she values rest, she'll do another. Sometimes the decision isn't necessarily hers to make. If she is a bus driver and her goal is to get her passengers from one place to another, she could (in a world of total freedom) choose to take any path to her destination. But, of course, there are real constraints. Time is a constraint. Rules of the road are a constraint. Ignoring these constraints may enable her to get the job done the way she wants to (i.e., in accordance with her initial values), but if she's either late or given a ticket, she risks losing something she values more than her individuality: the job. So, the creative bus driver who chooses to take a different path from point A to point B every day instead of the routine and repetitive path assigned to her by the people who would reward her with bonuses for on-time arrivals risks rewards. Breer and Locke suggest that she responds cognitively to this risk and chooses the more fiscally rewarding routine/repetitive behavior over the less rewarding diverse/creative one.

Breer and Locke's third response variable, cathexis, follows this decision. They argue that individuals begin to develop positive attachments to behaviors they've been rewarded for and reject those they've been punished for. This is not the same thing as developing the cognitive decision to do the behavior. This next step involves affect in the same way researchers studying childhood gender socialization speak of children attributing positive value to their gender behaviors because they receive positive feedback for those

behaviors. It's a shift from simply valuing the reward to valuing the behavior that earns the reward.

"The patterns of behavior most likely to be gratifying are those which contribute most effectively to getting the task accomplished, i.e., those which are instrumental in achieving desired outcomes. Because they are gratifying or rewarding, they will be cathected, liked, and preferred to those behaviors leading to unfavorable outcomes." (p. 12).

This behavior becomes legitimated. Actors begin to not only value the behavioral approach, but they begin to define it as the most appropriate way to do labor. It becomes a norm for behavior. They recognize cognitively the instrumental value of that kind of behavior and they develop a cathetic interest in the behavior itself. This legitimation doesn't happen in a vacuum. It is a social process as others either encourage the behavior through rewards or sanctions. This legitimation process leads to a stabilizing of the behavior and the orientations, values, preferences, and tolerances related to the behavior. Turning back to the example of the creative bus driver, following a routine path from point A to point B becomes the normal way to approach her job. It is no longer just the way to escape arguments with customers and her employer. She begins to appreciate the routineness in her job and establishes a norm in which routine and repetitive labor loses its negative edge, becoming a legitimate and expected way to approach labor.

They finally propose that this specific task orientation generalizes to other tasks, and "through the process of induction, to the level of cultural beliefs, preferences, and values." (p15). They speak of two kinds of generalization: lateral and vertical. Lateral

generalization is the most relevant to my project. They describe lateral generalization as "the spilling over of orientations generated in one task situation to other situations involving tasks with more or less similar attributes." The orientations generalize from a specific task to other specific, but similar, tasks. This is different from vertical generalization in which the orientations generalize from specific tasks to an abstract kind of worldview. While there may be some of that in the case I offer in this paper, I will not be arguing for this level of generalization. I focus on similarities between workplace tasks and household tasks, suggesting that beliefs, preferences, and tolerances—orientations toward labor—that are perceived as instrumental to task success, that are cathected as intrinsically enjoyable, and that are legitimated as normatively desirable will generalize from the workplace to the household. This generalized labor orientation will then promote greater involvement from husbands or, in its absence, less involvement from wives in household labor.

Melvin Kohn's Theory of Occupational Conditioning

While Breer and Locke hint at the relationship between work and other institutions, they do not specifically test their theory on people's jobs. Instead, their research took the form of experiments where they tested behavior, cognition, cathexis, and legitimation by giving people a series of tasks to accomplish and then questionnaires recording any changes in their attitudes, beliefs, and preferences. Melvin Kohn (1969) extended their work by further testing the link between structural variables—in his case, occupations—and values and orientation formation. He suggests that occupational conditions affect the worldview and personalities of workers. His mechanism is similar to Breer and Locke's

in that it is an inductive process of generalization. For Kohn, relational traits cultivated at the workplace generalized most directly to other relational circumstances; specifically intergenerational relationships in the home. Aspects of men's jobs affected men so deeply that their interactions with and socialization of their children reflected those aspects. Most of Kohn's early work and his later work with Carmi Schooler (1973, 1982, 1989) focused on occupational self-direction as a leading cause of middle- and working-class differences in values. Middle-class jobs allow self-direction, promoting this kind of labor orientation by rewarding it. Conversely, working class jobs discourage self-direction, requiring instead that workers follow directions given by a supervisor or some other authority figure. Working class employees were rewarded for their compliance and sanctioned for independent judgment or initiative. Through this seemingly Banduran methodology, working class employees gain a new disposition: they learn to be compliant and learn not to think independently or initiate action.

Occupational self-direction was measured in three ways. He used an index based on questions about how much freedom their supervisors allowed and how that control was exercised; this index measured "closeness of supervision". He also used indices to determine how much time men spent working with things, with data or ideas, and with people. He assumed that, in most cases, work with things (e.g., machines, construction materials) required much less independent thought and initiative than work with people or work with ideas. Therefore, if men spent most of their time reading and writing or dealing with people, their jobs scored as being more self-directed than if they worked with their hands or tools. Finally, he measured occupational self-direction by

determining how complex the respondent's jobs were. The more complex and varied the day-to-day happenings of the job, the more self-directed a worker would have to be to manage such complexity.

Of course, he was not just interested in how self-directed men's jobs were. His dependent variable was a psychological one: psychological functioning. He focused on the relationship between what class or position in a social stratification ladder a worker had and that worker's personality. The relationship was linked by the amount of control the worker could exert on their own life. This level of control was a function of class and stratification, and it had a direct effect on a worker's intellectual flexibility, value system, and orientation to society.

Kohn's definition of personality is based on James House' idea that personality is a function of "stable and enduring individual psychological attributes (values, attitudes, motives, needs, beliefs, and so forth)" (1969:3). Therefore, he was less interested in working out a theory of personality, and wanted to find some measurement of dimensions of personality; his goal being to determine the relationship between personality (in general) and the social structures of class and stratification. His measures of personality took three forms: parental valuation of self-direction, intellectual flexibility, and orientation of self and society. He measured the parents' (fathers') values about self-direction by looking at what attributes they valued in their children. Applying each of these measures to the different classes, Kohn arrived at the following conclusions: the higher the workers' positions in the social-stratification hierarchy, the more intellectually flexible they were, the higher they valued self-direction and the greater self-directed

orientation the men enjoyed. He determined that the kind of work men did more than just teach them generalizable job-related skills, it taught them generalizable job-related dispositions.

In his work and in his work with others (Kohn and Schooler 1983), Kohn determined through analysis of reciprocal relationships that the facets of psychological functioning also have an effect on the workers' class and social stratification position. The findings convincingly showed that the effect was much larger from the social structures to the psychological functions than vice versa. He explains that the greatest challenge would come not from bi-directional influence, but if that influence was unidirectional from the psychological to the social structures. So, while there is a relationship here, the relationship between conditions of work and personality is not solely (or ever primarily) the result of the selective entry of actors into jobs that match their already formed beliefs, preferences, and tolerances. The causal order is reciprocal, with the conditions and requirements of jobs both influencing and being influenced by one's personality.

A number of other studies support Kohn's theory, providing evidence that there is a relationship between occupational orientations and values used in socializing children (Gecas and Nye 1974; Wright and Wright 1976; Schooler et al 1985). Pearlin's (1971) study answers the potential criticism that fathers never make it to Breer and Locke's cathexis and that parents are simply preparing their children for jobs that require a cognitive understanding of the rewards/sanctions that come from certain levels of performance. Girls in Italy, where Pearlin did his study, were not expected or encouraged to work outside the home, yet these values were still extended to them.

Karen Seccombe (1986) attempted to expand Kohn's thesis beyond the intergenerational approach that Kohn and others were taking to determine if an argument could be made that these conditions were relevant to intragenerational family behaviors as well. She summarizes Kohn this way:

"The family is a microcosm of the social structure of the larger society. One's experience with the role system outside the family may influence the organization of roles inside the family. 'Value orientation' theory is drawn from Kohn's contention that occupational conditions of men shape the roles held by the worker and his spouse. These values then result in specific behaviors toward the family." (p842)

Using Kohn's same measures of occupational self-directedness, she generated hypotheses suggesting that occupational self-directedness was positively related to nontraditional gender roles and that this relationship had a positive affect on the division of household labor. While she did find that nontraditional gender roles were strong predictors of husbands' household labor participation, she did not find any effect of the three measures of occupational self-direction on these gender roles.

I argue that Seccombe was heading in the right direction and was correct in assuming there might be some validity to the idea that conditions might be relevant to both inter- and intra- generational family behaviors. She also assumed that occupational self-direction is/was the only kind of occupational orientation that might yield positive effects on these family behaviors, thereby limiting her tests of Kohn's basic logic and central principle. As a result the possibilities she offers for why self-direction might affect

gender roles and, by extension, household division of labor are suspect and were proven so by her analysis. There seems to be some degree of stretching in Seccombe's argument for why the occupational conditions she uses—closeness of supervision, the principle component of work, and the degree of task complexity—may be relevant to understanding the household division of labor. This is especially surprising given the fact that the last forty years of sociological research on housework leaves us with very clear characteristics of housework, none of which seems to point to a particular need for self-direction. In fact, often the literature on housework seems to contradict any suggestion that household labor is complex or deals primarily with data rather than people.

Characteristics of Female Typical Household Labor

Following Breer and Locke's assertion that work orientations are most likely to be generalized to new situations when the new situation is similar to the old, I suggest that the first place to start searching for a relationship between market labor and nonmarket labor is in those characteristics that the two may have in common. Household labor is described consistently in three ways in the literature on household work: as work typically done by women, as work done for the presumed good of others, and as work that is routine and repetitive. I will explain how the literature does this and then explore how these three labor characteristics can be expressed as work orientations. The first characteristic of household labor, particularly the tasks most often analyzed in this literature—meal preparation, grocery shopping, laundry, and housecleaning—is that it is considered "women's work". This is the most prevalent of the three characteristics. It is so dominant and taken-for-granted a characteristic that many researchers just refer to

these chores as "feminine tasks", "feminine", "female-stereotyped", "female-dominated", "female", and "traditionally female" (Blair and Lichter 1991, Orbuch and Eyster 1997, Presser 1994, Sanchez and Kane 1996). Three examples from the literature point to the female gender-typed nature of household labor. Sex composition is important as a labor characteristic because sex segregation in an occupational context tends to lead to a stigma for work done by and the workers who do female-typical labor. Coltrane (2000) suggests that this is the case for household labor as well when he states that "family work—and especially housework—tends to be trivialized in the popular imagination, in part because it is considered 'women's work'" (p.1209). This particular kind of labor segregation is also resistant to larger cultural changes. In her 1994 research, Brines wonders why "housework remains primarily 'women's work' despite substantial change in women's employment patterns and in attitudes once thought to undergird the sexual division of labor."(p.652). Of course it is not all housework that remains primarily women's work. Less frequent tasks such as auto or household repairs are usually viewed as masculine housework, but the more frequent core/primary tasks are done by women (Blair and Lichter 1991). Schooler et al (1984) says as much when they report the following:

"Our data indicate that there is a very high level of agreement between the sexes about which spouse has primary responsibility for what task. Both sexes agree that women are primarily responsible for grocery shopping, cooking, and cleaning house." (p. 112)

So, a primary characteristic of what I refer to as core household tasks is that it is mainly done by women. We expect that it is done by women, they do it in spite of workforce

participation, and it—like women's labor market contributions—is stigmatized. This stigma rests not only on the work done, but on workers who do it. Therefore if a man was to do this particular kind of labor, he might have to be able to manage that stigma in the same way Christine Williams (1995) suggests that male nurses, elementary school teachers, and librarians do. They may have to either develop a tolerance level for any resultant stigma of doing stereotypically women's labor or be able to re-frame the work they do so that this stigma is reduced.

A second characteristic of housework, particularly the core tasks, is that all of the activities are done for the presumed good of others. While other household tasks, such as auto repair, can easily become a hobby or leisure activity, the daily activities that make up the core tasks are done primarily to benefit (in married households) other people. Of course, the person doing the tasks benefits (i.e., they eat what they cook and wear some of the clothes they launder), but if they are the only or primary person doing those tasks they also do them to benefit other members of the household. While housework is often maligned as drudgery and as something to be escaped, it is important to recognize that a motivation for doing it may lie in the service it provides.

“Most women experience family tasks as mindless but essential work done for people they love; most women usually enjoy ministering to the needs of their loved ones and keeping the family going even if they do not find the activities themselves enjoyable or fulfilling.” (Thompson and Walker 1989:855)

Clearly, the tasks may be onerous, but some kind of appreciation for the benefit others will receive from her handling these tasks may be compensatory. Bellah et al (1985)

takes this idea even further, suggesting that there is something more noble and pure, relative to market labor, about labor done in the home.

“While men’s work was turning into a career or a job, women’s work had the old meaning of a calling, an occupation defined essentially in terms of its contribution to the common good. Contrasting it to the self-aggrandizing individualism of the men, they linked this female familial morality to Christianity and republican virtue.” (Bellah et al 1985:88)

They later encourage men to share the "obligations traditionally associated with 'women's sphere" and see these obligations to family as human obligations rather than as simply women's obligations (Bellah et al 1985:111). Coltrane suggests that when men do participate in housework, they receive their own benefits if they frame housework as service. He gives an example of a father who "would sometimes derive pleasure from cleaning the bathroom or picking up a sock if he looked at it as an act of caring for his family.” (Coltrane 1989:483).

A final characteristic of these core household tasks is usually presented as a criticism of this kind of labor. It isn't just onerous and time consuming, but it is also routinized and repetitive. Berheide (1984) describes it exactly that way: “Household labor is largely unrewarded, isolated, routine, and repetitive.” (p 51). There is little room for creativity in this work and it is done at some level on a daily basis. This characteristic does have some similarity to Kohn's "degree of complexity" measure. It differs from "complexity" because, for Kohn, labor is less complex because the tasks are segregated (i.e., you only put the flour in the bowl while someone else mixes it). Household tasks

are rarely segregated to this degree and may be quite complex at that level, but there is little diversity in the day-to-day doing of these tasks. Shirts can really only be ironed one or two ways (routine) and everyday brings another round of shirts that need to be ironed (repetitive). Therefore, I am interested in the fact that most of the tasks involved in the day-to-day management of the home are regimented, organized, and routine. Like sex composition, the routine nature of housework is repeated throughout the literature on household labor allocation, usually to explain why men don't do it.

“The family work most women do is unrelenting, repetitive, and routine. The family work most men do is infrequent, irregular, and non-routine.” (Thompson and Walker, 1989:855)

Coltrane (1995) goes even further, explaining that not only is women's routine family work dissimilar from the kind of family work their husbands do, but it is foreign to their husbands' experience with labor of all kinds: “Men avoid [housework] because they are not accustomed to doing monotonous, repetitive work which never issues in any lasting, let alone important, achievement.” (Coltrane:61)

Market Labor Characteristics, Work Orientations, and Tolerances

Again, in order for the generalization of work orientations to take place, the two situations across which this generalization happens must be similar. Now that I have explored how non-market household labor is described, I wish to explore how these characteristics might be represented in market labor. All jobs have various characteristics and requirements. As I have discussed, Kohn and Schooler (1983), Seccombe (1986),

and Schooler et al (1985) looked at three: levels of supervision, degrees of task complexity, and the principle components (i.e., data, things, and people) of the work. Other studies have explored more abstract characteristics such as job prestige. Like non-market labor, market labor can also be characterized as having a concentration of female workers, requiring an orientation towards doing work for the presumed good of others, and being routine and repetitive in its daily activities. Some jobs may rate very high or low on these characteristics, while many hover somewhere in between.

Table 4.1 shows the rankings of fifty sample occupations using 1977 DOT data. The Dictionary of Occupational Titles, a resource used primarily by job seekers and human resource managers, offers one of the best references for the skills, training, and values demands of occupations available today. The occupations are ranked by the level at which workers are required to have a tolerance for routine and repetitive work. As much as service orientation might be a job amenity, routineness may be seen as a disamenity. This tolerance for labor that is concrete and routine is important given the consistent description of household labor as having this characteristic. Jobs which rank very low on this characteristic are not only complex but offer more diverse activities with daily challenges. Some jobs are especially non-routine even though they are held by women, another reminder that these latter two characteristics are not simply proxies for female-typical labor. Non-routine, but female-typical, occupations include childcare worker (.00%), teachers (.03%), secretaries (1%), and social workers (1%). Other non-routine occupations are doctors of various kinds (.02%), architects (.03%), computer programmers (1%), carpenters (3%), actors (4%), and railroad conductors (13%). The

most routine and repetitive jobs include some of those jobs that are similar to household labor activities: dry cleaning machine operators (78%), laundries/ironers (80%), and food preparation workers (81%). Other routine and repetitive jobs are long-haul truck drivers (81%), phone operators (88%), meter readers (96%), and one of the most routine/repetitive jobs (and one held primarily by men), garbage collectors (97%).

Just as jobs can be ranked according to their routiness, they can also be evaluated on the work orientations required to be successful in the position. Table 4.2 shows the service orientation rankings of the same fifty jobs, again using DOT data. These rankings, unlike sex composition, are quite polarized. Jobs either rate very high (>80% or very low (<20% in the percentage of workers in this occupation whose jobs require them to have a service orientation), with very few jobs scoring anywhere near a middle range. Most occupations do not require their workers to value doing work for the presumed good of others or to have a service orientation. Even when some of these jobs require face-to-face service, they are not necessarily done with the intent to make a positive contribution to society. For example, tailors (.01%), bank tellers (.02%), and bartenders (.02%) give face-to-face service to clients, but their work does not have the larger goal of positively impacting the life of said clients. Other occupations that score very low on service orientation are mail carriers (0%), auto mechanics (0%), pilots (.06%), and even secretaries (.26%). It is important to note, lest critics believe that all female-typical jobs are service-oriented ones, that a number of jobs mentioned as female-typical score rather low in ratings of their service orientation. Beyond secretaries, this includes occupations such as models (.00%), bank tellers (.02%), and phone operators

(.63%). Some of the jobs with the lowest female sex composition, for example, clergy (.25% female) and dentists (2% female), rank very highly in their requirements for a service orientation. Dentists score 93% on this scale and clergy are ranked higher than practically any other occupation at 99%. Other jobs which most require their workers to have a service orientation (i.e., to value working for the presumed good of others) are social workers (89%), high school teachers (94%), physicians (96%), and nurses (98%).

Table 4.3 presents an analysis of the sex composition rankings of fifty sample occupations using 1977 DOT data. Some of these rankings are intuitive given our native knowledge and expectations of gender segregation in occupations. Some occupations score very low, which suggests that most positions in these occupations are held by men. Examples would be bellhops, electricians, and civil engineers. Rankings are presented as percentages so less than one percent of all bellhops are female. Approximately 2% of all civil engineers and dentists are female. The remaining 98% are men. There is a considerable amount of variance in status and prestige among these jobs that are characteristically male jobs, with as few women holding jobs as garbage collectors as there were holding jobs as lawyers in the late 1970's. Even jobs that appear to be market-labor versions of non-market labor positions have more men than women in them. For example, 27% of bakers and 41% of tailors are male even though most household cooking and clothing repairs are done by women. One of the jobs where men and women find parity is in high school teaching, but even that field is segregated by topic, with 55-60% of English teachers being female but only 6-12% of math and science teachers being female. Other mid-range occupations where women have a slight edge in numbers are

social workers (61%), physical therapists (64%) and museum docents (67%). All of these jobs still maintain some sense of prestige and in attempts to increase their professionalism—often as a response to stigma created by an influx of women into these fields—now require licensing or other training credentials. Jobs which rate very high in their female composition include classified ad clerk (79%), bank teller (84%), and registered nurse (97%). Even more of these jobs have household equivalents. For example, food preparation workers (71%), launder/ironers (96%), and childcare workers (96%). Other than a college home economics professor, there are no other jobs rated by the DOT/Census that have a higher proportion of women than secretary (98%). It is interesting to note that there are still male secretaries (2%), but there are a number of jobs held almost exclusively by men. These include occupations not listed in this table, such as roofers, ship captains, and oil well drillers.

Hypotheses

This project tests two hypotheses. First, there should be a significant and positive relationship between men's absolute holdings of these three job characteristics and the amount of housework they do. The more women in a man's occupation, the more service oriented his occupation, and the more routine and repetitive his occupation, the more housework he should do. This first hypothesis tests whether there is some absolute generalizability of market labor-dispositions to non-market labor-dispositions. I expect to find a small, but significant, increase in the husband's share of the housework as a result of his increased hourly output of female-typical household labor.

Second, there should be a significant and positive relationship between men's

holdings of these three job characteristics relative to their wives and the amount of housework they do. For example, the more routine and repetitive his job is relative to hers, the more housework he should do. This hypothesis tests whether Becker is right and couples chose the partner with the greater resources—in this case, attitudinal resources—to do the greater amount of housework. I, therefore, expect to find a substantial increase in the husband's share of the housework as a result of his increased hourly output of female-typical household labor and her decreased output. The gender gap in the amount of housework should widen as well.

Though this current study cannot determine how much these job characteristics have been internalized as actual orientations to labor, it can determine whether there is a relationship between the proximate working conditions of various occupations and similar working conditions in another arena: the home. In short, the study will help support, while not showing definitively, Kohn's conclusion that working conditions are significant in transmitting larger structural forces to the individual.

Descriptive Statistics: Occupational Characteristics

The average ratings for all 500 possible coded jobs are 28.47 percent female in composition, 13.10 percent service-oriented, and 22.57 percent routine and repetitive. While the DOT/Census data captures most of the broader occupational categories, it is unlikely that every respondent in the NSFH data (male and female alike) will have one of those 500 occupations. There are some occupations which make up these averages that are rare in the overall labor market and, therefore, are barely represented in the NSFH sample. What's more, many of these jobs have very few women in them. Examples

would be various kinds of engineer (e.g., mining, nuclear, chemical), various kinds of postsecondary teachers (e.g., physics, chemistry, economics), non-clerical administrative support positions (e.g., computer equipment operators), and some service occupations (e.g., ushers, elevator operators). This likely causes the average female composition numbers to be skewed in favor of jobs with high numbers of men in them. In Table 4.4, I report the ratings for those jobs held by respondents in my subsample. Husbands work in occupations where, on average, 20.58 percent of the workers are female, 7.93 percent of workers are required to have a service orientation, and 20.36 percent of workers do routine/repetitive work. So, already it is clear that men whose jobs score high on any or all of these characteristics would be unusual. The jobs husbands hold, not surprisingly, can be categorized as male occupations; almost 80 percent of the workers in these jobs are male. This is half the rate for the average position. Less striking, but nonetheless noteworthy, is the rating for service orientation. Husbands are less likely to be in service oriented jobs than the average worker. The only rating that is on par with the average worker's rating is the rating of routineness and repetitiveness; their jobs are only slightly less routine.

Job ratings for respondents' spouses are 61.21 percent female in their sex composition, 19.79 percent service-oriented, and 19.03 percent routine and repetitive. The difference between husbands and wives in their holdings of female-typical positions is striking. Clearly there is job segregation. Wives' jobs are three times more female in their sex composition than their husbands' jobs. Unlike their husbands, the service-orientation of these jobs is more on par with the average worker's job, but is still higher.

Wives' jobs are more service-oriented than either their husbands or the average worker's job. Finally, wives' jobs are less routine and repetitive than either their husbands' jobs or the average worker's job. While a case might be made that the first two measures—sex composition of job and service orientation—might simply proxy for female typical labor, this finding suggests that the same could not be said of routine/repetitive labor.

Repetitiveness is more a hallmark of men's jobs than women's jobs.

Regression Analysis (Individual Household Tasks)

Tables 4.5 through 4.7 show regression results of time respondents and their spouses spent in particular housework activities using both relative job characteristics and select control variables. Husbands whose jobs have a greater proportion of female workers in them than their wives' jobs do a greater proportion of house cleaning (0.060) and laundry (0.041). Husbands whose jobs have a higher service orientation than their wives' jobs are significantly more likely, on both an absolute and relative basis, to prepare meals (0.044 and 0.049) and do laundry (0.043 and 0.072). These husbands share a lesser responsibility in the work involved in paying bills and keeping financial records (-0.044). Husbands whose jobs are more routine and repetitive than their wives' jobs spend more time than other men cleaning their homes (0.045).

Most control variables which are significant determinants of men's share of household tasks have negative associations with these tasks. For example, husbands do less of the meal preparation if they are more educated than their wives, if they work a lot of hours, if their spouses are home at night, and if they or their spouses have very traditional gender role ideologies. Their share of the cooking duties is also reduced if

they work full-time, live in a home rather than some other kind of dwelling, have been married for a long time, and married young. Conversely, the husband's share in meal preparation is only significantly greater when his spouse works many hours and when he is well-educated. The more hours she is away from the home working and the more years of education he has, the greater is his share of the cooking.

Similar patterns exist for other core household tasks, but with some changes. Relative years of education that favor the husband are associated with his doing a smaller share of the post-meal cleanup and the laundry. This variable is not significantly related to his share of the cleaning or shopping. Other relative resources have very inconsistent or non-existent relationships with core household tasks. The larger his contribution to household income (relative to his wife), the smaller is his share of the responsibilities related to laundry. The older he is than his wife, the smaller the husband's contribution to getting the shopping accomplished. These two resources, measured as relative differences, have no effect on the husband's share of the remaining core tasks. Relative job status has no effect on any of the household work variables.

The opposite effects of husbands' and wives' hours spent working, a time availability factor, affects the husbands' share of all core duties except laundry. The more he works, the fewer of these duties fall to him to be done. The more she works, the higher his share of these duties. The husband's share of shopping responsibilities, the only one of the core duties not done in the house and that isn't necessarily essential to the day-to-day workings of the household, is not affected by the wife's being at home in the evenings and on weekends; his share in the other four core tasks is negatively correlated with his

wife's daytime work schedule. The other primary measures of time availability, numbers and composition of children, are not significant indicators of his share of any of the core household tasks.

Wives' gender ideology has no impact on their husbands' shares of three other core tasks, namely, washing dishes, cleaning the house, and shopping. He does a smaller proportion of the total hours spent doing laundry the less egalitarian his wife's attitudes toward housework are. It matters, though, how he sees men's roles in the home and the workforce. The more traditional his attitudes towards gender roles, the smaller is his share of, not only cooking, but all of the core household tasks. Thus, gender ideology appears to be an important factor in men's share of household tasks traditionally done by females. It is the only variable that has this consistent association.

Of the remaining control variables, the only two with fairly consistent effects across the core tasks are homeownership and years of education, with homeownership having a negative impact on men's shares of four of the household tasks and years of education having a positive impact on their shares of four of the tasks. Homeownership only affects those tasks not related to the primary reason homeownership is included in these models. A person's meal preparation (i.e., shopping, cooking, and post-meal cleanup) and laundry responsibilities should not be affected by the size of a dwelling like cleaning would be. It is therefore surprising that homeownership has no effect on men's share of cleaning, but a negative one on the remaining four core tasks. That years education is positively and significantly associated with his share of core tasks, net of the negative effects of relative educational attainment, is also surprising. Contrary to Kamo (1994) who found that

relative educational attainment was positively associated with men's household labor allocation and argued that this supported the gender ideology (rather than the relative resources) perspective, my findings offer no such support. While education may have a liberalizing effect on men, when these effects and gender ideology are directly controlled for, the relative resources approach is supported.

Of the core household tasks, cooking seems to be the one that is most responsive to structural influences while cleaning is least responsive to these phenomena.

Regression Analysis (Totals and Shares)

Independent Variable: Job Characteristics

Table 4.8 shows the zero-order correlations for the husband's three relative job characteristics and four dependent variables: the number of hours husbands spent on five traditionally female (core) household tasks; the number of hours their wives spent on those tasks; the husband's share of total hours spent on female tasks; and the gap between the hours the husband spent and the hours his wife spent on female tasks. These correlations offer mixed support for my hypotheses; there are some effects of job characteristics on household division of labor.

The regression model controlling for the independent effects of the predictor variables confirms these findings. To test potential relationships between the respondents' absolute portative capital characteristics and household division of labor, I estimated goodness-of-fit statistics by estimating the full additive models (shown in Table 4.9) and testing changes in goodness of fit by removing factors separately. When

the extraneous effects of control variables in these equations are partialled out, none of the three primary job characteristics—when measured as the respondent's absolute holdings—explain significant incremental variance in his wife's amount of housework, in his share of the housework, or in the gap between the hours of housework he and his wife contribute. But, one of the three occupational characteristics, routine work, does provide a strong improvement to the fit of a housework model that would exclude it. The more routine and repetitive his job, the more total hours of core household labor he does. While this is weak support for my hypothesis, the general idea is still supported: being in a repetitive job is associated with increases in men's household labor. It isn't enough of an increase to affect his overall contribution to the housework or to decrease his wife's housework burden much.

My goodness-of-fit estimates for the tests of relationships between the respondents' relative portative capital characteristics and household division of labor are much more encouraging. They are shown in Table 4.10. The three job characteristics provide strong improvements to the fit of all four models, but in very different ways.

In this case, if the respondent's occupation requires more of a tolerance for routine and repetitive work than his spouse's does, he does significantly more hours of housework ($B=.056$). While significant, this increase is not dramatic enough to significantly affect either his share of the total housework or the housework gender gap.

Conversely, the other two occupational characteristics I focus on—female-typical occupation and service oriented occupation—not only explain a change in one of the partner's housework amounts, but it is a change so dramatic as to affect both the

husband's share of the total work done and the gender gap. What's surprising is that the change takes place in his wife's contributions to the housework. If the respondent's occupation is more female-typical than his wife's is, his wife does significantly less housework (-0.058). His wife's lessened contribution to the housework significantly increases his share (0.064) of the housework while decreasing the gap between his amounts and hers (-0.059). The same effect is evident for service orientation. If his job requires more of a preference for doing work that benefits people/society than his wife's job, she does significantly less housework (-.070). This also has a positive effect on his share of the housework; it increases (0.068). The housework gender gap is also affected; it decreases (-0.082) at a greater magnitude than with a female-typical occupation. A similar effect is found in one of the job controls: amounts of physical requirements. If his job has fewer physical requirements than his wife's job, she does less housework (-0.086).

These findings promote a different reading of the relative job characteristics variable. If a husband's household labor behavior isn't affected by these job characteristics and his wife's is, it is likely that having a less housework-compatible job causes women to reduce their contributions to housework. Therefore, if her market labor environment has a higher male sex-composition than his, or a lessened need for a service orientation than his, or higher physical demands than his, she devalues these characteristics in the labor she participates in and does less of the similarly characterized non-market labor.

Controls

Table 4.9 also shows the impact of the most commonly used theoretical and/or more

prosaic variables on household labor. There is weak support for the relative resources approach in this model. Relative resource levels—when measured as income contribution, age stratification, and differences in job prestige—are not significant determinants of either the number of hours spent by husbands or wives on core household tasks or on husbands' share of these responsibilities.

There is more support for a relative resources approach when applied to education. Relative education has a significant effect on both men and their wives. The more years of education the husband has relative to his wife, the fewer the hours of housework he does and the more she does. As a result, every year of education between them increases the gender gap in his favor. He also does a smaller share of the total core housework activities. In sum, only the education variables provide support for the relative resources hypothesis.

There is much stronger support for the time availability perspective. Increases in the couple's average weekly hours of labor-market work has a marked impact on his participation in household labor, but none on his wife's. The number of hours husbands spend on housework decreases significantly with long days at work, but increases significantly with his wife's average weekly hours of work. As a result, he does a smaller share of the housework when he works long hours, but a greater share of the housework when his wife works long hours. The gap grows or shrinks accordingly, and since his is the only behavior being affected, it is clear that the gender gap is a result of his movement and not his wife's.

Husbands also do less housework if their wives don't work at night or on weekends

Their wives also do less housework if they don't work during these times. In spite of the fact that this variable has a negative impact on both spouses' household labor participation, it still has the net effect of reducing the husband's share of the housework responsibilities. He has a smaller share of it when his wife doesn't work at night or on weekends. The gender gap is unaffected.

My findings confirm those of earlier researchers who determined that children do have an effect on men's household labor participation. Specifically, I find that husbands with many children and those with a higher percentage of preschool-age children do more housework; so do their wives. The effect of number of children is stronger for their wives and, as a result, the gender gap in housework activity increases with each child and the wife seems to be doing more. Small children have no significant effect on either the husband's share of the housework or the gap between his hourly contribution and his wife's.

Husbands' and wives' gender ideology scores are significantly related to their own household labor participation, but have no effects on that of their partners. The more traditional the husbands' ideologies related to gender, the less housework he does. This not only decreases his share of the total housework done, it also increases the gender gap; a shift which, again, occurs because of his movement away from housework rather than his wife's increased attention to it. His attitudes have no effect on the amount of housework his wife does.

Similarly, his wife's attitudes have no effect on the amount of housework he does. Her share in the housework is not affected by her traditional attitudes, but her total hours

are increased if she holds less egalitarian gender role attitudes. This increases the gender gap in her husband's favor, but at a level smaller than the one the effects of his traditional attitudes might have.

Of the remaining non-job related controls, only seven have significant associations with husbands' household labor allocation: race, father's education, employed mother, respondent's current fulltime employment, respondent's years of education, the number of years the couple has been married, and homeownership. Two of these—their fulltime employment status and years of education—also have an effect on their wives' number of hours spent on housework.

Nonwhite men do more total hours of housework than white men, but there is no significant effect of race on their share of the total housework. The more educated the husband's father is, the greater the husband's share of the total female-typical housework. Additionally, those men whose mothers worked when he was a child do a greater share of the total housework in his current home than men whose mothers were unemployed.

If the respondent is currently employed full-time, both he and his spouse do less housework each week. His hours are affected only slightly less than hers, and there is no effect of his full-time employment on his total share of household labor. There's no increase in the household division of labor gender gap in those homes as a result of his full-time employment.

Contrary to expectations, men who live in homes (rather than apartments or some other dwelling) do less housework than men who don't. Because their wives' household labor is not affected by homeownership, men share less of the total housework done in

these homes; the gap increases.

Net of the effects of relative educational holdings mentioned earlier, husbands' educational attainment has a significant effect on them, increasing their total number of hours spent in housework activity; it has the opposite effect on his spouse. Husbands with more education do a significantly larger share of female household tasks, and this is a result of both a reduction in the number of hours wives spend on housework and an increase in husband's hours.

These husbands' levels of religiosity, incomes (net of their relative contribution to the home's income), ages, current school enrollment status, and health conditions are not a factor in determining either their absolute or relative contributions to housework.

Those men who have been married for long periods of time contribute less to the overall household burden than men who have been married for shorter time periods. There are no other significant effects of the respondent's relationships on household labor allocation. How long the couple has been married and the respondent's previous marital status are both insignificant in these models.

Discussion

This study was intended to specify the absolute and relative effects of job characteristics on the degree to which husbands assume traditionally female housekeeping tasks. I argued that a married man's holdings of three particular job characteristics—high percent female composition, service orientation, and routine repetitiveness—would have a positive effect on both his total hours spent doing female-typical housework and on the proportion of the housework he does. This would be especially true if his job had these

characteristics at a higher level than his wife's job. My premise, drawn from Breer and Locke's attitude generalization theory and Kohn's work on links between structural conditions of work and behaviors exhibited in the family, is that men gain certain dispositions towards characteristics of labor as a result of working in labor having or requiring those characteristics.

For example, if a man works in a routine and repetitive job, he will become more tolerant of, and maybe even disposed toward, doing routine and repetitive labor. Because a primary characteristic of female-typical housework is its routineness and repetitiveness, I expected to find that men who have routine/repetitive jobs would be more prone to do housework. Moreover, if his job is more routine/repetitive than his wife's job, I expected to find similar positive effects on his contribution to household labor. I also expected to find a positive relationship between the two other job characteristics—percent female and service orientation—and married men's household labor participation. My findings were mixed and only partially supportive of my thesis. All three job characteristics have an impact on household division of labor, but only one of them affects his actual contribution: having a routine and repetitive job.

Married men in occupations which are extremely routine and repetitive—measured as the percentage of workers in his occupation whose jobs require them to do routine or repetitive work—spend more time doing housework than their peers whose jobs aren't as routine and repetitive. This effect is net of other aspects of routine occupations, such as income, status, and hours spent working. For every percentage point increase in the number of workers in his occupation whose jobs are routine and repetitive, he does about

four minutes of housework. If his job is maximally routine and repetitive, he might do more than six additional hours of housework as a result of having this kind of job.

In addition, and as hypothesized, men whose jobs are more routine and repetitive than their spouses' jobs do more housework. Because this range can go from -100 to 100, where his job is not routine at all and hers is maximally routine to the point where his job is maximally routine and hers is not routine at all, he can do anywhere from four minutes to eleven hours more housework as a result of having a more routine job than his wife. So, in both cases my hypothesis is supported; routine and repetitive market labor is positively correlated with routine and repetitive non-market labor.

Strangely, in both cases, the respondents' increases in the hours of housework they do is not followed by an increase in the proportion of the total hours of housework done by him and his wife. This implies that there is no actual change in the equity of household division of labor. Even as he does *more* housework, he doesn't actually do *more of* the housework.

As I showed in the last chapter, changes in a person's total hours spent doing housework which are not accompanied by a change in their proportion of the shared work may likely be the result of a concomitant change in the overall total hours of housework done in the household by all contributors. It is possible to test this assertion by determining the effect, if any, his holdings of this job characteristic has on the total amount of female-typical housework—meal preparation, housecleaning, laundry, and shopping—done in the household. Using an OLS regression, I discovered that, in fact, there is a significant and positive relationship ($p < .01$, $B = .09$) between a husband's having

a routine/repetitive job and the total amount of hours it takes the family to do the housework. For every percentage point increase in his job's level of routineness compared to his wife's job, the total housework burden increases by about five minutes regardless of other aspects of their jobs.

Why do these men produce and then take care of more housework? It is, again, worthwhile trying to determine which of the five core tasks are increasing. The only one of the five that there is a significant increase in (related to his routine/repetitive job) is "housecleaning" ($p < .001$). Men in routine and repetitive occupations do not cook, shop or iron more, but they do produce and meet a greater need to clean around the house. I am reticent to suggest, as I did in the earlier chapter, that this is a question of standards alone. It may be the case that these men have higher standards for cleanliness, both absolutely and relative to their wives, but those increased standards would not follow from a learned disposition to do routine/repetitive work.

A more likely answer, and one that is more in line with the reasoning I lay out in this chapter, is that these men grow to appreciate doing this kind of labor. A key aspect of any routine and repetitive activity is that there are clear and defined limits and outcomes; when the activity is done, you know it is done and if you met the requirements for its satisfactory completion. It is therefore easier to assume competence when the steps are laid out before you (routine) and you follow these same steps again and again (repetition). Therefore men with these kinds of jobs may seek out similar competence-inducing activities at home, particularly if some of these tasks still retain some resemblance to the less routine and repetitive, but male-typical, "cleaning/repair" tasks

they already are responsible for. Either they do tasks that otherwise go undone or they do more (e.g., on extra days) of tasks that are normally being accomplished by them or their wives.

Without knowing any further details about what these men are thinking when they list the number of hours they spend housecleaning, it is difficult to determine why this particular task is affected. This is one of the broader core tasks as far as definitions go because housecleaning encompasses everything from taking out the garbage to more time-intensive activities such as scrubbing baseboards or cleaning bathtubs. It may be in the actual nature of the tasks where the answer to this puzzle lies, but without that level of detail in this data, clearly determining what these men are doing more of and why is not very feasible.

Surprisingly, neither of these effects are supported by similar findings for other job characteristics. In these models, I also tested the relationship of men's being in occupations with a high percentage of women in them or occupations with a strong requirement for a service orientation on their household participation, expecting to find similar results: that being in these occupations have some positive effect on men's hours of housework. Instead I find that, while a man's holdings of these job characteristics (either absolute or relative to his wife's holdings of them) seem to have no effect on his household labor participation, they are predictive of his wife's household labor participation. Wives whose husbands are in occupations with a greater percentage of women in them than their own and wives whose husbands are in occupations with a stronger requirement for a service orientation than their own do more housework than

wives who are positioned differently relative to their husbands. Net of all of the usual trappings of female-typical occupations—small incomes, low status, part-time labor—women whose jobs are less female-typical and less service oriented than their husbands' jobs do less housework. Also, unlike the findings on routine/repetitive labor, these findings affect both the wife's hourly contribution and her husband's proportionate contribution. She does less housework and his share of the total is improved.

The impact of occupational characteristics is still felt in these findings, but the effect on these wives raises two questions. First, why would men's (or maybe their wives') relative holdings of certain job characteristics affect only their wives' housekeeping engagement

Another way to read each of these variables is as follows. The variable representing the percentage of that occupation's workforce that is female is described that way in both the census and my coding descriptions. Of course, with only two genders considered by the census coders, the inverse description of these codes would also give us the percentage of that occupation's workforce that is male. Therefore, a job that is 75% female is, by definition, only 25% male. Conversely, an occupation that has few women in it—say, 15 percent—can be characterized as a predominately male occupation because of its 85 percent male composition. The same logic can be applied to jobs presumably done for the good of society or the positions' clients. A job rated very low in its workers' disposition toward service is, by definition, an occupation in which workers are not required to be motivated by the positive benefits of their work on society or their clientele.

The significance of this second characteristic, service orientation, seems to suggest two things. The first is that doing this preference for caring labor does not come automatically to women. This disposition, like the disposition for routine/repetitive work, must be learned and promoted. These findings show that in the absence of this disposition in their market labor (relative to their husbands' market labor), wives do less housework. Whether they actively resist doing service oriented labor in the home or they simply overlook this service is unknown, but either way they show less attention to labor in the home that has the same characteristic as labor they do—or in this case, don't do—at their job. In this case, their husband has the greater share of this resource and the wife, taking note of this, leaves some share of that work for him to do. Contrary to my hypothesis, her husband does not use his promoted, generalizable disposition toward caring labor and then take up the slack; his total hours spent on housework remain unaffected.

This leads me to the second thing suggested by this finding (and at some level, the percent female finding as well): men's socialization against doing true "caring labor" or "women's work" is stronger and more robust than I suspected. While women will do less caring labor when their market-labor jobs don't promote that disposition, but men whose jobs *do* promote this disposition—even at a level superior to that of their wives' jobs—do not pick up the slack and participate in home-based caring labor. While their household labor share does increase, men in female-typical or service-oriented jobs aren't doing more housework; they continue as they were and the overall amount of housework done simply decreases.

The more intriguing finding is the relationship between the wife's having a more masculine job than her husband and her decreased household labor participation. Again, net of all of the usual trappings of men's work (relative to women's work)—high income, high status, full-time hours, etc.—which are controlled for, women working in jobs that are more masculine than their husbands' jobs do less housework. This raises the question: what effect on women's non-market labor experiences might women's movement into traditionally male or predominately male occupations. While we understand what effect women's movement into these fields has within those fields (Kanter 1977; Reskin and Hartmann 1986; Jacobs 1989) as well as what effect women working (in general) has on household labor divisions, but neither of these literatures points to changes in women which might result from their engagement with the gendered expectations/dispositions which may be embedded in "men's work".

Overall, the implications of these findings are sobering to those interested in equitable divisions of household labor. Men's socialization may be so robust as to resist even the influence of presumably "feminizing" workforce experiences. Women, on the other hand, may have only one resort, not doing housework, in order to reduce their burden and increase their husbands' share and even that possibility seems somewhat constrained by the socializing influence of "masculinizing" workforce experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE

EFFECTS OF GENDER CAPITAL INVESTMENTS ON DOMESTIC LABOR

Men experience fatherhood in a number of ways (some fairly new in their pervasiveness) that are not fully accounted for in the literature. As a result, the effects of fatherhood on my dependent variables are incompletely recognized. Being a father is the ultimate case of “doing gender”. The responsibility men have to exhibit correct gendered behavior is heightened when they participate in childrearing as models of that behavior. I expect to find that this works in two ways as relates to household division of labor because of the bifurcated definition of domestic labor. Domestic labor includes both childcare aspects and housework aspects. I predict that a father’s involvement with and attention to one will create some pressure to modify his involvement with the other. Therefore, I expect to find that men father more and better with older sons, with daughters who follow sons, and in households with more teenage sons. Conversely, I expect to find that fathering may have very different effects on household work (e.g., cleaning). Because of his heightened responsibility to exhibit gender, the average father may not do much housework—particularly if he has sons—because of worries that he would be giving the wrong gender metessages.

I argue that men and women are assumed to have something I refer to as “gender capital”: abilities to exhibit, model, and reinforce masculinity and femininity, respectively. Because an important component of parenting is socializing children, especially in the area of gender roles, men and women bring different presumed resources

to this part of the parenting equation. Ability to socialize a boy into manhood is a skill that men have (or more precisely, are assumed to have) and that women do not. This is probably the greatest case of “doing gender” in my project. Being a father is the ultimate case of “doing gender”. The responsibility men have to exhibit correct gendered behavior is heightened when they have to participate as models of that behavior.

Ironically, it is men’s beliefs in the role they should play raising, mentoring, and serving as a model for boys that creates an opportunity for development of less traditional gender behavior in some ways and more traditional gender behavior in others. Men participate in childcare with sons, but may also decrease their involvement in other household labor (e.g., washing dishes) in order to model masculine behavior in front of these sons; instead, they may use their limited leisure or free time to wash the car or fix gutters. Men’s interaction with their children, elicited by certain characteristics of the child, may lead to a less traditional approach to their capabilities in one area (childcare) even as they become more traditional in others (housework).

In this chapter, I investigate the relationship between children’s characteristics—sex, age, birth order, and relationship to the father—and their father’s contributions to both housework and childcare interactions. Married households are a major location for doing gender, but this obligation to perform gender roles competently is heightened by the presence of children. Men and women, separately, have different levels of what I refer to as “gender capital”, the ability to competently display appropriate gender roles related to, in this case, non-market household labor. I suggest that father’s gender capital is put into play when they have sons; they have to display gender appropriately before their sons

while being actively engaged enough to be a gender-reinforcing influence. As a result, not only do I expect to find that sons decrease their father's contributions to female-typical core housework, but I also expect to find that sons increase their father's involvement in four different levels of parent-child engagement: meal sharing, unorganized play/non-play activities, behavior reinforcement behaviors (e.g., hugging, yelling), and organized community activities.

Children's Characteristics

I am interested in what happens once men become parents. What makes this aspect of the life course interesting to study is that there have been dramatic changes in how men become parents. The usual measures of childcare are based on the assumption that a father's first introduction to parenting is with an infant. But, it is not the case that all fathers are able to debate whether they will change diapers or wake up in the middle of the night with a crying infant. For example, more than 5 million men in the United States live with dependent children with whom they do not share a biological relationship—up from 3.7 million in 1980—and many of these children interact with their new fathers at an age well beyond infancy (Census 1999). Some of these new kinds of interactions are related to the burgeoning population of children born to single mothers (who then marry)¹¹ and some of them are related to the increasing incidents of divorce and remarriage. We could imagine that a father would interact differently with his five-

¹¹ It would be wonderful to find (or create) some empirical evidence that single mothers are more likely to marry when they have sons as opposed to when they have daughters. Morgan et al (1988) suggest that "mothers, who get custody of children in most cases, face the prospect of raising sons alone with more trepidation than they do in raising daughters in those circumstances and would thus remain longer in a stressful marriage if they had sons" (113). If it is true that mothers worry about raising sons alone post-marriage, then that concern should be present before marriage as well.

year-old male stepson than with his infant female biological daughter. Therefore it is important to analyze a number of children's characteristics and how fathers' involvement with their own biological and their adopted or step children elicits new—and often non gender-typical—behaviors related to housework.

While academicians debate whether there are essential differences between men and women, people who live their lives in the real world believe there are. Bem (1993) argues that there are metamessages in our society that tell us what differences between men and women are significant to our culture. She devised three lenses—gender polarization, androcentrism, and biological essentialism—that she saw as present in our society and instrumental in creating/explaining gender inequalities. Gender polarization is a lens that suggests that males and females are fundamentally different from each other and that these differences are a key organizer for social life. We learn how to become gendered and the value of the behaviors attached to those genders through these metamessages. Once we learn them, we become a kind of “cultural native” and cannot tell the difference between what is real and what the society suggests is real (Bem 1993). Of course, while there is little evidence that the ideology behind this lenses is credible, clearly people view the world through this schema and, as a result, act accordingly.

We are capable of “Doing Gender” because we have the requisite skills to do so. Regardless of our particular allegiance to any particular gender role perspective—essentialism, socialization, social construction, or structuralism—we all recognize that there are social norms regulating the appropriate behavior of men and women, boys and girls. So, if one assumes that people have internalized these gendered behavior patterns,

one can also make the leap that one gender or the other is more capable of expressing and teaching certain gendered behaviors. The calls for father involvement are a result of the opinion (and in some case, empirically proven fact) that fathers have some particular value in the lives of their children, a value that is specific to his role and not replicated by the mother. Men are often judged as masculine based on their holdings of particular masculine traits. While many of these traits have negative connotations (e.g., competitive, aggressive, fear of intimacy, inflexibility when playing games), they are nonetheless deemed a part of the set of behaviors that determine what a man is. There is, therefore, some pressure or need to indoctrinate boys in the ways of manhood.

I argue that men and women are assumed to have something I refer to as “gender capital”: abilities to exhibit, model, and reinforce masculinity and femininity, respectively. Because an important component of parenting is socializing children, especially in the area of gender roles, men and women bring different presumed resources to this part of the parenting equation. Ability to socialize a boy into manhood is a skill that men have (or more precisely, are assumed to have) and that women do not. This is probably the greatest case of “doing gender” in my project. Being a father is the ultimate case of “doing gender”. The responsibility men have to exhibit correct gendered behavior is heightened when they have to participate as models of that behavior.

Ironically, it is men’s beliefs in the role they should play raising, mentoring, and serving as a model for boys that creates an opportunity for development of less traditional gender behavior in some ways and more traditional gender behavior in others. Men participate in childcare with sons, but may also decrease their involvement in other

household labor (e.g., washing dishes) in order to model masculine behavior in front of these sons; instead, they may use their limited leisure or free time to wash the car or fix gutters. Men's interaction with their children, elicited by certain characteristics of the child, may lead to a less traditional approach to their capabilities in one area (childcare) even as they become more traditional in others (housework). These and other questions are important and, therefore, I will attempt to answer them with this project.

Family Composition Matters

Studies show that there are several independent relationships of children's characteristics—number, relationship, gender, and age—to men's household labor involvement. Parents generally are more traditional than non-parents, partly because parents were more traditional prior to having a child (Morgan 1987). Number of children shows a nonlinear effect on men's relative share in household work. His share is smallest with three children and largest with no or more than five children. This may be a result of different responses of husbands and wives to increasing demands of children (Coltrane 1990, Gerstel 1999, Kamo 1991). There is also evidence that men are less involved in the lives of their stepchildren than biological fathers are with their biological children (Anderson 1999).

There is certainly enough evidence that men with boys are more involved in parenting (Aldous 1998, Harris 1990 and 1991, Mott 1994, Fish 1992, Crouter 1999). Some of the findings in the literature are even more specific. For example, Crouter (1990) found that fathers in single-earner families spend more time with their sons, but fathers in dual-earner families spent equal amounts of time with sons and daughters. Again, the need to

carry on appropriate primary socialization is at the root of this particular attention to sons.

This need is heightened as children get older, as Lindsey (1997) explains:

“As children get older, fathers become more involved with their children and spend more time with them, directing more attention to their sons than their daughters. This is the time when gender-typed behavior is particularly encouraged for sons and socialization into masculine-oriented activities such as sports begins in earnest. Compared to mothers, fathers expect their sons to conform to gender roles much more than their daughters. The concern for gender- appropriate behavior carries through to father-child interactions during adolescence.” (p 198).

Sons have so distinct an effect on fathering that they even affect marital satisfaction.

Sons reduce the risk of marital disruption more than daughters do, mainly because of father's greater role in raising sons than daughters and his consequently greater involvement in the family. Marital cohesion is related to attachments and obligations to children, which are greater for fathers of sons (Morgan 1988, Willoughby 1995).

Daughters, on the other hand, are more likely to affect men's gender ideology, but not necessarily his gendered behavior. Daughters lead to more positive attitudes toward gender-role equality among fathers while men who only have sons show the least support for gender equity policies. These findings are narrowly limited to men's support for pay equity, comparable worth, affirmative action, Title 9, and subsidized day care (Warner 1991, Warner and Steel 1999, Kane 1998). What all of these findings suggest is that men will nurture/parent, but that there are characteristics of the children which affect their

likelihood to do so.

Current Limitations In The Literature

There are two limitations to the current literature to which my dissertation responds. First, the studies that use children's characteristics as independent variables tend to use them only as determinants of paternal involvement with children (Cooksey and Fondell 1996, Marsiglio 1991). They do not analyze the effect of children's characteristics on other important household behaviors which are also related to gender roles and time availability, such as washing dishes or grocery shopping. This project goes beyond these studies and looks at other gendered household labor behaviors.

Secondly, the studies use each of the children's characteristics in isolation, playing one off of the others in regressions. Of course, parents do not simply respond to children as gendered and ignore other characteristics, such as the age or birth order of those gendered children. For example, I suggest that there are interactions between gender and birth order. If men become more engaged as fathers when they have boys (they enact the role of nurturer, parent, etc.), this should bode well for the daughter who follows two sons in the birth order. Does a father with sons parent daughters better than a father without sons? I also argue that there is an interaction between gender and biological relationship to the father. I plan to go beyond a basic approach to men's parenting to look at the effect of interactions of children's characteristics—age, gender, birth order, number, percentage, and biological relation—on men's childcare behavior and household labor behavior in addition to childcare.

For this study, I adopt a modified gender ideology perspective to examine how

different constellations of children—by age, gender, biological relation, and birth order—are related to the division of household labor for husbands. Based on narrower findings focused primarily on the basic effects of children's presence on the household labor, the following predictions are made. Having sons first and/or in large numbers will be related negatively to the amount of female-typical housework fathers report doing.

Alternatively, having sons first and/or in large numbers will be related positively to the amount of childcare and personal engagement with children that fathers report participating in.

Descriptive Statistics For Independent Variable: Children's Characteristics

Table 5.1 presents the basic descriptive statistics for the respondents' children. They take four forms: number of children, sex composition and birth ordering of children, ages of children, and biological relationship to father. Respondents had a range of 0 to 9 children, with a mean of one child. Forty-five percent of these husbands/men had no children at all. The average father with children had one son and/or one daughter.

Respondents were more likely to have a mixture of children, with 39% of these fathers having both boys and girls. Thirty-two percent of these fathers had sons (either one or multiple) only and twenty-nine percent of them had only daughters. Because I am especially interested in birth ordering, the table also offers some combinations of children by sex and birth order. More of the fathers (52%) had first born sons than daughters and, similarly, 51% of the fathers had boys as their youngest child. Thirteen percent of the fathers had one son who was followed by all daughters. Another 19 percent had one son who was followed by a mixture of sexes (i.e., boys and girls). Fourteen percent of the

fathers had a daughter who was preceded by only boys and 12 percent of them had a daughter who was followed by only boys. Another 12% of the fathers had daughters who were followed by only one son.

Fathers had anywhere from zero to three teenagers who accounted for, on average, 25 percent of his set of children. Only .26 of them were boys and, similarly, only .23 of them were girls. Fathers in this sample usually had more children under the age of five; 36 percent of them had preschool children with up to 3 of them being boys and up to four of them being girls.

Finally, these men rarely lived with stepchildren. They may have had up to 5 stepchildren in the house with a maximum of 3 of them being boys and a maximum of 4 of them being girls.

Regression Analysis For Housework (Totals and Shares)

Independent Variable: Children's Characteristics

Table 5.2 shows the zero-order correlations for children's characteristics and four dependent variables: the number of hours husbands spent on five traditionally female (core) household tasks; the number of hours their wives spent on those tasks; the husband's share of total hours spent on female tasks; and the gap between the hours the husband spent and the hours his wife spent on female tasks. These correlations offer some support for my hypotheses; there are some effects of children's characteristics on household division of labor.

The regression model controlling for the independent effects of the predictor

variables only partly confirms these findings. To test potential relationships between the respondents' children's characteristics and household division of labor, I estimated goodness-of-fit statistics by estimating the full additive models (shown in table 5.3) and testing changes in goodness of fit by removing factors separately. While they do have some explanatory power for the husband's actual hours spent doing core household tasks, children's characteristics do not explain significant incremental variance in the husband's share of the housework or in the gap between the hours of housework he and his wife contribute. And, while they strengthen the fit of the model for his spouse's housework, they have no significant effects on his wife's hours spent doing housework.

Having single sex children, whether boys or girls, is not significantly associated with increases in the husband's hours of housework. Neither is having a first born son who is followed either by daughters or mixed-sex siblings. There is a significant association between his hours of housework and sexed birth order, but not in the direction I predicted. Respondents with sons followed by a daughter do more housework (0.103).

Having teenaged children is also significantly associated with their father's household labor participation. The more teenage sons he has, the less housework he does (-0.097). This supports my hypothesis, but he does even less housework the more teenage daughters he has (-0.105).

Finally, having more step sons is not a significant predictor of the respondent's hours doing housework, but having more step daughters does (0.049).

Controls

Table 5.3 also shows the impact of the most commonly used theoretical and/or more

prosaic variables on household labor. There is some support for the relative resources approach in these models. Relative resource levels—when measured as age stratification and differences in job prestige—are not significant determinants of either the number of hours spent by husbands or wives on core household tasks or on husbands' share of these responsibilities.

There is some support, though, for relative income contribution. While relative income is not a significant predictor of either husbands' or their wives' actual time spent doing housework, the greater the proportion of the total household income is accounted for by the husband, the smaller his proportion of the housework becomes. His higher income is also associated with a higher gender gap between his time spent doing core tasks and his wife's.

There is much stronger support for a relative resources approach when applied to education. Relative education has a significant effect on both men and their wives. The more years of education the husband has relative to his wife, the fewer the hours of housework he does (-.064) and the more she does (0.073). As a result, every year of education between them increases the gender gap in his favor (0.113). He also does a smaller share of the total core housework activities (-0.110). In sum, both the income and education variables provide support for the relative resources hypothesis.

There is stronger support for the time availability perspective. Increases in the couple's average weekly hours of labor-market work has a marked impact on his participation in household labor, but none on his wife's. The number of hours husbands spend on housework decreases significantly (-.052) with long days at work, but increases

significantly more (.062) with his wife's average weekly hours of work. As a result, he does a smaller share of the housework when he works long hours, but a greater share of the housework when his wife works long hours. The gap grows or shrinks accordingly, and since his is the only behavior being affected, it is clear that the gender gap is a result of his movement and not his wife's.

Husbands also do less housework (-.072) if their wives don't work at night or on weekends. Their wives also do less housework (-0.045) if they don't work during these times. In spite of the fact that this variable has a negative impact on both spouses' household labor participation, it still has the net effect of reducing the husband's share of the housework responsibilities. He has a smaller share of it when his wife doesn't work at night or on weekends. The gender gap is unaffected.

When other children's characteristics (e.g., number of teenagers) are controlled for, I find that the number of children and the percentage of young children in the household do not have significant relationships with either husbands' or their wives' participation in or contributions to core household task.

Husbands' and wives' traditional gender ideology are significantly related to their own household labor participation, but have no effects on that of their partners. The more traditional the husbands' ideologies related to gender, the less housework (.120) he does. This not only decreases his share of the total housework done, it also increases the gender gap (.095); a shift which, again, occurs because of his movement away from housework rather than his wife's increased attention to it. His attitudes have no effect on the amount of housework his wife does.

Similarly, his wife's attitudes have no effect on the amount of housework he does. Her share in the housework is not affected by her traditional attitudes, but her total hours are increased (.084) if she holds less egalitarian gender role attitudes. This increases the gender gap (.069) in her husband's favor, but at a level smaller than the one the effects of his traditional attitudes might have.

Of the remaining controls, only six have significant associations with husbands' household labor allocation: race, father's education, respondent's current fulltime employment, homeownership, respondent's education, and the age at which the respondent married his current wife. Two of these—their fulltime employment status and years of education—also have an effect on their wives' number of hours spent on housework.

Nonwhite men do more total hours (.052) of housework than white men, but there is no significant effect of race on their share of the total housework. The more educated the husband's father is, the greater the husband's share of the total female-typical housework.

If the respondent is currently employed full-time, both he and his spouse do less housework each week, with coefficients of -.194 and -.117, respectively. His hours are affected much more than hers, and there is no effect of his full-time employment on his total share of household labor. There's no increase in the household division of labor gender gap in those homes as a result of his full-time employment.

Contrary to expectations, men who live in homes—rather than apartments or some other dwelling—do less housework (-.044) than men who don't. Because their wives' household labor is not affected by homeownership, men share less of the total housework

done in these homes; the gap increases.

Net of the effects of relative educational holdings mentioned earlier, husbands' educational attainment has a significant effect on them, increasing their total number of hours (.097) spent in housework activity; it has the opposite effect (-.116) on his spouse. Husbands with more education do a significantly larger share of female household tasks, and this is a result of both a reduction in the number of hours wives spend on housework and an increase in husband's hours.

Additionally, those men who married when they were older do a greater share of the total housework than men married young. These husbands' levels of religiosity, incomes (net of their relative contribution to the home's income), ages, mother's employment statuses, current school enrollment status, military service backgrounds, and health conditions are not a factor in determining either their absolute or relative contributions to housework.

Other than the aforementioned association between age at which the current relationship began and household division of labor, there are no significant effects of the respondent's relationships on household labor allocation. If the relationship is an interracial one, whether the respondent cohabited prior to this marriage, and the respondent's previous marital status are all insignificant in these models.

Regression Analysis For Housework (Totals and Shares)

Table 5.4 shows the zero-order correlations for children's characteristics and four dependent variables: the number of hours husbands spent on each of four kinds of engagement with children; the number of hours their wives spent in these kinds of

engagement tasks; the husband's share of total hours spent in these tasks; and the gap between the hours the husband spent and the hours his wife spent engaging their children. These correlations offer some support for my hypotheses; there are some effects of children's characteristics on parental involvement in their children's upbringing. Much of this impact is felt because of the presence of sons—at different ages, level of biological relationship, and birth order—in the household.

The regression model controlling for the independent effects of the predictor variables only partly confirms these findings. To test potential relationships between the respondents' children's characteristics and household division of labor, I estimated goodness-of-fit statistics by estimating the full additive models (shown in tables 5.5 - 5.8) and testing changes in goodness of fit by removing factors separately. While they do have some explanatory power for both parents' actual hours spent engaging in certain kinds of activities, children's characteristics do not explain significant incremental variance in the husband's share of the overall time invested or in the gap between the hours he and his wife contribute. These characteristics strengthen the fit of models of spouse's time spent sharing meals with the children, both parents' time spent in unorganized play/non-play interactions with the children, and both parents time spent engaging the children in behavioral reinforcement behaviors. These characteristics do not predict either parent's amount of time spent in children's organized community activities. Mothers spend less less time eating with the children the more of them that are teenagers.

Children's characteristics play a stronger role in predicting how much time each

parent spend on unorganized activities with the children. Fathers, predictably spend more time interacting with their children when they have all sons and when they have a first born son who is followed by mixed-sex siblings. He does less of this kind of activity the more teenage children (of whatever sex) he has.

Sons, generally, seem to have an effect on mother's time. Mothers with only sons do more of these engagement behaviors than mothers with mixed-sex children. She also does more of this kind of interaction the more boys she has. Daughters seem to have the opposite effect on mothers. Families with daughter-only families are likely to be characterized by less unorganized interaction between the mother and these girls than if the family was mixed-sex. In addition, the more girls the family has, the less the mother interacts with them. Mothers also spend less time with their children the older the eldest child is and the more teenage children are in the house.

Finally, some of these characteristics tend to have negative associations with the amount of time parents engage in behavioral reinforcement behaviors, such as yelling at or hugging their children. The older the eldest child is, the less of this kind of engagement the father performs. The same is true for the mother. She spends less time engaging the children this way when the oldest child is closer to 18 than he or she is to infancy. Mothers with daughters only or with whom the oldest child (regardless of the sex of the others) is a son spend less time engaging in this kind of behavior. This is the only form of engagement where relationships seem to matter. Fathers spend more time hugging and/or yelling at their children the more of those children are step daughters. Having step sons does not have a significant effect on either parents' behavior in this

regard.

Controls

Tables 5.5 to 5.8 also show the impact of the most commonly used theoretical and/or more prosaic variables on household labor. There is weak support for the relative resources approach in these models. Relative resource levels have no significant association with any aspect of parental meal sharing or behavior-reinforcement interactions with children. There are some mixed associations for play/non-play interactions and parental involvement with the child's organized activities. In those marriages where husbands have more years of education than their wives, their wives spend significantly less time in non-organized interactions with their children. This trend reverses for organized interactions (e.g., scouting, PTA); wives whose husbands are more educated than they are spend more time in organized children's activities/organizations.

The only other effective relative resources variable is occupational status. In households where husbands' jobs have higher prestige/status than do their wives' jobs, their wives spend more time interacting with children in non-organized activities.

There is slightly stronger support for the time availability perspective, but only as relates to time spent sharing meals with children. Increases in his wife's average weekly hours of labor-market work has a marked impact on the time she spends eating with the children, but none on his. The longer a work day she has, the fewer hours she spends eating meal (breakfast and/or dinner) with their children. Wives spend more time eating with their children the more children the couple has.

Husbands, on the other hand, spend more time eating with their children if their wives

don't work at night or on weekends; this kind of shift has no effect on how much time she spend sharing meals with the children. Having babies in the household does not affect the amount of time either spouse spends sharing meals with their children. The free time available to the husband or his wife is not significantly related to the amount of time husbands or their wives engage the children in non-organized activities, organized activities, or behavioral reinforcement activities.

Husbands' gender role ideologies are significantly related to some of his interactions with his children, but are not related to his wife's interactions. Conversely, her gender role ideologies are related to her behaviors and, in one case, his increased share of one of these behaviors.

Traditional fathers spend more time eating with their children, but are not significantly more or less likely to spend time in other kinds of activities. Traditional mothers on the other hand spend more time in both meal sharing and non-organized activities than less traditional mothers. These kinds of traditional attitudes held by wives are also significantly associated with the husbands' increased share of the amount of this activity. Traditional attitudes held by either spouse are not significant predictors of parental involvement in their children's organized youth activities.

Of the remaining controls, only five characteristics have significant associations with parental engagement with their children: homeownership, education, race, the respondents' mother's labor participation, and the respondents' relationships prior to the current one. None of these are significantly associated with changes in either the husbands' shares of this involvement with his children or the imbalance between his

hours and his wife's.

Homeownership has a positive association with the amount of time both husbands and wives spend eating with their children; both parents spend more time dining with children when the family lives in a home. Living in a home does not always have positive outcomes for parent-child interactions though. Mothers spend less time playing with their children if the family lives in a home.

Minority fathers spend more time in unorganized play and non-play interactions with their children. Their wives (who are presumably minorities as well) spend significantly more time in their children's organized activities (e.g., religious group leadership) than the wives of white men. Wives who are part of an interracial marriage spend more time eating with their children than wives who are not. Race has no other significant effects on parent-child engagement.

Husbands whose mothers worked spend more time in unorganized play/non-play interactions with their children than their peers with stay-at-home mothers; his other interactions are unaffected by this. His wife's interactions, including these unorganized interactions, are also unaffected.

Net of the effects of relative educational holdings mentioned earlier, husbands' educational attainment has a significant effect on the household, increasing both their and their wives' total number of hours spent in unorganized play/non-play activities. His years of education are not significantly related to either his or his wife's other parent-child interactions.

These husbands' levels of religiosity, full-time work status, incomes (net of their

relative contribution to the home's income), ages, current school enrollment status, past military service, and health conditions are not factors in determining either their absolute or relative contributions to childcare.

Husbands' involvements in previous behaviors are, surprisingly, significant predictors of some of their interactions with their children. Men who lived with, but were not married to, women prior to their current marriage spend less time in unorganized play/non-play activities with their children. If they were married prior to the current relationship, they spend more time in behavior-reinforcement interactions (e.g., hugging, yelling at) with their children. Beyond these two associations, previous relationships seem to have no bearing on his relationships with the children currently living with him.

There are no other significant effects of the respondent's relationships on engagement with his children. How long the couple has been married is insignificant in these models.

Discussion

In sum, there is no discernible, systematic support for my hypotheses here. Children's characteristics seem to have no significant effect on men's non-childcare household labor participation. They also do not have the hypothesized positive effects on meal sharing, child socialization, or father's involvement in organized activities. The only support for my hypotheses came in the realm of play and non-play activities. Fathers who only have sons and fathers who have sons first (followed by sons and daughters) spend more time in playmate-type activities with their children. The first of these findings supports Marsiglio's 1991 findings. The latter is a new finding, but I am hesitant to accept it as reliable for the reasons I explain below.

I had two major goals in this research. First, I argued that studies on the gendering of household division of labor should include children's characteristics as a fundamental influence on this task allocation. I conceptualize children's characteristics more broadly than most of the researchers who have used them in this literature, adding birth order and thinking critically about how different constellations of children might differently affect their father's household labor. Secondly, I intended to broaden the scope of the work beyond the households of young, first-marriage couples with children under the age of eighteen. Unanticipated limitations within the National Survey of Families and Households made both of these goals difficult to meet.

Even the most comprehensive of NSFH-based studies (Marsiglio 1991; South and Spitze 1994; Coltrane 1996; Cooksey and Fondell 1996) limited children's characteristics to the most basic versions: dummy variables representing pre-school age, school-age, and teen-age children; counts of children present in the household; dummy variables representing the presence of non-biological children; and dummy variables representing single sex or mixed sex children sets.

They do this primarily because children are used primarily as a time availability variable; children are important in the household division of labor because they create more housework while reducing the amount of time parents have to do it. Researchers ignore the fact that many of the respondents in the NSFH sample have children who may have once lived in the home (and have an effect on current behavior) but no longer live there because they're either deceased, living with another parent, or older than 18. As a result, these researchers severely limited the sample they used. As they sought to find out

what was happening in the “point-in-time” household they were measuring, they drew their knowledge of the family’s composition from household composition questions. They asked respondents to list the people currently living in their household. In every case, they then proceeded to (a) treat the members of the household as if they represented the totality of the parent-child composition of the family and (b) excluded from analysis any couple whose children were no longer living in the home. Additionally, they limited their analysis to young couples (Orbuch and Eyster 1997), new parents (Sanchez and Thomson 1997), parents with young children (Aldous et al 1998), and couples in their first marriage (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992).

I set out to do this project differently by using the wealth of information collected about fertility history for all of the respondents in the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), the national probability sample most commonly used by researchers in this subdiscipline. The NSFH not only asks the household question I mentioned above, but it also includes questions about young and adult biological children living elsewhere, step and adopted children living elsewhere, and deceased children. Having access to this information would have broadened my findings and added considerable depth to the fairly stagnant pool of information on this subject.

Unfortunately, there are a number of problems with this data that hindered both the analysis I intended to do and the analysis I did complete. Due to inconsistencies in the precision with which fertility histories were obtained from both primary respondents and spouses, it became virtually impossible to get a definite sense of how many children each respondent either fathered or was responsible for as an adoptive or step-parent; what the

ages and sexes were for all of his children, whether alive or dead; and, of course, the birth order of children or order at which the father began to interact with them as a caregiver.

Almost 250 cases (8%) were discarded after I did a careful one-by-one analysis of the children the respondents reported. Some of these were excluded from the sample because they reported having dead children but gave no information about the sex of the child or when that child died. Even with that precise a coding approach, I am not totally certain that all of the matches were accurate. Respondents were asked in different questions to list their children, their children's ages, and their children's sexes. For example, in one case, a respondent reported having a 14 year old biological son living with him (household survey) and then in the question asking him to list all of his biological children, he mentions no 14 year olds at all. All of this coding was made more difficult by the fact that the questions asking specifically for a listing of all of the respondents' biological and adopted children did not ask respondents for the sex of those children. Therefore, my one-by-one matching of reported biological children either living with the respondent or living away from the respondent (whose age and sex are reported) with the secondary survey answers to the "list all of your biological children" (whose age only is reported) may be compromised.

Another 1680 cases (54%) were excluded from my analysis because of the format of the questions about the respondents' activities with his children. The NSFH asks two similar sets of questions to two different kinds of parents. Both sets ask about the amount of time fathers spend in leisure activities and eating with their children. They asked the questions to parents with very young children (under 5 years old) and to parents with

children over five years old. The first group is comprised of only those parents who have children under five in their household; if there are children in the household older than this or fathers who have younger children living elsewhere, those respondents are excluded from this questioning. The second group includes any household with children between 5 and 18 years of age. The two groups do not overlap and therefore any household with a full range of children in it are not represented in this sample. As a result, my project and most projects using these data were limited to either the preschool subsample or the schoolage/teenage subsample. I chose the latter and, therefore lost the households with preschool children in them, the households with all three sets of children in them, and households where some of the children no longer live in the home. A similar, but not quite so drastic, reduction was also done in the analysis of men's non-childcare housekeeping.

After such reductions, my sample was now considerably smaller and by no means representative of any group other than married men whose step, adopted, foster, or biological children between 5 and 18 years of age live with him. While this sub-sample was similar both in size and scope to those used by other researchers, the reductions made it virtually impossible to get a clear sense of even these men's family compositions. The final sample was further reduced because of random item nonresponse in the dependent variables. The resulting findings are so compromised that I could not recognize them as reliable even if they had fully supported my hypotheses. They certainly do not represent my desire for an expanded approach to family composition.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

One of the paradoxes facing contemporary gender researchers is why, in spite of the dramatic shifts in gendered opportunities outside of the home (i.e., in the workplace), are women still likely to do the majority of housework and childcare (Brines 1994, Marini and Shelton 1993, Robinson 1988). While Chodorow (1978) shows that, thanks to technological innovations, there is little need for women to be the primary caregiver anymore, there is still the overwhelming flood of history and culture that women must overcome in order for them to be freed from the “responsibilities” for childcare and housework. This kind of change was further promoted by restructuring in the work force, such as the sudden shifts from blue-collar men’s work to white/pink collar androgynous employment. As men’s salaries were no longer capable of supporting a family and as taxes shifted 30-50% of a family’s income out of their hands into the public dole, women found themselves having to work to pay the family’s bills.

While all of this was taking place, there was a major piece that was absent from the equality puzzle. While women were being encouraged and expected to take on aspects of the male gender role, whether it is defined positionally (as in “provider) or psychologically (as in “aggressive), there was no accompanying men’s movement that was calling on men to take on the female gender role. There was no real push for men to completely transcend the bounds of their gendered identities. As a result, the shift from housework/childcare to the public workforce should have been unidirectional and it

should only have been women who were doing the moving.

This is not the case. Men's actual and relative contributions to housework have been growing (Bianchi 2000). Women do only twice the amount of housework as men now, compared to roughly seven times more forty years ago (South and Spitze 1994, Bianchi et al 2000, Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992). As expected, the trends are down for women, but, unexpected, they are up for men. The trend in housework is slowly moving toward more equality, and that change is not solely a result of women coming down to men's levels of household labor participation. Men are beginning to do more housework and we do not have satisfying explanations for why this is occurring.

Much of the work analyzing the causes (and consequences) of change resulting from ongoing interaction between actors and social structure focuses on women. Many of the questions in the literature are centered in concerns about women's gender role stability rather than questions about the evolution of men's approaches to gender roles and gender-typical behavior. Housework and childcare are gender-coded activities. Some kinds of housework (e.g., cooking) and most of childcare is seen as gender-feminine. Gender identities both define and are defined by domestic labor. My project was intended to show that behavior, particularly that encouraged by circumstances (e.g., being a divorcee for 5 years), has a powerful role in shaping these gender identities and the resultant gender behaviors that follow.

Work to this point often creates ample room for women's gender role attitudes and behavior to evolve as a result of shifting social norms or structural necessity. The work still seems to suggest, though, that men—via a combination of up-to-age-14 primary

socialization and/or their X-Y chromosome set—are somehow stuck in theirs. My work was intended to remedy this.

Therefore, I was interested in how men's gender role behavior is destabilized (or is strengthened) by life course events. As such, this project attempted to analyze the role of living independently and family of destination as socializing agents for adult men. Specifically, I intended to analyze the effects they have on men's household labor .

The major questions offered in this dissertation are whether and to what extent three selected life-course variables—living indendently, employment characteristics, and children's characteristics—are related to the division of labor in married households. The findings are quite mixed and do not consistently support the idea that men's household labor participation is influenced by the variables. In fact, the findings seem to suggest that men's socialization is especially robust compared to women's socialization and that men's gendered behavior is not very responsive to structural influences that might seem to compel them to change.

In Chapter Three, I considered the impact living on his own has on men's later household labor participation. Specifically, I tested to what extent the years a man lives without some kind of caregiver—whether that caregiver is tied to him through consanguinal, romantic, or institutional ties—affected the amount of housework he does once married. I expected to find increases in men's absolute and relative contributions to housework as a result of men's longer periods of independent living.

I discovered that men who live independently for long periods of time are responsible for *creating* less housework than men who are not. They do not do any more or less

housework than their peers who are married, cohabiting, or in military service longer, but their wives have less of it to do. A man's years of independent living is entirely unrelated to his own contribution to housework. Furthermore, men who live independently have wives who do less housework in a manner not predicted here. Apparently, living independently does not necessarily translate into greater skill in performing household tasks. It may simply be the case that living independently reduces men's maintenance level or standards for household labor. Below, I will discuss limitations in these data which may impact these findings and ways to remedy these limitations so that a more definitive understanding of the findings can be realized.

In Chapter Four, I turned to these husbands' and their spouses' paid labor in order to understand the effect of their employment and how characteristics of that employment might affect men's household labor participation. I tested whether a husband's holdings of particular occupational characteristics—namely, high levels of female sex composition, a service orientation, and routine and repetitive work tasks—affect the amount of housework he does in the home and his share of the overall housework that is done. I was especially interested in determining if his job's characteristics relative to his wife's job characteristics might enhance his potential to do female-typical, service-oriented, and routine/repetitive labor at home. I expected to find that men whose jobs have higher proportions of women in them than their wives' jobs, whose jobs have a stronger service orientation than their wives' jobs, and whose jobs require a higher tolerance for routine and repetitive work than their wives' job do more housework and share more of the total housework burden.

What I found were mixed effects of these characteristics on household division of labor. Men whose jobs are especially routine and repetitive create more housework and do more (all?) of the additional housework they create. Their proportion of the total housekeeping burden does not increase. Therefore, if husbands and wives both did 20 of the 40 hours (50%) and his job was routine and repetitive, he would do 2 more hours of housework. The fact that he not only creates but meets the need to do more housework leaves his proportion of the housework at 50%. This occupational characteristic is not significantly associated with a change in his wife's behavior at all. Conversely, wives do spend more time doing housework when their jobs are more masculine in composition and/or less service oriented than their husbands' jobs. This suggests a reduction in their dispositions toward aspects of household labor. Keeping with the earlier example, if the 50-50 division of labor is affected by these job characteristics, the wife does 2 hours less housework. Her husband does not pick up the slack, so the total amount of housework decreases by two hours; his proportion of the housework increases to 53%. These findings suggest a sheer immutability of men's gendered behavior, but offers further support to the premise that women's gender socialization is much more easily overcome as a result of structural influences like occupational characteristics.

In Chapter Five, I investigated the relationship between children's characteristics—sex, age, birth order, and relationship to the father—and their father's contributions to both housework and childcare interactions. Not only did I expect sons to decrease their father's contributions to female-typical core housework, but I also expected sons to increase their father's involvement in four different levels of parent-child engagement:

meal sharing, unorganized play/non-play activities, behavior reinforcement behaviors (e.g., hugging, yelling), and organized community activities. I found no support for the first hypothesis and limited support for the second; men do spend more time in unorganized play/non-play activities when they have male children. This suggests that there may be some effect of children's characteristics on men's childcare engagement, but limitations in the data bias the sample considerably and make these findings less reliable than I am comfortable with.

Given these results, where does this work go from here? These findings create as many questions as they do answers. In order to more clearly understand what these findings are saying, it is necessary to go beyond this data and these dependent variables.

As I indicated in the conclusions of the chapters on independent living and children's characteristics, there is still a need to carry on this line of reasoning with different data. There is evidence elsewhere that living independently does factor into attitudes related to the household division of labor. What, I suspect, limits my findings is the fact that the data I used are not precise enough to get at what is a fundamental aspect of the concept: living independently. Some datasets (e.g., the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth) do a better job at giving information about the actual living situations respondents experienced in each year. This is less important when measuring effects of living single (i.e., living as a non-married or non-cohabiting individual), but critical when understanding how my expansion of the idea of bachelorhood might affect attitudes or, in this project, behavior. Bachelorhood, or living independently, is not simply a function of living without a spouse or a live-in partner. Living independently is characterized by

living outside of any kind of situation in which core housekeeping tasks may be performed by someone else. Knowing one's educational attainment isn't enough. Living in a dormitory with the limited cooking facilities they usually provide reduces the need for men living in dormitories to learn the skills/aptitudes related to meal preparation, i.e., cooking, cleaning up after meals, and grocery shopping. There are similarly reduced household labor expectations for prisoners, men living in military barracks, and those living in other institutional settings (e.g., hospitals). While the NSFH data offers a longterm history of men's years of education, years they were enlisted in the military, and years that they were convicted of crimes, it gives no further detail about where these men lived during these periods and imputation of assumed living arrangements is a sketchy proposition at best. I, therefore, believe that further research using data that more closely delineates the actual living arrangements for men more appropriately reflect the thinking this line of research is based on.

Similarly, the remedies I sought for the limitations in others' children's characteristics research were compromised by unforeseen problems with this data. It is still necessary to reduce the bias toward young and first-marriage couples that most of the research on children's characteristics is guilty of. There is a considerable amount of variance in household/family composition between new families and empty-nesters. This data, ostensibly created to understand how families and households function, limits us to understanding only the latter and only if those households are closed systems. Further research would require more extensive data collection as there are no other large-scale data available to understand the effects of family (rather than simply household) structure

on household division of labor.

This project focuses on the *behavior* of men and women in the home, but recognizes that behavior is preceded by *attitudes* about said behavior and followed by some global *psychological response* to it. Presumably, the primary mechanism for behavioral change caused by any of my three structural circumstances is some kind of attitudinal or dispositional shift. For example, the theoretical basis for the findings on occupational characteristics suggests a change in attitudes/dispositions as the result of working in particular laborforce environments. While it is useful knowing the effect of this change on behavior, it would be even more valuable studying the change itself. Getting a clear sense of the mediating effect of attitudes toward the gendered nature of the work and, more importantly, toward the work more generally would be a primary emphasis in any work meant to better understand the findings reported here.

It would also be useful to determine how the expected combination of domestic skills competence, shifted beliefs in gender-appropriateness of this role, and increased commitment to the role (via enacting the housekeeper role) might result in higher levels of role satisfaction and resulting positive psychological well-being for men who do housework. Affect and psychological well-being are a central outcome of the sustained shift in gender role ideology and behavior. Evidence suggests that household labor, in itself, has negative psychological consequence for both women and men. There are many studies which show that women's time spent on housework increases their depression (Krause 1983, Glass and Golding 1990, Bird and Fremont 1991, Kurdek 1993, Fujimoto 1994). Men report lower levels of marital happiness when they spend more time

participating in household labor (Robinson and Spitze 1992). Rosenfield (1992) found that men who share household labor with spouses report feeling more negative affect (i.e., sadness, anxiety) than men with more traditional household labor behaviors. There are far fewer studies which find an association between men's housework and psychological well being than there are studies that find an association between women's housework and psychological well being. In fact, many studies on men find no relationship at all (Ross et al 1983, Golding 1990, Orbuch and Custer 1995). I suggest that a relationship would be found if we took into account men's different levels of competence and experience with household labor.

These variables would not be simply affected by changes in one's social environment. They are also shaped by changes among themselves and vary with one another. Therefore, a more robust examination would necessarily analyze the before (attitudes), during (behavior), and after (psychological outcomes) effects that are often analyzed separately in work in this area.

TABLES AND CHARTS

Table 1.1: Select Summary of Studies Examining The Effects Of Various Structural Dynamics On Husbands' Contributions To Female-Typical Household Labor

Study	Data Source	Housework Measure	Key Independents	Adj-R²
Greenstein (1996)	NSFH	Relative Hours	Gender ideology	0.33
Brayfield (1992)	MMMS (Canada)	Relative Hours	Employment resources	0.25
Orbuch and Eyster (1997)	264 couple survey	Wife's perception	Gender ideology	0.22
"Pittman et al (1996)	27 couple diaries	Total Minutes	Stress	0.21
Rexroat and Shehan (1987)	PSID	Relative Hours	Family life cycle	0.14
Sanchez and Thomson (1997)	NSFH	Total Hours	Transition to parenthood	0.14
Brines (1994)	PSID	Logged Total	Economic dependency	0.10
Presser (1994)	NSFH	Relative Hours	Employment schedules	0.09
Pittman and Blanchard (1996)	NSFH	Total Hours	Work history/Marital timing	0.08
Bianchi et al (2000)	NSFH	Total Hours	Customary Theoreticals	0.06
South and Spitze (1994)	NSFH	Total Hours	Marital status	0.05

Table 2.1: Range, Means and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variable Housework

	Range	Means
Hours spent by respondent on core household tasks	0 to 100 hrs	10.31
Hours spent by spouse on core household tasks	0 to 100 hrs	32.23
Respondent's share (%) of time spent on core household tasks	0 to 91 %	0.24
Gender gap in hours spent on core household tasks	-73 to 100 hrs	21.90

Table 2.2: Time Husbands Spend On Household Tasks (Total Hours, Proportion of Shared Housework, and Gap In Hours Done By Respondent and Spouse), By Type Of Task

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Gender Gap
Female-Typical Household Tasks				
Preparing meals	2.8	10.1	22%	7.1
Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals	2.5	6.4	26%	3.9
Cleaning house	2.3	8.3	23%	6.1
Washing, ironing, and mending clothes	0.9	4.4	15%	3.6
Shopping for groceries and other household goods	1.8	3.0	33%	1.2
Male-Typical Household Tasks				
Automobile maintenance and repair	2.1	0.3	92%	1.9
Outdoor tasks or other housework maintenance tasks	5.9	2.3	73%	3.6
Neutral Household Tasks				
Paying bills and keeping financial records	1.7	1.8	43%	0.1
Driving household members to work, school, or other activities	1.5	1.5	48%	0.0

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

Table 2.3: Range and Means for Dependent Variable: Childcare

	Range	Means
Respondent Sharing Meals (days per week)	0 to 7 days	3.90
Respondent General Activities (approx. days per month)	0 to 20 days	6.06
Respondent Reinforcement Behaviors (approx. days per week)	0 to 6 days	3.57
Respondent Organized Activities (hours per week)	0 to 16 hrs	0.64
Spouse Sharing Meals (days per week)	0 to 7 days	4.51
Spouse General Activities (approx. days per month)	0 to 20 days	7.94
Spouse Reinforcement Behaviors (approx. days per week)	0 to 6 days	3.93
Spouse Organized Activities (hours per week)	0 to 40 hrs	0.86
Proportion Sharing Meals (days per week)	0 to 1 %	0.45
Proportion General Activities (approx. days per month)	0 to 1 %	0.43
Proportion Reinforcement Behaviors (approx. days per week)	0 to 1 %	0.47
Proportion Organized Activities (hours per week)	0 to 1 %	0.42

Table 2.4: Time Husbands Spend On Childcare Tasks (Total Time and Proportion of Shared Housework Done By Respondent and Spouse), By Type Of Task

	Respondent's Total Time	Spouse's Total Time	Proportion of Childcare
Sharing Meals (days per week)			
Eating breakfast with kids	2.7	3.2	45%
Eating dinner with kids	5.2	5.8	46%
General Activities (approx. days per month)			
In leisure activities away from home (e.g, picnics, movies)	4.9	5.1	49%
At home working on a project or playing together	7.6	8.1	49%
Having private talks with kids	5.5	8.6	38%
Helping kids with reading or homework	6.3	10.2	39%
Reinforcement Behaviors (approx. days per week)			
Praising and/or hugging children	4.9	5.3	48%
Spanking and/or yelling at children	2.3	2.6	46%
Organized Youth Activities (hours per week)			
Parent-teacher organization or other school activity	0.6	1.2	28%
Religious youth group	0.4	0.8	36%
Community youth group, such as scouting	0.3	0.4	43%
Team sports or youth athletic clubs	1.4	1.0	63%

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

Table 2.5: Range, Means and Standard Deviations of Variables Used In Analysis, NSFH

	Range	Means	S.D.
<i>Other Job Characteristic Controls</i>			
Cognitive Demands High (relative)	-16 to 16 scale	0.152	3.607
Social Demands Low (relative)	-6 to 7 scale	0.556	2.013
Physical Demands Low (relative)	-3 to 4 scale	0.310	1.317
<i>Relative Resources</i>			
Income (his income as a proportion of household income)	0 to 1 %	0.667	0.275
Education (his education minus her education)	-15 to 19 scale	-0.009	2.687
Age (his age minus her age)	-19 to 38 scale	2.826	5.108
Job Status (dummy if his job rates 50pts higher than hers)	0 to 1 dv	0.585	0.493
<i>Time Availability</i>			
Respondent's average weekly hours of work	2 to 93 hrs	45.269	9.534
Partner's average weekly hours of work	1 to 80 hrs	36.087	8.050
Partner does not work from 3p-12a or on weekends	0 to 1 dv	0.699	0.337
Number of children	0 to 9 ttl	1.035	1.256
Percent with children under age of five years	0 to 1 %	0.336	0.310
<i>Gender Ideology</i>			
Respondent's traditional attitudes	-1 to 1 scale	-0.047	0.421
Partner's traditional attitudes	-1 to 1 scale	-0.159	0.430
<i>Controls</i>			
Respondent is nonwhite	0 to 1 dv	0.198	0.399
Respondent's father's years of education	0 to 17 yrs	10.273	3.694
Respondent's mother worked	0 to 1 dv	0.490	0.499
Respondent is currently employed fulltime	0 to 1 dv	0.779	0.413
Couple owns home	0 to 1 dv	0.786	0.410
Religiosity -- Days per week attend services	0 to 7 days	0.605	0.978
Respondent's years of education	0 to 20 yrs	12.562	3.227
Respondent's income (logged)	4.60 to 12.99 ln\$	9.872	0.784
Years in current relationship	1 to 68 yrs	17.073	14.657
Respondent's health condition limit housework	0 to 1 dv	0.041	0.199
Respondent's previous marital status	0 to 1 dv	0.217	0.392
Respondent's age	17 to 90 yrs	43.018	15.859
Respondent is currently enrolled in school	0 to 1 dv	0.039	0.195
Respondent has a military background	0 to 1 dv	0.362	0.481
Respondent's marriage is an interracial one	0 to 1 dv	0.064	0.245

Key: dummy variable (dv) , total (ttl) , percentage/proportion (%) , years (yrs) , logged dollars (ln\$)

Chart 3.1: Percentages of NSFH Respondents In Different Non-Independent Statuses

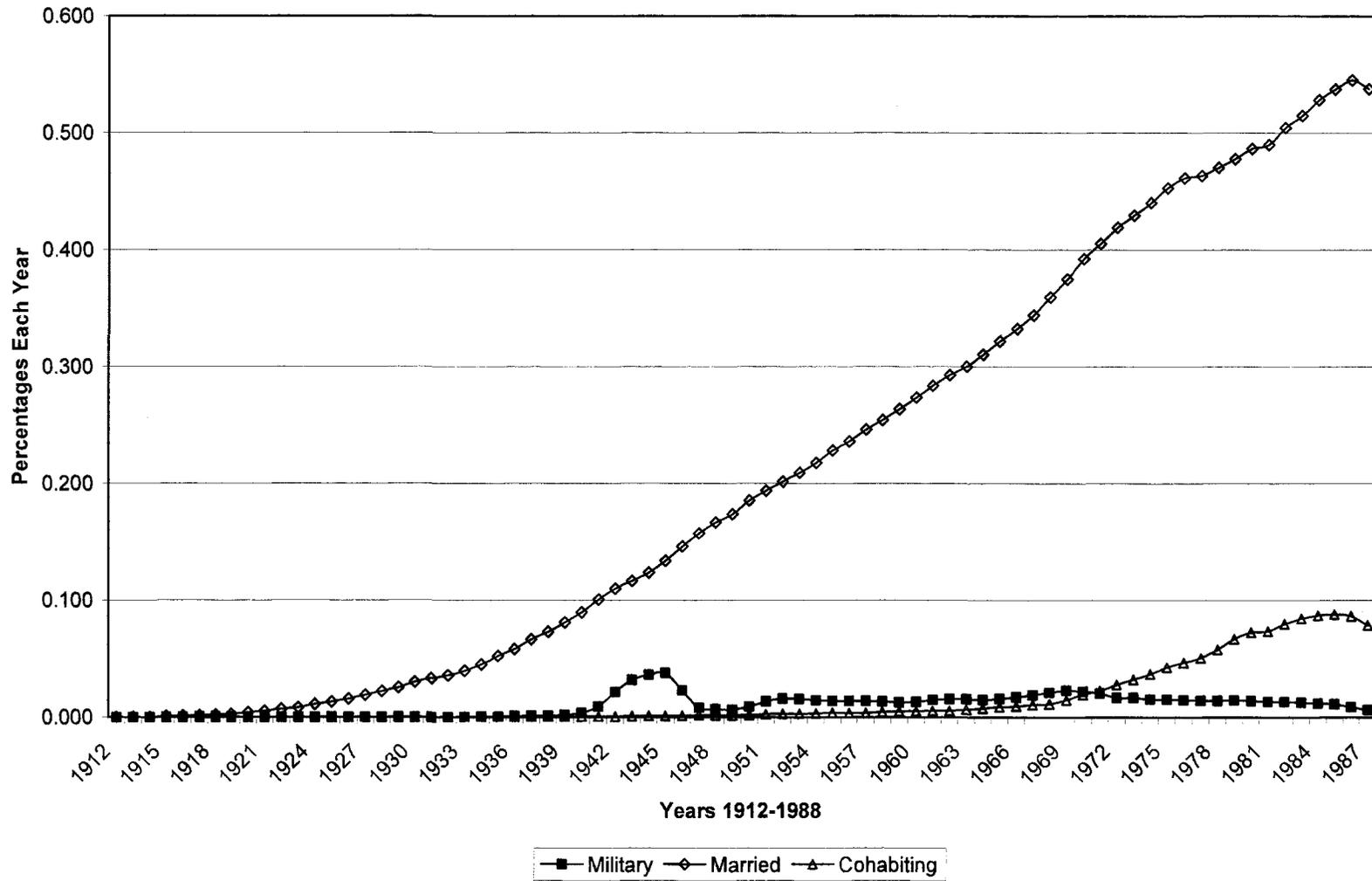


Table 3.1: Mean Ratings Of Respondents' Living Situations

	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Years In Military (Active Duty)	0-38 yrs	1.96	3.93
Years Married	0-69 yrs	18.92	15.70
Years Cohabiting	0-24 yrs	1.33	2.46
Years Living Independently (i.e., not married, not cohabiting, not in military, and not living with parents)	1-63 yrs	6.26	5.71

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

Table 3.2: Zero-Order Correlations of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, and Living Independently

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
Years Living Independently (i.e., not married, not cohabiting, not in military, and not living with parents)	-0.017	-0.079**	0.041	-0.052*

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

Table 3.3: OLS Coefficients for Determinants of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, Key Independent Variable Is Living Independently

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
Bachelorhood				
Living Independently	0.018	-0.065*	0.027	-0.059†
Relative Resources				
Income	-0.013	0.025	-0.048	0.048
Education	-0.055*	0.074	-0.107***	0.111***
Age	-0.016	-0.016	-0.026	0.006
Job Status	-0.018	0.005	-0.024	0.023
Time Availability				
Respondent's average weekly hours of work	-0.049*	0.024	-0.079***	0.054
Partner's average weekly hours of work	0.064**	-0.029	0.081***	-0.060
Partner does not work from 3p-12a or on weekends	-0.075***	-0.046*	-0.078***	0.014*
Number of children	0.109***	0.163***	0.002	0.071**
Percentage of children under age of five	0.032	0.054*	0.027	0.016
Gender Ideology				
Respondent's traditional attitudes	-0.123***	0.040*	-0.149***	0.104***
Partner's traditional attitudes	0.043	0.079	-0.041	0.066*
Controls				
Respondent is nonwhite	0.046	0.032	0.024	-0.018
Respondent's father's years of education	0.029	0.029	0.088**	-0.034
Respondent's mother worked	0.027	0.018	0.043	-0.005
Respondent is currently employed	-0.185***	-0.114*	-0.057	-0.004*
Couple owns home	-0.045*	0.038	-0.096***	0.061
Religiosity	-0.007	-0.038	0.015	-0.024
Respondent's years of education	0.089**	-0.110**	0.196***	-0.141***
Respondent's income (logged)	-0.038	-0.023	0.003	-0.030
Years in current relationship	0.032	0.028	-0.177	0.058
Respondent's health condition limit housework	-0.020	0.023	-0.026	0.025
Respondent's previous marital status	0.038	0.007	0.026	-0.017
Respondent's age	-0.088	-0.016	0.123	-0.019
Respondent currently enrolled in school	-0.019	-0.019	-0.015	-0.001
Respondent has military background	0.038	0.031	0.001	0.005
Respondent's marriage is an interracial one	0.036	0.010	-0.001	-0.004
Intercept	26.49	28.52	0.34	13.40
Adjusted R ²	0.10	0.12	0.23	0.16
F-Score	.41	4.70*	.82	3.60
Number of Cases	2186	1944	1780	1781

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

†p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

^aHigh scores = traditional ideology

Table 4.1: Routine and Repetitive Rankings of Selected Occupations, Listed From Low To High Ranking

<u>Low Rankings</u>		
Actuarian (<1)	Architect (<1)	Carpenter (3)
Announcer (<1)	Geologist (<1)	Insurance Adjuster (3)
Nuclear Engineer (<1)	High School Teacher (<1)	Financial Manager (4)
Optometrist (<1)	Computer Programmer (1)	Paperhanger (4)
Physical Therapist (<1)	Registered Nurse (1)	Actor (4)
Sociologist (<1)	Civil Engineer (1)	Phone Repair Tech (4)
Lawyer (<1)	Secretary (1)	Baker (5)
Funeral Director (<1)	Social Worker (1)	Billing Clerk (12)
Physician (<1)	Electricians (2)	Railroad Conductor (13)
Dentist (<1)	Auto Mechanic (2)	Proofreader (18)
Real Estate Agent (<1)	Pilot (2)	Dancer (23)
Childcare Worker (<1)	Model (3)	Classified Ad Clerk (23)
Clergy (<1)	Bartender (3)	
<u>Mid-Range Rankings</u>		
Bellhop (34)	Tour Guide (36)	Tailor (40)
<u>High Rankings</u>		
Dry Clean Operator (78)	Truck Driver (81)	Mail Carrier (95)
Launder/Ironer (80)	Bank Teller (86)	Meter Reader (96)
Food Prep Worker (81)	Phone Operator (88)	Garbage Collector (97)

Table 4.2: Service Orientation Rankings of Selected Occupations, Listed From Low To High Ranking

<u>Low Rankings</u>		
Actuarian (<1)	Phone Repair Tech (<1)	Truck Driver (1)
Announcer (<1)	Electricians (<1)	Food Prep Worker (1)
Nuclear Engineer (<1)	Pilot (<1)	Cmptr. Programmer (1)
Funeral Director (<1)	Billing Clerk (<1)	Lawyer (1)
Model (<1)	Dry Clean Operator (<1)	Geologist (1)
Paperhanger (<1)	Meter Reader (<1)	Civil Engineer (1)
Proofreader (<1)	Real Estate Agent (<1)	Financial Manager (1)
Mail Carrier (<1)	Architect (<1)	Bellhop (5)
Baker (<1)	Secretary (<1)	Dancer (13)
Auto Mechanic (<1)	Carpenter (<1)	Actor (13)
Tailor (<1)	Insurance Adjuster (<1)	Railroad Conductor (15)
Bartender (<1)	Classified Ad Clerk (<1)	Tour Guide (17)
Garbage Collector (<1)	Phone Operator (1)	
Bank Teller (<1)	Launder/Ironer (1)	
<u>High Rankings</u>		
Social Worker (89)	High School Teacher (94)	Registered Nurse (98)
Physical Therapist (93)	Physician (96)	Clergy (99)
Dentist (93)	Optometrist (97)	
Sociologist (94)	Childcare Worker (97)	

Table 4.3: Percent Female Rankings of Selected Occupations, Listed From Low To High Ranking

<u>Low Rankings</u>		
Actuarian (<1)	Civil Engineer (2)	Nuclear Engineer (10)
Announcer (<1)	Dentist (2)	Optometrist (17)
Bellhop (<1)	Pilot (3)	Cmptr. Programmer (22)
Clergy (<1)	Architect (3)	Financial Manager (24)
Electricians (1)	Garbage Collector (4)	Baker (27)
Meter Reader (1)	Lawyer (4)	Bartender (28)
Carpenter (1)	Railroad Conductor (5)	Dancer (28)
Auto Mechanic (1)	Funeral Director (5)	Actor (29)
Phone Repair Tech (2)	Truck Driver (7)	Insurance Adjuster (31)
Paperhanger (2)	Mail Carrier (9)	
Geologist (2)	Physician (9)	
<u>Mid-Range Rankings</u>		
Real Estate Agent (37)	Social Worker (61)	Tour Guide (67)
Tailor (41)	Physical Therapist (64)	
H.S. Teacher (51%)	Proofreader (67)	
<u>High Rankings</u>		
Dry Clean Operator (69)	Model (83)	Childcare Worker (96)
Food Prep Worker (71)	Bank Teller (84)	Phone Operator (97)
Classified Ad Clerk (79)	Billing Clerk (86)	Registered Nurse (97)
Sociologist (80)	Launder/Ironer (96)	Secretary (98)

Table 4.4: Mean Ratings On Select Job Characteristics For Respondent's, their Spouse's, and the Average Job

	Respondent's Occupation	Spouse's Occupation
Percent Female (absolute)	20.58	61.21
Percent Service Orientation (absolute)	7.93	19.79
Percent Routine Work (absolute)	20.36	19.03

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

Table 4.5a: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Husbands Spent In Housework Per Week (Total Hours Only) On Relative Job Characteristics^a

	High % Female	Service Orientation	Routine & Repetitive	Explained Vae (R ²)
Female-Typical Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Preparing meals	0.0195	0.0441*	0.0316	0.06
Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals	0.0143	0.0055	0.0074	0.03
Cleaning house	0.0310	0.0084	0.0452*	0.06
Washing, ironing, and mending clothes	0.0227	0.0437*	0.0275	0.05
Shopping for groceries and other goods	0.0291	0.0119	0.0220	0.02
Male-Typical Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Automobile maintenance and repair	-0.0248	-0.0377	-0.0270	0.02
Outdoor tasks or other maintenance tasks	-0.0031	-0.0208	-0.0005	0.05
Neutral Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Paying bills and keeping financial records	0.0131	-0.0294	0.0163	0.01
Driving household members to work, school, or other activities	0.0131	0.0107	-0.0144	0.03

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

^a These regression results include other theoretical and explanatory variables whose results are not reported.

Table 4.5b: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Husbands Spent In Female-Typical Housework Per Week (Total Hours Only) On Selected Control Variables

	Cooking	Dishes	Cleaning	Laundry	Shopping
Relative education	-0.068	-0.076		-0.075	
His average weekly hours of work	-0.040		-0.039		
Partner's average weekly work hours	0.073		0.042		
Partner does not work from 3p-12a	-0.064	-0.048	-0.068	-0.048	
Number of children	0.053		0.070	0.083	
Preschool children			0.051		0.042
Her husband's traditional attitudes	-0.090	-0.082	-0.052	-0.083	-0.045
Respondent is nonwhite	0.061	0.052	0.063		
Respondent is employed fulltime	-0.148	-0.124	-0.173	-0.082	
Couple owns home	-0.041				
Respondent's years of education	0.059				0.083
Respondent's income					-0.046
Length of time of current marriage		0.173			
Respondent's age		-0.193	-0.237		

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

^a These regression results include the job characteristics variables whose results are reported in Table 4.5a. Only significant coefficients are shown.

Table 4.6a: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Wives Spent In Housework Per Week (Total Hours Only) On Relative Job Characteristics^a

	High % Female	Service Orientation	Routine & Repetitive	Explained Var (R^2)
Female-Typical Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Preparing meals	-0.0468*	-0.0625**	0.0059	0.10
Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals	-0.0323	-0.0553*	0.0280	0.07
Cleaning house	-0.0363	-0.0467*	0.0118	0.12
Washing, ironing, and mending clothes	-0.0671**	-0.0434*	0.0121	0.07
Shopping for groceries and other goods	-0.0197	-0.0488*	0.0247	0.02
Male-Typical Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Automobile maintenance and repair	0.0438*	-0.0016	0.0137	-0.00
Outdoor tasks or other maintenance tasks	-0.0196	-0.0204	0.0220	0.03
Neutral Household Tasks (Absolute Hrs)				
Paying bills and keeping financial records	-0.0157	-0.0039	0.0413	0.01
Driving household members to work, school, or other activities	-0.0444*	0.0119	0.0054	0.07

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

^a These regression results include other theoretical and explanatory variables whose results are not reported.

Table 4.6b: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Wives Spent In Female-Typical Housework Per Week (Total Hours Only) On Selected Control Variables

	Cooking	Dishes	Cleaning	Laundry	Shopping
Relative education		0.0060	0.0822	0.0968	
Her average weekly hours of work	-0.0482		-0.0479		
Number of children	0.1170	0.0597	0.1027	0.1347	
Percentage of pre-school children		0.0408	0.0413		
Her husband's traditional attitudes	0.0486	0.0538	0.0612	0.0501	
Her traditional attitudes	0.0600	0.0545			
Her husband is nonwhite	0.0466		-0.0634		0.0618
Her husband's father's years education			-0.0523		
Her husband is employed fulltime		-0.078			
Couple owns home		0.037		0.0592	
Her husband's religiosity					0.0162
Her husband's years of education		-0.083	-0.1239	-0.1251	
Her husband's military background			0.0630		
Her marriage is an interracial one					0.0230

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

^a These regression results include the job characteristics variables whose results are reported in Table 4.6a. Only significant coefficients are shown.

Table 4.7a: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Husbands Spent In Housework Per Week (Proportion Of Shared Housework) On Relative Job Characteristics^a

	High % Female	Service Orientation	Routine & Repetitive	Explained Var (R ²)
Female-Typical Household Tasks (% of Total)				
Preparing meals	0.0263	0.0497*	0.0171	0.11
Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals	0.0284	0.0359	0.0167	0.11
Cleaning house	0.0600**	0.0098	0.0308	0.09
Washing, ironing, and mending clothes	0.0415*	0.0721**	0.0210	0.10
Shopping for groceries and other goods	0.0332	0.0419	0.0157	0.04
Male-Typical Household Tasks (% of Total)				
Automobile maintenance and repair	-0.0263	-0.0202	0.0018	0.01
Outdoor tasks or other maintenance tasks	0.0155	0.0165	-0.0183	0.03
Neutral Household Tasks (% of Total)				
Paying bills and keeping financial records	0.0252	-0.0447*	-0.0119	0.04
Driving household members to work, school, or other activities	0.0286	0.0116	-0.0180	0.04

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

^a These regression results include other theoretical and explanatory variables whose results are not reported

Table 4.7b: OLS Coefficients for Regression of Time Husbands Spent In Female-Typical Housework Per Week (Proportion of Total) On Selected Control Variables

	Cooking	Dishes	Cleaning	Laundry	Shopping
Relative income				-0.050	
Relative education	-0.052	-0.124		-0.106	
Relative age					-0.048
His average weekly hours of work	-0.080	-0.064	-0.058		-0.061
Partner's average weekly work hours	0.088	0.054	0.055		0.055
Partner does not work from 3p-12a	-0.080	-0.035	-0.051	-0.036	
His traditional attitudes	-0.084	-0.086	-0.082	-0.087	-0.082
His spouse's traditional attitudes	-0.063			-0.049	
Respondent's father's years education				0.070	
Respondent's mother worked		-0.086			
Respondent is employed fulltime	-0.092				
Couple owns home	-0.056	-0.070		-0.097	-0.063
Respondent's years of education	0.067	0.150	0.074	0.118	
Respondent's income					-0.052
Length of time of current marriage	-0.187			-0.158	-0.159
Respondent's age				0.167	

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

^a These regression results include the job characteristics variables whose results are reported in Table 4.7a. Only significant coefficients are shown.

Table 4.8: Zero-Order Correlations of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, and Husband's Relative Job Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
Percent Female	0.033	-0.044*	0.064*	-0.045*
Percent Service Orientation	0.044*	-0.097**	0.081**	-0.102**
Percent Routine Work	0.030*	0.086**	-0.012	0.054*

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

Table 4.9: OLS Coefficients for Determinants of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, Independent Variable Is Husband's Absolute Job Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
<i>Portative Capital Job Characteristics</i>				
Percent Female (absolute holdings)	0.029	-0.003	0.034	-0.022
Service Orientation (absolute holdings)	0.028	-0.019	0.041	-0.028
Routine Work (absolute holdings)	0.066**	0.015	0.027	-0.026
<i>Other Job Characteristic Controls</i>				
Cognitive Factor High (relative holdings)	0.051	0.009	0.023	-0.025
Social Factor Low (relative holdings)	0.042	0.029	0.014	0.018
Physical Factor Low (relative holdings)	0.024	-0.043	0.046	-0.040
<i>Relative Resources</i>				
Income	-0.014	0.024	-0.048	0.047
Education	-0.064*	0.073*	-0.109***	0.119***
Age	-0.016	-0.013	-0.029	0.010
Job Status	-0.024	0.017	-0.033	0.043
<i>Time Availability</i>				
Husband's average weekly hours of work	-0.044*	0.028	-0.077***	0.055*
Wife's average weekly hours of work	0.067**	-0.033	0.085***	-0.064**
Wife does not work from 3p-12a or weekends	-0.070***	-0.048*	-0.071***	0.009
Number of children	0.104***	0.163***	-0.002	0.076**
Percentage of children under age of five	0.032	0.049*	0.028	0.013
<i>Gender Ideology</i>				
Husband's traditional attitudes	-0.122***	0.037	-0.146***	0.102***
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.044	0.081**	-0.042	0.068**
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	0.045	0.033	0.022	-0.018
Husband's father's years of education	0.028	0.031	0.085**	-0.033
Husband's mother worked	0.024	0.022	0.038	-0.001
Husband is currently employed	-0.172***	-0.105*	-0.054	-0.002
Couple owns home	-0.045*	0.038	-0.098***	0.060*
Religiosity	-0.011	-0.033	0.008	-0.018
Husband's years of education	0.094**	-0.087*	0.174***	-0.126***
Husband's income (logged)	-0.036	-0.022	0.003	-0.030
Years in current relationship	0.027	0.129	-0.199*	0.133
Husband's health condition limit housework	-0.020	0.023	-0.026	0.025
Husband's previous marital status	0.032	0.029	0.018	0.002
Husband's age	-0.077	-0.126	0.147	-0.104
Husband currently enrolled in school	-0.021	-0.017	-0.019	0.001
Husband has military background	0.035	0.043	-0.002	0.015
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	0.035	0.009	-0.002	-0.003
Intercept	22.27	30.38	0.30	18.56
Adjusted R ²	.10	.12	.23	.16
F-Score	2.49**	1.41	1.98	1.60
Number of Cases	2186	1944	1780	1781

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

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

Table 4.10: OLS Coefficients for Determinants of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, Key Independent Variable Is Relative Job Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
<i>Female-Typical Job Characteristics</i>				
Percent Female (relative to partner)	0.033	-0.058*	0.064**	-0.059*
Service Orientation (relative to partner)	0.040	-0.070**	0.068**	-0.082**
Routine Work (relative to partner)	0.056*	0.034	0.034	-0.001
<i>Other Job Characteristic Controls</i>				
Cognitive Factor High (relative to partner)	0.055	0.007	0.037	-0.023
Social Factor Low (relative to partner)	0.058	-0.030	0.054	-0.041
Physical Factor Low (relative to partner)	0.047	-0.086**	0.088**	-0.092**
<i>Relative Resources</i>				
Income	-0.012	0.020	-0.042	0.042
Education	-0.062*	0.085**	-0.119***	0.128***
Age	-0.014	-0.015	-0.025	0.008
Job Status	-0.025	0.019	-0.034	0.045
<i>Time Availability</i>				
Husband's average weekly hours of work	-0.046*	0.019	-0.073**	0.048*
Wife's average weekly hours of work	0.065**	-0.029	0.082***	-0.061**
Wife does not work from 3p-12a or weekends	-0.072***	-0.050*	-0.073***	0.010
Number of children	0.104***	0.163***	-0.003	0.075**
Percentage of children under age of five	0.032	0.049*	0.027	0.013
<i>Gender Ideology</i>				
Husband's traditional attitudes	-0.124***	0.036**	-0.149***	0.102***
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.043	0.076	-0.039	0.063*
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	0.048*	0.030	0.024	-0.022
Husband's father's years of education	0.027	0.031	0.084**	-0.031
Husband's mother worked	0.029	0.013	0.047*	-0.010
Husband is currently employed	-0.184***	-0.104*	-0.062	0.002
Couple owns home	-0.046*	0.040	-0.097***	0.061**
Religiosity	-0.009	-0.034	0.011	-0.019
Husband's years of education	0.085**	-0.096**	0.182***	-0.128***
Husband's income (logged)	-0.039	-0.021	0.000	-0.027
Years in current relationship	0.017	-0.096	-0.198*	0.131
Husband's health condition limit housework	-0.020	-0.021	-0.026	0.024
Husband's previous marital status	0.030	0.030	0.016	0.004
Husband's age	-0.073	-0.118	0.142	-0.098
Husband currently enrolled in school	-0.020	-0.019	-0.017	-0.000
Husband has military background	0.036	0.043	-0.001	0.014
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	0.034	0.013	-0.005	0.000
Intercept	25.38	31.04	.33	16.57
Adjusted R ²	.10	.13	.24	.17
F-Score	2.12*	3.92***	3.87***	4.07***
Number of Cases	2186	1944	1780	1781

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

* p<.05

** p<.01

*** p<.001

Table 5.1: Mean Ratings Of Respondents' Constellation of Children By Sex, Age, and Relationship

	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Number of Children	0-9 kids	1.08	1.24
Respondents With No Children	0-1 dv	.45	.50
Age of Oldest Child	0-18 yr	9.24	5.71
Respondents With Sons Only	0-1 dv	.32	.46
Respondents With Daughters Only	0-1 dv	.29	.46
Respondents With Sons & Daughters	0-1 dv	.39	.46
Respondents With Sons As First Born	0-1 dv	.52	.50
Respondents With Sons As Last Born	0-1 dv	.51	.50
R With Son Followed By Daughters	0-1 dv	.13	.33
R With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0-1 dv	.19	.39
R With Sons Followed By Daughter	0-1 dv	.14	.34
R With Daughter Followed By Sons	0-1 dv	.12	.33
R With Daughters Followed By Son	0-1 dv	.12	.33
Number of Teenage (12-18yo) Sons	0-3 kids	.26	.52
Number of Teenage (12-18yo) Daughters	0-3 kids	.23	.51
Percent Teenage Children	0-1 dv	.25	.38
Number of Baby (0-5yo) Sons	0-3 kids	.33	.56
Number of Baby (0-5yo) Daughters	0-4 kids	.31	.55
Percentage of Baby Children	0-1 dv	.36	.43
Number of Sons	0-5 kids	1.01	.87
Number of Daughters	0-6 kids	.96	.86
Number of Stepchildren In Home	0-5 kids	.27	.65
Number of Step Sons In Home	0-3 kids	.13	.39
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0-4 kids	.14	.43
Ratio Of Stepchildren To Biological Kids	1 to 0-5	.11	.42

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

Table 5.2: Zero-Order Correlations of Female-Typical Housework Done By Husbands and Wives, and Children's Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
Respondents With Sons Only	0.007	-0.200	0.064	-0.114
Respondents With Daughters Only	0.010	-0.072	0.141*	-0.124*
Respondents With Son Followed By Daughters	-0.009	0.105	-0.021	0.033
Respondents With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0.060*	0.027	0.022	-0.017
Respondents With Sons Followed By Daughter	0.034	-0.084	0.098*	-0.097*
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.088*	0.000	-0.026	0.054
Number of Teenage Daughters	-0.083*	-0.026	-0.036	0.024
Percent Teenage Children	0.051	-0.021	-0.038	-0.027
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.005	-0.022	-0.004	-0.007
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.074**	-0.001	0.043	-0.032

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

* p<.05 ** p <.01

Table 5.3: OLS Coefficients for Determinants of Female-Typical Housework Done By Parents, Key Independent Variable Is Children's Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
<i>Children's Characteristics</i>				
Respondents With Sons Only	0.303	-0.084	0.078	-0.048
Respondents With Daughters Only	0.012	0.105	0.073	0.016
Respondents With Son Followed By Daughters	-0.022	0.059	0.007	0.045
Respondents With Son Followed By MixedSex	0.068	-0.050	0.093†	-0.090†
Respondents With Sons Followed By Daughter	0.103*	-0.044	0.118*	-0.103†
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.097*	-0.033	-0.022	0.030
Number of Teenage Daughters	-0.105*	-0.063	-0.038	-0.000
Percent Teenage Children	0.120†	-0.061	0.025	0.016
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.011	-0.000	-0.026	0.015
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.049*	0.021	0.002	0.006
<i>Theoretical Variables</i>				
Income	-0.014	0.029	-0.050*	0.052*
Education	-0.064*	0.073*	-0.110***	0.113***
Age	-0.009	-0.014	-0.024	0.006
Job Status	-0.013	0.004	-0.023	0.021
Respondent's average weekly hours of work	-0.052*	0.025	-0.079***	0.053*
Partner's average weekly hours of work	0.062**	-0.030	0.084***	-0.064**
Partner does not work from 3p-12a/weekends	-0.072***	-0.045*	-0.078***	0.014
Number of children	0.079	0.127	-0.008	0.131
Percentage of children under age of five years	0.067	0.009	0.086	-0.055
Respondent's traditional attitudes	-0.120***	0.034	-0.143***	0.095***
Partner's traditional attitudes	0.046***	0.084**	-0.043	0.069**
<i>Controls</i>				
Respondent is nonwhite	0.052*	0.029	0.032	-0.022
Respondent's father's years of education	0.026	0.027	0.089**	-0.036
Respondent's mother worked	0.029	0.022	0.044	-0.003
Respondent is currently employed	-0.194***	-0.117*	-0.056	-0.003
Couple owns home	-0.044*	0.041	-0.095***	0.063**
Religiosity	-0.007	-0.033	0.015	-0.019
Respondent's years of education	0.097**	-0.116***	0.199***	-0.145***
Respondent's income (logged)	-0.038	-0.024	0.006	-0.031
Years in current relationship	0.017	0.134	-0.224*	0.142
Respondent's health condition limit housework	-0.025	0.019	-0.027	0.025
Respondent's previous marital status	0.034	0.026	0.022	-0.003
Respondent's age	-0.067	-0.133	0.175	-0.012
Respondent currently enrolled in school	-0.017	-0.018	-0.011	-0.003
Respondent has military background	0.034	0.040	-0.004	0.015
Intercept	21.16	26.24	.24	19.52
Adjusted R ²	.10	.11	.23	.16
F-Score	2.16***	2.38***	0.99	1.08
Number of Cases	2186	1944	1780	1781

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988) † p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

Table 5.4: Zero-Order Correlations of Interactions With Children Participated In By Husbands and Wives, and Children's Characteristics. Only Significant Correlations Are Shown

	Respondent's Total Hours	Spouse's Total Hours	Proportion of Housework	Housework Gender Gap
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: MEAL SHARING WITH CHILDREN				
Number of Teenage Sons	0.207*	0.080	0.151*	0.132
Percent Teenage Children	-0.330**	-0.306**	-0.152*	-0.038
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.171**	-0.176**	0.027	0.007
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PLAY & NON-PLAY INTERACTIONS WITH CHILDREN				
Fathers With Sons Only	0.221*	0.232*	0.076	-0.028
Fathers With Son As Oldest Child	-0.271**	-0.301**	-0.037	0.064
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.051	0.112	-0.050	-0.016*
Percent Teenage Children	-0.284**	-0.433**	0.029	0.172*
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.113**	-0.103**	-0.075	-0.002
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: POSITIVE/NEGATIVE INTERACTIONS WITH CHILDREN				
Fathers With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0.100*	0.010	0.127**	0.108*
Percent Teenage Children	-0.320**	-0.350**	-0.075	-0.015
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.110**	0.002	-0.122**	-0.094*
Number of Step Daughters In Home	-0.118**	-0.001	-0.108*	-0.112**
DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PARTICIPATION IN CHILDREN'S ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES				
Fathers With Sons Only	-0.174	-0.033	-0.295*	-0.137
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.073	-0.029	-0.133*	-0.040

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988)

* p<.05 ** p<.01

Table 5.5: OLS Coefficients for Predictors of Meal Sharing With Children Done By Parents, Key Independent Variable Is Children's Characteristics

	Husband's Total Time	Spouse's Total Time	Proportion of Childcare	Childcare Gender Gap
<i>Children's Characteristics</i>				
Fathers With Sons Only	-0.030	0.114	0.066	-0.015
Fathers With Daughters Only	0.112	-0.083	0.249	0.188
Fathers With Son As Oldest Child	0.018	0.009	-0.194	-0.104
Fathers With Son As Youngest Child	0.195	-0.094	0.282†	0.180
Fathers With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	-0.015	0.060	-0.034	-0.104
Fathers With Sons Followed By A Daughter	0.044	0.042	0.050	-0.009
Number of Teenage Sons	0.154†	0.070	0.082	0.062
Number of Teenage Daughters	-0.216†	-0.066	-0.160	-0.147
Percent Teenage Children	-0.175***	-0.115*	-0.008	-0.045
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.018	0.063	-0.055	-0.058
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.062	-0.055	0.046	0.075
<i>Theoretical Controls</i>				
Husband's Income Relative To His Wife's	-0.014	0.052	0.013	-0.019
Husband's Education Relative To His Wife's	-0.014	-0.037	0.042	0.001
Husband's Age Relative To His Wife's	0.044	-0.008	0.027	0.066
Husband's Job's Status Relative To His Wife's	0.045	-0.006	0.034	0.043
Husband's average weekly hours of work	-0.056	-0.012	-0.030	-0.045
Wife's average weekly hours of work	0.021	-0.080*	0.078†	0.122**
Wife does not work from 3p-12a/weekends	0.094*	0.063†	0.056	0.026
Number of children	0.036	0.218*	-0.068	-0.158
Husband's traditional attitudes	0.119**	0.019	0.070	0.085†
Wife's traditional attitudes	-0.015	0.165***	-0.092†	-0.143**
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	0.065	-0.034	0.083†	0.045
Husband's father's years of education	0.083†	-0.027	0.061	0.058
Husband's mother worked	0.004	0.005	0.033	0.028
Husband is currently employed	-0.055	0.015	-0.086	-0.105
Couple owns home	0.084*	0.077*	0.037	-0.024
Religiosity	-0.013	0.027	-0.045	-0.033
Husband's years of education	0.092	0.049	-0.007	0.043
Husband's income (logged)	-0.037	-0.050	-0.035	-0.006
Age at start of current marriage	0.020	-0.003	-0.071	-0.055
Cohabited first	0.002	-0.066	0.032	0.006
Husband's previous marital status	-0.005	0.018	-0.014	-0.080
Husband's age	0.022	0.064	0.094	0.044
Husband currently enrolled in school	0.057	-0.015	0.068	0.055
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	0.020	0.104**	-0.076†	-0.069
Intercept	21.16	21.16	21.16	.24
Adjusted R ²	0.10	0.17	0.05	0.09
F-Score	2.34	3.30**	0.94	1.26
Number of Cases	693	681	605	607

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988) † p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

Table 5.6: OLS Coefficients for Determinants of Play/Non-Play Interaction With Children Done By Parents, Key Independent Variable Is Children's Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Time	Spouse's Total Time	Proportion of Childcare	Childcare Gender Gap
<i>Children's Characteristics</i>				
Fathers With Sons Only	0.270*	0.258*	0.089	0.033
Fathers With Daughters Only	-0.138	-0.284*	0.019	0.142
Fathers With Son As Oldest Child	-0.266†	-0.513***	0.187	0.276
Fathers With Son As Youngest Child	-0.097	-0.003	-0.168	-0.160
Fathers With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0.165*	0.127	-0.047	0.010
Fathers With Sons Followed By A Daughter	0.066	0.165†	-0.061	-0.163
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.038	0.173*	-0.106	-0.230*
Percent Teenage Children	-0.176	-0.306**	0.038	0.163
Percent Teenage Children	-0.150**	-0.041	-0.150**	-0.080
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.021	0.074	-0.099†	-0.086
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.072†	-0.006	0.071	0.057
<i>Theoretical Controls</i>				
Husband's Income Relative To His Wife's	-0.023	-0.031	0.024	-0.001
Husband's Education Relative To His Wife's	-0.074	-0.182***	0.067	0.089
Husband's Age Relative To His Wife's	0.047	-0.005	0.042	0.042
Husband's Job's Status Relative To His Wife's	-0.014	0.096*	-0.074	-0.100*
Husband's average weekly hours of work	0.010	-0.044	0.016	0.046
Wife's average weekly hours of work	0.009	-0.069†	0.050	0.066
Wife does not work from 3p-12a/weekends	-0.029	0.043	-0.042	-0.048
Number of children	0.006	-0.091	0.093	0.114
Husband's traditional attitudes	-0.042	-0.031	-0.092†	-0.028
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.049	0.086*	0.014	-0.031
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	0.117**	0.059	0.060	0.027
Husband's father's years of education	0.074	-0.029	0.068	0.063
Husband's mother worked	0.078*	0.070†	-0.012	0.001
Husband is currently employed	0.060	0.063	0.000	-0.028
Couple owns home	-0.039	-0.082*	0.018	0.024
Religiosity	0.066†	-0.022	0.081†	0.079†
Husband's years of education	0.115*	0.132*	0.011	-0.014
Husband's income (logged)	0.021	0.079†	-0.094†	-0.049
Age at start of current marriage	0.029	0.012	0.067	0.110
Cohabited first	-0.104*	-0.070†	-0.061	-0.038
Husband's previous marital status	-0.023	-0.071	0.009	0.033
Husband's age	-0.028	-0.003	-0.058	-0.104
Husband currently enrolled in school	0.024	-0.033	0.044	0.056
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	-0.009	-0.033	0.030	0.038
Intercept	21.16	26.24	.24	19.52
Adjusted R ²	0.16	0.20	0.01	0.03
F-Score	4.48***	4.70***	1.20	1.35
Number of Cases	720	687	638	638

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988) † p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

Table 5.7: OLS Coefficients for Predictors of Positive/Negative Interactions With Children Done By Parents, Key Independent Variable Is Children's Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Time	Spouse's Total Time	Proportion of Childcare	Childcare Gender Gap
<i>Children's Characteristics</i>				
Fathers With Sons Only	0.091	-0.143	0.285*	0.246†
Fathers With Daughters Only	-0.025	-0.302*	0.144	0.173
Fathers With Son As Oldest Child	-0.108	-0.323*	0.061	0.205
Fathers With Son As Youngest Child	-0.144	0.212	-0.409**	-0.481**
Fathers With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0.024	0.100	0.002	-0.079
Fathers With Sons Followed By A Daughter	0.071	0.060	-0.049	-0.077
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.122	-0.123	-0.004	-0.052
Number of Teenage Daughters	0.009	0.016	-0.012	0.020
Percent Teenage Children	-0.085†	0.066	-0.146**	-0.142**
Number of Step Sons In Home	-0.060	0.056	-0.088†	-0.121*
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.120**	0.058	0.042	0.029
<i>Theoretical Controls</i>				
Husband's Income Relative To His Wife's	-0.004	0.075†	-0.044	-0.041
Husband's Education Relative To His Wife's	-0.031	-0.072	0.007	-0.009
Husband's Age Relative To His Wife's	0.052	0.044	0.041	0.021
Husband's Job's Status Relative To His Wife's	0.045	0.020	0.027	0.022
Husband's average weekly hours of work	-0.015	0.012	-0.026	-0.031
Wife's average weekly hours of work	-0.013	0.011	-0.020	-0.018
Wife does not work from 3p-12a/weekends	0.021	0.044	0.000	-0.018
Number of children	0.119	0.031	0.111	0.096
Husband's traditional attitudes	-0.013	0.023	-0.088†	-0.107*
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.064	-0.035	0.109*	0.141**
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	-0.037	-0.031	0.006	0.006
Husband's father's years of education	0.061	0.039	0.006	0.008
Husband's mother worked	0.050	0.020	0.030	0.027
Husband is currently employed	0.088	0.027	0.086	0.077
Couple owns home	0.018	0.028	-0.007	-0.017
Religiosity	0.030	0.015	0.024	0.015
Husband's years of education	0.034	0.050	-0.002	0.008
Husband's income (logged)	0.028	-0.070†	0.056	0.066
Age at start of current marriage	-0.166	-0.196†	-0.072	-0.003
Cohabited first	-0.025	-0.004	-0.040	-0.046
Husband's previous marital status	0.101*	0.041	0.053	0.045
Husband's age	-0.037	0.086	0.001	-0.086
Husband currently enrolled in school	0.014	0.047	-0.015	-0.023
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	0.030	0.009	0.017	0.025
Intercept	21.16	26.24	.24	19.52
Adjusted R ²	0.21	0.22	0.02	0.02
F-Score	5.51***	4.99***	1.58	1.54
Number of Cases				

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988) † p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

Table 5.8: OLS Coefficients for Predictors of Participation In Children's Organized Activities Done By Parents, Key Independent Variable Is Children's Characteristics

	Respondent's Total Time	Spouse's Total Time	Proportion of Childcare	Childcare Gender Gap
<i>Children's Characteristics</i>				
Fathers With Sons Only	-0.244	-0.123	-0.231	-0.142
Fathers With Daughters Only	0.175	0.049	-0.038	0.076
Fathers With Son As Oldest Child	0.137	-0.128	0.330	0.281
Fathers With Son As Youngest Child	0.186	0.257†	-0.084	-0.084
Fathers With Son Followed By Mixed Sex	0.038	0.090	-0.027	-0.099
Fathers With Sons Followed By A Daughter	-0.055	0.068	-0.245†	-0.126
Number of Teenage Sons	-0.011	0.037	-0.231†	-0.184†
Percent Teenage Children	-0.085	-0.056	0.341†	0.057
Percent Teenage Children	-0.088	-0.041	-0.181*	-0.059
Number of Step Sons In Home	0.003	0.010	-0.183*	-0.018
Number of Step Daughters In Home	0.091†	0.123**	0.008	-0.111*
<i>Theoretical Controls</i>				
Husband's Income Relative To His Wife's	-0.105†	-0.065	-0.077	-0.041
Husband's Education Relative To His Wife's	0.000	-0.113*	0.028	0.121*
Husband's Age Relative To His Wife's	-0.038	0.034	-0.043	-0.026
Husband's Job's Status Relative To His Wife's	-0.035	-0.047	0.033	-0.023
Husband's average weekly hours of work	-0.019	0.022	-0.075	-0.031
Wife's average weekly hours of work	0.040	0.009	0.055	0.002
Wife does not work from 3p-12a/weekends	0.010	0.017	-0.039	-0.023
Number of children	-0.132	-0.065	0.112	0.005
Husband's traditional attitudes	0.013	0.017	0.034	-0.070
Wife's traditional attitudes	0.075	0.108*	-0.036	-0.050
<i>Controls</i>				
Husband is nonwhite	0.057	0.128**	0.013	-0.076
Husband's father's years of education	0.023	0.072	0.061	-0.026
Husband's mother worked	-0.010	0.021	-0.037	-0.041
Husband is currently employed	0.040	-0.015	0.090	0.075
Couple owns home	0.005	0.015	0.026	-0.008
Religiosity	-0.004	-0.004	-0.021	-0.004
Husband's years of education	0.040	0.077	0.116	-0.046
Husband's income (logged)	0.042	0.010	0.005	-0.014
Age at start of current marriage	-0.004	-0.065	0.018	0.099
Cohabited first	-0.045	-0.021	-0.003	-0.006
Husband's previous marital status	0.047	0.048	-0.067	-0.064
Husband's age	-0.008	0.015	-0.113	-0.104
Husband currently enrolled in school	0.012	-0.003	0.073	0.017
Husband's marriage is an interracial one	-0.053	-0.067	0.006	0.023
Intercept	21.16	26.24	.24	19.52
Adjusted R ²	-.02	.01	.02	.00
F-Score	1.21	1.23	1.37	0.91
Number of Cases	626	671	361	626

Source: Authors' calculations, NSFH (1987-1988) † p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

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