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Testing The U-curve:
The association between
women's housework and
economic dependency

Marie Evertsson

Magnus Nermo

Yale University
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Biographical Information

Marie Evertsson is a Postdoctoral Associate at the Center for Research in Inequalities and the Life Course at Yale University. She is also engaged as an Assistant Professor at the Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI) in Stockholm. Marie obtained her PhD in sociology at Stockholm University, Sweden in 2004. Her work focuses on gender differences in the home and in the labor market. Current research involves a study of gender differences in career mobility.

Magnus Nermo is a Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm. He received his PhD in sociology at Stockholm University, Sweden in 2000. His main research interest is gender stratification and segregation in Western societies. Most of his research has so far focused on gender inequality in the labour market, and the skewed division of paid and unpaid labour in the family. Near future includes a longitudinal study of the recruitment process of elites in the Swedish labour market.

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Marie Evertsson*

**Center for Research in Inequalities and the Life Course (CIQLE), Yale University and
Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Sweden**

Magnus Nermo

Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Sweden

ABSTRACT

Several studies report a U-shaped association between housework and economic dependency. American women perform less housework in couples in which the spouses have equivalent earnings than in households in which the man is either economically dependent on or providing economically for, his wife. Here we test the robustness of this result. Our analyses indicate that the significant curvilinear association between women's housework and economic dependency is not explained by a small number of outliers. Women's time spent in housework decreases by their degree of economic dependency up to the point where the woman and the man are about equal family providers. When women are the main provider of income they seem to be unable to lower their housework burden further.

* Please send correspondence to marie.evertsson@yale.edu or marie.evertsson@sofi.su.se. Mailing correspondence should be sent to Marie Evertsson, CIQLE, Department of Sociology, Yale University, P.O. Box 208265, New Haven, CT 06520-8265.

INTRODUCTION

During the past decade, two studies on American data have reported a U-shaped association between housework and economic dependency, in the sense that American women perform less housework in couples in which the spouses have equivalent earnings than in households in which the man is either economically dependent on or providing economically for, his wife (see Greenstein 2000; Evertsson and Neramo 2004). The given theoretical explanation is that housework is so traditionally linked to women and women's work that it functions as an area in which gender is symbolically created (cf. Fenstermaker Berk, 1985; Goffman, 1976; West & Zimmerman, 1987). When men have difficulties in sustaining their traditional gender role (i.e., by being the main breadwinner, working the most hours, or being employed at all), both women and men may act in a way that neutralizes this presumed violation of gender norms.

However, despite the fact that the studies include various sensitivity tests, the curvilinear effect found could still depend on a relatively few number of outliers. The purpose of this paper is therefore first to compare nontraditional families to traditional ones, where the former refers to families in which the man is economically dependent on his wife. More detailed knowledge of what constitutes these nontraditional families is needed in order to better understand the mechanisms behind the observed u-shaped association between economic dependency and women's time spent in housework. Another aim of the paper is to further test the robustness of the reported curvilinear (or u-shaped) association between housework and economic dependency for women. However, before analyzing this association we need to briefly review earlier studies and main theoretical explanations in this field.

HOUSEWORK AND ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY IN THE UNITED STATES

The most common explanations for the gendered division of housework are (a) the exchange theory or the relative resources-bargaining perspective (c.f. Blood and Wolfe 1960; Becker 1981; 1985), and (b) the gender perspective (Fenstermaker Berk, 1985; Goffman, 1976; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Both of these theoretical frameworks have earlier received empirical support. According to the relative resource perspective, there exists a linear association between economic dependency and women's housework, i.e. women's housework decreases the less economically dependent they become. However, the curvilinear association also found on American data between economic dependency and housework – i.e. that women's housework time once again increases when they are the main providers of income – questions the relative resource perspective and instead points to gender as the most important factor. A deviation from prevailing norms about women and men, femininity and masculinity, may result in women and men acting in a way to restore the balance or, in other words, to make up for the gender deviance. As a consequence, the couple may keep a traditional division of housework even if time availability and relative resources suggests that the man should take the main responsibility for this work.

A common way of testing the doing-gender hypothesis is to include an indicator of the woman's contribution to the household income, together with its squared term, in a regression model where time spent in housework is the dependent variable (e.g. Bittman et. al., 2003; Brines, 1994; Evertsson and Neramo, 2004). A significant positive squared term indicates that the woman performs more housework in families where she is the main provider than in families where the spouses share the provider role equally. In her pioneering study Brines (1994) found that American men “displayed gender” when they were economically dependent on their wives

by lowering their time in housework. However, she found no corresponding increase in time spent in housework among women who were the main providers. Brines used the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) for 1985 and the dependent variable was logged time spent in housework. Greenstein (2000), replicated Brines' findings with data from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) for 1987-88. However, when he used a distributional indicator of housework (i.e. share), his results showed that both men and women act to neutralize a non-normative provider role when they do housework. That is, they take part in what Greenstein termed "deviance neutralizing" behavior. In our comparative study of the United States and Sweden, we also found support for a U-shaped association among American women, but not among Swedish women (Evertsson and Neramo 2004). The data used for the United States in this study was the PSID for 1973, 1981, 1991 and 1999 and the curvilinear association was found for the three later years (using housework hours as the dependent variable). Bittman et al. (2003) in their comparative study of the United States and Australia, found that Australian – but not American – women increased their time spent in housework when they were the main providers. Bittman et al. used the NSFH for 1987-88 when analysing the American sample and in accordance with Brines, they found a reversed u-shaped association between economic dependency and housework for men. The dependent variable in their analyses was housework hours.

Although the above reported studies differ in respect to whether primarily men or women are the ones who act in a way that neutralizes the presumed gender deviation in nontraditional families, the conclusion in all cases is that the exchange theory can be rejected as the sole explanation for the division of housework in these families. Still, the inconclusive results from earlier studies have spurred us to further explore the validity of our findings. In order to test the

robustness of the results from our study, we initially performed several sensitivity tests on the curvilinear association found for the United States. To start with, we re-estimated the analyses for 1981, 1991 and 1999 excluding families with the 3% most dependent men. When Gupta (1999) re-estimated Brines' (1994) analysis, he found that excluding the 3% most dependent men caused the curvilinear effect for men to disappear. However, in our study excluding these families did not affect the results. We also replicated Brines' model for 1981. If we restricted the sample to include only Blacks and Whites – as Brines did – and apart from that used the same selections as in our own analyses (Evertsson & Neramo 2004), we still found a significant curvilinear effect for women. As economic dependency, relative education and occupational status are correlated, we also re-estimated the analyses including only economic dependency (together with other control variables). In addition we estimated a model where we controlled for the woman's and the man's education in years (instead of controlling for relative education in a more rough way). In both models, the curvilinear association between women's housework and economic dependency remained. Finally, we re-estimated the model including only Blacks and Whites (excluding the "other" category). Also in this model, the curvilinear effect remained.

Earlier we argued that the curvilinear effect found still could depend on a relatively few number of outliers. We therefore want to go even further and perform more rigorous tests of the robustness of this result on American data. In the following we therefore compare traditional families to nontraditional ones, followed by analyses of the robustness of the curvilinear effect between housework and economic dependency. All analyses are based on women in the United States in 1991.

DATA AND METHOD

Data comes from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) 1991, and is restricted to married or cohabiting couples in the United States. Information on income and work hours was collected the year after the interview ($t+1$). Analyses of the association between economic dependency and housework are based on OLS regressions. The respondents are between 18 and 65 years of age. Early retired, disabled persons and students are excluded. Also, only respondents who were cohabiting the year before the survey year ($t-1$) until, at least, the year after the survey year ($t+1$) are included in the analyses.

VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSES

For the sake of comparability we here use the same set of variables as in our earlier study of the division of domestic labor (cf. Evertsson and Neramo 2004). The dependent variable in the analyses is the number of weekly hours spent in housework. Housework is defined as time spent cooking, cleaning and doing other work around the house.

Three indicators of relative resource are included in the analyses: relative level of education, relative occupational status and respondent's economic dependence.

Relative level of education refers to the husband and wife's level of education in relation to each other and includes three categories: (a) both husband and wife have at the most secondary education (at least 12 grades or a completed high school degree) (the reference category), (b) both husband and wife have some education above the secondary level, (c) the husband but not the wife has some education above the secondary level, and (d) the wife but not the husband has some education above the secondary level.

Relative occupational status is coded in a way similar to education. The reference category is, (a), couples in which both the husband and the wife have about equal occupational status and are either blue-collar workers (unskilled or skilled), or lower white-collar workers (i.e., sales workers or clerical and kindred workers), or are both out of the labor force (a very small fraction). The second category, (b), is composed of households in which both are intermediate or higher white-collar workers (i.e. professional, technical and kindred workers, or managers and administrators). In the third category, (c), the man has higher occupational status than does the woman, and in the fourth category, (d), the woman has higher occupational status than does the man.

Degree of Economic Dependency is based on total earnings before tax. The measure is adapted from Sørensen and McLanahan's (1987) original measure of a wife's economic dependency.

$$\text{Equation 1. } \text{Income transfer} = (\text{OEARN} - \text{SEARN}) / (\text{OEARN} + \text{SEARN})$$

This measure applies to both wives and husbands, where OEARN refers to the respondent's own annual earnings, and SEARN refers to the spouse's annual earnings. The degree of economic dependency is included in the analyses as a continuous variable ranging from -1 to 1, where -1 indicates that the respondent is fully economically dependent on the spouse (i.e., the spouse provides all the household income), and 1 indicates that the respondent is the economic provider for the spouse (i.e. the respondent provides all the household income). When economic dependency is 0, both spouses contribute equally to the household income.

The economic dependency variable is also included as a quadratic term, i.e. economic dependency², ranging from 0 to 1, indicating any gender display or gender deviance neutralization. A significant positive estimate for the quadratic term indicates a U-shaped

association between economic dependency and time spent in housework. For women this would indicate that they perform the least housework when their contribution to the household income is about as large as their spouses'. Consequently, women who either are economically dependent on or economically provides for their spouse, spend more hours on housework than those in the equal provider category. Hence, if the division of housework is unrelated to traditional gender roles, the quadratic term should not be significant and instead, women and men would spend about equal amounts of time in housework once we include the linear term of economic dependency together with other indicators of relative resources.

The analyses also include a set of control variables. The first one, age, is included as a continuous variable.

Having a child younger than 6 years of age is a dummy variable that separates those with children below school age from others. A continuous variable of the number of children below 18 years of age is also included in the analyses.

Number of hours per week spent in paid labor refers to the average amount of weekly hours spent in paid employment for the woman and the man, respectively.

Race of husband is included as a control variable that distinguishes between Whites (reference category not shown), Blacks and Others. The reason for including race is twofold. First, earlier studies have found that the amount of time spent in housework differs for Blacks, Whites, and others. Second, the PSID initially oversampled low income households and Whites have a lower probability of living in such a household.

A dummy for the self-employed is included as we assume that they, to a greater extent than most employees, can have problems separating their work-time and their spare time. They may also work long hours without paying themselves a corresponding wage.

In order to control for the level of income in the household, we also include ten levels of the total household earnings before tax based on the deciles values of the distribution of earnings.

EXAMINING THE NONTRADITIONAL FAMILY

Before testing the robustness of the curvilinear relation between relative resources and housework, we will begin by examining the nontraditional families. In what way do families where the wife partly provides for her husband differ from the more traditional ones where the man is partly supporting his wife? In Table 1 below all households are divided into five categories depending on the degree of dependency, (a) the woman is more than 60% dependent, (b) the woman is between 60 and 21% dependent, (c) The spouses share the provider role; no one is more than 20% dependent, (d) the man is between 21 and 60% dependent, and (e) the man is more than 60% dependent.

[Table 1 about here]

Findings in Table 1 indicate that nontraditional families have lower household income than both traditional families and families where the spouses share the provider role. It is nevertheless notable that the labor income of the dependent spouse is roughly the same for both women and men. The only substantial income difference found in Table 1 is that a man with a highly dependent wife roughly earns twice as much as a woman with a highly dependent husband.

One possible explanation for the U-curve might be that spouses in nontraditional families have lower levels of education, which indirectly suggests that they may hold more conservative or traditional values regarding gender roles (cf., Knudsen & Wærness, 2001; Kane, 1995; Thornton,

Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). Low educated men also tend to do less housework than do high educated men (e.g., Coverman, 1985; Gershuny & Sullivan, 2003; Goldscheider & Waite, 1991). In Table 1, it is shown that the number of men with college degree is lowest among highly dependent men in nontraditional families. Similarly, the number of women with college degree is lower in traditional families than in other families.

A second indicator of more traditional gender attitudes could be age, since older people often have more conservative gender attitudes than younger (e.g. Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983). When the average age of women and men in nontraditional families is compared to women and men in traditional families, and families where the spouses share the provider role it is apparent that both nontraditional families and traditional ones are slightly older than the equal provider families.

Finally, a comparison is made between the work hours in gainful employment for women and men in different families. The assumption here is that women in female provider families might work relatively few hours (considering the low income in these families), and that this might be one factor explaining why they still are able to spend quite some time on housework each week. However, Table 1 shows that this assumption receives little support. Women in the more nontraditional families work on average close to 40 hours per week in gainful employment. Men's housework time in the most traditional and nontraditional families are six and twelve hours per week, respectively. The corresponding figure for women is 30 and 16 hours (see Table 1). This indicates that economically dependent men spend twice as much time as economically provident men on housework, but also that a dependent woman performs more than twice as much housework as a dependent man. Worth noting, however, is that if we exclude the 3% most dependent men, the association between economic dependency and hours spent in housework for

men disappears. Hence, economically dependent men do not perform significantly more housework than men who provide for their wives once the 3% most dependent men are excluded.

TESTING THE U-CURVE

Even though Table 1 only includes five categories of degree of economic dependency, the number of hours women spend on housework still indicate a curvilinear association. In Figure 1 below we have included the average hours women spend on housework by degree of dependency (the unbroken line). A regression line based on the – presumed – linear association between economic dependency and housework hours and a line based on the curvilinear association (i.e. with a squared term) is also included. It is obvious in Figure 1 that adding a squared term to the linear term of dependency significantly improves the fit of the data. This model will from here on be referred to as the baseline model.

[Figure 1 about here]

[Figure 2 about here]

As a first step we test how the shape of the association between housework and economic dependency is affected when other relevant factors are added to the base line model. The results are presented graphically in Figure 2. Estimates for the base line model and Model 1 are presented in the Appendix (Table A1 and A2). In Model 1 we add controls for household income decile, age of wife, race, working hours, children, the spouse's relative education and the spouses' relative occupational status. The analysis clearly shows that there exists a significant curvilinear association between women's housework and economic dependency, even after

controlling for relevant factors, such as household income, education, and occupational status. Still, it could, as mentioned repeatedly, be the case that the above reported curvilinear effect is a statistical artifact driven by a smaller number of outliers. In our former study we found that the quadratic term of economic dependency was significant after excluding the 3% most dependent men (Evertsson and Neramo 2004; cf. Gupta 1999). Here we push the limit further. The idea is to limit our analysis to households where no spouse is fully dependent. The next step is therefore to exclude all households where one spouse receives more than 80 percent of their share of the household income from their spouse. In all, this selection reduces our original sample by roughly 30 percent. A comparison of Model 1 based on the original sample, and Model 1 based on our selection sample is presented in Figure 3. Despite a considerable flattening of the curvilinear association when Model 1 is applied to the 80 percent selection sample, the quadratic term is still significant (Table A3).

[Figure 3 about here]

In the second test we exclude all households where men are, according to our definition, to some degree economically dependent on their wives. The graph in Figure 4 represents the association between housework and economic dependency for households where men receive less than 10 percent of their share of the household income from his wife. The estimate for the curvilinear effect based on this selection is also significant (Table A4).

[Figure 4 about here]

Finally, we want to explore in more detail the shape of the association between economic dependency and housework in nontraditional families. In order to do so, we add higher order polynomials to model 1. When Brines in her study includes a third order polynomial, she argues that the magnitude of the effect of dependency or providership on housework might increase with degree of dependency or providership. That is, if a woman or a man is dependent on their spouse for a long time, they might pay their 'debt' to their spouse to some extent by doing more housework. This would lead the linear association supported by the relative resource perspective to take on a more curved shape (indicated by significant squared and cubic terms) although still by and large supporting a resource perspective (see Brines (1994), Figure 2). By adding third and fourth order polynomials, we also allow for the curve to flatten out in one end or to make further bends. In Figure 5, a model with a cubic term is compared to a model with a quartic term. Including a cubic term to model 1 indicates a flattening of the curve compared to when only a quadratic term is included (cf. Figure 4 and the line for Model 1). In the regression analysis, only the squared term is significant once a cubic term is included (Table A5). Adding a quartic term to the model makes again the more u-shaped association prevalent. In the regression model, the linear term is significant and so is the quartic term whereas the quadratic term and the cubic term is insignificant (Table A6).

A second way to explore the shape of the association between economic dependency and housework is to include dummies for degree of economic dependency. When we include dummies according to the categorisation used in Table 1, the conclusion is in line with the one we get from using higher order polynomials. The only category that significantly differs from the others is where women's degree of dependency is between -1 and -0,6. This category makes up about 40 percent of the sample and women in these households perform significantly more

housework than women in the other households (see Table A7). Worth noting is that there are very few couples in which women to a high extent support their husbands (the part from 0,6 to 1 on the x-axis in Figure 5 represents 127 families in the unweighted sample or about 3 percent of the total sample). From earlier analyses we know that the curvilinear term for women remains significant even if these families are excluded. A conservative conclusion would therefore be that the tests performed so far shows that women's time spent in housework decreases by their degree of economic dependency up to the point where the woman and the man are about equal family providers. However, women in nontraditional families spend at least as much time in housework as women in equal provider families and consequently, it appears as if women are unable to lower their housework burden further when they go from being about equal to their spouse in their provider role to being the main provider. Whether this is due to these women trying to neutralize the presumed gender deviance on behalf of their spouse – by not lowering their time spent in housework further – is hard to say. Still, the conclusion is that the exchange or bargaining hypothesis receives no support when it comes to nontraditional families. But also, women in all family types perform more housework than their partners.

[Figure 5 about here]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Earlier empirical analyses of the division of housework indicate support for the resource bargaining perspective in traditional families, i.e. in families where the man is the main provider of income (e.g. Bittman et al. 2003; Brines 1994; Evertsson and Neramo 2004; Greenstein 2000). This means that American women perform less housework in households where the spouses have equivalent earnings than in households in which the man is providing economically for the woman. However, of most interest here is the fact that this effect does not seem to extend to, so called, nontraditional families where the woman is the main provider. Instead, the doing-gender approach receives some support here since her time spent on housework either remains unchanged or even increases once again when she becomes the main provider.

The purpose of this paper was two-fold; first, to study whether nontraditional families differ from other families in terms of spouses educational attainment, work time, household income etc, and second to study the robustness in the association between housework and economic dependency.

The analysis indicates that the spouses' age was slightly higher in both traditional and nontraditional families, compared to the equal provider families. Also, the number of low educated men were higher in nontraditional families whereas in traditional families, women were more likely to be low educated. A difference between the two was that family income was lower in nontraditional families than in traditional families. It was also worth noting that women in the former families worked close to 40 hours a week in gainful employment whereas their husbands on average worked a little more than 20 hours a week in gainful employment. Still, women did the majority of the housework.

When it comes to our second purpose, the regression analysis clearly showed that there exists a significant curvilinear association between women's housework and economic dependency, even after controlling for relevant factors such as age, household income, education, and occupational status. In order to test the robustness of this result, we excluded all households in which one spouse received more than 80 percent of their share of the household income from their spouse. This meant that we excluded all households where one spouse was a full time homemaker. Despite a considerable flattening of the curvilinear association, the quadratic term still was significant. Thus, the curvilinear pattern can not be explained by a small number of women who are fully economically providing for their husbands, and at the same time spend huge amounts of time on housework.

The second test here involved excluding all households where men were, according to our definition, economically dependent on their wives, i.e. households where no man received less than 10 percent of his share of the household income from his wife. The estimate for the curvilinear effect based on this selection was also significant.

Finally, we included higher order polynomials in our model in order to more closely study the association between economic dependency and housework in nontraditional families. The results from these analyses indicated a flattening of the curve and the conclusion was that women in nontraditional families by and large spend as much time on housework as women in equal provider families. Hence, even though women's time spent in housework is reduced by degree of economic dependency, this reduction is only apparent when woman in traditional families are compared to women in families where the woman and the man contribute about equally to the household income. When women in nontraditional families are compared to women in equal provider families, the amount of time spent on housework is about the same.

In conclusion, we argue that the earlier reported curvilinear association between housework and economic dependency in the United States is robust for women in 1991. At least, it is not an effect of a small number of outliers constituted by households of fully dependent men. Hence, the exchange or bargaining theory can not explain the time spent in housework for American women in the more nontraditional families. This might indicate that gender deviant identities or behaviors (such as breadwinner wife and economically dependent husband) in one arena are compensated for by gender typical behavior in another. It does not necessarily imply that dependent husbands feel their masculinity threatened and actively try to restore it by avoiding housework. It does however suggest that housework is gendered work, i.e. women in all families – traditional, nontraditional and among equal providers – bear the main responsibility for this work.

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Table 1. Descriptive statistics comparing traditional and nontraditional families to families where the spouse's shares the provider role. Figures for the United States 1991.

	Traditional Wife dependent		Equal providers	Nontraditional Husband dependent		Total sample
	-1 to -0.6	-0.6 to -0.2	-0.2 to 0.2	0.2 to 0.6	0.6 to 1	
Degree of dependency						
Wife labor income	2491	16777	26168	32038	26665	15116
Husband labor income	49562	38478	28444	15128	3085	35756
College degree Wives	20.2	22.1	27.4	28.6	26.4	23.0
College degree husbands	32.7	32.7	26.9	30.5	21.9	30.9
Both college	15.8	17.2	17.5	16.6	15.0	16.6
Age of wife	40.16	39.62	39.14	39.45	40.81	39.75
Age of husband	42.55	41.92	41.18	41.35	42.56	41.99
Work hours wife	9.06	32.80	38.01	37.99	38.70	24.76
Work hours husband	44.49	44.16	41.19	38.42	21.87	42.72
Unemployed husband	1.2	1.2	2.4	8.0	25.6	2.7
Hours of housework wife	29.6	18.3	15.9	14.6	16.2	22.1
Hours of housework husband	6.4	7.3	7.6	8.6	12.4	7.2
N	1940	1355	1103	240	127	4765

Figure 1. The average number of hours spent on housework for women in the United States 1991

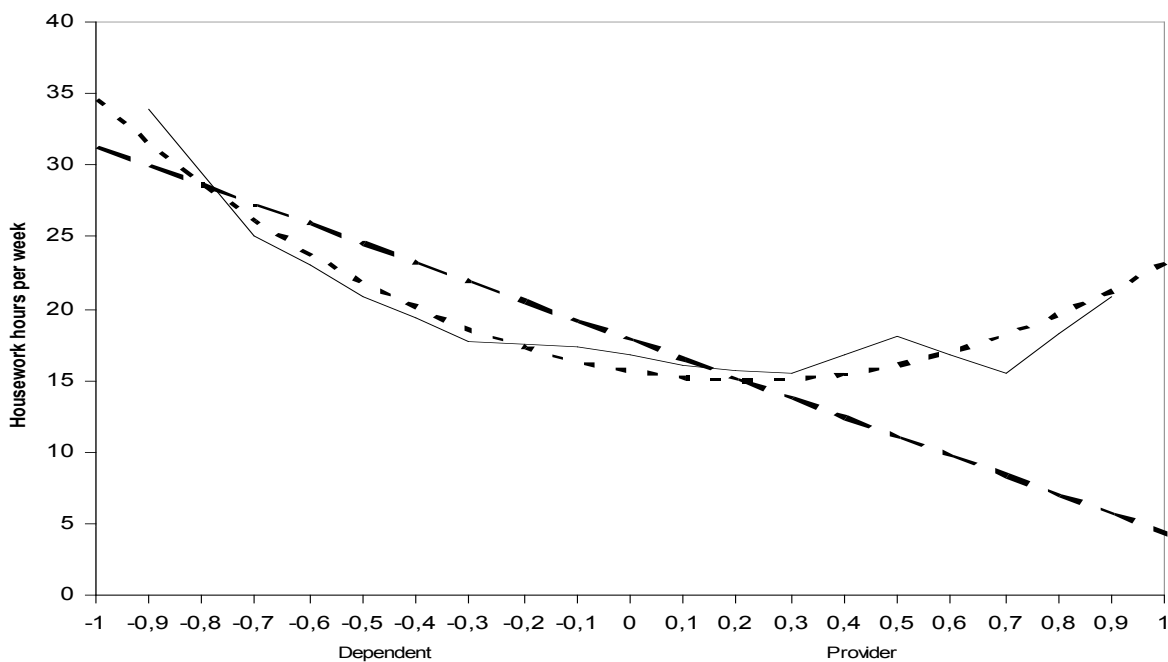


Figure 2. Association between housework and economic dependency for women in the United States 1991 (Comparison between the base line model and Model 1)

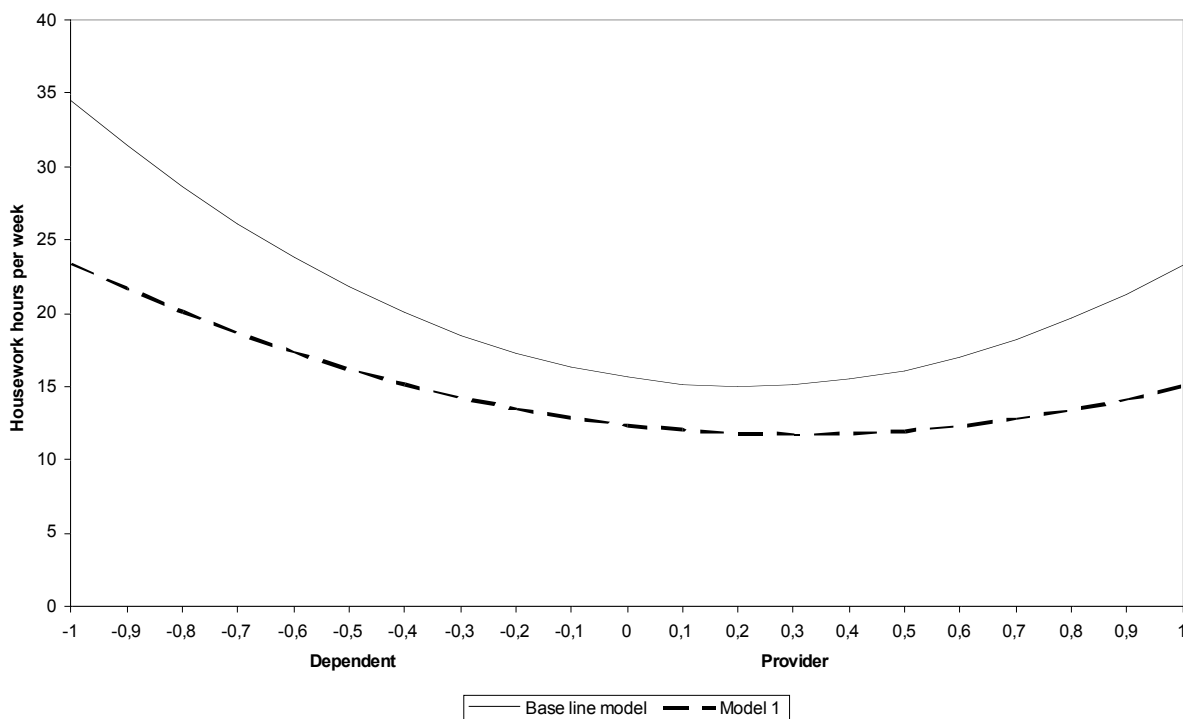


Figure 3. Comparison based on Model 1 between total sample and a subsample restricted to households where no spouse is more than 80 per cent dependent.

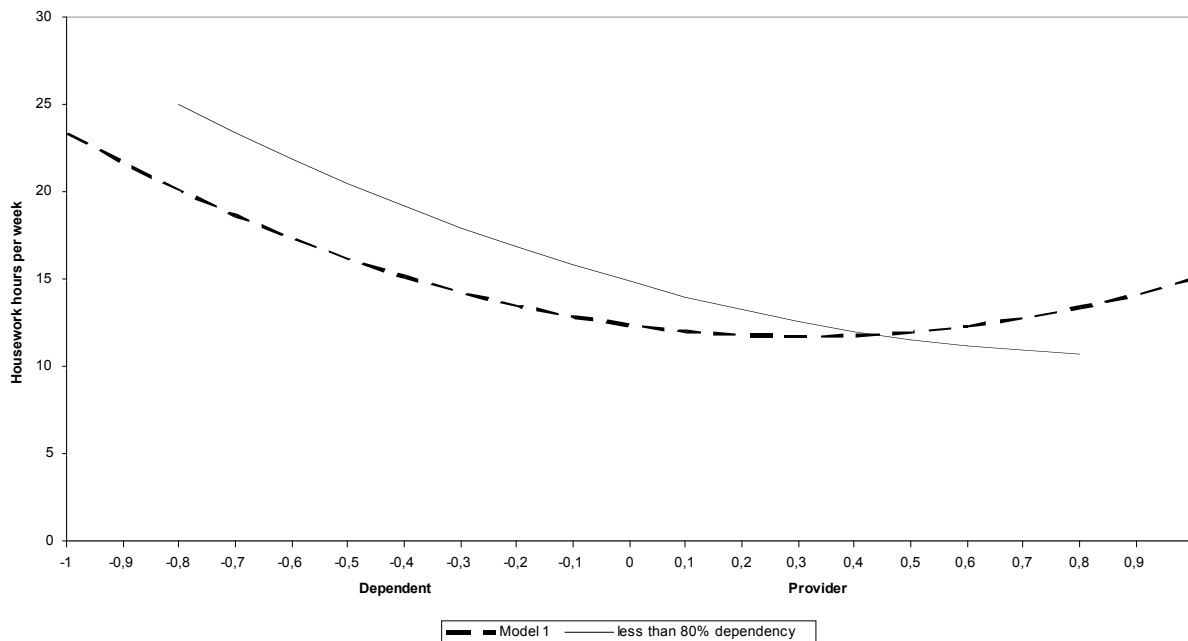


Figure 4. Comparison based on Model 1 between total sample and a subsample restricted to households where the husband is less than 10 per cent dependent.

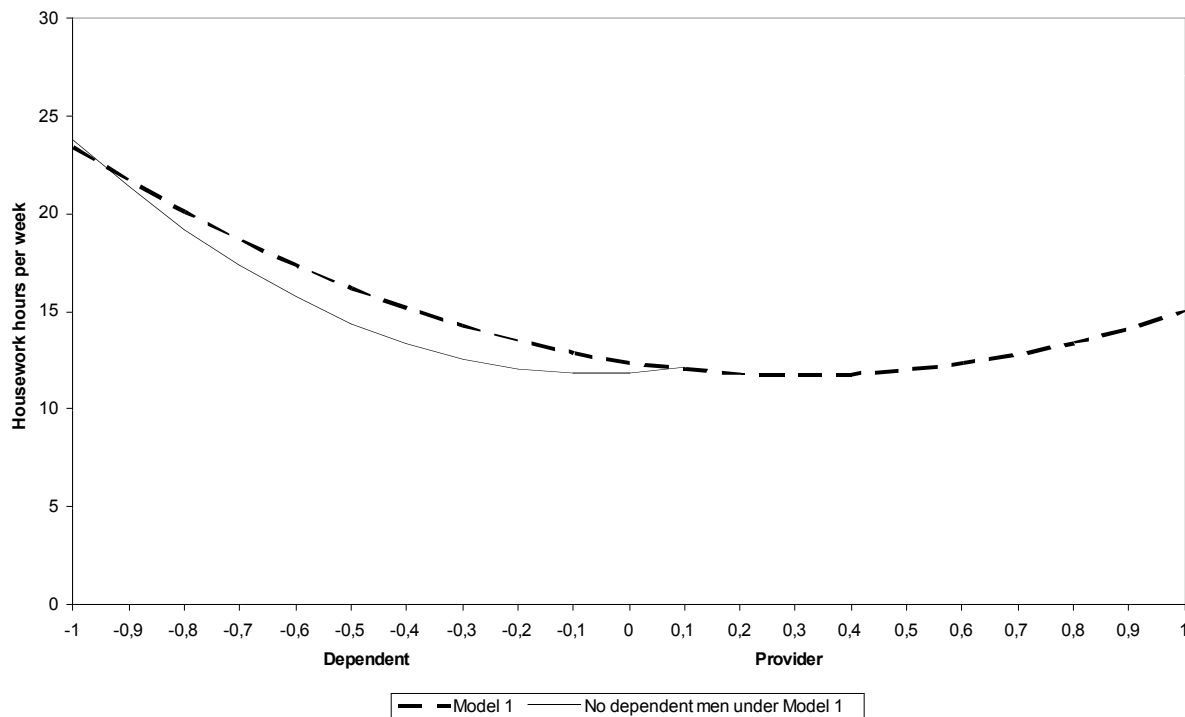
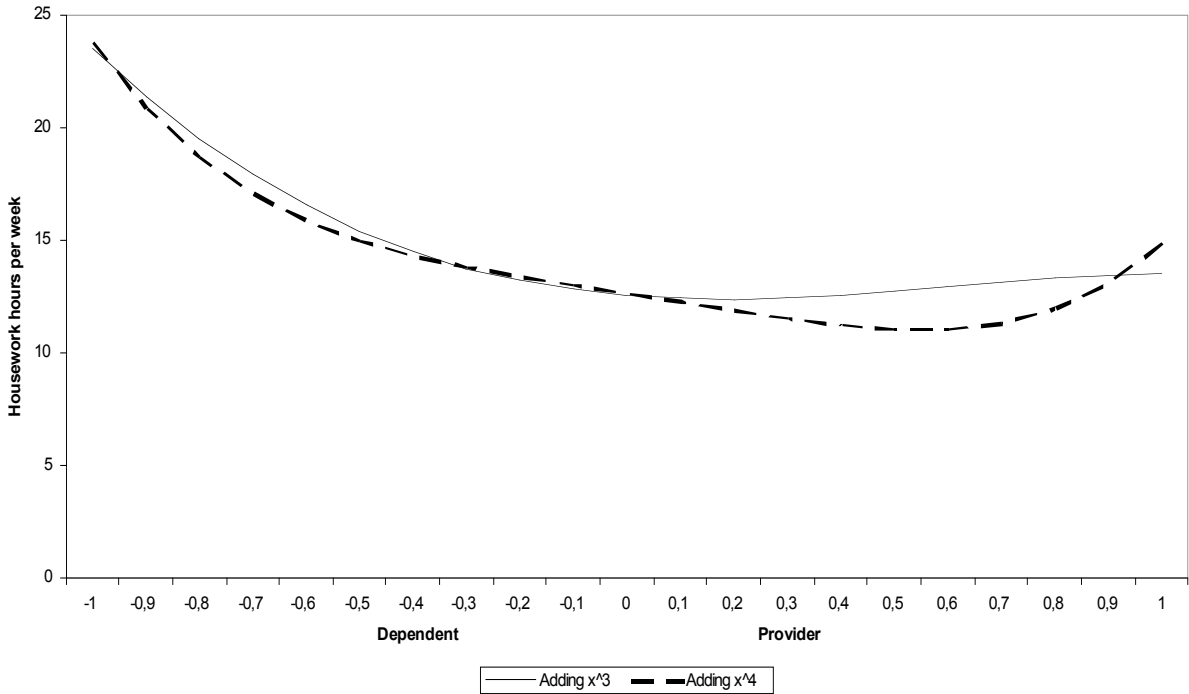


Figure 5. Association between housework and economic dependency for women in the United States 1991. Comparing a model with a cubic term to a model with a quartic term



APPENDIX

Table A1. *The base line model.* The association between economic dependency and housework hours for women. n=3602. R²=0.16

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Constant	15.618	0.347	44.979
Economic dep	-5.677	0.687	-8.259
Economic dep ²	13.358	0.818	16.337

Table A2. *Model 1.* OLS regression model of the housework in hours per week on relative resources controlling for background variables for women. n=3602. R²=0.29

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Constant	12.405	1.783	6.956
Income Decile	-0.365	0.125	-2.916
Age	0.195	0.028	6.958
Black	-2.995	0.623	-4.807
Other race	3.600	0.598	6.019
Child < 6 years	2.348	0.575	4.086
# of children	1.814	0.203	8.952
Work hours wife	-0.88	0.026	-3.394
Work hours husband	0.006	0.020	0.296
Both highly educated	-3.137	0.658	-4.768
Husband highly educated, not wife	-2.950	0.713	-4.136
Wife highly educated, not husband	-1.414	0.780	-1.814
Both high occupational status	0.358	0.858	0.417
Husband higher occ status than wife	3.057	0.626	4.886
Wife higher occ status than husband	0.099	0.776	0.128
Wife self employed	-0.627	-0.885	-0.708
Economic dep	-3.729	0.822	-4.535
Economic dep ²	6.832	1.029	6.639

Table A3. Model 1 (see Table A2) based on a selection of households where no spouse receives more than 80 percent of their share of the household income from their spouse. n=2409. $R^2=0.17$

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Economic dep	-4.592	0.935	-4.912
Economic dep ²	4.718	1.647	2.865

Table A4. Model 1 (see Table A2) based on a selection of households where no man is more than 10 percent dependent. n=3210. $R^2=0.29$

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Economic dep	3.075	2.673	1.150
Economic dep ²	13.573	2.727	4.977

Table A5. Model 1 (see Table A2) including a cubic term in the model. n=3602. $R^2=0.30$

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Economic dep	-1.927	1.254	-1.536
Economic dep ²	5.987	1.121	5.342
Economic dep ³	-3.048	1.603	-1.901

Table A6. Model 1 (see Table A2) including a cubic and a quartic term in the model. n=3602. $R^2=0.30$

	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
Economic dep	-3.729	1.518	-2.457
Economic dep ²	-0.181	3.134	-0.058
Economic dep ³	-0.725	-1.945	-0.373
Economic dep ⁴	6.847	3.248	2.108

Table A7. Using dummies for degree of economic dependency controlling for the same factors as in Model 1. n=3602. R²=0.29

Women's degree of economic dependency	Unstandardized Beta	Standard Errors	t
-1.0 – -0.6	5.534	0.899	6.155
-0.6 – -0.2	0.305	0.652	0.468
-0.2 – 0.2	0.00	0.00	0.00
0.2 – 0.6	-1.599	1.121	-1.427
0.6 – 1.0	-0.316	1.461	-0.216