

Satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor. The moderating effect of cohabitation and higher rank unions

Abstract

In spite of men's and women's changes in the time they spend in housework and family, there is evidence of the persisted dissatisfaction with work-family balance (Bianchi et al., 2012). In this paper, we study individuals' evaluation of their satisfaction with work-family balance, emphasizing the extent to which it is associated with the division of household labor. This is a new question because the work-family balance has usually been explained in terms of work-related demands and resources, and we argue that the domestic side needs to be considered as well. In addition, we discuss cohabitation and second unions as moderators of this relationship. Using data from the Canadian 2011 General Social Survey, we ran multinomial regression models and found that the link between satisfaction with work-family balance and housework division was statistically significant only for women. Women having sole responsibility for all household chores were more likely to feel dissatisfied with work-family balance than those who equally shared housework with their partners. The moderating effects of cohabitation and second unions were also proved to be significant only among women. We speculate that the observed gender differences in the association between division of housework and satisfaction with work-family balance may be due in part to gender differences in the way that fairness and equity are defined. We also discuss limitations of cross-sectional data to verify the dependency of the satisfaction with work-family balance on housework arrangements.

Keywords: Household labor, satisfaction, work-family balance, cohabitation, union rank

Introduction

This paper aims to address the question of satisfaction with work-family balance emphasizing the family side of this concept. Most of the research on satisfaction with work-family has focused on the job characteristics (Beham & Drobnič, 2010), time spent at work, and work interference with the family life (Schieman, Milkie & Glavin, 2009; Milkie et al., 2010). Without denying the importance of these factors, we explore the relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of housework in order to expand the existing work-family balance literature. Explanations of work-life balance that focus on the job characteristics and employment patterns have been proved to be necessary but not sufficient for understanding the satisfaction with work-family balance. Grzywacz and Carlson (2007) suggested that work-family balance can be accomplished through the negotiation between partners, in both work and family domains. The division of housework can be seen as part of this negotiation to achieve the balance that both partners assess as satisfying.

The relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor may be mediated by differences in the perception of fairness and equity about a given housework arrangement. As showed by Carlson and Lynch (2013), there is a mutual and reciprocal relationship between the division of housework and the gender ideology – or one's belief regarding men's and women's appropriate family roles. In this sense, cohabiting couples and second unions have been shown to differ from married and first unions in terms of egalitarian attitudes towards housework sharing between partners.

First, literature has provided evidence of a more egalitarian division of household labor in cohabitations than in marriages (Davis et al., 2007; Meggiolaro, 2012). Some have argued that cohabitation provides a space to negotiate more equal arrangements of domestic labor as it

comes without the institutional framework of marriage, and may influence the perception of what is fair and what is unfair (Cherlin, 2004; Baxter, Haynes & Hewitt, 2010).

Second, past research has also found evidence of greater sharing of housework among unions of higher ranks. In the context of remarriage, individuals have the opportunity to redefine self, experiencing new events and choosing another partner. As Walzer (2008) pointed out, in terms of domestic work and gender roles in the family sphere, “marriage is a site of ‘doing’ gender and for some ex-spouses, divorce is a site for ‘re-doing’ gender” (p.18). Therefore, experiences with marital dissolution may induce some individuals to reevaluate values and gender norms, prompting them to endorse a more egalitarian division of household labor in subsequent unions and have more egalitarian expectations.

In conclusion, this paper aims to answer three main questions: Is the division of household labor associated with work-family balance? Are there any differences in the reported satisfaction between married and cohabiting couples when patterns of housework division are the same? Does the link between the perceived satisfaction with work-family balance and domestic division of labor differ between individuals in first union and those in unions of higher ranks? We aim to make two main contributions by accounting for variations in the perceived satisfaction with work-family balance. First, we suggest there is an association between the division of housework and the satisfaction with work-family balance, which will help to understand levels of satisfaction among dual-earner couples. Second, we argue that the union type and union rank serve as moderators of this relationship, based on differences in the perception of fairness in the division of household labor between types of unions.

The paper is organized as follows: Section I gives background information and a literature review of research on satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of

household labor. We display the research hypothesis in Section II, and Section III describes the data and methods used in the analysis. Finally, we report the results in Section IV, and conclude with a discussion of them in Section V.

1. Background

1.1. Satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor

Satisfaction with work and family balance has been associated with an equilibrium or an overall sense of harmony in life, and it is defined as individuals' assessment of an adequate amount of resources to effectively respond to the demands of their work and family roles (Clarke et al., 2004; Valour, 2007). Although several studies have suggested that partners' satisfaction in several life dimensions can be related to the way they divide domestic responsibilities (see Forste & Fox, 2012; Greenhaus, Collins & Shaw, 2003; Eikhof, Warhust & Haunschild, 2007), there is a gap in the literature concerning the relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the allocation of household labor. Nonetheless, there are three reasons that have led us to think that these two variables may be associated.

Firstly, Grzywacz and Carlson (2007) suggested that there is little evidence indicating that adults think of work-family balance in terms of how well the work-related resources satisfy the family-related demands. This can indicate that approaches focusing on the job characteristics and employment patterns are not sufficient to explain satisfaction with work-family balance. Indeed, these scholars (ibid.) suggested that work-family balance can be defined as "the accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his/her role-related partners in the work and family domains" (p.458). This definition establishes a link between work-family balance and the negotiation of family roles

within a couple, and connects the satisfaction with work-family balance with the division of household labor. The extent to which individuals perform their domestic roles and share family-related demands with their partner may promote a more satisfactory evaluation of the achieved balance between the two domains, work and family.

Secondly, satisfaction with work-family balance is distinguished from constructs that describe the cross-domain transfer processes, such as work-family spillover (see Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Studies of work-family spillover often model the degree to which certain conditions in one domain affect individuals' perception of strain in the other. By contrast, satisfaction with work-family balance is a subjective overall assessment of how successfully an individual is handling the sum of demands emanating from a work and family roles. Therefore, an egalitarian division of housework may contribute to a better perceived equilibrium in family life, influencing overall satisfaction with work-family balance.

Finally, the household division of labor remains unbalanced and gender dependent (Orloff, 2002; Bianchi et al., 2012). However, scholars in the field have been surprised by the relatively low prevalence of perceptions of injustice on the part of women (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier & Baumgärtner, 2008; Carriero, 2011). This may indicate that the relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor is mediated by differences in the perception of fairness and equality within the couple. As the *gender ideology* hypothesis holds, individuals subscribing to a nontraditional gender ideology will try to achieve a more egalitarian division of labor in their households. On the other hand, those with more traditional views will justify and validate an unequal division of labor as it matches with their normative standards (Lavee & Katz, 2002). In this regard, inequality of the division of housework can exist irrespective of the total amount that men and women devote to this activity.

Yet, in the individual level, the question remains whether inequality in the division of housework is perceived as unfair, and it lowers the subjective assessment of satisfaction with work-family balance; or whether inequality is legitimate by societal traditional expectations and will not affect individuals' feelings of satisfaction. As it is shown below, recent studies have shown that cohabiting couples and second unions differ from married and first unions regarding the perception of fairness and equality in the division of household labor.

1.2. Factors mediating the link between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance: cohabitation and second unions

The persisted division of household labor has induced social scientist to question the reason of such division, as well as to investigate under what conditions a more egalitarian allocation of housework emerges. In addition, it is often expected that the actual inequality in the division of household labor should determine feelings of equity/inequity and fairness/unfairness. However, it is important to mention that inequality might mean different things to different people.

In this regard, studies on cohabitation have explained part of the differences. Although cohabiting women generally still contribute more than their partners, several scholars have found a more egalitarian time allocation of unpaid work among unmarried couples (Davis et al., 2007; Dominguez-Folgueras, 2013; Meggiolaro, 2013). Similar findings apply to individuals in second unions compared to those in their first union (Lucier-Greer & Adler-Beeder, 2011; Sullivan, 1997). These variations might suggest that different types of couples have different perceptions of fairness, or vary in their willingness to accept the unequal division of domestic labor. In turn,

these dissimilarities might mediate the relationship between the division of housework within partners or spouses and their satisfaction with work-family balance.

First, regarding common-law unions, Cherlin (2004) have argued that cohabitation may offer more freedom to negotiate gender roles as it comes without the institutional constraints that accompany marriage. The extent to which cohabitation is associated with greater satisfaction with work-family balance is still unknown, partly because little research has been done on perceptions of work-family balance in different types of unions. In this paper, we argue that the union type serve as a moderator of the relationship between equal/unequal division of housework and individuals' evaluations of balance. As it has been argued, we based this hypothesis on differences in norms, values and perceived fairness of the division of housework. We expect that the effect of unequal divisions of housework on satisfaction with work-family balance might vary in marriages and cohabiting couples because meanings of inequality will be different. Previous evidence showed that cohabitation foster a greater sense of individualism and a weaker commitment to traditional roles compared to marriage (Baxter, Haynes & Hewitt, 2010; Bjömberg, 2001). Married couples are expected to adhere to more conventional forms of sharing than cohabiting couples, which may affect their perceptions of overall satisfaction with work-family balance when having an unequal division of domestic work. In this sense, married couples may be more satisfied with unequal divisions since they may be contented with a traditional allocation of household tasks, while cohabiting couples may be less satisfied when chores are not equally shared since they have been shown to desire more equal arrangement of domestic labor.

Second, past research have also studied the impact of previous relationships on the division of household labor in second unions (see Ganong & Coleman, 2004). Results from this research indicated that remarried men tend to spend more time on household labor than men in

first marriages, while the opposite happens for women, and thus leading to a more egalitarian division of housework allocation. As Meggiolaro (2013) claimed, from the women's perspective, those who perceive their previous union as characterized by an unfair division of household labor might be more prone to seek a more equal division in the subsequent unions. From a men's point of view, those who have experienced conflicts on the division of housework in previous unions might be prepared to adapt to a more equal allocation in subsequent unions.

Form a qualitative perspective, suggestions are that life events and transitions –such as divorce and re-partnering- alter an individual's assessment of domestic roles, responsibilities and attitudes (Smith et al., 1991; Clarke, 2005; Walzer, 2008). Therefore, it appears that experiences with marital dissolution induce some individuals to reevaluate values and gender norms, prompting them to endorse a more egalitarian division of household labor in subsequent unions, and have more egalitarian expectations. Thus, differences in the perception of domestic work between first and second unions would also moderate the relationship between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance. Individuals in second unions would be less satisfied with work-family balance when housework is unequally shared since they have been shown to be based on less traditional roles sets and more on negotiated agreements (Lucier-Greer & Adler-Baeder, 2011).

1.3 Other factors

There are other important factors that might mediate the relationship between the division of household labor and the satisfaction with work-family balance. Although they are not the main focus of our research, we have included them in the analysis in order to control for their potentially confounding effect.

First, the job characteristics are the most important factors contributing to satisfaction of work-family balance. Several studies have shown that long working hours, working extra hours at short notice and non-standard schedules lower satisfaction with work-family balance, and increase the negative perception of spending too much time at work and less time with the family (Crompton & Lyonnet, 2006; Fenwick & Tausig, 2001). Benham and Drobic (2009) found that high levels of psychological job demands stemming from the job itself, such as work overload, tight deadlines and conflicting demands at work, were negatively related to employees' satisfaction with work-family balance. Having control over one's working time, on the other hand, enabled employees to better manage their work-demands and was associated with a positive evaluation of their work-family balance.

Another potential factor that may intervene into the link between the satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of domestic labor is the presence of children. Previous research have documented that the division of labor tends to become more traditional after the transition to parenthood, where women focus more on domestic tasks and become more financially dependent on their husbands (Dew & Wilcox, 2011).

In addition, union and marriage duration can also account for differences in the division of household labor and the satisfaction with work-family balance. Kühhirt (2011) showed that married couples' division of housework become highly gendered with the increasing duration of the marriage. At the same time, couples might gradually get used to the unequal division of household chores and take it for granted.

2. Hypothesis

As mentioned in the introduction, this paper aims to answer three main research questions: Is the division of household labor associated with work-family satisfaction? Are there any differences in the reported satisfaction between married and cohabiting couples when patterns of housework division are the same? Does the link between perceived satisfaction with work-family balance and domestic division of labor differ between individuals in first unions and those on unions of higher ranks? In order to answer them, we formulated three research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Respondents in dual-earner couples with an unequal division of housework will be less satisfied with work-family balance.

Hypothesis 2. Cohabitation serves as a moderator of this relationship. Given that cohabiting couples tend to assign more value to egalitarian individualism and equity, the association will be stronger, and they will be less satisfied with work-family balance when housework is unequally shared. Therefore, cohabiting couples with an unequal division of household labor will be less satisfied with work-family balance than married couples with a similarly unequal division of domestic tasks.

Hypothesis 3. The relationship between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance is also mediated by previous marriages and cohabitation experiences. Both cohabiting and married individuals that have been previously married or have cohabited with different partners will be less satisfied with work-family balance when they have an unequal division of housework, since they have been shown to differ from first marriages or unions regarding perceptions of housework inequalities.

3. Data and Methods

Data come from the General Social Survey on Family (GSS), conducted by Statistics Canada in 2011, which contains information from 22,435 respondents of all non-institutionalized individuals aged 15 years or older. We limit our analysis to all individuals living in Canada, married or cohabiting, and aged 18 to 65 in order to facilitate comparison with the literature on satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor. Only respondents living in heterosexual, dual-earner couples were included in the analysis. Thus, only those who reported that their and their spouses' main activity was working at a paid job or business during the week prior to the survey interview were selected. Furthermore, those reporting seasonal work and unpaid family work were dropped, and only individuals in paid employment or self-employed were kept in the sample. In total, there were 6429 respondents who satisfied the criteria. However, we restricted the analytical sample to 6244 individuals because of missing information on some of the control variables.

Dependent variable

Satisfaction with work-family balance was generated from the GSS question "How satisfied are you with the balance between your job and your home life?" Original response categories were: very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, dissatisfied, and very dissatisfied. These answers were lately re-coded into 3 groups: satisfied, neutral satisfaction (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied), and dissatisfied.

Independent variables

Division of household labor. The 2011 GSS questionnaire asked different questions on organization within the household. To illustrate the division of household labor, four tasks representing traditional female tasks were chosen for the analysis. We decided to include only

the traditional female ones since those are the chores where gender differences in the allocation of time are more marked and noticeable. Moreover, traditional male tasks are usually done with lower frequency, and therefore they are less likely to be linked to the work-family balance. In preliminary analysis, we tested the importance of the traditional male tasks (including “doing repairs and household maintenance”) and there was no indication that they are associated with work-family balance.

The questions selected for the analysis were: “Who in your couple mainly takes care of: (1) preparing daily meals, (2) cleaning and doing the housework, (3) doing the laundry, (4) doing the grocery shopping.” All selected variables originally had four possible responses: (1) mostly respondent, (2) mostly spouse/partner, (3) shared equally and (4) neither respondent nor partner takes care of it. For each task separately, we recoded the answers into three new categories: 1) shared equally; if the work was shared equally or was done by neither partners¹; (2) unequal, man is the main responsible person for all the task (including both male respondents and male partners who took sole charge over housework); and (3) unequal, woman is the main responsible person for the chore.

In a second step, we created a new categorical variable expressing the overall division of domestic tasks and considering all chores simultaneously (preparing meals, cleaning the household, doing the laundry and doing the grocery shopping). Together, these variables adequately measured the division of female-type chores as they were highly correlated (Cronbach alpha was 0.76 for women and 0.74 for men). We grouped respondents according to their answers (i.e. equal / unequal, woman-responsible / unequal, man-responsible) for these four

¹ We are aware of differences between the ‘shared equally’ and ‘neither’ categories; however, we decided to combine them under ‘equal’ since we were not able to identify who performed the task. In addition, this arrangement qualifies as an equal division since neither the respondent nor his/her spouse/partner had the main responsibility over that particular chore.

tasks. This was quickly done for those who shared all tasks in the same way, i.e. if all tasks were shared equally, they were put in the 'equal' group. Those who reported a mix of equal and unequal division of labor were classified according to the following criteria: if the respondent gave the same answer for 3 questions (out of 4), they were classified in that category; all others were grouped into a 'mixed sharing category'. This category indicates an unclear pattern of household labor division, but it approximates a certain degree of sharing between partners or spouses.

Finally, since the category "unequal, man-responsible" only represented a 1% of the cases, we encountered analytical problems. In order to avoid the loss of information, we grouped this category into the "mixed sharing". We are aware of problems regarding the interpretation of the results, however considering the small number of cases included in the category "unequal, man-responsible" among both men and female respondents, it did not change the size and the magnitude of the variable in the analytical models.

Type of union. This variable distinguishes respondents who were legally married and lived with their spouse from those who reported living in a common-law union without being married with their partner.

Union rank. For all cases, we identified the rank of the current union and created a new dichotomous variable distinguishing between those who experienced divorce or separation before the current union and those who did not.

Control variables

Job characteristics. Variables controlling for the labor-market situation of respondents and their partners were also included: number of hours worked per week, partners' working hours

(recoded in two categories, full-time corresponding to more than 30 hours worked per week, and part-time), and type of respondents' work schedule (standard or non-standard).

Family characteristics. We included the presence of children in the household in a series of dummy variables: couples with no children, couples living with at least one child (biological or adopted) under the age of six, and couples living with children older than six up to seventeen.

Union duration. The union duration was measured in years starting from the moment where the couple started to live together. We classified respondents into four categories: 0-4 years, 5-9 years, 10-19 and more than 20 years.

Finally, the analyses also controlled for level of education (elementary, high school diploma, some university or community college, university degree), and household annual income, measured in Canadian dollars: less than 49,999 CAD, 50,000 to 99,999CAD, and 100,000 or more.

Method

We used multinomial logistic regressions stratified by gender to estimate the relative risk ratios of dissatisfaction and neutral satisfaction with work-family balance among men and women. We separated the analysis by gender because man and women might be satisfied with different arrangements of domestic tasks. Being satisfied (versus being dissatisfied or being neither satisfied, nor dissatisfied) was treated as the baseline category, because it was the most relevant category to be compared with, not only theoretically but also empirically. Theoretically, we were interested in studying the population at risk of not being satisfied. Empirically, it covered the largest group in the sample. Previous analyses have used similar measures of satisfaction with work-family balance either as a continuous variable in a linear regression or a dichotomized variable in a logistic regression. In preliminary analysis, we also estimated the

models using the linear or logistic regression and these methods produced similar results as the multinomial logit. Nevertheless, we report results from the latter models as they were more robust.

Our modeling strategy included four different models. Firstly, model 1 served as the baseline model and it estimated the overall relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor. In model 2, we included all control variables. Model 1 and 2 allowed us to test our first research hypothesis, pointing at a possible association between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance. In model 3, we estimated the size of the interaction effect between the type of union and division of housework. It aims to examine our second hypothesis, which calls attention on cohabitation as a moderator of the relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and household labor allocation. Finally, in model 4 we tested our third and last hypothesis by estimating the interaction effect between second union and the division of household labor. Models 3 and 4 also included all control variables to evaluate differences in the significance of the relative risk ratios when considering the job characteristics, family and other union aspects.

The relative risk ratios were estimated through weighted regressions that used GSS survey weights, with variance estimation done through survey bootstrap. Statistical significance was calculated at $p < 0.005$.

4. Results²

The results of the multinomial logistic regressions are displayed in tables 1 and 2. Specifically, they show the relative risk ratios of reporting neutral satisfaction and dissatisfaction

² Given strict disclosure rules set by Statistics Canada, we are not able to show descriptive results at this stage of the research

rather than satisfaction with work-family balance. We first report results for models 1 to 4 only for male respondents (Table 1), and then we turn to results for female respondents (Table 2).

In **Table 1**, we did not find any significant association between the division of household labour and satisfaction with work-family balance in model 1. In model 2, all work-related variables showed to be highly associated with men's satisfaction with work-family balance, without affecting the non-significant association between the division of domestic tasks and our dependent variable. Type of union, included in model 2, also appeared to be insignificant. However, union rank was an important contributor. Men in second unions or unions of higher ranks had a 45% more risk to feel dissatisfied with work-family balance than those in first unions. Model 3 included the interaction effect between union type and housework division to test whether the effect of unequal divisions were stronger among cohabiting men. This interaction was also not significant, which refutes our hypothesis of cohabitation as a moderator of the relationship between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance among male respondents. Model 4 included a second interaction effect between union rank and patterns of housework division, which again turned out not to be statistically significant. Thus, we did not find empirical support to the idea of separation/divorce as a moderator of the relationship between household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance. Models 2, 3 and 4 included all control variables. The contribution of work-related variables on the satisfaction with work-family balance among men appeared to be highly significant. Specifically, the number of hours worked per week, self-employment, having a non-standard work schedule and higher levels of education were important contributors among male respondents to be at risk of reporting dissatisfaction, or neither satisfaction nor dissatisfaction with work-family balance.

To sum up, among male respondents, we did not find empirical evidence to support our first and second hypothesis, since no associations between the division of household labor, type of union and satisfaction with work-family balance could be established. We found partial support for our third hypothesis, since men in second unions were more likely to report dissatisfaction with work-family balance than men in first unions. However, this association does not vary according to patterns of housework sharing, implying that differences in the perception of fairness and equality in the division of labor are not influencing men's assessment of satisfaction with with-family balance.

In **Table 2**, we report results for female respondents. Clear differences appeared compared to men. In model 1, women taking over sole responsibility for household tasks were more likely to feel dissatisfied with work-family balance compared to those who equally shared domestic chores with their partners, confirming the association between these two variables for women. However, in model 2, when we included all control variables, this association turned out to be not significant. In addition, the association between separation/divorce and satisfaction with work-family balance was also significant. Women in second unions or in unions of higher ranks were more likely to feel dissatisfied than those in first unions. Interestingly, in model 3 we confirmed that the association between household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance was mediated by cohabitation. As it is displayed in the table, the interaction effect between type of union and the division of household labor was significant, implying that cohabiting women having sole responsibility over housework were more likely to feel dissatisfied than married women. In addition, cohabiting women who partly shared the domestic tasks with their partners were less likely to be at risk of reporting neutral satisfaction than married women. In model 4 the interaction effect between union rank and division of household

was significant, and those who had experience divorce or separation and unequally shared the domestic chores with their partners were more likely to report neutral satisfaction, rather than satisfaction, compared to women in first unions. Finally, models including all controls showed that family-related variables were important contributors for women's satisfaction with work-family balance, especially among those with infant children. Non-standard schedules and long working hours were significantly correlated with reporting feeling neutral and dissatisfied with work-family balance, while working as self-employed seemed to alleviate the risk of not being satisfied.

To summarise, for female respondents all our hypothesis were supported by the empirical data we used in the analyses. As predicted, there was a significant association between the division of household labor and satisfaction with work-family balance, which was mediated by cohabitation and second union experiences. However, as it will be discussed in the following lines, the Canadian 2011 GSS is a cross-sectional survey, and therefore the inference on this relationship remains only descriptive.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

Although previous research has established a link between the job characteristics, work and family interferences and satisfaction with work-family balance (Benham & Drobic, 2010; Schiemal et al., 2009; Milkie et al., 2010), no research to date has examined the relationship between perceived satisfaction and the division of household labor within dual-earner couples. In this study, we present results that begin to explain how the division of domestic work and satisfaction with work-family balance are connected.

Our results have indicated that the household division of labor is differently associated with satisfaction according to gender. Men's perception of work-family balance appeared to be significantly associated with work-related variables, and no influences of household labor and type of union could be established. However, for women, the relationship between the division of domestic tasks and satisfaction with work-family balance was significant. In particular, women having sole responsibility for housework appeared to be more likely to feel dissatisfied compared to those who equally shared it with their partners. In addition, cohabitation made a difference in the way they perceived satisfaction when household labor was unequally divided. Similarly, those in unions of higher ranks were more likely to report lower levels of satisfaction with work-family balance when housework was unequally shared compared to women in first unions.

These findings are consistent with those of Frisco and Williams (2003), who also highlighted gender differences in the effects of household labor on marital quality. Similar to our case, men and women perceived the domestic work very different, and the authors speculated that gender differences in the way that equal divisions are defined may explained part of their results. Our preliminary results also support this hypothesis. In fact, we found that men did not perceived that unequal division of household labor undermine their satisfaction with work-family balance. Conversely, women who took the main responsibility over all domestic tasks were more likely to report dissatisfaction compared to those who equally shared them with their partners. Gender differences also appeared when we considered cohabitation and union rank as possible moderators of the relationship between household labor and perceptions of work-family balance. Cohabitation and union rank moderated the relationship only among women. This may not imply that women are a more heterogeneous group than men, but perceptions of fairness and equity

concerning housework and the division of domestic tasks may be more complex to explain among women than men. Among married women, societal traditional expectations may validate the unequal division of household labor.

To sum up, it is clear that given the gendered nature of household labor, men and women have different evaluations of work-family balance. For this reason, taking into account the domestic side contributes to better understand the level of satisfaction with work-family balance. However, three considerations have to be made. First, we have to understand our results recognizing the importance of the job characteristics. What we are measuring is the residual satisfaction after individuals have organized their everyday lives to cope with their family and work responsibilities. Women normally use the strategy to reduce the number of hours worked, or rearrange their work schedules according to their family needs. Thus, when we measure levels of satisfaction with work-family balance, women have already compensated for their higher levels of dissatisfaction with work-family balance when answering the questionnaire. Second, in order to better understand the relationship between satisfaction with work-family balance and the division of household labor, more research on the perception of fairness and household equity would be needed to identify the assumptions and gender stereotyped on which these perceptions are made. Although we have been able to study the interaction between cohabitation and second union experiences with the division of household labor, the questionnaire did not allow us to measure the degree of satisfaction with housework arrangements. Third, our conclusions are limited by the nature of the data used in this paper. In this sense, the study of satisfaction with work-family balance from the housework perspective will benefit from longitudinal analysis.

Finally, since our results rely on Canadian data, it would be interesting to replicate the analysis in other context. Canada, as other postindustrial societies, has experienced important

demographic, social and economic changes that have significantly altered the conditions of contemporary family life. These changes have contributed to the erosion of traditional gender roles, and have gradually led to changes in the gendered division of domestic labor. Canada offers a suitable framework to study changes in this direction.

Table 2. Relative risk ratios of neutral satisfaction and dissatisfaction with work-family balance among MEN. Canada, 2011 (Comparative category: satisfaction)

	<i>Neutral satisfaction vs. satisfaction</i>				<i>Dissatisfaction vs. satisfaction</i>			
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M1	M2	M3	M4
Division of female tasks (Equally shared)								
Unequal, Woman only responsible	1.11	1.11	0.98	1.09	1.23	1.28	1.20	1.20
Mixed sharing	1.31	2.31	1.22	1.34	0.99	1.02	0.94	0.81
Type of union (Married)								
Common-law union		0.84	0.61	0.85		1.12	0.90	1.12
Union rank (First union)								
Unions of higher ranks		0.88	0.88	0.90		1.45*	1.45*	1.04
Union*Division (Married*Equally shared)								
Common-law *Unequal Woman responsible			2.20				1.34	
Common-law union*Mixed sharing			1.37				1.42	
Division*Union rank (Equally sharing*First union)								
Unequal women*Union of higher ranks				1.08				1.19
Mix sharing*Union of higher ranks				0.89				2.02
Hours worked per week								
		1.03***	1.03***	1.03***		1.03***	1.03***	1.04***
Employment (Paid-worker)								
Self-employed		0.90	0.90	0.90		0.54**	0.54**	0.54**
Work schedule (Standard)								
Non-standard		1.74***	1.74***	1.47***		1.93***	1.93***	1.91***
Partners' employment (Full-time)								
Part-time		1.08	1.08	1.08		1.01	1.01	1.02
Family type (Couple with no children)								
Couples with at least one child under six		1.21	1.20	1.21		1.42	1.41	1.40
Couples with all children aged 6-17		0.98	0.97	0.97		1.29	1.29	1.30
Union duration (0-4 year)								
5-9 years		1.06	1.04	1.05		1.04	1.03	1.05
10-19 years		0.72	0.71	0.72		1.14	1.14	1.17
More than 20 years		0.71	0.70	0.71		1.23	1.23	1.27
Education level (Elementary)								
High school		0.91	0.91	0.92		1.28	1.27	1.27
College/trade/technical		1.78*	1.77*	1.79*		1.82*	1.81*	1.81*
University		1.88*	1.87*	1.89*		2.01*	2.04*	2.04
Household income (Less than \$49,999)								
Between \$50,000-\$99,999		0.79	0.78	0.79		0.53*	0.53**	0.52**
\$100,000 or more		0.89	0.88	0.89		0.52**	0.50*	0.51**
Region (Rest of Canada)								
Quebec		1.05	1.05	1.05		0.64*	0.64*	0.64*
constant	0.10***	0.03***	0.04***	0.03***	0.10***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***
Pseudo R2			0.05	0.05			0.05	0.05
N								

Source: General Social Survey, 2011, Statistics Canada. Note: Bootstrap weights are used Reference category in brackets. *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001. Regression models included all control variables showed in table 1

Table 3. Relative risk ratios of neutral satisfaction and dissatisfaction with work-family balance among **WOMEN**. Canada, 2011 (Comparative category: satisfaction)

	<i>Neutral satisfaction vs. satisfaction</i>				<i>Dissatisfaction vs. satisfaction</i>			
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M1	M2	M3	M4
Division of female tasks (Equally shared)								
Unequal, Woman only responsible	0.98	1.10	1.21	1.46	1.73*	1.81	1.79	1.83
Mixed sharing	1.01	0.96	1.15	1.19	0.78	0.75	0.78	0.83
Type of union (Married)								
Common-law union		0.77	1.36	0.77		1.23	1.25	1.23
Union rank (First union)								
Unions of higher ranks		1.16	1.15	0.24**		1.55**	1.55**	1.85*
Union*Division (Married*Equally shared)								
Common-law *Unequal Woman responsible			0.61				1.13*	
Common-law union*Mixed sharing			0.38*				0.83	
Division*Union rank (Equally sharing*First union)								
Unequal women*Union of higher ranks				1.38**				0.90
Mix sharing*Union of higher ranks				0.51				0.69
Hours worked per week								
		1.03***	1.03***	1.03***		1.04***	1.04***	1.04***
Employment (Paid-worker)								
Self-employed		0.58**	0.58**	0.57**		0.59*	0.59*	0.59*
Work schedule (Standard)								
Non-standard		1.42**	1.43*	1.44**		1.50**	1.50**	1.50**
Partners' employment (Full-time)								
Part-time		0.55*	0.54*	0.56*		0.59	0.59	0.59
Family type (Couple with no children)								
Couples with at least one child under six		1.69**	1.70**	1.70**		3.44***	3.42***	3.45***
Couples with all children aged 6-17		0.96	0.96	0.96		1.53**	1.53*	1.54*
Union duration (0-4 year)								
5-9 years		1.03	1.03	1.04		0.94	0.94	0.94
10-19 years		1.17	1.17	1.19		1.11	1.11	1.11
More than 20 years		0.72	0.72	0.73		1.07	1.07	1.08
Education level (Elementary)								
High school		0.70	0.69	0.71		1.46	1.46	1.45
College/trade/technical		0.87	0.88	0.88		1.52	1.52	1.51
University		1.10	1.11	1.12		1.94	1.94	1.92
Household income (Less than \$49,999)								
Between \$50,000-\$99,999		1.32	1.34	1.32		0.68	0.68	0.68
\$100,000 or more		1.27	1.27	1.25		0.84	0.84	0.68
Region (Rest of Canada)								
Quebec		2.31	1.33	1.31		0.66*	0.66*	0.66*
constant		0.06***	0.05***	0.05***		0.01***	0.01***	0.01***
Pseudo R2		0.06	0.06	0.06			0.06	0.06
N								

Source: General Social Survey, 2011, Statistics Canada. **Note:** Bootstrap weights are used Reference category in brackets. *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001. Regression models included all control variables showed in table 1

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