

The Division of Household Labor among Same-Sex Couples

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Abstract: This study will use American Time Use Survey (ATUS) data to examine whether men and women in same-sex and opposite-sex couples engage in gender performance through their time spent on housework by investigating the relationship between a partner's share of a couple's earnings and time spent doing housework. This study's sample is *much* larger than those of previous studies on this topic. The sample also is somewhat more racially/ethnically and economically diverse than those of past studies and includes both female same-sex couples and male same-sex couples (past studies have mostly focused on female same-sex couples).

Time Spent on Housework for Men and Women in Same-sex and Opposite-sex Couples

Introduction

This study will use American Time Use Survey (ATUS) data to examine gender performance through housework among men and women in same-sex and opposite-sex couples.

Few studies on same-sex couples have used nationally representative, large-scale survey data. Thus, our knowledge of this population is limited. In my proposed project, my sample is *much* larger than those of previous studies on the division of labor among same-sex couples..

My sample is also somewhat more racially/ethnically and economically diverse than past studies' and includes both female same-sex couples and male same-sex couples (past studies have mostly focused on female same-sex couples).

Literature Review Framing My Research Question

Opposite-sex Couples: Three Major Types of Theories

The literature on the division of labor among heterosexual families is characterized by three major types of theories: those concerning the relative resources of partners, the relative time constraints of partners, and the gender ideology of partners.

The theories surrounding relative resources (primarily exchange theory and Gary Becker's theory regarding comparative advantage and specialization) purport that the relative resources (earnings, prestige of job, etc.) of partners are a determinant of the household division of labor (Patterson, Sutfin, and Fulcher 2004 p. 180). Versions of exchange theory stipulate that the greater the discrepancy in resources between partners, the less unpaid housework the partner with greater resources will do. This perspective assumes that housework is onerous and that earnings are a source of bargaining power. Accordingly, the partner in a couple with greater relative earnings is likely to use this bargaining power to "buy out" of doing housework. Becker's theory, on the other hand, holds that the comparative advantage of partners in

housework, childcare, and paid employment determines the household division of labor (Becker 1991).

Additionally, time constraints theory predicts that greater relative availability or flexibility in a partner's employment schedule and/or greater demand for housework would render that partner likely to spend more time on housework than his/her spouse/partner (Patterson, Sutfin, and Fulcher 2004 p. 180).

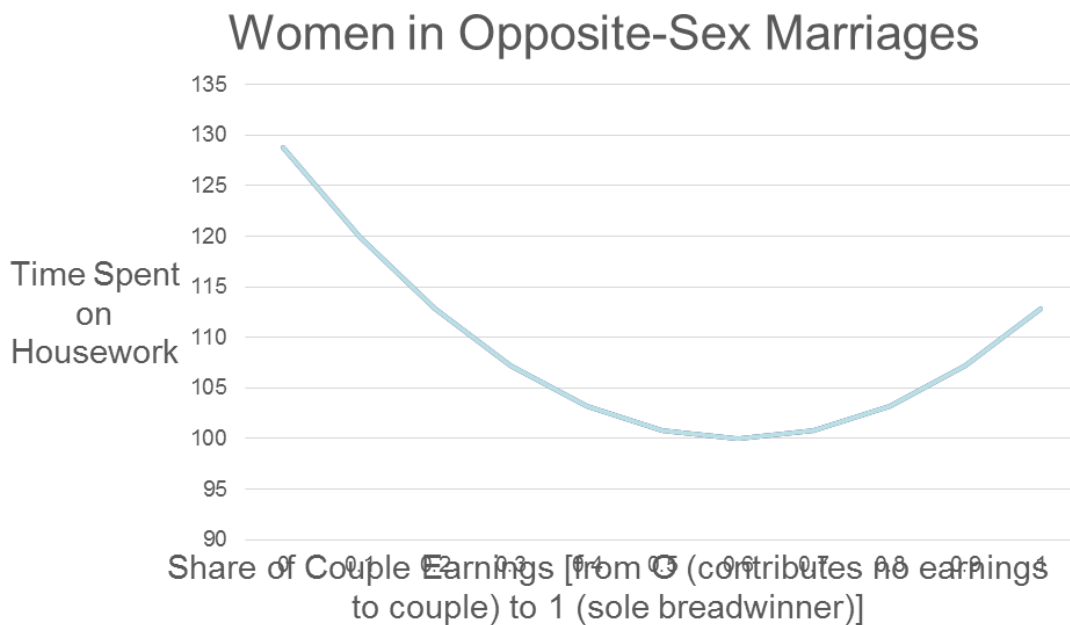
Finally, another set of theories concern gender ideology. The ideological perspective suggests that partners' attitudes about gender roles predict the division of household labor. This perspective predicts that when partners reject traditional gender roles, they will be more likely to evenly divide household tasks and paid employment (Patterson, Sutfin, and Fulcher 2004 p. 180). Another perspective, the "doing gender" perspective, views gender as something that is accomplished and enacted regularly (West and Zimmerman 1987). It contends that "doing gender" is fundamentally interactional. We are always held accountable for our actions when in the presence of others, who constantly judge our actions as to their appropriateness. Indeed, actions that are unremarkable to others are so because they are in accord with cultural standards of appropriateness. As West and Zimmerman (1987) point out in the case of a transsexual who had to constantly work in how she carried out her daily activities and interacted with others to pass as a woman, sex category is omnirelevant. Since people have different standards of appropriateness for women and men and sex category is omnirelevant, we are constantly held accountable for our behaviors with regard to our gender (West and Zimmerman 1987). This theory predicts that women might "do gender" through housework, as housework is viewed by many as "women's work," a gender-typed activity. This theory implies that the women most likely to "do gender" through housework are those who feel they must neutralize their gender deviance in other areas, such as their higher earnings compared to their husbands'.

Recent evidence has shed doubt on the relative resources and “doing gender” perspectives, showing that women’s absolute earnings, as opposed to their relative earnings, explain their time spent on housework (Gupta 2006, Gupta 2007). This perspective, called autonomy theory, purports that women’s earnings have an autonomous effect on housework time and that women’s higher absolute earnings are associated with less time spent on housework. A primary mechanism through which this occurs may be through the purchasing of housework services associated with women’s absolute earnings (Gupta 2007).

Opposite-sex Couples: Empirical Evidence For and Against The Three Types of Theories

The large body of literature on the household division of labor among opposite-sex couples mostly focuses on married couples. Overall, the literature on married couples provides support for all three types of theories, but gender has been found to be the most important determinant of the division of household labor, a finding which is not explained by the relative resources, time constraints or ideological perspectives (Shelton and John 1996).

Figure 1. Prediction of “doing gender” theory



Moreover, the results of empirical tests of the “doing gender” perspective for married opposite-sex couples’ housework time are somewhat ambiguous; there is evidence for and against women and men doing gender. Past findings of a quadratic relationship between a partner’s share of his or her couple’s earnings [often specified as a proportion from 0 (contributes no earnings to the couple) to 1 (is sole breadwinner)] have been interpreted as evidence of the “doing gender” theory. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship for women: increases in women’s earnings shares are associated with decreases in time spent on housework, as predicted by relative resources theory, up until about an earnings share of above .5 when they begin earning more than their partner, which is in opposition to their gender role. In order to compensate for their gender deviance, the “doing gender” theory predicts that women with high earnings shares will do more housework than otherwise similar women, as shown in Figure 1. On the other hand, if men in opposite-sex couples were “doing gender” through housework, they would reduce their time spent on housework when their earnings are substantially lower than their partner’s in efforts to neutralize their gender deviance of earning less housework.

However, empirical work in this vein has produced mixed results. Most recently, some work has cast doubt on the finding that married women in opposite-sex marriages who have higher earnings than their husbands do more housework than otherwise similar women (as reflected in a quadratic relationship between the share of total couple earnings earned by wives and wives’ time spent on housework). First, Gupta (2007) found that women’s absolute earnings, as opposed to their relative earnings, explain their time spent on housework, thus supporting autonomy theory (Gupta 2007). Killewald and Gough (2010) extend this theory by finding that that women’s absolute earnings, as oppose to their relative earnings, explain time spent on housework, but by exhibiting decreasing marginal returns (for low-earning women, increases in absolute earnings are associated with steeper declines in time spent on housework than for higher earning women). The authors argue that the quadratic relationship found in previous research is actually a by-product of wives’ and/or total couples’ absolute earnings being misspecified as

linear and that when wives' earnings are specified with a linear spline the quadratic relationship between wives' share of total couple earnings and time spent on housework becomes insignificant. However, the Gupta (2007) and Killewald and Gough (2010) use survey interview data on time use instead of time-diary data, which has been shown to provide more reliable information on time use (Harvey, 1993; Juster, 1985; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1985). While the most recent test of the "doing gender" theory uses time-diary data, and finds evidence that women "do gender" through housework, but men do not and finds no evidence for Gupta (2007)'s form of autonomy theory (Schneider 2011), the author did not test whether respecifying wives' earnings with a linear spline made the quadratic relationship between wives' share of total couple earnings and time spent on housework become insignificant. As such, there is a gap in the literature.

These three types of theories have also been tested empirically on household dynamics among cohabiting opposite-sex couples. Baxter et al. (2010) explain how "Previous research has shown that housework patterns within cohabiting relationships are more egalitarian than in marital relationships with cohabiting women spending less time on domestic labor than married women (Baxter, 2005; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994) and cohabiting men spending more time on domestic labor than married men (Davis, Greenstein, & Marks, 2007)". Past research has found that relative resources, time constraints, gender ideology, and "doing gender" are important determinants of the time spent on housework for women and men in cohabiting couples (Bianchi et al., 2000; Bittman et al., 2003; Ciabattari, 2004; Davis and Greenstein, 2004; Gershuny et al., 2005; Gupta, 1999).

Same-sex Couples: Three Major Types of Theories

Given that there is a good deal of support for the three major types of theories explaining the division of household labor for heterosexual couples, the literature on the division of labor among same-sex couples has been informed by and has tested the relative resources, time

constraints, and ideological theories. However, an exploration of the “doing gender” approach is largely absent from this literature, but for a few small-sample, qualitative studies.

Same-sex Couples: Empirical Support for the Three Types of Theories

The literature on the division of household labor among same-sex couples is ridden with methodological limitations and mostly focuses on lesbian couples, as opposed to gay male couples. But the studies have shown some support for exchange theory for gay male and (especially) lesbian couples (Carrington 1999; Patterson, Sutfin, and Fulcher 2004; and Sullivan 1996) and for time constraints theory for gay male and lesbian couples (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Dundas and Kaufman 2000; and Patterson, Sutfin, and Fulcher 2004). Interestingly, “Research has repeatedly shown that lesbian parent couples have high levels of shared employment, decision making, parenting, and family work, in part in the service of an egalitarian ideology” (Biblarz and Savci 2010 p. 481). There is also some support for an egalitarian ideology guiding the division of labor in gay-male-couple households, as well, where the egalitarian ideology is one in which decisions about the division of household labor are based on “...personal choice, aptitude, and fairness” (Silverstein, Auerbach, and Levant 2002 p. 366). To date, there has not been a full exploration of the “doing gender” perspective or autonomy theory among same-sex couples.

Limitations in the Literature on Same-sex Couples

The limitations in the literature on the division of household labor among same-sex couples are many. The literature on housework, in particular, consists entirely of studies that use very small samples. In the vast majority of these studies, the samples are also predominantly white and higher-income. In their review of the literature on same-sex couples, Biblarz and Savci (2010) write, “Analyses of the relatively new national data sets showed that lesbian couples are far more diverse demographically and socioeconomically and dispersed geographically than those who have populated the hitherto small sample studies (Gates & Ost, 2004; Sears & Badgett, 2004; Sears, Gates, & Rubenstein, 2005)” (p. 482). Moreover, nearly all

of the studies in this literature are of female same-sex couples, as opposed to male same-sex couples. This literature needs studies that use larger and nationally-representative samples to better understand the division of household labor for the breadth of diversity in this population.

Moreover, virtually absent from the literature are explorations of whether people in same-sex couples “do gender” through housework. Such explorations would bring deeper understanding to our knowledge of the division of household labor among same-sex couples, as well as the construction of gender among this population.

Articulation of Research Question

This study uses American Time Use Survey (ATUS) data to investigate whether men and women in same-sex couples engage in gender performance through their time spent on housework by examining the relationship between a partner's share of a couple's earnings and time spent doing housework.

This analysis tests the “doing gender” perspective (Gupta 1999, South and Spitze 1994). As is the tradition in a body of work, an examination of the relationship between relative earnings and time spent on housework is a test of “doing gender” through housework (e.g. Brines 1994). As explained above, if men in opposite-sex couples were “doing gender” through housework, they would reduce their time spent on housework when their earnings are substantially lower than their partner's, whereas women would increase their time spent on housework when their earnings are substantially higher than their partner's in efforts to neutralize their gender deviance.

To be clear, this analysis investigates whether the particular “doing gender” mechanism predicted to occur among opposite-sex couples is at work among same-sex couples. That is, in my analysis of the relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework, I am testing whether or not men in same-sex couples who earn substantially less than their partner do less housework relative to similar men who have greater relative earnings and whether women in

same-sex couples who earn substantially more than their partners do more housework than similar women with lower relative earnings. These trends would lend support to the proposition that men and women in same-sex couples “do gender” through housework in the same way predicted for men and women in opposite-sex couples.

Given that the construction of gender among men and women in same-sex couples might differ from that of men and women in opposite-sex couples (Gamson and Moon 2004), the next step in an examination of the role of gender in the division of household labor among men and women in same-sex couples would extend this analysis by investigating the potential role of other mechanisms. The "doing gender" perspective refers to gender as emerging from interactions with other people, however, gender identity also is predicted to affect this mechanism—not only do people act in gender-appropriate ways because others hold them accountable for doing so, but people also act in gender-appropriate ways because doing so maintains their gender identities which are important to them (West and Zimmerman 1987). As such, both our own gender identities as well as our interactions with other people, affect how “doing gender” might play out. Both of the latter and the former might differ between people in same-sex couples and people in opposite-sex couples.

Theoretical Predictions

It is unclear whether women and men in same-sex couples would “do gender” through housework to a greater or lesser extent than men and women in opposite-sex couples, if at all. For instance, people in same-sex couples might feel they have even more gender deviance to compensate for and so “do gender” through housework to a greater degree. On the other hand, the norms of breadwinner man/homemaker woman might not become salient in same-sex couples simply because they do not consist of a man and a woman or because the construction of gender among men and women in same-sex couples excludes such identities. If this were the case, people in same-sex couples might “do gender” through housework to a lesser extent than

people in opposite-sex couples.

Data

I use data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The ATUS collects information on each respondent's activities for a 24-hour period. As such, we cannot observe day-to-day variation in activities for an individual, but, when data is aggregated across individuals, we can get estimates of time use for populations and subpopulations (Abraham et al. 2011). Households are selected randomly from a subset of households that have completed their last round of interviews in the Current Population Survey (CPS) (Abraham et al. 2011). A member of each household over age 15 is randomly selected to report their time-use for a 24-hour period. This data frame is designed to be nationally representative after applying weights to account for the stratified, random sampling design that oversamples certain smaller demographic groups, the oversampling of time use data for Saturdays and Sundays, and the differing response rates across certain demographic groups and days of the week (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013).

In addition to reporting their own time-use, ATUS respondents report several non-time-use items for themselves and each member of their household. Two of these variables are sex and relationship to ATUS respondent. Through the respondents' answers to these two questions, I identified respondents in same-sex and opposite-sex marriages and cohabitations.

An advantage of the American Time Use Survey is that it uses a time diary method, as opposed to a survey interview method, which might be a more reliable method for collecting data on time use (Harvey, 1993; Juster, 1985; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1985). Survey interview methods for collecting time use data have been found to collect inflated estimates of time use (Hook 2004 p. 106), and do not typically have sample sizes large enough to address my research question.

The American Time Use Survey has a number of fundamental limitations that affect how we can use the data and what questions the data can help answer. The ATUS contains time-use

information for only one member of each household (Abraham et al. 2011), so my analysis cannot account for between-couple variations in preferences for cleanliness and other correlates of total housework time (Schneider 2011 p. 858).

Moreover, information is generally not collected on secondary activities (activities undertaken simultaneously with the primary reported activity), with the exception of secondary child care (Abraham et al. 2011). This means that the amount of time people spend on activities that might frequently be done simultaneously with other activities might be underestimated (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2013 p. 40).

Finally, the ATUS does not collect earnings information on respondents or their spouses who are self-employed or on respondent's whose partners did not live in their household during the final CPS interview two to five months prior to the ATUS interview. Thus, my findings will not be generalizable to the self-employed and couples who moved in together two to five months ago (Schneider 2011 p. 849).

Particular Limitations of Data on Same-Sex Couples From the American Time Use Survey

There are several limitations to the information the ATUS collects on same-sex couples. The CPS collects information on the presence of same-sex partners and same-sex spouses living together in a household. However, because the ATUS randomly selects one individual aged 15 and older living in each household in its sample to participate in the survey, there may be respondents living in households where same-sex cohabiting or married couples are present, but the respondent is not a part of that couple, so time-use data isn't collected for a partner in that couple (Krantz-Kent). This implies that the proportion of ATUS respondents with a same-sex unmarried partner or a same-sex spouse cannot be viewed as representative of the proportion of same-sex married and unmarried partners in the population.

In addition, these data might be affected by a social desirability bias. Some respondents might feel uncomfortable disclosing that they are in a same-sex partnership or marriage and, thus, same-sex partnerships and marriages might be under-reported (Krantz-Kent).

There are additional factors that might affect the data. To begin, when information about sex is not provided in the ATUS, the person's sex is allocated using the sex that was recorded for that person in the CPS, when available, or is assigned the opposite sex of that person's spouse, if that information is available. This procedure could then produce cases in which a same-sex married couple appears to be a heterosexual married couple. Moreover, until January 2010, the CPS changed the sex of one person in each same-sex married couple, so the couple would appear to be an opposite-sex couple to protect respondents' confidentiality. This procedure may have then affected cases in the ATUS in which sex is allocated and have produced cases in which a same-sex married couples appear to be a heterosexual married couple (Krantz-Kent). However, the individual year data files (but not the multi-year data files) indicate when a person's sex has been allocated, so it may make sense to throw out the cases in which sex has been allocated, so I reduce the risk of using data on opposite-sex couples that fallaciously includes same-sex couples (Krantz-Kent). To address this issue, I will do a sensitivity analysis to see if my results hold up when allocated cases are left out of my analyses.

In addition, because the number of same-sex unmarried partners and spouses in the ATUS data is small, even a small amount of measurement error can have a substantial effect on any inferences we make from the data (Black et al. 2009). I did not find any research on measurement error in identifying same-sex couples in the ATUS, in particular. Thus, I will need to look into whether there may be any work on the amount of measurement error in the ATUS sex variable and relationship to ATUS respondent variable, the two variables which allow me to identify relationship type. Important to consider will be the degree to which the respondents' answers on these variables are checked against their answers from their last round of the CPS, thus potentially reducing the risk of measurement error. Nonetheless, the issue of social

desirability bias addressed above is harder to deal with. I will look into literature on this topic to try to get some hints at how much this factor might contribute to measurement error.

Method of Analysis

I will conduct OLS regression analyses. Important to understand about my data is that the ATUS collects time-use information for only one member of each household, but collects demographic data on all members of the household. As such, my dependent variable will be time spent on housework for one member in a couple (the ATUS respondent) and the independent variables will be various demographic variables of the ATUS respondent and their spouse/partner. I explain these measures in more detail, starting on page 14.

Sample Restrictions

Pooling data from 2003 to 2013, I began with a sample of 148,345 ATUS respondents.¹

- I first limited my sample to ATUS respondents who are between the ages of 18 and 65 and whose partners/spouses are between the ages of 18 and 65. I imposed this sample restriction, so I can examine how housework and paid work is divided between partners who are both of working age and, thus, eligible to engage in bargaining between these two realms of work with each other. This next restriction produced a loss to my sample of 33,781 respondents.
- I then limited my sample to ATUS respondents in same-sex unmarried cohabiting partnerships, same-sex married partnerships, opposite-sex unmarried cohabiting partnerships, and opposite-sex married partnerships. This restriction produced a loss of 47,163 cases.

¹ This is the number of ATUS respondents after I reshaped my data. Before I reshaped my data, I had to drop the people who are not ATUS respondents, their spouses, or their unmarried partners because otherwise my server would not reshape my data due to its large file size.

- Next, I dropped ATUS respondents for whom both their earnings and their partner's/spouse's earnings are zero.(Schneider 2011 p. 849). This restriction produced a further loss of 2,877 cases.
- I then dropped cases tagged by the interviewer as not to be used. This next restriction produced an additional loss of 749 cases.
- I dropped cases for which ATUS respondents' or spouses' usual hours of work vary. This restriction produced an additional loss of 7,223 cases.
- I dropped cases of respondents who are self-employed (or who have a self-employed partner) and those whose partners was not living in the household during the final CPS interview because earnings information was not collected for these cases. This restriction produced a loss of 11,742 cases.
- I only consider cases with complete data on all my covariates (Schneider 2011 p. 849). The variable for home ownership had 59 missing cases. For now, I drop these cases, but I will look into the possibility of using multiple imputation for missing data.

My final sample consists of 44,751 respondents.

Dependent Variables

- The dependent variable is time spent on housework per day.
- I operationalize time spent on housework per day in the same way as Schneider (2011): "I calculated total housework time as the sum of minutes per day spent on nine types of housework: (a) cleaning, laundry, sewing, (b) meal preparation and clean up, (c) shopping, (d) interior maintenance, (e) exterior maintenance, (f) lawn, garden, and yard care, (g) auto maintenance and repair, (h) household management, and (i) care of pets. I top-coded the total time spent on these housework tasks at the 99th percentile for the analysis sample. Although the definition of housework that scholars have used varies by study, the fairly inclusive measure used here is quite similar to that used by Bittman and

colleagues (2003) and Greenstein (2000) in work on earnings share and housework and to the measure used by South and Spitze (1994), Gupta (1999a), and Bianchi and colleagues (2000) in work on other dimensions of housework. This broad definition should also overlap with the measure used by Brines (1994), Evertsson and Neramo (2004), and Achen and Gough (2009) that is based on a single catch-all question about housework in the PSID” (p. 850).

- As Schneider did, I think it will also make sense to test “the robustness of my results to two alternative definitions of housework, one that also included child care and one that was limited to only “female-typed” tasks (cleaning, laundry, sewing, meal preparation, and clean up)” (p. 850).

Independent Variables

- Earnings share—My measure of an ATUS respondent’s earnings share will be the respondent’s earnings minus their partner’s earnings divided by total couple earnings. This definition is used by Sorenson and McLanahan (1987) and many other studies in the literature on heterosexual couples (Schneider 2011 p. 850). I rescaled this variable to range from 0-1 for simplicity.
- Total couple earnings—I will control for total couple earnings. This will ensure that the relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework is not confounded by absolute earnings (p. 850)
- As Schneider (2011) did, in a different set of models, I will use separate controls for each partner’s earnings and exclude total couple earnings in these models to test autonomy theory, mentioned above. This variable and the above two variables, “...were designed to separate the relationship between earnings share and housework from the relationship between absolute earnings and housework” (p. 850). This strategy will allow me to test autonomy theory.

- In response to Killewald and Gough (2010) who argued that the quadratic relationship found in previous research is actually a by-product of wives' absolute earnings being misspecified as linear and that when wives' earnings are specified with a linear spline the quadratic relationship between wives' share of total couple earnings and time spent on housework becomes insignificant, in a different set of models, I examined whether specifying wives' earnings with a linear spline better fit the model and made the quadratic relationship between women's relative earnings and time spent on housework become insignificant. Given that Killewald and Gough, did not use time diary data in their study, which has been shown to provide more accurate information on time use (Harvey, 1993; Juster, 1985; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1985), my analysis, which uses time use data, adds to our understanding.
- .Respondent's and partner's usual hours of paid work- I will include the respondent's and their partner's usual hours of paid work.
- Sex
- Linear and Squared Terms for age (following past research on this topic for opposite-sex couples). I centered the linear age term on the sample mean to avoid collinearity.
- Race- A dichotomous measure, white vs. non-white.
- Homeownership- I will measure homeownership using a dummy variable indicating whether or not the couple's home is owned or being bought by a member of their household.
- Number of Children
- Education- The ATUS has information on both years of completed education and highest level of education (in terms of credentials). I will probably code the categories for the education variable in terms of credentials (did not graduate from high school, high school, some college, college, graduate school degree). This variable is only for ATUS respondents ages 15-49, so anyone outside that age range is coded as NUI. I'm going to

assume those in NIU are not in school and recode the variable as such to create my school enrollment variable

- Dummy variable indicating whether or not the respondent is enrolled in school
- Dummy variable indicating whether or not the respondent is unemployed
- Dummy variable indicating whether or not the respondent is in the labor force
- Dummy variables indicating the day of the week of the respondent's time diary (Saturday, Sunday, and holidays, with nonholiday weekdays being the referent category) (p. 850).
- Couple type

Results

Below I present descriptive statistics and the results for the first set of analyses in which I examine the relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework for men and women in opposite-sex marriages and men and women in same-sex cohabiting and married couples.

Over the coming months I will add men and women in opposite-sex cohabiting relationships to the above analysis of the relationship between earnings share and housework time. I will also do my second set of analyses which will compare overall housework time across men and women in opposite-sex married couples, men and women in opposite-sex cohabiting couples, men and women in same-sex couples, and single men and women.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics on my variables by couple-type and sex. It tells us that married and cohabiting men in opposite-sex relationships spend less time doing housework than married and cohabiting women in opposite-sex relationships. However, married and cohabiting men in same-sex relationships spend more time on average doing housework than

women in same-sex married and cohabiting relationships. In addition, men in opposite-sex relationships spend less time on average doing housework than men in same-sex relationships and women in opposite-sex relationships spend more time doing housework than women in same-sex relationships.

Table 1 also tells us that the earnings shares of men and women in opposite-sex marriages indicates the most inequality in earnings, followed by those in opposite-sex cohabiting couples, and then those in same-sex couples [for whom the average earnings share is closer to equality (an earnings share of .5) for both men and women]. In addition, men in opposite-sex relationships work more hours than women in opposite-sex relationships. Men in same-sex relationships work about as many hours per week as men in opposite-sex relationships and women in same-sex relationships work just slightly fewer hours.

Table 1 tells us that ATUS respondents in same-sex couples are overwhelmingly white, followed by respondents in opposite-sex couples, and then respondents in cohabiting couples. Respondents in opposite-sex marriages are the most likely to own their homes, followed by respondents in same-sex relationships, and then respondents in cohabiting relationships. In addition, respondents in same-sex relationships tend to have higher levels of education, followed by respondents in opposite-sex marriages, and then respondents in opposite-sex cohabiting relationships.

Table 1. Mean Characteristics by Couple Type and Sex

	Opp.-Sex Married Men	Opp.- Sex Married Women	Opp.-Sex Cohabiting Men	Opp.-Sex Cohabiting Women	Same- Sex Married or Cohab. Men	Same- Sex Married or Cohab. Women
N (unweighted)	19,614	22,316	1,169	1,397	113	142
<u>Key Variables</u> (weighted)						
Earnings Share	.64	.34	.57	.41	.53	.48
Weekly Earnings	961.20	512.89	623.86	463.14	1008.72	913.6639
Spouse's/Partner's Weekly Earnings	549.985.61	985.61	459.43	653.53	1074.60	941.63
Total Couple Earnings	1510.94	1498.50	1083.30	1116.67	2084.32	1855.30
Usual Hours of Paid Work	40.59	26.43	37.26	29.17	41.05	38.51
Spouse's Usual Hours of Paid Work	28.37	40.73	32.20	38.20	37.70	41.24
Proportion who Own Homes(Y/N)	.83	.82	.44	.49	.78	.66
Number of Children	1.10	1.14	0.63	0.83	0.21	0.40
Proportion Enrolled in School	.04	.06	.07	.12	.11	.14
Time Spent on Housework	106.94	183.89	97.09	146.62	142.37	113.38
<u>Control Variables</u> (weighted)						
Age	43.76	41.61	34.05	32.47	41.30	38.80
Race						
Proportion White, not Hispanic	.72	.72	.67	.70	.80	.82
Education						
Proportion with Less than HS Degree	.10	.09	.14	.13	.02	.07
Proportion with HS Degree	.30	.28	.41	.32	.16	.14
Proportion with Some College	.25	.26	.25	.30	.23	.24
Proportion with College Degree or More	.35	.37	.20	.26	.60	.56

My sample of same-sex couples might be slightly more advantaged than the same-sex couples in the 2010 Census and the American Community Survey (ACS), though the differences are not statistically significant. Table 1 shows an earnings premium for men and women in

same-sex couples. This is consistent with ACS results for women (and goes along with their higher education), but not for men (demographers have been surprised about why men in same-sex couples in the ACS don't make more, given their education levels) (Gates 2013). I will need to also look at earnings data in the 2010 Census. In addition, men and women in same-sex couples in my sample have a higher level of education than those in the 2010 Census, though the difference is not statistically significant.

Test of "Doing Gender": The Relationship Between Relative Earnings and Housework

I begin by replicating the results of Schneider by analyzing the relationship between relative earnings and time spent on housework for men and women in opposite-sex marriages (though for the years 2003-2013, as opposed to 2003-2007 as Schneider did). As Schneider found, I find neither a linear nor a quadratic relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework, as evidenced by the lack of statistical significance in the earnings share terms in both the quadratic and linear models (see Table 2).

I checked the robustness of my results by running the models for various subpopulations. I find that there is neither a linear nor a quadratic relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework for a model which excludes men without earnings, another model which excludes men with wives without earnings, and another model which only includes men in dual earner couples.

Table 2. Opposite-Sex Married and Cohabiting Men

VARIABLES	Married: Linear	Married: Quadratic	Cohabiting: Linear	Cohabiting: Quadratic
earnshare	7.493 (8.771)	1.49 (30.546)	2.066 (29.20)	-71.48 (117.199)
earnsharesq		4.97 (25.945)		61.10 (90.976)
couple_earn	0.000512 (0.00138)	0.00 (0.001)	0.00338 (0.00890)	0.00 (0.009)
uhrsworkt1	-0.906*** (0.111)	-0.91*** (0.111)	-1.133*** (0.355)	-1.13*** (0.356)
spusualhrs1	0.274** (0.114)	0.29* (0.149)	0.139 (0.376)	0.29 (0.431)
own	15.18*** (2.958)	15.20*** (2.951)	17.29** (7.861)	16.92** (7.723)
hs	4.931 (4.425)	4.95 (4.416)	15.10 (11.60)	14.77 (11.502)
somecoll	5.586 (4.422)	5.60 (4.416)	13.65 (13.03)	13.73 (13.064)
college	2.395 (4.535)	2.39 (4.535)	0.693 (14.06)	0.16 (14.012)
schlen	-20.39*** (4.350)	-20.42*** (4.359)	-23.61** (10.65)	-23.64** (10.739)
centage	0.720*** (0.128)	0.72*** (0.128)	0.830 (0.530)	0.81 (0.536)
agesq	0.000441 (0.0111)	0.00 (0.011)	-0.0572* (0.0332)	-0.06* (0.033)
white	15.83*** (2.365)	15.85*** (2.365)	18.65*** (7.153)	19.13*** (7.299)
hh_numkids1	2.216* (1.171)	2.21* (1.170)	0.320 (3.592)	0.31 (3.601)
unemployed	64.04*** (11.48)	62.40*** (14.227)	11.70 (29.74)	-7.53 (40.990)
laborforce	-28.85*** (9.095)	-27.21** (12.127)	-25.73 (31.77)	-6.58 (42.210)
sat	64.46*** (2.945)	64.46*** (2.945)	41.30*** (13.12)	41.54*** (13.116)
sun	59.99*** (2.759)	59.99*** (2.759)	44.54*** (9.292)	44.25*** (9.320)
hol	54.80*** (9.882)	54.80*** (9.884)	34.96 (35.73)	34.37 (35.451)
Constant	91.35*** (8.543)	90.80*** (9.162)	113.4*** (28.09)	107.86*** (30.369)
Observations	19,614	19,614	1,169	1,169
BIC	243064.5	243074.3	14354.36	14360.75
R-squared	0.109	0.109	0.120	0.121

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

Next, I replicate Schneider's results for women married to men. As Schneider did, I find that the relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework is quadratic. As

shown in Table 3, the earnings share term in the linear model is statistically significant (p-value=.004). In the quadratic model, the squared earnings share term is positive and statistically significant (p-value<.001) and the linear term is negative and statistically significant (p-value<.001). However, the quadratic model is a better fit to the data than the linear model, as evidenced by its lower BIC (BIC=281236.2 compared with the linear model's BIC=281247.4).

I checked the robustness of my results by running the models for various subpopulations. I find that the quadratic model fits the data better than the linear model and that the earnings share terms are statistically significant in models which excludes women without earnings, another set of models which excludes women with husbands without earnings, and another set of models which only include women in dual earner couples.

Table 3. Opposite-Sex Married and Cohabiting Women

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Married: Linear	Married: Quadratic	Cohabiting: Linear	Cohabiting: Quadratic
earnshare	-21.51*** (7.444)	-106.25*** (23.521)	-25.60 (24.95)	10.72 (90.57)
earnsharesq		79.08*** (21.190)		-32.27 (76.53)
couple_earn	-0.00327** (0.00143)	-0.00** (0.001)	0.00115 (0.00605)	0.00117 (0.00607)
uhrsworkt1	-1.406*** (0.129)	-1.23*** (0.130)	-1.586*** (0.468)	-1.648*** (0.455)
spusualhrs1	0.159 (0.0995)	0.32*** (0.115)	-0.360 (0.296)	-0.431 (0.336)
own	-0.169 (3.193)	-0.10 (3.196)	-2.542 (8.013)	-2.338 (8.056)
hs	-21.85*** (5.090)	-22.16*** (5.102)	-17.42 (12.40)	-17.48 (12.39)
somecoll	-28.98*** (5.094)	-29.25*** (5.102)	15.59 (13.99)	15.42 (14.00)
college	-31.54*** (5.108)	-31.87*** (5.117)	-8.247 (14.60)	-8.457 (14.69)
schlen	-27.40*** (3.904)	-27.58*** (3.917)	-39.60*** (12.45)	-39.25*** (12.60)
centage	1.604*** (0.123)	1.55*** (0.124)	1.738*** (0.606)	1.741*** (0.607)
agesq	-0.0443*** (0.0113)	-0.04*** (0.011)	-0.0674* (0.0400)	-0.0683* (0.0400)
white	-2.487 (2.594)	-3.01 (2.599)	8.786 (7.953)	8.779 (7.962)
hh_numkids1	8.819*** (1.111)	8.68*** (1.112)	6.518* (3.412)	6.485* (3.412)
unemployed	34.37*** (8.554)	22.55** (9.293)	38.33 (25.77)	44.59 (32.38)
laborforce	-20.53*** (5.366)	-8.48 (6.585)	-24.07 (22.52)	-30.39 (29.38)
sat	43.66*** (2.858)	43.81*** (2.858)	23.49** (10.10)	23.60** (10.12)
sun	33.29*** (2.759)	33.30*** (2.759)	40.73*** (10.75)	40.71*** (10.75)
hol	42.37*** (9.597)	42.08*** (9.614)	1.089 (26.36)	0.954 (26.37)
Constant	229.2*** (7.175)	222.27*** (7.600)	229.5*** (21.10)	232.7*** (21.86)
Observations	22,314	22,314	1,397	1,397
BIC	281247.4	281236.2	17410.36	17417.35
R-squared	0.144	0.145	0.178	0.178

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

Next, I estimated the models for opposite-sex cohabiting men and women. As with opposite-sex married men, I do not find evidence that opposite-sex cohabiting men “do gender.” I find neither a linear nor a quadratic relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework, as evidenced by the lack of statistical significance in the earnings share terms in both the quadratic and linear models (see Table 2).

I checked the robustness of my results by running the models for various subpopulations. I find that there is neither a linear nor a quadratic relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework for a model which excludes men without earnings, another model which excludes men with wives without earnings, and another model which only includes men in dual earner couples.

Results for opposite-sex cohabiting women differ from those of opposite-sex married women. While I found evidence for gender performance through housework for opposite-sex married women, I find no evidence among opposite-sex cohabiting women. I find neither a linear nor a quadratic relationship between earnings share and time spent on housework, as evidenced by the lack of statistical significance in the earnings share terms in both the quadratic and linear models (see Table 3).

I checked the robustness of my results by running the models for various subpopulations. I find that the quadratic model fits the data better than the linear model and that the earnings share terms are statistically insignificant in models which exclude women without earnings, and another set of models which exclude women with husbands without earnings. In a set of models which only include women in dual-earner couples, I found that the earnings share term was positive and insignificant in the linear model, but that, after adding the squared earnings share term to the model, the linear earnings share term remained positive and became significant and the quadratic earnings share term was negative and statistically significant (p -value=.070 and p -value=.071, respectively). However, the linear model (BIC= 10894.99) was a better fitting

model than the quadratic model (BIC=10898.61). I interpret these results as not supporting the “doing gender” theory among women cohabiting with men.

The estimates of the models for men in same-sex couples are presented in Table 4. For men in same-sex couples, the linear model is a slightly better fit to the data than the quadratic model, as evidenced by the linear model’s smaller BIC (BIC= 1474.489) compared to that of the quadratic model (BIC=1478.802). In addition, the earnings share term in the linear model is statistically significant (p-value= .049).

I check the robustness of my results against various subpopulations. I find that the linear model is superior to the quadratic model for all but one of the following subsamples: couples with highly unequal relative earnings (defined as having an earnings share of $>.2$ or $<.8$), all dual-earner couples (defined as all couples where both partners have non-zero earnings or, in another set of models, couple’s where a partner’s earnings share is between $.2$ and $.8$), and couples with similar earnings (defined as having an earnings share of $>.35$ and $<.65$ or, in another set of models, having an earnings share of $>.4$ and $<.6$).² In addition, the linear earnings share term is statistically significant in the linear model for all but one of these subpopulations.

In summary, I do not find evidence that men in same-sex couples “do gender” through housework. For men in same-sex couples, I find that a partner’s relative earnings influence time spent on housework in accord with exchange theory.

² The subpopulations for the robustness checks for men and women in same-sex couples are slightly broader categories than those for men and women in opposite-sex marriage to retain more cases.

Table 4. Men in Same-sex Cohabiting or Married Couples

VARIABLES	(1) Linear	(2) Quadratic
earnshare	-167.7** (72.95)	5.12 (334.351)
earnsharesq		-153.05 (282.006)
couple_earn	0.00267 (0.0143)	0.00 (0.014)
uhrsworkt1	-2.455* (1.239)	-2.54** (1.227)
spusualhrs1	-1.515 (0.975)	-1.82 (1.126)
own	-11.04 (36.02)	-8.76 (34.995)
hs	-65.01 (48.99)	-54.15 (58.407)
somecoll	-60.42 (39.56)	-54.93 (42.947)
college	-98.30** (39.66)	-94.33** (41.076)
schlen	-43.28 (55.34)	-45.04 (55.068)
centage	1.371 (1.331)	1.47 (1.379)
agesq	-0.263** (0.121)	-0.25** (0.123)
white	-50.01 (37.56)	-55.11 (40.257)
hh_numkids1	9.564 (23.86)	11.03 (23.094)
unemployed	-231.5*** (86.25)	-193.16 (129.355)
laborforce	3.273 (86.07)	-31.71 (120.374)
sat	91.70** (39.13)	90.98** (38.856)
sun	86.12** (36.70)	88.83** (38.070)
o.hol	-	-
Constant	494.4*** (70.18)	501.57*** (70.602)
Observations	113	113
BIC	1474.489	1478.802
R-squared	0.410	0.413

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

Turning to the models of same-sex women, I find that the linear model is superior to the quadratic model. The linear model has a slightly smaller BIC (BIC= 1821.027) than that of the quadratic model (BIC=1823.754). However, the earnings share terms are not statistically significant in either model (Table 5).

I check the robustness of my results against various subpopulations. I find that the linear model is a better fitting model than the quadratic model for a number of different subsamples: couples with highly unequal relative earnings (defined as having an earnings share of $>.2$ or $<.8$), dual-earner couples (defined as all couples where both partners have non-zero earnings or, in another set of models, couple's where a partner's earnings share is between $.2$ and $.8$), and couples with similar earnings (defined as having an earnings share of $>.35$ and $<.65$ or, in another set of models, having an earnings share of $>.4$ and $<.6$). However, the earnings share terms are not statistically significant in any of these models.

In summary, I do not find evidence that women in same-sex couples “do gender” through housework.

Table 5. Women in Same-sex Cohabiting or Married Couples

VARIABLES	(1) Linear	(2) Quadratic
earnshare	-50.19 (86.58)	369.79 (291.688)
earnsharesq		-382.78 (258.315)
couple_earn	-0.00731 (0.0125)	-0.01 (0.013)
uhrsworkt1	-0.496 (0.973)	-0.73 (0.912)
spusualhrs1	0.311 (1.119)	-0.61 (1.296)
own	4.559 (26.22)	10.56 (26.509)
hs	95.11** (45.96)	120.51** (50.072)
somecoll	69.84* (39.28)	78.53* (40.453)
college	45.55 (39.25)	60.20 (41.041)
schlen	-37.62 (24.50)	-38.85* (23.244)
centage	-0.0203 (1.451)	-0.39 (1.472)
agesq	-0.0781 (0.0672)	-0.08 (0.064)
white	34.64 (29.45)	32.65 (30.015)
hh_numkids1	-5.638 (11.57)	-6.68 (11.674)
unemployed	-24.99 (58.23)	70.51 (84.417)
laborforce	-2.241 (68.22)	-97.99 (92.260)
sat	55.83* (31.63)	56.75* (32.038)
sun	34.13 (34.11)	32.41 (33.905)
hol	304.7*** (113.8)	306.47*** (114.154)
Constant	57.74 (87.82)	80.78 (87.614)
Observations	142	142
BIC	1821.027	1823.754
R-squared	0.190	0.203

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

Extensions

In response to Gupta (2007) and Killewald and Gough (2010), I tested for autonomy theory and Killewald and Gough's contention that the earnings terms should not be specified as linear among opposite-sex married women. To test autonomy theory, I use separate controls for each partner's earnings and exclude total couple earnings in these models. In response to Killewald and Gough (2010) who argued that the quadratic relationship found in previous research is actually a by-product of wives' earnings being misspecified as linear and that when wives' earnings are specified with a linear spline the quadratic relationship between wives' share of total couple earnings and time spent on housework becomes insignificant, in a different set of models, I examined whether specifying wives' earnings with a linear spline better fit the model and made the quadratic relationship between women's relative earnings and time spent on housework become insignificant. Given that Killewald and Gough, did not use time diary data in their study, which has been shown to provide more accurate information on time use (Harvey, 1993; Juster, 1985; Marini & Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 1985), my analysis, which uses time-diary data, adds to our understanding.

Table 6. Tests for Competing Theories

VARIABLES	(1) Total Couple Earnings Specified as Linear	(2) Own and Partner Earnings Specified as Linear	(3) Earnings Specified with Linear Spline
Earnings Share	-142.87*** (32.936)	-147.97*** (36.746)	-69.06 (58.686)
Earnings Share Squared	115.55*** (35.582)	115.44*** (35.585)	65.48 (46.178)
earn1			-0.04 (0.037)
earn2			-0.05** (0.025)
earn3			0.00 (0.015)
earn4			-0.01 (0.006)
spearnweek1		-0.01 (0.004)	-0.00 (0.006)
uhrsworkt1	-1.10*** (0.142)	-1.10*** (0.143)	-1.04*** (0.145)
spusualhrs1	0.30** (0.149)	0.30** (0.148)	0.31** (0.147)
own	-3.45 (3.827)	-3.46 (3.828)	-2.41 (3.882)
hs	-25.79*** (6.822)	-25.72*** (6.821)	-22.86*** (6.939)
somecoll	-27.93*** (6.706)	-27.81*** (6.724)	-24.14*** (6.887)
college	-27.83*** (6.756)	-27.74*** (6.765)	-24.23*** (6.981)
schlen	-24.25*** (4.628)	-24.26*** (4.630)	-24.16*** (4.621)
centage	1.55*** (0.142)	1.55*** (0.142)	1.56*** (0.143)
agesq	-0.04*** (0.014)	-0.04*** (0.014)	-0.04*** (0.014)
white	-3.03 (3.031)	-3.05 (3.034)	-2.43 (3.068)
hh_numkids1	6.81*** (1.329)	6.80*** (1.328)	6.65*** (1.332)
sat	71.55*** (3.373)	71.55*** (3.373)	71.55*** (3.374)
sun	68.09*** (3.394)	68.10*** (3.395)	68.06*** (3.401)
hol	75.54*** (12.407)	75.49*** (12.407)	74.52*** (12.326)
earnweek1		-0.00 (0.005)	

couple_earn	-0.01*** (0.001)		
Constant	215.75*** (12.112)	217.80*** (13.505)	202.62*** (15.311)
Observations	13,827	13,827	13,827
BIC	171935.3	171944.7	171963.8
R-squared	0.114	0.114	0.115

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7. Tests for Competing Theories, Excluding Recession Years

VARIABLES	(1) Total Couple Earnings Specified as Linear	(2) Own and Partner Earnings Specified as Linear	(3) Earnings Specified with Linear Spline
earnshare	-191.30*** (38.483)	-191.52*** (41.077)	-114.23* (62.709)
earnsharesq	149.16*** (41.198)	149.15*** (41.292)	101.55** (50.792)
earn1			-0.05 (0.044)
earn2			-0.04 (0.028)
earn3			-0.02 (0.017)
earn4			-0.01 (0.006)
spearnweek1		-0.01 (0.005)	0.00 (0.006)
uhrsworkt1	-0.94*** (0.166)	-0.94*** (0.167)	-0.90*** (0.169)
spusualhrs1	0.32** (0.161)	0.32** (0.161)	0.34** (0.162)
own	0.48 (4.307)	0.48 (4.307)	1.51 (4.350)
hs	-21.79*** (7.938)	-21.79*** (7.941)	-19.23** (8.055)
somecoll	-25.32*** (7.849)	-25.32*** (7.867)	-21.92*** (8.092)
college	-25.37*** (7.931)	-25.36*** (7.944)	-21.77*** (8.197)
schlen	-20.93*** (5.498)	-20.93*** (5.497)	-20.91*** (5.484)
centage	1.56*** (0.163)	1.56*** (0.163)	1.57*** (0.164)
agesq	-0.05*** (0.015)	-0.05*** (0.015)	-0.06*** (0.015)

white	-0.91 (3.445)	-0.91 (3.446)	-0.33 (3.458)
hh_numkids1	7.99*** (1.523)	7.99*** (1.522)	7.87*** (1.521)
sat	70.27*** (3.836)	70.27*** (3.836)	70.34*** (3.839)
sun	68.09*** (3.938)	68.09*** (3.937)	68.04*** (3.943)
hol	67.67*** (14.087)	67.66*** (14.079)	66.96*** (13.992)
earnweek1		-0.01 (0.006)	
couple_earn	-0.01*** (0.002)		
Constant	216.06*** (14.051)	216.15*** (15.714)	201.00*** (17.960)
Observations	10,303	10,303	10,303
BIC	128006.8	128016	128038.8
R-squared	0.122	0.122	0.122

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *
p<0.1

When I pooled together data from 2003-2013, my results did not entirely replicate Gupta's (2007) and Killewald and Gough's (2010) findings. While specifying wives' earnings using a linear spline made the quadratic relationship between wives' share of total couple earnings insignificant, I could not reject the hypothesis that wives' absolute earnings are linear ($F(3, 10281)=1.17$, $p\text{-value}=.319$) and the best fitting model was the one in which total couple earnings are specified as linear, as it had the lowest BIC value (Table 6). Moreover, there are theoretical reasons for which the "doing gender" perspective on housework would not apply during the recession years. To explain, temporary changes in couples' relative earnings during the recession might disrupt the "doing gender" mechanism predicting that women with relatively higher earnings than their husbands would do more housework than similar women with lower relative earnings. For example, during the recession women breadwinners might have more financial pressure on them to keep their jobs, especially if their husbands' took a pay hit during the recession, and thus more basic needs of the family might override wives' concern for maintaining gender roles and husbands' expectations of it. Moreover, wives' might be more

likely to become breadwinners temporarily and involuntarily during the recession when unemployment and underemployment may have been higher than usual. Thus, I ran the models without the years 2008-2010. Even though the recession officially ended in 2009, I did not include 2010 because the labor market took an extended period of time to bounce back from the recession.³ After doing this, I found that indeed the Killewald and Gough hypotheses do not hold (Table 7). In further support of my hypothesis that the years of the recession were disruptive of the “doing gender” mechanism, I ran my main results excluding the recession years, as well as solely for the recession years. Indeed, I find evidence for the “doing gender” theory for the non-recessionary years, but the doing gender mechanism is not at work during the recession (table in the appendix).⁴

Conclusions and Next Steps

In conclusion, I do not find evidence that either men or women in same-sex couples “do gender” through housework according to the mechanism predicted to be at play for men and women in opposite-sex couples. For men in same-sex couples, earnings share is linearly associated with less time doing housework. For women in same-sex couples, earnings share terms are not statistically significant in either model, but the linear model is a better fit to the data than the quadratic model and this result holds across all robustness checks.

Again, I find no evidence that men and women in same-sex couples “do gender” according to the mechanism predicted to be at play for men and women in opposite-sex couples. The significance of this finding is that it is the first to indicate, using large-scale nationally representative data, that the construction of gender among women and men in same-sex couples

³ I will also exclude 2008-2009 in a specification test to test the robustness of this result.

⁴ I also ran models excluding the recession years and solely including the recession years for opposite-sex married men, opposite-sex cohabiting men, opposite-sex cohabiting women, and same-sex married and cohabiting men, and same-sex married and cohabiting women. I found no evidence for the “doing gender” theory for any of these subpopulations in these models.

may function according to a different set of rules than what we might expect of men and women in opposite-sex couples.

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Appendix
Comparison of Opposite-Sex Married Women's Models During the Recession and Not

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	All Years: Linear	All Years: Quadratic	Excluding Recession Years: Linear	Excluding Recession Years: Quadratic	Recession Years: Linear	Recession Years: Quadratic
earnshare	-21.51*** (7.444)	-106.25*** (23.521)	-32.87*** (8.555)	-164.63*** (26.849)	7.30 (14.830)	51.68 (47.847)
earnsharesq		79.08*** (21.190)		123.74*** (24.034)		-41.11 (44.589)
couple_earn	-0.00** (0.001)	-0.00** (0.001)	-0.00*** (0.002)	-0.00*** (0.002)	0.00 (0.003)	0.00 (0.003)
uhrsworkt1	-1.41*** (0.129)	-1.23*** (0.130)	-1.33*** (0.149)	-1.04*** (0.151)	-1.61*** (0.249)	-1.69*** (0.251)
spusualhrs1	0.16 (0.099)	0.32*** (0.115)	0.10 (0.116)	0.34*** (0.131)	0.33* (0.192)	0.23 (0.238)
own	-0.17 (3.193)	-0.10 (3.196)	1.99 (3.673)	1.92 (3.680)	-5.57 (6.381)	-5.77 (6.382)
hs	-21.85*** (5.090)	-22.16*** (5.102)	-22.10*** (5.966)	-22.61*** (5.974)	-23.15** (9.876)	-22.97** (9.893)
somecoll	-28.98*** (5.094)	-29.25*** (5.102)	-28.29*** (5.983)	-28.73*** (5.991)	-32.59*** (9.682)	-32.45*** (9.680)
college	-31.54*** (5.108)	-31.87*** (5.117)	-32.49*** (6.032)	-32.90*** (6.041)	-30.69*** (9.657)	-30.41*** (9.657)
schlen	-27.40*** (3.904)	-27.58*** (3.917)	-24.49*** (4.614)	-24.53*** (4.631)	-34.24*** (7.096)	-33.95*** (7.080)
centage	1.60*** (0.123)	1.55*** (0.124)	1.66*** (0.145)	1.59*** (0.145)	1.41*** (0.238)	1.44*** (0.238)
agesq	-0.04*** (0.011)	-0.04*** (0.011)	-0.06*** (0.013)	-0.06*** (0.013)	-0.01 (0.023)	-0.01 (0.023)
white	-2.49 (2.594)	-3.01 (2.599)	-0.94 (3.039)	-1.72 (3.035)	-6.71 (4.977)	-6.40 (5.015)
hh_numkids1	8.82*** (1.111)	8.68*** (1.112)	9.41*** (1.288)	9.22*** (1.289)	7.14*** (2.203)	7.22*** (2.184)
unemployed	34.37*** (8.554)	22.55** (9.293)	38.15*** (10.057)	20.46* (10.924)	27.84* (16.100)	34.59** (17.387)
laborforce	-20.53*** (5.366)	-8.48 (6.585)	-20.18*** (6.285)	-2.11 (7.673)	-21.35** (10.255)	-28.18** (12.700)
sat	43.66*** (2.858)	43.81*** (2.858)	39.45*** (3.314)	39.72*** (3.312)	55.08*** (5.625)	55.05*** (5.632)
sun	33.29*** (2.759)	33.30*** (2.759)	29.82*** (3.214)	29.70*** (3.214)	41.77*** (5.385)	41.64*** (5.398)
hol	42.37*** (9.597)	42.08*** (9.614)	39.59*** (10.681)	39.53*** (10.735)	48.73** (20.100)	49.14** (20.071)
Constant	229.24*** (7.175)	222.27*** (7.600)	234.81*** (8.358)	224.79*** (8.692)	214.32*** (13.932)	218.50*** (15.447)
Observations	22,314	22,314	16,510	16,510	5,804	5,804
BIC	281247.4	281236.2	208142.6	208115.1	73215.63	73222.75
R-squared	0.144	0.145	0.150	0.152	0.134	0.134

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, *

p<0.1

