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Gender and the Division of Housework in Canada: An Exploration of Competing Models

by

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Abstract

This project examines the division of unpaid domestic labour in Canada, and explores the three primary explanatory theories in the quantitative literature on the performance of housework – the time-availability, resources, and gender ideology models. Though women have entered the paid workforce in unprecedented numbers, they have not experienced a corresponding reduction in unpaid domestic labour, and continue to spend almost twice as much time performing housework as do men. Clear evidence was found in support of the time-availability model, though the effects were shaped by gender. The findings around age and marital status offer some speculative support for the gender role hypothesis, while the resources theory was not borne out by the data. The persistence of task segregation was evidenced by greater gender differences for feminine-typed tasks, as compared to total unpaid domestic labour. Policy options modeled on the Scandinavian example, including universal daycare and workplace reforms, are advocated.

Preface

I was first inspired to consider unpaid domestic work as the topic for my thesis after a discussion in a course on gender and citizenship. Several students felt strongly that the gendered division of labour at home was a thing of the past, and that younger couples especially were sharing housework more equitably. I was skeptical, and as I found in my analysis, with good reason.

As a testament to the continued relevance of research and advocacy around the gendered division of labour, I found illuminating the differing responses of women and men when I mentioned my thesis topic. For women, the most common response was, "You should come to my house!" followed by complaints regarding the minimal domestic contributions of their male partners. Their frustration is encouraging, because it suggests the inequity is recognized, and is perhaps less likely to be considered 'fair' and 'natural' than was previously the case. Among men, however, the question was, "How is that relevant to political science?"

Hopefully, through the continued efforts of feminist scholars and others, the time will come when women might offer their households as examples of domestic equality, and men won't need to ask how the gendered division of housework is political.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

CAD	Canadian dollar
CATI	Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing
CCB	Compassionate Care Benefit
CCTB	Canada Child Tax Benefit
DLI	Data Liberation Initiative
EI	Employment Insurance
ENWB	Elimination of Non-Working Banks
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSS	General Social Survey
LSD	Least Significant Difference
NCBS	National Child Benefit Supplement
NSFH	National Survey of Families and Households
RDD	Random Digit Dialing
SEK	Swedish krona
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UCCB	Universal Child Care Benefit
UNSNA	United Nations System of National Accounts

Chapter One: Introduction

In Canada, women have moved into the paid labour force in unprecedented numbers, and are occupying positions of greater power and authority; this is a triumph of feminism and the women's movement. However, in heterosexual couples, women also continue to be responsible for the vast majority of unpaid work in the domestic sphere, creating a 'double burden' or 'second-shift' for scores of time-stressed 'super-moms' (Hochschild 1989). Why, in this era of supposed gender equality, do women perform almost twice as much unpaid domestic work as men? (Statistics Canada 1999, Statistics Canada 2006b).[1] Why does gender segregation of household chores persist? Which factors help to explain the gendered division of unpaid work, both in terms of time allocation and task segregation?

The objective of this study is to describe and determine the factors affecting the distribution of unpaid domestic work in Canada. In addition to quantitatively testing the effects of several variables on the division of housework, the project includes a discussion of relevant background information and policy options available to governments concerned with the inequitable division of labour and women's inequality in general.

Three models are typically used in quantitative studies of unpaid work to help explain variation in the division of labour by time and task: the time-availability, relative-resources (hereafter referred to as the resources model), and

[1] In the 1998 GSS, females 15 years of age and older reported doing an average of 4.1 hours per day of unpaid housework, compared to 2.4 hours for males. The numbers for the 2005 cycle were 4.3 and 2.5 hours for females and males respectively.

gender ideology models (Shelton & John 1996, Bianchi et al 2000, Blair and Lichter 1991, Brayfield 1992). The time-availability (or time constraints) model argues that "men and women participate in housework and childcare to the extent that there are demands on them to do so and they have available time" (Shelton and John 1996: 307). The resources model (also called the economic dependency model) posits a bargaining relationship, wherein the partner with more resources (e.g. income, occupational prestige) is able to negotiate his or her way out of more household work, particularly the less enjoyable or highly 'feminine-typed' tasks (Brines 1993). The gender ideology (or gender role) model claims that couples with more egalitarian attitudes regarding the gendered division of labour will share domestic responsibilities more equitably than will couples with more traditional views (Greenstein 1996).

Data were used from Cycle 19 (2005) of the Canadian General Social Survey (GSS) to explore women and men's unpaid work patterns, and to assess the ability of model variables to explain the gendered division of domestic labour. The specific research questions for the quantitative portion of the study are as follows:

1. How do Canadian women and men differ in the amount and kind of household labour they perform?
2. How well do the models explain variation in the patterns of women and men's participation in household labour? Which variables have the greatest net effect?

Competing explanations for the continued gender imbalance in unpaid housework are also outlined. In particular, a strong argument has been made

that women and men 'perform' housework in symbolic enactment of gender norms, recreating or 'producing' gender (in addition to meals or a clean house) in their daily activities. The 'doing gender' theory (West and Zimmerman 1987), while persuasive, is not as easily examined in a quantitative framework. It is put forth here as a possible explanation for some of the continued gender imbalance in housework that remains after accounting for the effects of the independent variables. This section of the paper also raises and explores questions about the division of housework that remain to be answered.

A further discussion links the unpaid work of women to the broader public/private divide, and finds the state complicit in women's 'invisibility' and devaluation. Governments concerned with the unfair division of unpaid labour, and gender inequality in general, have several policy options available to them, including the implementation of a publicly-funded national daycare system.

Approach to Research

This project takes as its starting point a feminist perspective, which is to say it focuses on gender as the primary variable of interest, and is ultimately concerned with the implications of the division of unpaid labour for women's status and gender equality. Feminists have shown how binaries associated with the divide between the public sphere (the 'male' realm of reason, independence, power, and paid work) and private sphere (the 'female' realm of emotion, dependence, morality, and unpaid work) have served to oppress women (Pateman 1983). Insights from socialist feminism are particularly helpful in understanding the ways in which patriarchy and capitalism combine to augment male power through the doctrine of separate spheres and the distribution of

unpaid labour: "patriarchy is causally related to the division of labor, with men benefiting, directly and indirectly, from the control of women's labor" (Folbre & Hartmann 1989, in Shelton and John 1996: 303). Feminist analyses seek to expose the artificiality of the public/private divide, and to address structural, societal, and familial injustices that stem from its enduring influence.

Significance of Inquiry

Since housework takes place in the private realm, continued inequality is typically 'invisible'. Household labour often goes unrecognized as work, because it is not paid, or more importantly, because it is done by women. Moreover, socialization and the wide-spread acceptance of gender norms often make the unfair division appear 'natural' and 'fair' to women and men alike. But gender inequity in the private realm prevents women from attaining equality with men in the public realm and in society in general. Women who focus exclusively or extensively on domestic responsibilities are disadvantaged economically when seeking credit, pension benefits, employment insurance, and legal compensation (Coleman 1999: 8). The undervaluing of women's work in the home leads to decreased wages for 'feminine-typed' tasks in the marketplace, also typically performed by women, reinforcing the wage gap in the public sphere (Coleman 1999: 7). Gendered distributions of unpaid housework rob women of time necessary for mental self-development (Okin 1991: 89-90), career-enhancing community or political involvement (Norris and Lovenduski 1993: 390, 397), and leisure (Phipps et al 2001). Ann Oakley goes so far as to argue that "housework is work directly opposed to the possibility of human self-actualization" (1974: 222).

Because unpaid work is typically 'invisible', the women who perform it are easily ignored or forgotten in policy discussions (Waring 1999). The firm entrenchment of the patriarchal public/private divide in the very foundations of liberal-capitalist society (Okin 1991) means governments are loathe to legislate beyond the door of the family home. In the current context of the dominant neo-liberal paradigm, women too often bear the extra burden when social programs are eroded by processes of privatization and individualization. Hidden from public view, housework also shares a problematic relationship with domestic violence. More than three quarters of male perpetrators of domestic violence involved in one study reported their rationale for the abuse to be the failure of their female partners to meet their expectations regarding the performance of housework (McMahon 1999: 30). In light of these insights, investigations that delve into the gendered division of labour, such as the current study, are needed to bring a woman-centred perspective to policy discussions.

There are a number of interesting, contemporary quantitative studies documenting the adverse effects of the 'double burden' on Canadian women's health and well-being (MacDonald et al 2005, Phipps et al 2001). Women in dual-earner households report more stress than their male counterparts, and are more likely to experience depression and poor physical health (Phipps et al 2001, McDonald et al 2005, Duxbury and Higgins 2001). There is relatively little quantitative research, however, that attempts to identify and measure the strength of the various factors affecting the distribution of unpaid housework in Canada (Brayfield 1992). A vast quantitative literature on unpaid domestic work exists in the United States, and the findings of these studies, along with others

from Australia and Britain, have been used to guide the development of hypotheses for the present study. However, sufficient cultural and sociological differences exist between Canada and its southern neighbour to question the generalization of U.S. findings to the Canadian context (Brayfield 1992: 20). The current project seeks to address this gap in the quantitative literature.

This study contributes to our understanding of gender and politics by quantifying several determinants of the housework patterns of Canadian women and men, and illuminating the complex relationships between public and private sphere roles, responsibilities, and resources. The findings of the project may be widely generalized, as the data are current and were collected from a large and representative sample of the Canadian population. The results supplement the insights from important qualitative studies on housework, and open up avenues for further inquiries in the field.

Background

The following sub-sections outline the background and theory behind the study of housework, including a discussion of the public-private divide, the invisibility of unpaid work and the relationship between domestic work and choice. The three models typically used in the quantitative literature – time-availability, resources, and gender ideology - are also outlined in further detail.

The Public-Private Divide

Central to an examination of housework is the dichotomy between the public and private spheres. The public-private divide structures the sexual division of labour in the household and paid workface, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of women's social, economic and political inequality. The public or

'male' sphere is associated with politics and paid work, while the private or 'female' sphere is deemed to be the realm of home, family, and domesticity. Pateman (1983) delineates the binary as equating female with "nature, personal, emotional, love, private, intuition, morality, ascription, particular, subjection", as opposed to the association of 'male' with "culture, political, reason, justice, public, philosophy, power, achievement, universal, freedom" (287).

According to liberal theory, the spheres are separate and independent from one another, such that the activities and relationships of the one are not hinged on the activities and relationships of the other. Feminists have shown, however, how "the doctrine of 'separate but equal', and the ostensible individualism and egalitarianism of liberal theory, obscure the patriarchal reality of a social structure of inequality and the domination of women by men" (Pateman 1983: 283). Within the family, women are subjugated to a male household head, and thereby denied the status of 'free and equal individuals' that would entitle them to participate "in the public world of equality, consent and convention" (Pateman 1983: 284).

Feminists have contested the public/private division on two major accounts, the first being that it relies on a biologically deterministic conception of women as 'natural' care-givers: "Women's household and child care work are seen as an extension of their physiology. All the labour that goes into the production of life, including the labour of giving birth to a child, is seen as an activity *of* nature, rather than an interaction of a woman *with* nature" (Waring 1999: 23). The biological argument has been "modernized and incorporated into liberal-capitalism" through women's concentration in 'pink collar' jobs and

continued wage disparity with men, leaving them dependent on husbands for subsistence and therefore 'irrelevant' to understandings of liberal social life (Pateman 1983: 286). It is not biology but gendered social relations and structures that determine women's subjection (Pateman 1983: 289, Okin 1991: 67).

Secondly, feminists have clearly demonstrated the ways in which the public and private spheres are overlapping, interrelated, and interdependent, exposing the artificiality of the liberal conception of separate realms. Reliance and insistence on the division, both in theory and policy formulation, means that "the political nature of the family, the relevance of justice in personal life and, as a consequence, a major part of the inequalities of gender", are simply overlooked or ignored (Okin 1991: 71). Though it is categorically 'unproductive' and lacking economic value, the household is the site of reproduction of the paid labour force, daily restoration and sustenance of workers, and raising the next generation of workers (Pascall 1997: 38). Furthermore, it is a myth that the private realm is not intensely regulated by the state. Social policies and state activities clearly influence the daily activities and career paths of those working in the private realm, and yet "the patriarchal model of the liberal state defines such issues as private matters, to be negotiated among family members who freely enter the caring contract as equals" (Aronson & Neysmith 1999: 112-113). Because of the integral relationship between the two spheres, persistent inequalities in the division of housework impinge on women's ability to exercise their public rights as 'free and equal individuals': "the inequalities of men and women in the worlds of work and politics are inextricably related, in a two-way

causal cycle, with their inequalities in the family" (Okin 1991: 77). Despite having achieved formal civil equality in most areas of the public sphere, then, "women's full and equal membership in public life is impossible without changes in the domestic sphere" (Pateman 1989: 293).

The Personal is Political

Since the second-wave, feminists have repeated the refrain, "the personal is political". The saying seeks to expose the artificiality of the public/private divide, and is a rallying cry for women to recognize the systematic pattern of oppression in their collective 'personal' experiences. It rejects the separation of the public and private spheres, since "neither the realm of domestic, personal life, nor that of non-domestic, economic and political life, can be understood or interpreted in isolation from the other", and illustrates the patriarchal ideology of liberal theory (Okin 1991: 77). Pateman (1983) offers specific examples of the overlap between spheres, and concludes that public solutions must be applied to 'personal' problems:

> Feminists have emphasized how personal circumstances are structured by public factors, by laws about rape and abortion, by the status of 'wife', by policies on childcare and the allocation of welfare benefits and the sexual division of labour in the home and workplace. 'Personal' problems can thus be solved only through political means and political action (295).

The unpaid domestic work of women provides an ideal example of the ways in which the personal is indeed political. Since housework occurs in the private realm, it is considered outside the domain of state legislation. Those who work exclusively in the home, typically women, are not protected by labour regulations, and they do not contribute to pension funds. And yet the work performed in the private sphere "underpins the ability of people to provide labor

to the paid economy and is an essential component of the development of future citizens, workers, and taxpayers" (Hewitson 2003: 266). In effect, unpaid domestic labour subsidizes the market economy (Economic Justice Report 1997).

Liberal feminism has been at least somewhat successful in helping women to make inroads into the public sphere of paid work. Thanks to continued feminist efforts, greater numbers of women are able to escape the 'pink-collar ghettos' of the paid workforce, and move into positions of higher authority. Canadian women now have one of the highest rates of paid labour force participation in the world (81%), approaching the same level as men (91%) (Statistics Canada 2006b). Yet women also continue to be responsible for the vast majority of unpaid domestic work when they 'get home from work'. Recent numbers show that women still spend almost twice as much time on unpaid household work as do men (Statistics Canada 2006b).

Feminists have long identified the division of unpaid labour as unfair and an obstacle to women's equality and success in the public realm. In 1952, Simone de Beavoir remarked on the tortuous nature of housework, with its "endless repetition" (425). A decade later, Betty Friedan spoke of "the problem that has no name" to describe the malaise afflicting middle and upper-class, primarily white, suburban housewives following World War II, whose lives revolved around raising children, maintaining the home, and catering to the needs of husbands in paid work (2001: 15).

Now more than 50 years have passed, and feminists are still pointing to the "domestic glass ceiling" as a (or indeed *the*) major obstacle to women's

equality and success in the public realm (Hirshman 2005). While liberal feminism has helped women to make in-roads in the public sphere, the division of labour at home remains stubbornly resistant to change, despite majorities of both women and men professing a belief in the principle of equality vis-a-vis housework (Ferber and Young 1997, Ferree 1991).

Government cut-backs in health and social services exacerbate the problem by effectively off-loading responsibility to the private sphere, assuming an "infinite capacity on the part of households to absorb the costs of reproduction" (MacDonald et al 2005: 65). A vicious cycle emerges as women devote more time to paid labour and their partners do not increase their domestic output in response. "Continued responsibility for caregiving reduces women's capacity to compete equally with men in the labor market, resulting in ongoing gender wage inequality" (MacDonald et al 2005: 65); in turn, it becomes the 'economically rational' choice for women who earn less than their partners to leave paid work to care for young children. Women who work exclusively in the home for extended periods of time reduce their future pension plan pay-outs, as well as their own personal market-value for later re-entry to the labour force, both of which can be serious problems for women in the event of divorce. These examples illustrate the persistence of male dominance in both the public and private spheres, and the self-reinforcing interrelationships between male control of family, work and state; "men's power in the family makes it easier to sustain dominance at work and vice versa; men's power in the state supports and is supported by male dominance at home and at work" (Pascall 1997: 31). Indeed,

the 'domestic glass ceiling' is truly a pernicious component of the "stalled revolution" (Hochschild 1989: 243).

Invisible Work

Based on a male norm and public/private binaries, the home is considered a place of leisure, rest and recreation, and is obscured as a place of work (Pascall 1997). Unpaid domestic work is typically invisible, because it occurs in the private sphere and because it is not paid, or more importantly, household labour and child care are unpaid because women perform the majority of these tasks, and women's work is generally undervalued or overlooked in male-structured economic systems. Indeed, "the denigration and trivialization of housework is...a pervasive cultural theme" (Oakley 1974: 47).

Several feminist economists have criticized traditional measures of economic activity for excluding domestic labour, which is performed mainly by women. Marilyn Waring, a former Member of the New Zealand Parliament, has argued convincingly that the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA) is a key factor in the invisibility of women's work worldwide. According to UNSNA definitions, labour must produce surplus value, or profit, in order to be considered 'productive'. Women's unpaid productive and reproductive work in the home is left out of the equation, despite the fact that "the satisfaction of basic needs to sustain human society is fundamental to any economic system" (1999: 23). According to UNSNA definitions, then, "cooking...is 'active labour' when cooked food is sold and 'economically inactive labour' when it is not. Housework is 'productive' when performed by a paid domestic servant and 'nonproductive' when no payment is involved" (1997: 50). Measures used to set policy priorities,

such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), are derived from the UNSNA and therefore also exclude unpaid domestic labour. As Waring emphasizes, when the "great bulk of labour performed by women in an unpaid capacity" does not count according to the economic measures that determine the direction of policy, "it is not a large step from that point to leaving [women] out of policy considerations altogether" (Waring 1997: 50). Interestingly, economists *are* concerned with attaching monetary value to the illegal underground economy, populated primarily by men, despite the fact that it makes up a substantially smaller proportion of the 'hidden economy' than does women's unpaid domestic labour (Waring 1997: 125). In Canada, and in spite of some protestation, national accounts guidelines recommend the continued exclusion of unpaid domestic labour from the GDP (Statistics Canada 1995: 2-3).

Recognizing the invisibility of women's private sphere contributions, and using the analytical tools of political economy, feminists have attempted to make domestic work visible by connecting it to the relations of capitalist production (Armstrong and Armstrong 2003: 3, Pascall 1997). Consequently, there is an ongoing debate concerning the assignment of monetary values to unpaid work.[2] Estimates typically rely on 'opportunity costs' or 'replacement costs'. Opportunity cost methods are based on the regular wage of the person performing the housework. According to this method, the amount of pay for domestic labour is the 'foregone' wage that the person could have earned for the same hours in the paid labour market (Jackson 1996).

[2] The monetary value of unpaid work is also of interest to lawyers and insurance companies, for use in divorce proceedings and cases of negligence causing injury or death (Jackson 1996).

'Replacement cost' methods instead consider the amount of money one would pay to purchase replacement services for the work completed by the unpaid household member. Replacement cost estimates depend on either a generalist or specialist approach. The generalist approach assigns a housekeeper's wage rate to all domestic tasks, while a specialist approach differentiates among the various activities performed and assigns a wage rate based on a specialized occupation (Jackson 1996). For instance, time spent cooking meals would be valued at the wage rate of a chef, while a chauffeur's wage would be used to calculate the value of driving kids to school. Using a specialist replacement cost method, Salary.com estimated that stay-at-home moms would earn $134,121 annually if paid for their unpaid domestic labour, while working moms would earn $85,876 on top of their actual paid work salary (2006). Demonstrating the wide range of tasks undertaken and skills required in the execution of domestic work, job titles included in the calculations included housekeeper, day care center teacher, cook, computer operator, laundry machine operator, janitor, facilities manager, van driver, CEO, psychologist. The majority of the figure was earned through 'mom overtime hours', which totaled approximately 50 hours a week over and above a standard 40 hour work week. Similarly, the monetary value of services provided by moms during the Christmas season alone was estimated at $10,017, using the job descriptions of costume designer, craftsperson, personal shopper, event planner, financial manager, public relations officer, interior designer, chef, chauffeur, nanny and housekeeper (Harris 2006).

While attaching a monetary value to housework improves its visibility, this strategy arguably recreates the hierarchy that exists between paid and unpaid work and does not provide a solid basis for the development of policy options (Waring 1997: 87). It is for this reason that time-use surveys are emerging as the preferred method of measuring unpaid labour:

> Time is the one thing we all have. We do not all have market labour-force activities. We do not all have disposable cash. Many of us do not trade on the basis of money, we trade our time. Our economics is about how we use our time. And, even though we frequently do not have a choice about how we use our time, it is the common denominator of exchange. So time is the one unit of exchange we all have in equal amounts, the one investment we all have to make (Waring 1997: 87-88).

Choice

A common theme in the debates on the gendered division of household labor is the notion of choice. Many feminists are particularly careful to avoid invalidating the experiences and desires of women who 'choose' to stay home with children, or specialize in domestic labor (MacIvor 1996: 98). After fighting for years to allow women to choose their own destiny, many feminists steer clear of prescribing a particular 'feminist' or 'pro-woman' life-path.

However, others point to the hollowness of the notion of 'choice' with respect to the division of unpaid work, given women's subordinate gender position in the household and society in general. While women must operate within patriarchal social constraints, the liberal "construction of individuals as free and equal actors means, for example, that family carers are seen to do their caring work by choice and that elderly people are seen to choose to rely on them" (Aronson and Neysmith 1999: 112).

Rising standards around the performance of domestic labour (e.g. the 'Martha Stewart' and 'Baby Einstein' factors) may lead women to 'choose' to expend more time and energy on housework and childcare than their male partners, for fear of guilt or social repercussions. Because domestic, family, and caring work are still perceived as 'women's work', women are subject, through gender accountability structures, to increased pressure to demonstrate that the household and its members meet and exceed increasingly high expectations, at the risk of appearing to be a 'bad' wife, mother or daughter. Interestingly, 'labour saving' appliances designed to improve the speed and efficiency of household chores have been shown to actually increase the amount of time expended on housework (Bittman et al 2004).

Controversial feminist scholar Linda Hirschman (2005) advocates a return to feminism's "early, judgmental roots", and criticizes 'choice feminism' for legitimizing the choice for women to stay home with kids: "Funny that most men rarely make the same 'choice'. Exactly what kind of a choice is that?" Hirschman is primarily concerned with the detrimental societal effects that she argues occur when too many women, particularly highly educated ones, choose the 'mommy-track'. As more and more of these women opt out of the paid labour force in order to care for children, it creates a gender 'brain drain' in the upper echelons of society, resulting in fewer female representatives at the table when important decisions are made, and fewer role models for younger women who might aspire to the top jobs.

Naturally, women on either side of the debate tend to take offence at implications that they are alternately disappointing womankind, or neglecting their

children to selfishly pursue status and power in the workplace. These 'mommy wars' are not productive for the feminist cause, as they pit women against one another. However, they are useful in that they have encouraged continued dialogue among women concerning gender and the division of household labour.

'Choice' is also a catchy and politically-correct buzz-word, useful for politicians wishing to sell policies to the public. The current 'Choice in Childcare Plan' of the Stephen Harper government (Finley 2006) illustrates how the word 'choice' can be pressed into service to justify policies which do not increase, and may in fact reduce, the amount of choice available to Canadian women. Neo-liberal offloading of health and social services to the unpaid domestic sphere is often couched in the guise of 'choice', ignoring the fact that the women who must absorb these responsibilities may have very little choice in the matter. In the face of mounting childcare expenses that are prohibitive for many families, $1200 per year in funding from the federal government in the form of the Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB) is negligible. Other solutions to the dilemma of women's double day, such as hiring a housekeeper or nanny, are realistic options only for wealthier families. Moreover, the 'out-sourcing' of household work onto paid domestic help is open to criticism for its potentially racist and/or elitist undertones, and for making women complicit in the oppression of other women (Romero 1992, Glenn 1992).

The pessimistic view, then, for women wishing to focus on a career in the current social context, is that they have essentially three 'choices': (1) opt out of being a wife and mother by not marrying or having children, (2) buy out of domestic work, assuming the resources are available to do so, by paying other

women to do it, or (3) attempt to juggle two full-time jobs, one paid and one unpaid, and burn out as a 'super mom'. Instead of posing a challenge to patriarchal ideology, all three of these socially constructed 'choices' for women simply work to maintain and support the gendered division of labour and the public/private divide (Trimble 2005).

Three Models

The quantitative literature on the gender distribution of housework typically focuses on three explanatory theories – time-availability, resources, and gender role ideology. The findings around these models are outlined below.

Time-Availability

The time-availability model has been used to show that the amount of housework performed is related to the amount of time available, and the amount of housework to be completed. There is evidence that women's participation in unpaid work has been decreasing in recent years, as they make their way in greater numbers into the paid workforce (Bianchi et al 2000). Studies consistently show that increases in the amount of time women spend at paid work are associated with decreases in the amount of time they spend on household labour (Shelton 1990, Bianchi et al 2000, Brayfield 1992, Brines 1993). Blair and Lichter (1991) also note a negative association between women's paid work time and level of task segregation for unpaid work. It is possible this stems from working women off-loading or out-sourcing some of their 'feminine-typed' tasks to paid workers (e.g. daycare employees). Men's paid employment time is also negatively associated with their time spent on housework (South and Spitze 1994), but is positively associated with task segregation (Blair and Lichter 1991).

Increased task segregation among men who work more hours for pay might be explained by the more flexible time-frames associated with many 'masculine-typed' jobs.

The presence and number of children in a household, particularly pre-school children, positively affects the amount of time spent on housework for both men and women, but the effects for women are much larger (Brines 1993, Presser 1994, Shelton and John 1993). Sanchez and Thomson (1997) found no effects of parenthood on father's employment or housework hours, except for a slight increase in paid employment time as the number of children in the household increased above one. Task segregation has also been shown to increase with the number of children, although it is not entirely clear why this might be the case (Blair and Lichter 1991).

Resources

The resources model is based on a bargaining relationship wherein housework is viewed as a necessary evil and the partner with fewer external resources winds up shouldering the unwanted burden. The crux of the theory is neatly summarized by Brayfield: "whoever brings home the most bacon doesn't have to cook it" (1992: 20).

In support of the resources model, a number of studies show that housework is shared more equally when partners' incomes are similar in size (Brayfield 1992, Shelton and John 1993). Blair and Lichter (1993) failed to find significant changes in the amount of time that men contributed to household labour as women's relative earnings increased, but noted a substantial decline in task segregation. This, too, provides evidence for the resources model, as it

suggests that women with more income are able to bargain their way out of some of the less enjoyable, 'feminine-typed' tasks. Alternatively, a more equitable task distribution might reflect the tendency of women with higher incomes to purchase domestic services, as mentioned earlier. In this scenario, absolute measures of income are likely more important than relative ones.

The inclusion of the education variable in the resources model, while certainly with precedent in the literature (Bianchi et al 2000, Blair and Lichter 1991, Tichenor 1999), is somewhat problematic. Higher levels of education are sometimes associated with more egalitarian attitudes regarding gender roles and the division of labour, a finding which complicates the resources model (Shelton and John 1996: 305). Men's education, for example, is often shown to be positively associated with time spent on household labour (Brayfield 1992, Brines 1993, Bianchi et al 2000). Shelton and John (1993) also report a negative association between husband's education and wife's household labour time. These results contradict the resources model. For women, task segregation and time spent on housework are generally negatively associated with education levels (Brines 1993, Shelton and John 1993, South and Spitze 1994, Blair and Lichter 1991), findings which are in agreement with the resources theory, but also with the argument that education leads to more egalitarian views.

The effects of occupational prestige on the distribution of housework are inconsistent. McAllister (1990) found support for the resources model with respect to men, with more prestigious men participating less in housework, but other findings contradict these results (Deutsch et al 1993). A number of studies found no association between occupational prestige and housework for women

(McAllister 1990, Calasanti and Bailey 1991), though Brayfield (1992) showed women's workplace authority to be strongly related to a decrease in responsibility for feminine-typed tasks; no relationship between workplace authority and task segregation was found for men.

Gender Ideology

The gender ideology or gender role model posits that women and men who hold more egalitarian beliefs regarding gender roles will share housework more equitably, both in terms of time allocation and task segregation. Generally, the data support this argument, showing that women with relatively egalitarian attitudes perform less housework (Presser 1994) and women with relatively traditional attitudes perform more housework (Brayfield 1992), while the reverse is true for men (Blair and Lichter 1991, Kamo 1988), though the associations are typically not very strong.

The gender ideology theory is usually assessed using questions concerning women and men's 'appropriate' roles with respect to paid and unpaid work and child rearing.[3] Unfortunately, the GSS does not contain the attitudinal measures necessary for an evaluation of the gender ideology model. Despite this limitation, it may be possible to make some speculative evaluations regarding the gender role hypothesis on the basis of the relationship between housework and marital status. Studies demonstrating that cohabitation is associated with higher levels of gender egalitarianism (Clarkberg et al 1995, Moors 2003) suggest that

[3] E.g. Cunningham (2005) uses the level of agreement with eight statements in the Intergenerational Panel Study of Parents and Children, including "Most of the important decisions in the life of the family should be made by the man of the house", "There is some work that is men's and some that is women's, and they should not be doing each other's", and "Women are much happier if they stay at home and take care of their children", among others.

marital status, in the absence of attitudinal data, may serve as a proxy variable for gender role attitudes, though the results must be interpreted with caution.

Previous findings have shown that married women do significantly more unpaid housework than do cohabiting women, even after controlling for other variables (Shelton and John 1993, Bianchi et al 2000), while women who are divorced or widowed do less (South and Spitze 1994). For men, on the other hand, those who are divorced or widowed do significantly more housework than men in any other category (South and Spitze 1994). Married men and women also perform more segregated, or gender-typed, tasks (Blair and Lichter 1991).

Chapter Two: Methodology

The following sections describe the methodology that was used to conduct the present study. The first section outlines the hypotheses that guided the research. This is followed by a discussion of the data, sample restrictions, and measurement concepts and issues that informed the choice of variables. The specific activities comprising several composite variables are listed, along with their location in the GSS data set. Finally, there are some important notes regarding the analysis, and the suitability of the data for regression procedures.

Hypotheses

As outlined in the previous chapter, the time-availability and resource models have a firm basis in the quantitative literature on unpaid work. Based on the literature, it was possible to formulate several hypotheses to guide the present study. It was expected that major differences would be found in the type and amount of household labour performed by Canadian women and men across all age categories, with women doing more, and more 'feminine-typed', work than men. It was anticipated that both the time-availability and resources models would partially explain the division of domestic labour. The specific hypotheses used in the analysis are as follows:

H_1: Paid work time will be negatively related to unpaid housework and feminine-typed task time for both women and men.

H_2: The number of children in a household will be positively related to total domestic labour and feminine task time for both parents.

H_3: Income will be negatively related to housework time and feminine task time for both women and men.

In addition to hypotheses related to the time-availability and resource theories, a number of outcomes were expected with respect to control variables:

H_4: Women's education will be negatively related to both unpaid work time and feminine task time, while men's education will be positively related to housework and feminine task time.

H_5: Married women will perform more total and feminine-typed housework than cohabiting women, while married men will perform less total and feminine-typed housework than cohabiting men.

As evidence of task segregation, it was expected that:

H_6: Gender differences will be greater for feminine-typed task time than total housework time.

Data

This study used data from the General Social Survey (GSS), Cycle 19, collected in 2005. The GSS has been conducted yearly since 1985, with the exceptions of 1987 and 1997. The two main objectives of the GSS are "a) to gather data on social trends in order to monitor changes in the living conditions and well-being of Canadians over time; and b) to provide immediate information on specific social policy issues of current or emerging interest" (Statistics Canada 2006a: 7). Topics covered by the GSS vary, and are repeated on a rotational basis to enable trend analysis. For Cycle 19, respondents were questioned about work, leisure and life balance, and were

asked to list their activities for the previous 24 hours, including start and end times, where the activity took place, and any other people present.

The GSS data from Cycle 19 were selected for use in the current study for several reasons, including large sample size (19,597), recent collection (2005), and the quality of the data (Statistics Canada 2002). In particular, the time-diary method has been shown to produce more accurate measures of overall housework time, as well as time spent on specific tasks, than direct questions concerning usual household responsibilities or weekly hours of unpaid work (Marini and Shelton 1993, Press and Townsley 1998, Bianchi et al 2000: 201). When questioned directly about household labour time, respondents have been shown to overestimate their own contributions and underestimate those of their partners (Tichenor 1999: 641, Marini and Shelton 1993); relatively, men seem to be worse offenders in this regard (Press and Townsley 1998: 212). Waring (1997: 97) suggests that novelty may explain men's tendency to overestimate their domestic output, while women, for whom the activities are more routine, may in fact underestimate their unpaid labour.

The GSS used a complex stratified sampling design, involving the Elimination of Non-Working Banks (ENWB) technique (Statistics Canada 2007a: 10-11). Data were collected, using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) and Random Digit Dialing (RDD), from randomly selected household members 15 years of age or older. Residents of the territories and those living in institutions were excluded (Statistics Canada 2006a: 10-11). Data were collected on different days of the week and over the course of a

year, to account for weekly and seasonal variations in patterns of time use. The overall response rate for Cycle 19 of the GSS was 58.6% (Statistics Canada 2006a: 11). Data were weighted to account for province, age, and gender of the respondent, as well as month and day of data collection (Statistics Canada 2006a: 18). Valid percents (excluding missing responses) are reported throughout the study.

The GSS data set and accompanying documentation were made available through the Data Liberation Initiative (DLI), a program offered by Statistics Canada which allows post-secondary institutions affordable access to Canadian data sources (Statistics Canada 2007a). The University of Alberta is a DLI member institution.

Sample Restrictions

As the main focus of the study relates to intra-household dynamics and gender equality within partnerships, the sample was limited to respondents who were married or involved in common-law relationships and were living with their spouse or partner at the time of the survey. Married respondents made up 51.6% of the original GSS sample, and those in common-law relationships constituted an additional 9.9%. These percentages were very similar to census data collected in 2006, which found that 47.9% of Canadians aged 15 and over were married, while an additional 10.5% were in common-law relationships (Statistics Canada 2006c). Together, these two marital statuses accounted for almost 85% of census families – 68.6% married-couple families and 15.5% common-law-couple families (Statistics Canada 2007b).

Limiting the study to married couples is quite common in the literature on the division of housework, although some studies expand the sample to include common-law relationships (Cunningham 2005, Shelton & John 1993), and still others include respondents from all marital statuses (Bianchi et al 2000, South & Spitze 1994).

Listwise deletion was also carried out to remove respondents with missing information on any of the explanatory or dependent variables, in order to ensure consistency across measures.

The above restrictions resulted in bringing the final sample size to 7,490, or 38.2% of the original 19,597 respondents. 7,586 respondents were eliminated because they did not fall into the married or common-law categories, while the remainder (4,521) were excluded due to missing data on one or more variables (approximately 20% of the original sample size).

Data Limitations

The availability of information provided by only one partner from each household is the most substantial limitation for the project. While many studies compare reports from both household partners, this project considers respondents only (following Cunningham 2005, Phipps et al 2001). Hence, "all inferences must be based on averages for all husbands, compared to all wives" (Phipps et al 2001).

Detailed time diaries were completed with one household member only. Direct questions concerning the amount of time per week devoted to unpaid housework are not as accurate as time diary data, and in the GSS, were asked of one partner only; each respondent estimated his or her

partner's output. As mentioned previously, respondents have a tendency to underestimate their partner's contributions and overestimate their own (Marini and Shelton 1993). Studies that rely on direct questions concerning unpaid work[4] typically use each partner's own estimate of his or her contribution, or the average of the estimates given by the respondent and his or her spouse (Marini and Shelton 1993). Direct questions and proxy reporting are also subject to bias due to gender ideology and social desirability; respondents with more egalitarian views, for example, may report a more equal division of labour than actually exists (Press and Townsley 1998: 208). Moreover, the direct questions used in the GSS for the respondent and spouse were not comparable in terms of task measurement. For these reasons, the impact of the various independent variables on the relationship between gender and unpaid domestic labour was analyzed for respondents only. Partner's time spent at paid work and education were included as independent variables.

Lauded for its accurate reflection of behaviour (Bianchi et al 2000: 201), the time diary method of measurement does possess certain limitations. Firstly, it does not illuminate notions of responsibility for housework. Some surveys contain questions regarding 'usual responsibility' for a particular task, which have the advantage of tapping into the invisible and often stressful managerial work, such as planning and organizing, required to run a household (Geerken and Gove 1983). Responsibility questions, however, are not helpful in measuring the actual time output of men and women in various

[4] The National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) conducted in the United States, for example, uses this type of questioning and is a popular data source for research on housework.

activities. Moreover, measures of responsibility may be inadequate because they produce much less variation; women can delegate tasks, but they are almost always 'responsible' for the home (Ross 1987: 818).

Emotional and caring work, typically performed by women, is also missed by the time diary method. Because of the subjective nature of emotional and caring work, the difficulty separating such work from leisure, and the large amount of overlap between emotional work and other forms of domestic labour, caring and emotional work might best be studied in a qualitative framework. In the GSS, time output for emotional and caring work is measured only if it is combined with other more 'objective' domestic chores (e.g. informal counseling *while* driving kids to school). However, caring is not an 'enumerated' domestic task, as it were.

A further limitation of time diary method is its inability to deal effectively with simultaneous activities. In the GSS, respondents were asked to identify a 'main activity' for each time segment, which does not account for multi-tasking. The range of daily activities accomplished may be somewhat stunted due to this methodological restriction. The exception to the rule was child care, which was recorded separately in order to permit overlap with other activities.

Measurement

Housework can be understood for the purposes of this study as "upaid work done to maintain family members and/or a home" (Shelton and John 1996: 300). 'Emotional' work and other forms of 'invisible' work, therefore, are not considered in the analysis, despite their real-life importance in families.

Quantitative studies of housework typically divide domestic labour along two dimensions: time allocation and task segregation. For practical purposes, this translates into two dependent variables, one based on the overall time contribution to housework, and the other a more detailed breakdown of time spent on specific chore areas.

Time allocation is a relatively straight-forward measure of domestic labour. In the current project, time spent performing unpaid housework is measured in minutes.

While some studies focus solely on overall housework time, the inclusion of a measure of task segregation is important, to illuminate not only how much but also what kind of work is being done. As noted by Twiggs et al (1999), task distribution may affect marital satisfaction, well-being, and perceptions of fairness as much as overall time outputs (714). The gender segregation of household jobs is a direct reflection of the influence of the public-private divide; 'feminine-typed' tasks typically occur within the home and often involve caring for other household members, while 'masculine-typed' tasks frequently occur outside the home (e.g. yard, shed) and involve dealing with machines or tools (Baxter and Western 1998: 101, Marshall 1993: 2). In particular, 'feminine-typed' tasks are generally considered to be more boring, repetitious, dirty, or subject to rigid scheduling than are 'masculine-typed' tasks (Blair and Lichter 1991, MacDonald et al 2005). Task segregation measures here are based on actual time allotted to various household duties, rather than 'usual responsibility for' particular jobs.

The time-availability model posits that the amount of household labour men and women perform depends on how much needs to be done and how much time they have available to allocate to it. Model components often include employment or the number of hours spent at paid work and related activities, presence or number of children living in the home, and paid work schedules (Shelton and John 1996: 307). The number of children is used as an indicator of increased demand for household labour.

The resources model is based on the notion of bargaining within couples; income and/or occupational prestige are resources that can be leveraged to avoid doing housework, particularly by the partner who earns more money or has a more prestigious job (Brines 1993). According to the theory, possessing greater resources translates into increased power in the relationship and greater influence in household decision-making. The resources approach "assumes that housework is viewed negatively by both women and men and that they are therefore motivated to reduce their share of it" (Shelton and John 1996: 304). In general, the majority of 'feminine-typed' tasks are considered particularly dismal.

Education is also sometimes included as a resource in the model, though the findings are inconsistent and often contradict the resources hypothesis, particularly with respect to men (Shelton and John 1996: 304-305). While the theory appears to hold for women (Brines 1993, South and Spitze 1994), several studies have shown a positive relationship between men's educational attainment and domestic labour (Brayfield 1992, Brines 1993, Presser 1994, South and Spitze 1994).

There is some debate in the literature over whether to use absolute or relative measures for variables such as housework and income. Both approaches yield important information. A resource imbalance may deprive one partner of negotiating power, regardless of absolute income. However, income in absolute terms affects the amount of household work that can be 'contracted out', through the use of cleaning services and take-out food, for instance. There is also some evidence that women are more likely to spend their income 'buying out' of household work than are men (Phipps and Burton 1998), indicating the importance of measuring income in absolute terms.[5]

Similarly, while the proportion of housework completed by each partner is important for obvious reasons, it can obscure key details. While men's share of domestic labour has increased over time, for example, the number of hours they devote to housework has not grown substantially; the change in proportion is due to women doing less unpaid work in the home as they enter the paid workforce in greater numbers (Bianchi et al 2000). Because the GSS does not contain comparable measures of housework or income for both partners in a household, for the present study these variables will be measured in absolute terms and for respondents only.

Variables

Variables used in the study are listed in Table 2-1 below. For the dependent variables, data were collected on a multiplicity of household tasks

[5] There was no variable in the GSS data set regarding whether or not housekeeping services were used.

and classified into one of five categories.[6] Time spent on these various household duties was measured in minutes. The time allocation dependent variable, total unpaid domestic labour, was calculated by simply summing together the minutes from all categories. It was recoded into categories[7] for bivariate analysis and graphing purposes. Throughout the project, I use the following terms interchangeably: unpaid domestic labour, domestic labour, unpaid domestic work, domestic work, housework, household labour, household work.

The dependent variable for task segregation was an absolute measure of the time spent by respondents on 'feminine-typed' tasks. Based on the values associated with the public/private divide, meal preparation and clean-up, housekeeping, and shopping for household goods and services were considered to fit into this category, while maintenance and repair work were

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[6] (1) Meal preparation and clean-up (COOKDOMS, Position 1025. Includes activity codes 101: meal preparation, 102: baking and preserving food etc., 110: food/meal cleanup); (2) housekeeping (HSKPDOMS, Position 1029. Includes activity codes 120: indoor cleaning, 130: outdoor cleaning, 140: laundry, ironing, folding and drying, 151: mending clothes/shoe care, 152: dressmaking and sewing; (3) shopping for household goods and services (SHOPDOMS, Position 1041. Includes activity codes 301: grocery store, market, convenience store, 302: every day goods and products, 303: take-out food, 304: rental of videos, 310: shopping for durable household goods, 320: personal care services, 331: financial services, 332: government services, 340: adult medical and dental care, including having prescriptions filled, 350: other professional services, 361: car maintenance and repair, 362: other repair and cleaning services, 370: waiting for purchases or services, 380: other shopping and services, 390: travel to/from shopping or obtaining services; (4) maintenance and repair work (MAINDOMS, Position 1033. Includes activity codes 161: interior maintenance and repair, 162: exterior maintenance and repair, 163: vehicle maintenance, 164: other home improvements; (5) other household tasks (OTHRDOMS, Position 1037. Includes activity codes 171: gardening/grounds maintenance, 172: pet care, 173: care of plants, 181: household management (organizing/planning activities, paying bills, etc.), 182: stacking and cutting firewood, 183: other domestic/household work, 184: unpacking groceries, 185: packing and unpacking luggage and/or car, 186: packing and unpacking for a move of the household, and 190: travel for domestic work.

[7] Low = 0 to less than 1hour, Medium = 1 to less than 3 hours, High = 3 or more hours

deemed 'masculine-typed' tasks, and other/miscellaneous tasks[8] were considered gender neutral. These divisions are consistent with the classification systems used in several previous studies (Blair and Lichter 1991, Ferree 1991, South and Spitz 1994, Tichenor 1996). More complicated segregation scores (e.g. Blair and Lichter 1991) were not possible due to the absence of data on domestic contributions by the respondents' partners. All three task types were included in the preliminary analysis and descriptive statistics, but only feminine-typed task time was used as a dependent variable in the regression analysis, because it is the feminine tasks which tend to be less enjoyable and which take up the largest portion of domestic labour time. Lower contributions in the masculine and neutral categories meant insufficient variation for use in the multivariate analysis. The terms feminine-typed task time, feminine-typed work, feminine task time, feminine tasks, and feminine work are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

Child care time, which was measured separately in order to allow for overlap with other domestic duties, was excluded from the analysis, consistent with numerous previous studies (Bianchi et al 2000, Blair and Lichter 1991, Brines 1994, Kamo 1988, Tichenor 1991). Despite the obvious importance of child care in the home, there are several reasons for this omission. Firstly, there is the difficulty in differentiating between the 'work' and 'leisure' components of many child care activities (Blair and Lichter 1991: 96), though it is recognized that this may also be a concern with respect to household tasks that some people may find enjoyable (e.g. cooking).

[8] The other/miscellaneous category includes the activities that comprise the variable OTHERDOMS, listed in detail in a previous endnote.

Secondly, the time-availability and resource theories have typically been studied in the context of research on domestic labour that does not consider child care. As child care and housekeeping are sufficiently different activities, it is reasonable to assume there are differences in the factors affecting how much of each a person undertakes. It is therefore prudent to restrict the use of these models to areas in which they have been previously tested. Finally, from a methodological standpoint, the exclusion of child care as a distinct dependent variable is offset by the indirect measurement of the effects of children in the home through (i) the inclusion of the number of children as an independent variable, and (ii) the adequate capture of the increased workload stemming from children in the home by the various activities included in the domestic labour variables outlined above (Blair and Lichter 1991: 96, 110). A more complex procedure, involving the episode files, would be required in order to identify non-overlapping time, and create a true 'total unpaid domestic labour' variable including child care. This is beyond the scope of the current project, but is an option for users of the GSS data and may prove useful for future research.

With respect to control variables, gender, marital status and limited activity were all converted to dichotomous variables, with women, married respondents, and limited individuals coded as 1, and men, cohabiting respondents, and those with no limitations coded as 0.

Age was included as a control variable, in order to account for generational or cohort effects and duration of relationship.[9] Previous findings suggest a positive relationship between age or duration of relationship and task segregation, as older couples may adhere to more traditional views regarding appropriate gender roles, and longer unions allow more time for 'task-specialization' to solidify (Blair and Lichter 1991).[10] The age variable for respondents was recoded from categories to years using the range midpoints.[11] Partner's age was calculated by combining respondent's age and the age difference variable.[12] Due to very high correlations between the age and partner's age variables, the mean age of the couple was used instead, following Shelton and John (1993).[13]

As discussed in the previous section (Three Models), the education variable is considered by some researchers to constitute a resource to assist in getting out of chores, while others note that men with greater education tend to perform more housework, perhaps reflecting more progressive views surrounding gender equality in the family. Due to the mixed findings in the literature, educational attainment was included in the model for this study as a

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[9] While age is not synonymous with duration of relationship, its effect on unpaid domestic labour may reflect both generational and durational influences.

[10] Blair and Lichter (1991) used the variable 'Duration of relationship' to reflect both intercohort changes in gender role attitudes and task specialization over time. Shelton and John (1993) used both a 'Mean age' variable and a 'Duration of relationship' variable.

[11] Variable AGEGR5, Position 46. Category (recode in years). 15 to 17 and 18 to 19 (17), 20 to 24 (22), 25 to 29 (27), 30 to 34 (32), 35 to 39 (37), 40 to 44 (42), 45 to 49 (47), 50 to 54 (52), 55 to 59 (57), 60 to 64 (62), 65 to 69 (67), 70 to 74 (72), 75 to 79 (77), 80 years and over (82).

[12] Variable AGEPRGRDIF, Position 52. This variable was recoded into positive and negative years corresponding to the number of years difference listed in the category titles. It was then added to the recoded respondent's age variable in order to determine partner's age in years. E.g. if AGEGR5=45 to 49 and AGEPRGRDIF=Respondent is 2 years older, partner's age in the new recoded variable would be 47-2=45.

[13] Collinearity statistics: tolerance = 0.082, VIF > 12. For the example couple in the previous footnote, then, the final mean age variable would have a value of 46 years.

control variable only. It was recoded from the 10-category variable given in the GSS to an interval level variable measured in years, in order to facilitate use in the regression equation.[14]

The effects of race and ethnicity on household division of labour are mixed.[15] These variables are excluded from the present study, as they are regrettably not included in the GSS data set.

Turning now to the study hypotheses, the variable for time spent at paid work by the respondent was calculated by Statistics Canada by simply adding together several employment related activity codes, with minutes as the unit of measurement.[16] Partner's paid work time was measured in hours. The GSS data for this variable required several adjustments in order to include all cases.[17]

The variable measuring number of children aged 0 to 14 years living in the household was capped at three. No modifications were made to the original GSS variable.[18]

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[14] Variable EDU10, Position 1738. Category (recode in years). Doctorate/masters/some graduate (18), Bachelor's degree (16), Diploma/certificate from community college (14), Diploma/certificate from trade/technical (14), Some university (13), Some community college/CEGEP/nursing (13), Some trade/technical (13), High school diploma (12), Some secondary/high school (9), Elementary school/no schooling (3).

[15] See Shelton and John 1996: 310 for an overview of research done in this area.

[16] For respondents - Variable DVPAID, Position 969. Includes activity codes 011: work for pay at main job, 012: work for pay at other job, 021: overtime work, 023: unpaid work in a family business/farm, 030: travel during work, 040: waiting/delays at work during work hours, 050: meals/snacks at work, 060: idle time before/after work hours, 070: coffee/other breaks at work, 080: other work activities, 090: travel to/from paid work.

[17] The variable for partner's paid work time was created by combining MAP_REGULAR_HRS (Position 1763) and MAP_SPLITSHIFT_HRS (Position 1775). A number of skip questions preceded these variables, and so several adjustments were required in order to include cases that were previously filtered out. Those who answered in the negative to WKWEPR (Position 1748, 'Respondent's spouse/partner had a job or was self-employed at any time last week') or MAP_Q160 (Position 1753, 'Did he/she work in Diary Day?') were recoded to zero.

[18] Variable CHR0014C, Position 40.

The personal income variable was limited by being capped at $100,000, and reported by range in $10,000 increments. A new income variable, measured in thousands of dollars, was created using the range midpoints.[19] Household income was also capped at $100,000. For this reason, and in the absence of information on partner's income, it was not possible to devise a variable for the proportion of household income earned by the respondent. This type of variable would be useful to assess the relative resource power of respondents.

Table 2-1
Variables

Type	Variable	Measurement	
		Units	Level
Dependent	Total Unpaid Domestic Work	Minutes/diary day	Ratio
	Feminine-typed Task Time	Minutes/diary day	Ratio
Independent	Gender (Women=1)	---	Binary
	Mean Age	Years	Interval
	Marital Status (Married=1)	---	Binary
	Limited Activity (Limited=1)	---	Binary
	Education	Years	Interval
	Partner's Education	Years	Interval
	Number of Children 0-14 years	0, 1, 2, 3+	Interval
	Time at Paid Work	Minutes/diary day	Ratio
	Partner's Time at Paid Work	Hours/diary day	Ratio
	Income	Thousands of dollars/year	Interval

Analysis

Using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 14.0 (SPSS 14.0), the relationship between gender and housework was explored through

[19] Variable INCM, Position 2245. Category (recode in thousands of dollars). No income (0), Less than $5,000 (2.5), $5,000 to $9,999 (7.5), $10,000 to $14,999 (12.5), $15,000 to $19,999 (17.5), $20,000 to $29,999 (25), $30,000 to $39,000 (35), $40,000 to $49,999 (45), $50,000 to $59,999 (55), $60,000 to $79,999 (70), $80,000 to $99,999 (90), $100,000 or more (100).

the use of descriptive statistics, using the full GSS sample, weighted to account for disproportionate sampling. Following listwise deletion of cases with missing values, the sample was described and bivariate relationships between the dependent and independent variables were outlined. Finally, a multivariate analysis was conducted using multiple regression, in order to (1) determine the amount of variation in the dependent variable which was accounted for by the time-availability and resource models, and (2) isolate the net effects of the various control and predictor variables on the unpaid work patterns of women and men. Regression residuals were analyzed to confirm that the requisite assumptions for the use of linear regression were met regarding normality of the distribution, independence of observations, and equality of variance. A more detailed discussion of the regression diagnostics is included in Appendix A.

The analysis and findings are outlined in Chapter Three (Results). Statistically significant differences between the results for women and men are highlighted.

Chapter Three: Results

The following section outlines the results of the analysis, beginning with the relationships between gender and the dependent variables, and followed by a discussion of the sample data for the purposes of familiarization. Preliminary and multivariate findings and implications are then explored.

The Primary Variable

While feminist analyses may differ in method and philosophy, one constant is that the primary variable of interest is gender. By considering the relationship between gender and the dependent variables through the use of descriptive statistics, this section describes and quantifies the gendered division of housework in Canada, addressing the first objective of this study. Descriptive statistics were calculated using the entire GSS sample (n=19,597), weighted to account for disproportionate sampling.

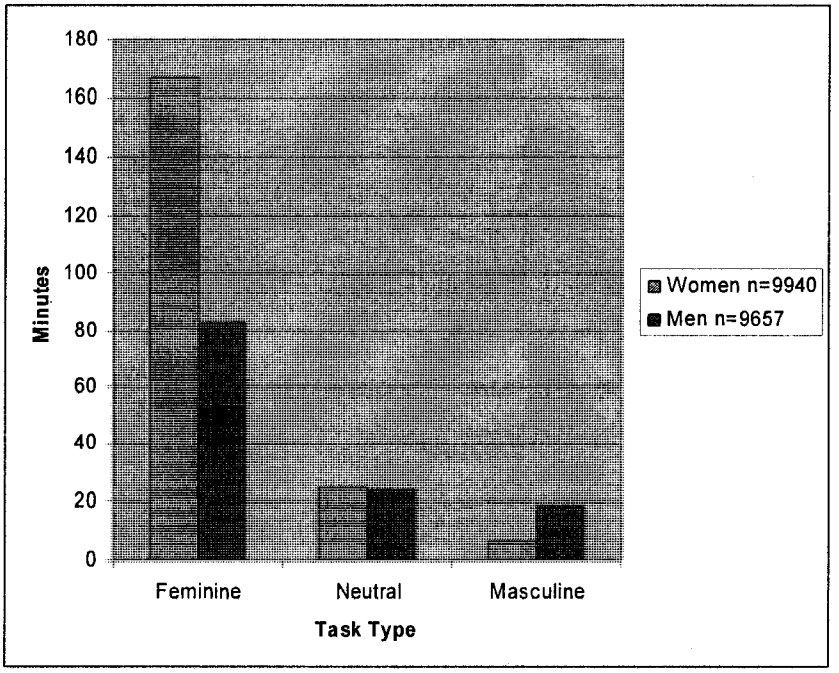
The majority of respondents (81.6%) reported doing at least some unpaid domestic work on the diary day, including 88.8% of women and 74.2% of men.[20] The gender difference in amount of time spent on unpaid labour was also significant, with women spending an average of 197.24 minutes (3.29 hours) on housework compared to men's 125.21 minutes (2.09 hours).[21]

In terms of task segregation, the initial results are illuminating. Female respondents spent an average of 166.40 minutes on 'feminine-typed' tasks

[20] Chi-square=695.066, p=0.000
[21] t=30.694, p=0.000

(cooking, housekeeping, and shopping), 6.07 minutes on 'masculine-typed' tasks (maintenance), and 24.77 minutes on 'gender-neutral' miscellaneous tasks (pet care, household management, gardening/grounds maintenance etc.)[22], while male respondents reported 82.83, 18.37, and 24.01 minutes on 'feminine', 'masculine' and 'neutral' tasks respectively (Figure 3-1). Given that 'feminine' tasks tend to be repetitive, boring, dirty, and subject to rigid scheduling, it is notable that women spent on average more than twice as much time on such activities as men. Men, on the other hand, devoted more than three times as much time as women to 'masculine-typed' activities, such as maintenance.

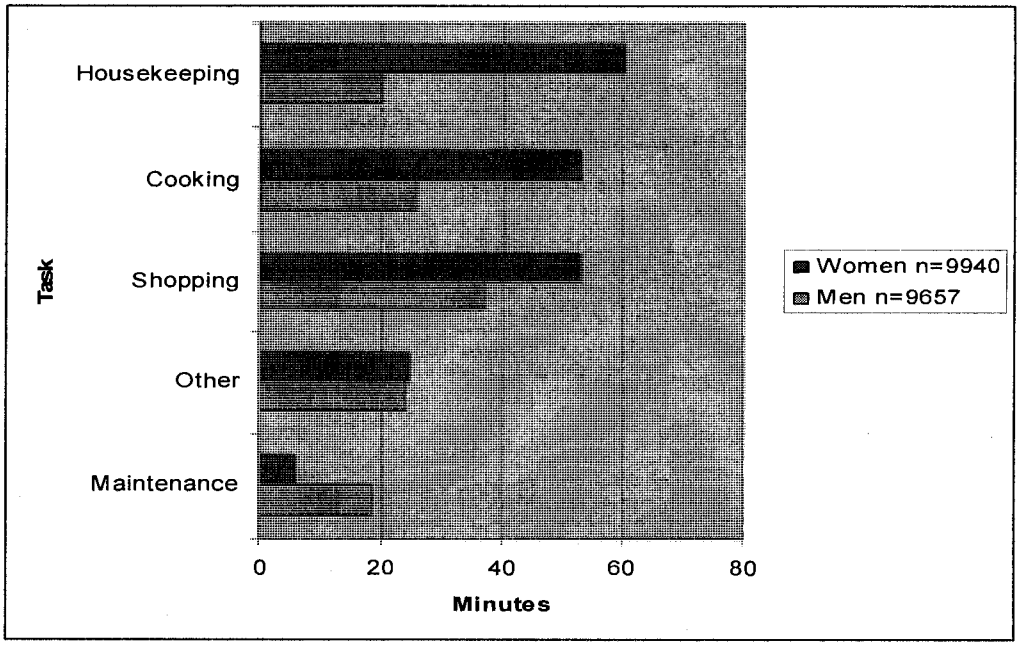
Figure 3-1
Mean Time by Task Type for Women and Men



[22] A complete listing of activities comprising the feminine, masculine and neutral task categories is listed in the section on methodology (Chapter Two).

Figure 3-2 offers a more detailed breakdown of unpaid work activities for both genders. Of the feminine-typed tasks, the biggest difference between the contributions of women and men was for housekeeping (40.17 minutes, or 49.9% difference),[23] likely the least enjoyable and most dirty of household tasks. The difference for cooking came in at 27.41 minutes or 27.4% difference, while shopping was the feminine-typed task that appears to have been most equitably shared, with 15.99 minutes or 17.7% difference between the average contributions of women and men. By relative comparison, the gender difference for maintenance, approximately 12.30 minutes, was the largest of all task categories at 50.3%.

Figure 3-2
Mean Time by Task for Women and Men



In sum, women were significantly more likely than men to have completed any housework on the diary day and they performed substantially

[23] No difference (0.0%) would indicate that women and men spent the same amount of time on a particular task.

more unpaid work than men. These gender differences were even more pronounced for the feminine-typed work, where men on average contributed less than half as much time as did women. If these statistics are any indication, the gendered division of domestic labour appears to be alive and well in most Canadian households. The next section will begin to explore the effects of various factors on the performance of housework by women and men.

The Sample

Before analyzing the relationships between the independent variables and patterns of unpaid domestic labour, this section describes some characteristics of the sample that are relevant to the study hypotheses.[24]

After limiting the sample to those in married or common-law relationships, and excluding missing cases listwise for consistency, the final number of cases in the study sample was 7,490, down from 19,597 in the original GSS sample.

Sample respondents were 48.1% female, and 51.9% male, with a mean age of 46.4. Female respondents averaged 44.7 years, while males averaged 48.0.

11.5% of the sample reported having a physical, mental or health condition that limited the amount of work they could accomplish, and gender differences were not statistically significant.[25]

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[24] Because the sample is restricted in several ways, for example to include only respondents in married or common-law relationships, comparisons with overall national averages are not meaningful.

[25] Chi-square=3.562, p=0.059

The majority of the sample was married (83.1%, versus 16.9% in common-law relationships). There were no differences between women and men with respect to marital status.[26]

With respect to highest level of education achieved, the largest percentage of respondents held a diploma from a community college, technical or trade school (28.6%), while a somewhat smaller percentage had obtained a university degree (25.7%), and an additional 14.7% had taken some university, community college, technical or trade school. 17.0% listed high-school diploma as their highest level of educational attainment, and the remaining 14.0% hadn't completed high-school. Gender differences in educational attainment were largely insubstantial, with the biggest difference occurring in the lowest category, where men (16.0%) were more likely than women (11.8%) to have not completed high school. Overall, however, the variation in educational attainment by gender was statistically significant.[27]

The majority of respondents (62.0%) reported having no children under 15 years of age living at home, 16.6% of respondents had one child under 15 in the household, 15.4% had two children, and 6.0% had three or more. The percentages for female and male respondents showed no significant differences.[28]

More than half of respondents (51.6%) did not work for pay on the diary day. Among those who did report paid work time, the number of paid work minutes ranged from 2.0 to 1,380.0, with a mean of 539.3, or

[26] Chi-square=0.968, p=0.325
[27] Chi-square=29.389, p=0.000
[28] Chi-square=6.338, p=0.096

approximately 9.0 hours. Women were less likely than men to have worked on the diary day (41.4% compared to 54.9% for men), and among those who did, averaged less paid work time (495.5 minutes or 8.3 hours) than their male counterparts (569.9 minutes or 9.5 hours). The overall mean for paid work time of respondents, including respondents who didn't work for pay on the diary day, was 260.8 minutes, or approximately 4.3 hours. This broke down to an average of 205.0 minutes (3.4 hours) for women and 312.6 minutes (5.2 hours) for men, a difference that was statistically significant.[29]

The mean personal income was $37,920. Women had a mean income of $27,908, while men earned an average of $47,214, a substantial and significant gender difference.[30] Among those who reported working for pay during the previous week, the average income was $45,423, with women earning $36,948 and men $51.818.[31] Even among full-time workers, men continued to earn substantially more money on average ($52,928) than women ($40,558).[32] Gender differences in personal income were all significant.

Preliminary Findings

For the purpose of familiarizing readers with the sample data, this section briefly outlines the bivariate relationships between the various independent variables and unpaid domestic work for the sample. It is not possible, however, to draw any firm conclusions until following the

[29] t=-15.676, p=0.000
[30] t=-37.010, p=0.000
[31] t=-25.177, p=0.000
[32] t=-19.798, p=0.000

multivariate analysis in the next section. Bivariate correlations are displayed in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1
Bivariate Correlation Matrix for Total Unpaid Domestic Labour and Feminine Task Time by Control and Predictor Variables

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Pearson Correlation		
		Combined N=7490	Women N=3606	Men N=3884
Gender 0=Male, 1=Female	Total	0.226*	-----	-----
	Feminine	0.354*		
Mean Age (years)	Total	0.124*	0.126*	0.143*
	Feminine	0.073*	0.100*	0.081*
Marital Status 0=Common-law, 1=Married	Total	0.039*	0.065*	0.012
	Feminine	0.047*	0.084*	0.002
Limited Activity 0=No limitation 1=Limited	Total	0.049*	0.028	0.063*
	Feminine	0.057*	0.040**	0.070*
Education (years)	Total	-0.042*	-0.091*	-0.018
	Feminine	-0.015	-0.082*	0.027
Partner Education (years)	Total	-0.044*	-0.061*	-0.039**
	Feminine	-0.019	-0.049*	0.000
Children under 15 0=None, 1=1, 2=2, 3=3 or more	Total	-0.036*	0.025	-0.099*
	Feminine	0.020	0.078*	-0.053*
Paid Work Time (minutes)	Total	-0.514*	-0.490*	-0.500*
	Feminine	-0.458*	-0.468*	-0.409*
Partner Paid Work (hours)	Total	-0.031*	-0.062*	-0.084*
	Feminine	0.020	-0.035**	-0.056*
Personal Income ($)	Total	-0.195*	-0.158*	-0.080*
	Feminine	-0.261*	-0.181*	-0.096*

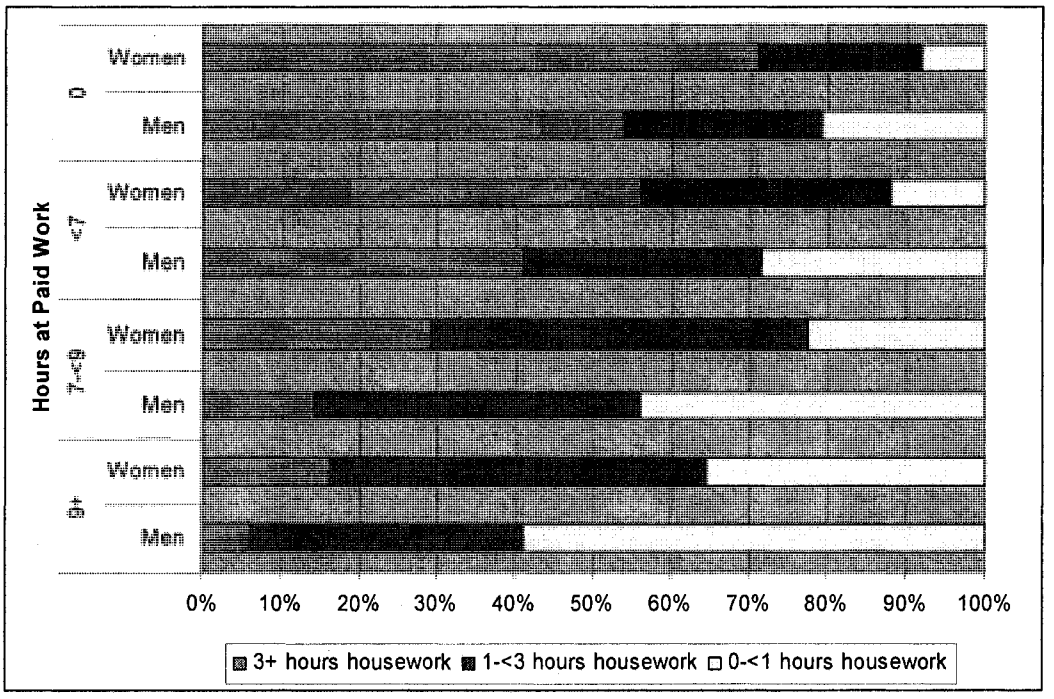
Note: * = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.01$)
** = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.05$)

As can be seen in the correlation matrix, almost all bivariate relationships between the independent and dependent variables were statistically significant, stemming from the large sample size. However, many

of the relationships were weak or insubstantial, as indicated by small Pearson correlation values.

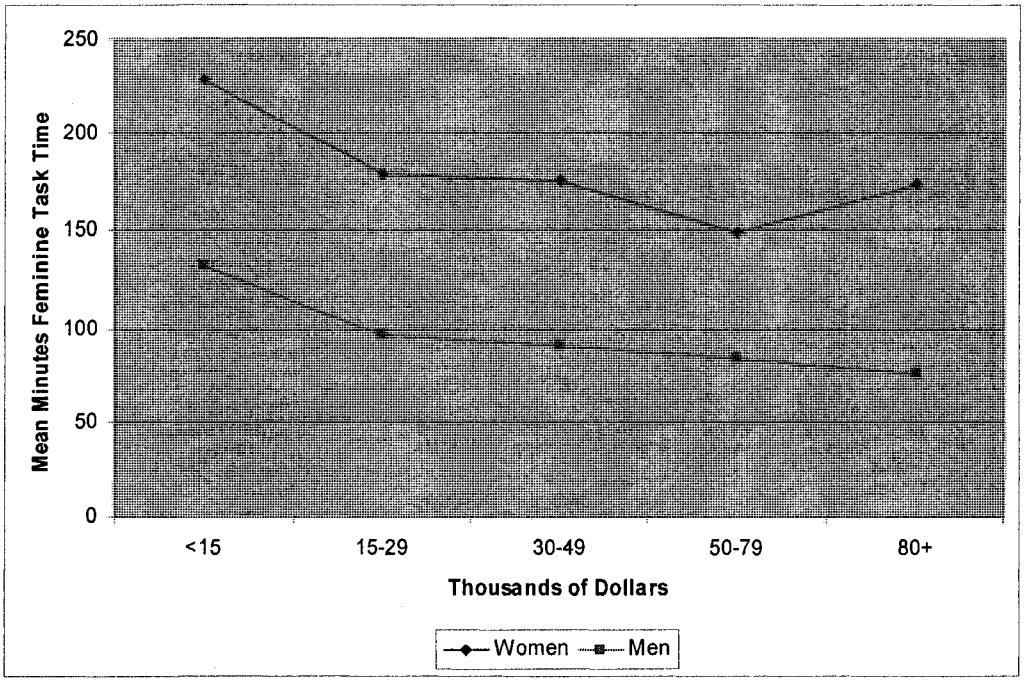
Aside from gender, which shared a moderately strong association with domestic labour and was explored in more detail in a previous section (The Primary Variable), factors that appeared to share substantive correlations with the dependent variables included paid work time, personal income, and age. Paid work time shared a strong inverse association with the amount of time spent on housework and feminine tasks for both women and men, offering support for the time-availability hypothesis. Figure 3-3 shows unpaid housework by paid work category for women and men. Though paid work appears to have affected the housework time of both women and men, it is notable that women generally spent more time on unpaid domestic labour than men who reported similar paid work hours.

Figure 3-3
Unpaid Domestic Labour by Paid Work Time for Women and Men



As evidence for the resource theory, income was associated with housework and feminine task time for both genders, with higher earners performing less unpaid domestic labour. Also in agreement with the hypothesis, the bivariate correlation was stronger for the less enjoyable and more rigidly scheduled feminine-typed tasks. Figure 3-4 shows mean feminine task time by income category for both genders.

Figure 3-4
Mean Feminine Task Time by Income for Women and Men



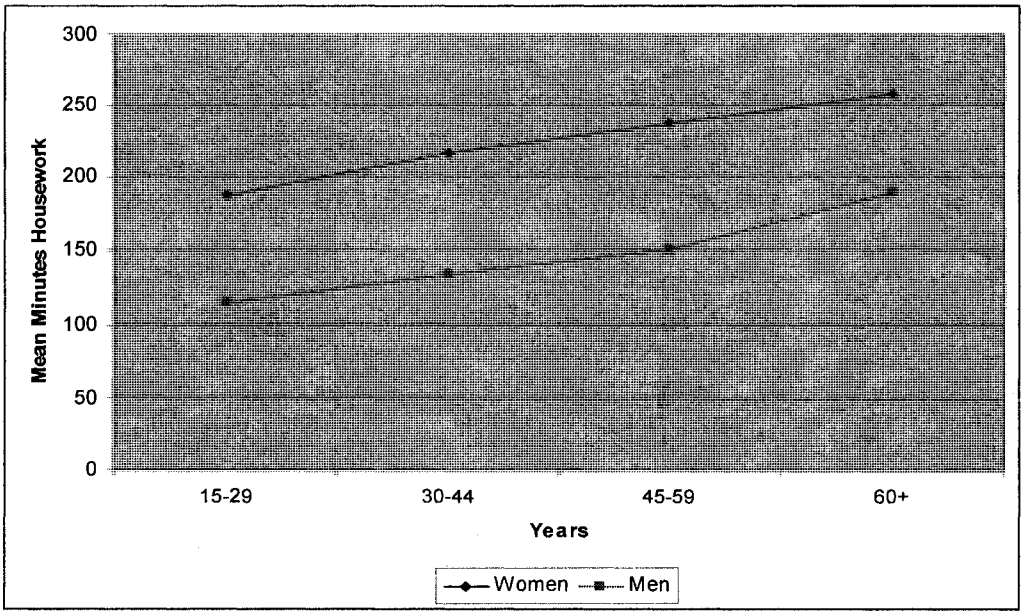
Interestingly, though the general direction of the relationship was negative, there was an upturn in the graph for women at the high end of the pay scale. Women who earned $80,000 or more annually performed as much feminine task work, on average, as women earning $30,000-$49,000, and more of such work than women in the neighbouring income bracket ($50,000-$79,000). Thompson and Walker (1991) have argued that women who earn more than their male partners may attempt to compensate for the

'emasculating' effects on their spouses of this income disparity by performing more housework, in order to protect the men's self-esteem. This preliminary finding appears at first to lend credence to the gender role theory, though it is not clear, due to limitations in the data, whether these women were in fact primary breadwinners. However, the number of women making up the sample's highest income category was relatively small (76), resulting in a large standard error (19.06 minutes). Moreover, many of the independent variables were highly correlated with one another, and any conclusions drawn prior to the multivariate analysis would be premature.

Among the control variables, age appeared to share a positive relationship with housework, with older people doing significantly more housework than their same-sex counterparts in younger cohorts[33] (Figure 3-5). The association was stronger for the total unpaid domestic labour variable than for the specifically feminine-typed tasks. Life-cycle changes may account to some extent for these patterns. Becoming a home-owner and having children would likely increase the amount of housework to be done. Retirement and the return to a two-person household would presumably afford more time to spend on home projects, while reducing the necessity of performing much of the feminine-typed work.

[33] LSD post-hoc tests showed significant ($p<0.01$) differences between each of the four age groups.

Figure 3-5
Mean Unpaid Domestic Labour by Mean Age for Women and Men



Multivariate Analysis

All of the control and hypothesized predictor values were entered into the regression equation, and the regression was run for each of the dependent variables for both genders combined, and for women and men separately. Results are displayed in Tables 3-2 and 3-3.

Total Unpaid Domestic Labour

Regression results for total unpaid domestic labour regressed on the control and predictor variables are shown in Table 3-2. The model was statistically significant for both genders combined, as well as women and men separately, and the variance accounted for was 28.9%, 25.4% and 25.7% respectively.

In the equation for both genders combined, the gender variable shared a weak but statistically significant positive relationship with unpaid domestic labour, such that women performed an average of 44.41 minutes more

unpaid labour per day than men, controlling on the other variables. Interestingly, gender was the second largest explanatory variable in the combined-group equation, after time spent at paid work.

Housework shared a weak but positive and statistically significant relationship with age for women, but not for men[34] or for the combined group. On average, women performed 0.69 minutes more housework on the diary day for each year of age, controlling on the other variables. The limited activity variable showed a very small but statistically significant negative net effect for the combined gender group. Those who indicated that they were limited, by health or mental disability, in the activities they could perform at home, work or school, performed an average of 10.47 minutes less unpaid domestic labour on the diary day than those who reported no such limitations. However, once the combined group was split by gender, this statistical significance disappeared, because of the small size of the effect and the drop in sample size. No statistically significant relationships were apparent for either the education or partner's education variables.

Marital status did not have a significant effect on domestic labour for any of the three groups, though it is interesting that the directions of the non-significant relationships for both women (positive) and men (negative) are in agreement with the gender role hypothesis.

With respect to the time-availability hypothesis, no significant effects were found from the number of children less than 15 years of age living in the respondent's household. Both paid work time and partner's paid work time

[34] For men, the net effect of age on domestic labour was in fact negative, but the relationship was not statistically significant.

were shown to be statistically significant predictors for all three groups, and in the directions hypothesized. Paid work time had a strong, negative net effect on the amount of unpaid domestic labour performed in the home, for both women and men. For each minute spent at paid work on the diary day, unpaid work decreased by 0.32 minutes for women, and 0.28 minutes for men. The difference between the unstandardized regression coefficients, or slopes, for women and men was shown to be statistically significant, indicating the existence of an interaction effect (see Figure 3-6). In other words, women's unpaid labour time decreased more rapidly than did men's in response to increases in paid work time, a finding which can likely be explained by women's higher starting point (constant=209.89 for women, constant=127.89 for men).

Figure 3-6
Total Housework by Paid Work Time for Women and Men

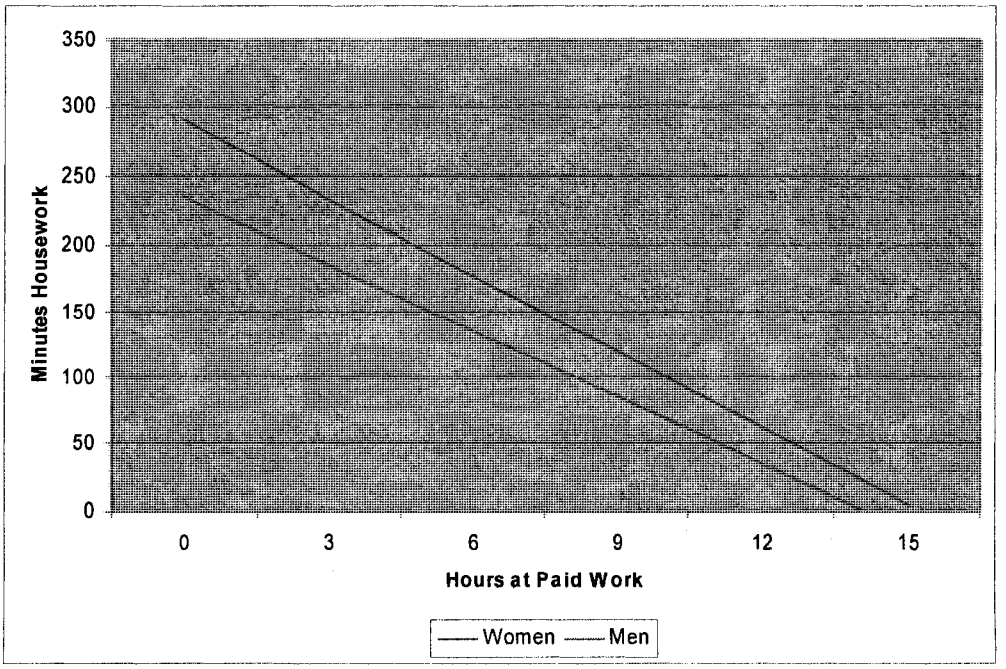


Table 3-2
Regression Results for Total Unpaid Domestic Labour

Independent Variables	Total Housework Time (B, b, s.e.)		
	Combined	Women	Men
Gender 0=Male 1=Female	0.130* 44.406 3.765	-----	-----
Mean Age (years)	0.011 0.132 0.153	0.055* 0.688 0.227	-0.028 -0.328 0.209
Marital Status 0=Common-law 1=Married	0.004 1.984 4.693	0.016 7.287 6.907	-0.008 -3.487 6.388
Limited Activity 0=No limitation 1=Limited	-0.019** -10.472 5.346	-0.021 -10.638 7.522	-0.016 -8.289 7.600
Education (years)	-0.009 -0.522 0.701	-0.026 -1.659 1.145	0.010 0.538 0.883
Partner Education (years)	-0.011 -0.595 0.639	-0.026 -1.405 0.911	0.000 0.026 0.905
Children under 15 0=None, 1=1, 2=2, 3=3 or more	0.006 1.079 1.979	0.020 3.616 2.907	-0.015 -2.611 2.724
Paid Work Time*** (minutes)	-0.517* -0.294 0.006	-0.515* -0.319 0.010	-0.537* -0.279 0.008
Partner Paid Work (hours)	0.083* 2.925 0.370	0.106* 3.482 0.511	0.069* 2.556 0.545
Personal Income ($)	0.022 0.152 0.081	0.025 0.190 0.121	0.023 0.170 0.111
Constant	230.752	270.824	232.733
F	304.249*	135.900*	149.072*
R^2	0.289	0.254	0.257
Adjusted R^2	0.288	0.252	0.255
N	7490	3606	3884

Note: B = Standardized regression coefficient (Beta)
b = Unstandardized regression coefficient (slope)
s.e. = Standard error of the unstandardized regression coefficient
* = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.01$)
** = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.05$)
*** = Difference between slopes for women and men is statistically significant ($t>2.56$, $p<0.01$)
**** = Difference between slopes for women and men is statistically significant ($t>1.96$, $p<0.05$)

The impact of partner's paid work was weak but positive and statistically significant, such that an hour in paid work performed by the respondent's partner resulted in an increase of 3.49 minutes of housework for women and 2.56 minutes of housework for men, controlling on the other variables. This gender difference was not statistically significant.

Finally, and contrary to the preliminary bivariate findings, the personal income variable was not shown to have any statistically significant impact on housework time for any of the three groups, offering no evidence for the resource hypothesis.

Feminine Task Time

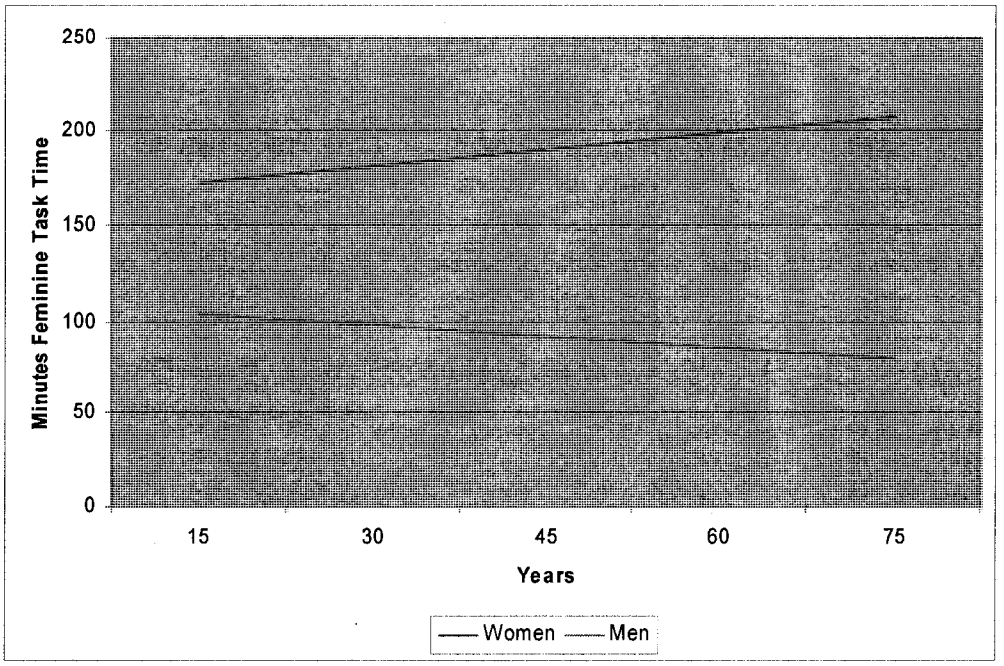
Regression results for feminine task time regressed on the control and predictor variables are displayed in Table 3-3. The overall equations were statistically significant for all three groups, and the variance accounted for was 29.7% for the combined group, 23.9% for women, and 17.9% for men.

In the combined equation, gender had a moderate and statistically significant positive relationship with feminine task time. Women performed an average of 69.58 minutes more feminine-typed unpaid labour on the diary day than did men, controlling on the other variables. As with total housework, gender was the second largest explanatory variable in the combined equation, after time spent at paid work, though the size of the effect was substantially larger for feminine task time than it was for total unpaid labour (0.250 vs. 0.130).

The relationship between age and total feminine task time was shown to be moderated by gender (Figure 3-7). While the partial coefficient for the

combined group was non-significant, significant relationships emerged when the sample was split by gender. The relationship for women was positive, adding 0.58 minutes of feminine task work per day for every year of age. Men, in contrast, performed 0.40 minutes less feminine task work per day for each year of age, controlling on the other variables.

Figure 3-7
Feminine Task Time by Mean Age for Women and Men



Interestingly, marital status was a weak but significant predictor of feminine task time for women only. Married women spent 13.83 minutes more time on feminine tasks than did women in common-law partnerships, controlling on all other variables. Though the relationship for men was non-significant, the negative direction of the association is noteworthy.

Limited activity had no significant effect on feminine task time for any of the three groups.

Education had a very small but significant positive effect on feminine task time for men. For each year of education obtained, men spent 2.03 minutes on feminine tasks per day, controlling on the other variables. The relationship for women was in the opposite direction, but non-significant. Partner's education had no significant impact on feminine task time for any of the groups.

A weak positive relationship between the number of children in the home and feminine task time was evident for women and the combined gender group. For each additional child, women reported an average of 11.06 minutes of feminine-typed work on the diary day, controlling on the other variables. The relationship between children and feminine task time was not significant for men.

Of the explanatory variables, paid work time again had the largest influence on the dependent variable, with a moderately strong, negative, and significant relationship with feminine task time for all three groups. Similar to the results for the previous regressions, the effect of paid work on feminine task time appears to have been shaped by gender (Figure 3-8). The unstandardized coefficients (-0.258 for women and -0.158 for men) indicate that women's feminine task time dropped more rapidly than men's in response to increases in paid work, a statistically significant difference.

Figure 3-8
Feminine Task Time by Paid Work for Women and Men

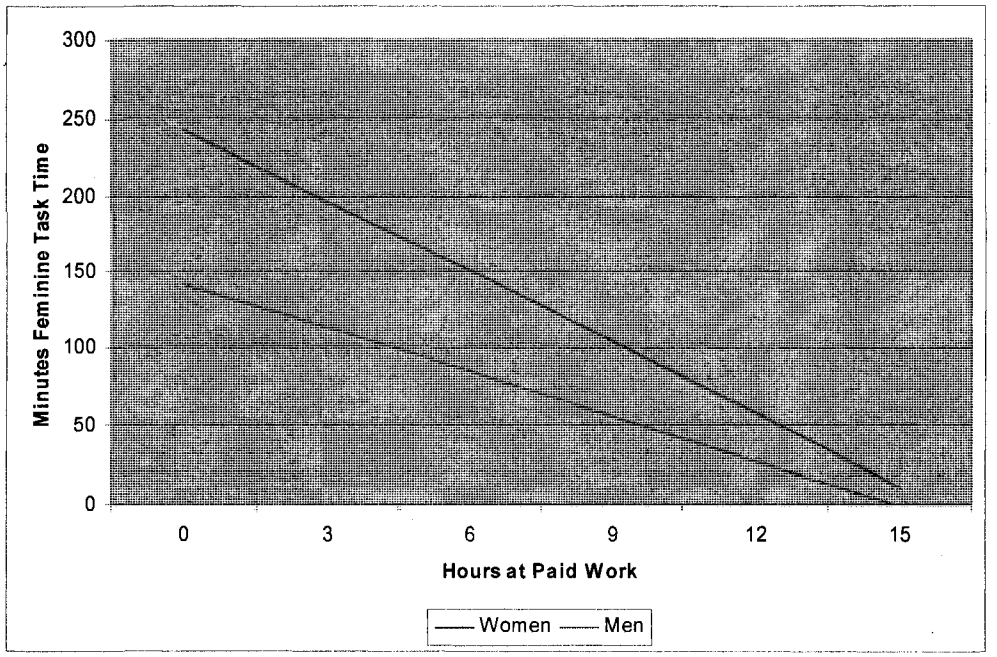
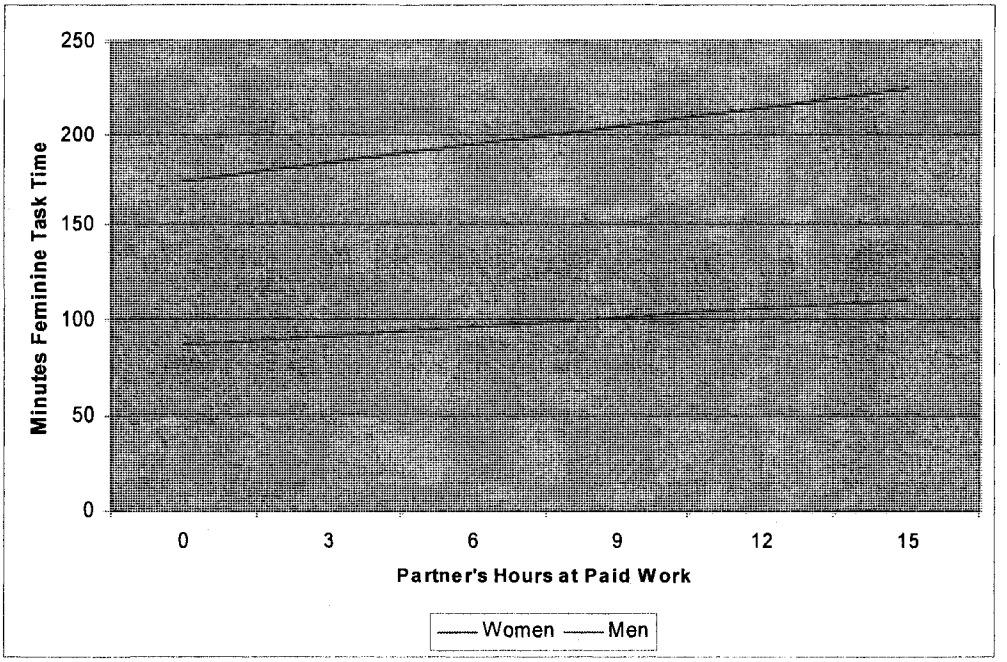


Figure 3-9
Feminine Task Time by Partner's Paid Work Time for Women and Men



A further interaction effect was found with partner's paid work time (Figure 3-9). All three groups showed a small but significant positive relationship between partner's paid work time and feminine task time. However, the increase in time spent on feminine-typed work in response to a one hour increase in the explanatory variable was statistically greater for women (3.38 minutes) than men (1.60 minutes).

Personal income was shown to have a very small but significant negative net effect on feminine task time in the combined gender group. This relationship lost its significance once the sample was split by gender due to the drop in sample size and the insubstantial nature of the relationship (a decrease in the respondent's feminine task time of 0.18 minutes per day for every $1000 of annual income earned). In order to test the 'emasculating' income dynamic theory, as outlined in the preliminary findings, income squared was substituted for income and the regression for women's feminine task time was re-run. This hypothesis would predict a quadratic fit for the variable, such that income would have a negative impact on the performance of housework until a certain level at which point housework would again rise. The standardized (-0.009) and unstandardized (-0.001) regression coefficients showed there to be no substantial relationship; the relationship was non-significant; and there was no change in the R squared value for the model. The speculative support for this theory indicated in the bivariate assessment did not hold up under the multivariate analysis.

Table 3-3
Regression Results for Feminine Task Time

Independent Variables	Total Feminine Task Time (B, b, s.e.)		
	Combined	Women	Men
Gender 0=Male 1=Female	0.250* 69.577 3.036	-----	-----
Mean Age*** (years)	0.002 0.023 0.124	0.053* 0.582 0.198	-0.049* -0.397 0.150
Marital Status 0=Common-law 1=Married	0.018 6.693 3.784	0.035** 13.834 6.046	-0.006 -1.673 4.580
Limited Activity 0=No limitation 1=Limited	-0.001 -0.564 4.310	-0.001 -0.654 6.585	0.009 3.292 5.448
Education (years)	0.011 0.552 0.565	-0.021 -1.132 1.003	0.054* 2.025 0.633
Partner Education (years)	0.000 -0.014 0.515	-0.019 -0.881 0.798	0.015 0.578 0.649
# Children under 15 0=None, 1=1, 2=2, 3=3 or more	0.049* 7.237 1.595	0.071* 11.062 2.544	0.005 0.568 1.953
Paid Work Time*** (minutes)	-0.429* -0.197 0.005	-0.480* -0.258 0.009	-0.445* -0.158 0.006
Partner Paid Work*** (hours)	0.084* 2.391 0.298	0.119* 3.376 0.447	0.064* 1.602 0.391
Personal Income ($)	-0.032* -0.182 0.065	-0.011 -0.072 0.106	-0.030 -0.149 0.079
Constant	136.011	209.885	127.885
F	316.049*	125.344*	94.026*
R^2	0.297	0.239	0.179
Adjusted R^2	0.296	0.237	0.177
N	7490	3606	3884

Note: B = Standardized regression coefficient (Beta),
b = Unstandardized regression coefficient (slope),
s.e. = Standard error of the unstandardized regression coefficient
* = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.01$)
** = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.05$)
*** = Difference between slopes for women and men is statistically significant ($t>2.56$, $p<0.01$)
**** = Difference between slopes for women and men is statistically significant ($t>1.96$, $p<0.05$)

Discussion

The most prominent finding from the above analysis is the impact of paid work on the amount of unpaid labour performed in the home, offering strong support for the time-availability theory. Even after controlling on the other variables, time spent at paid work had a strong negative effect on unpaid domestic labour and feminine task time, almost equal in size to the corresponding bivariate correlations. However, the impact of paid work on unpaid domestic labour, both overall and feminine-typed, was shown to be shaped by gender. Paid work had a larger negative effect on the unpaid work time of women than it did men because men performed significantly less housework than women even when they weren't engaged with paid work activities. As the amount of time available for unpaid labour decreased to accommodate more paid work, it was women's housework time which had further to fall. Still, as can be seen in Figure 3-8, the lines representing women and men's contributions would not meet until somewhere in the hypothetical negative minutes of housework, indicating that at every realistic level of paid work, women on average continue to do more housework than men with similar employment-related time commitments.

The finding that unpaid housework and feminine task time rose in response to increases in partner's paid work time for both women and men offers further support for the time-availability theory. With respect to feminine task time, however, as with the impact of paid work, the time-availability hypothesis must be modified to take into account gender differences. Figure 3-9 shows that women on average expended a significantly greater amount of

time on feminine tasks than did men in response to identical increases in their partners' paid work time. This finding reflects the larger phenomenon of men not stepping up to handle their share of unpaid work, and specifically the feminine-typed tasks, when women start stepping out in greater numbers and intensity into the paid work force. Recall, too, that it is the feminine-typed tasks which are typically the most boring, dirty, routine, and rigidly scheduled. That the analysis generally showed more pronounced gender differences for the feminine-typed tasks, as compared to total unpaid domestic labour, demonstrates the persistence of task segregation.

In agreement with this gendered take on the time-availability theory, and underlining the persistence of task segregation, was the finding that the number of children in a home had a significant impact on the amount of time spent on feminine-typed tasks for women, but not men. Moreover, the regression coefficient for men indicated that the time increase per child was negligible, even had the relationship proven statistically significant. In other words, whether men have four children or none, the amount of time they spend on cooking, cleaning, and shopping does not vary substantially. Compare this to 11 minutes per day spent by women on feminine-typed tasks for each additional child living in the home. While this increase may initially appear minor, it equates to an additional 5.13 hours of work per week for a woman in a household with 4 children.

In contrast to the strong evidence shown for the time-availability theory, and despite initial indications in the bivariate analysis, there was little support found for the resources hypothesis. After controlling on the other

variables in the multivariate analysis, personal income had no significant effect on total unpaid domestic labour and only a negligible impact on feminine task time. This lack of support for the resources theory may stem from limitations in the data and reliance on a single variable to test the hypothesis. Proportional as opposed to absolute measures of income, for instance, and the inclusion of variables measuring occupational prestige or workplace authority, may yield interesting results. A measure of the amount of out-sourced household work would also be useful, given that the ability to out-source depends on income. A further suggestion for refining the resources model involves the addition of task preference measures; since the model assumes that all housework is viewed negatively by both partners, taking task preferences into account could prove illuminating.

While the variables required to properly assess a gender role hypothesis were lacking, the findings around age and marital status may offer some speculative support for the theory. Age was a significant predictor of overall housework time for women (positive) and of feminine task time for both women (positive relationship) and men (negative relationship). In the latter instance, the moderating effect of gender worked to suppress the impact of age in the combined gender equation. Because of generational norms, older couples may be more likely than younger pairs to hold traditional views around gender and the division of housework. As the length of the partnership grows, patterns of task segregation are also more likely to be become entrenched.

Marital status had no significant effect on the housework or feminine task time of men, but did significantly impact the feminine task time of women. Though the finding was substantively small, it is interesting that marital status among women was not significantly related to total unpaid housework. In other words, there appears to be something about being a married woman (as opposed to being in a common-law relationship) that contributes to one's spending more time at stereotypically feminine jobs, even after controlling on the other variables. It is possible this finding offers support for the gender ideology theory, as women and men who choose to marry often adhere to more traditional gender roles than their common-law counterparts prior to union (Clarkberg et al 1995: 622). However, it is also possible that the institution of marriage itself shapes the gendered behaviours of married couples, such that married women perform more feminine-typed tasks than their common-law counterparts as a means of enacting their status as 'wives' (Shelton and John 1993), or that there are different combinations of both phenomena taking place within any particular relationship. Sorting out the pre and post union influences is a complex undertaking, and would benefit from the use of longitudinal data.

The time-availability, resources, and gender ideology models succeeded in partially explaining the variability observed in the distribution of housework and childcare. However, the time-availability and resources theories are open to criticism for their assumptions of gender neutrality and rational action, and the models are unable to account theoretically for the persistent net effect of gender. "Given the limits of rational and pragmatic

explanations, there has been increasing focus on nonrational and normative explanations of the division of domestic labour", such as the 'doing gender' theory (Twiggs et al 1999: 716). Performing housework as a means of enacting the role of 'wife' is a more specialized case of the 'doing gender' theory. This theory holds that the unequal division of household labour is at least partially maintained by women and men using unpaid domestic work as a way of 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987, Berk 1985). The household operates as a 'gender factory', where everyday activities such as the performance of housework become gendered displays, serving to enact dominance and submission. By allocating more or less time, and by doing or abstaining from particular tasks, couples re-create gender though symbolism in their daily activities. The investment in housework "as a reflection on [themselves] as women" is evident in the finding that two thirds of the full-time employed wives in one study reported trying to maintain the same standards of housework as if they were not employed (Ferree 1991: 173). The 'doing gender' explanation is further bolstered by the finding that same-sex couples have been shown to share housework more equally than their heterosexual counterparts (Patterson et al 2004), though less traditional gender ideologies may also come into play.

The 'doing gender' theory is not as easily studied in a quantitative framework, and yet may help to explain why certain factors have different effects on the amount and types of unpaid work performed by women and men, and why a 'gender residual' frequently persists after controlling on socio-demographic characteristics. In the current study, for example, gender

was still an important explanatory variable in the combined equations and controlling on the other independent variables, second only to time spent at paid work. In the separate equations, this is evidenced by the large difference in constant terms for women and men, particularly for feminine task time (209.9 for women compared to 127.9 for men).

After considering the effects of the independent variables, including gender, the model explained approximately 30% of the variation in housework (28.9%) and feminine-typed task (29.7%) contributions. In other words, 70% of the variation remained unexplained. Further research could focus on identifying and specifying the additional factors and dynamics that may be at play in the complex relationship between gender and housework. Enhanced data collection (e.g. the inclusion of measures of gender ideology, ethnicity, etc.) would likely prove beneficial in this regard.

In summary, then, the above analysis produced clear evidence for the time-availability hypothesis, though the effects were shown to be moderated by gender. The resources hypothesis, however, was not borne out by the data, though this may be at least partially owing to limitations in the data. While the variables necessary to properly assess the gender role hypothesis were lacking, the findings around age and marital status offer some speculative support for the theory. Gender remained an important explanatory factor, even after controlling on the other independent variables. According to the 'doing gender' theory, the enduring influence of gender may stem in part from the use of housework as a medium for the performance of gender. While the analysis was illuminating, the majority of the variation in unpaid domestic

labour remained unexplained by the models, and further research is warranted.

Chapter Four: Further Discussion

The gender imbalance in domestic labour is a global phenomenon (Waring 1999, Zagor 2006). As the above results indicate, Canada is no exception to the rule. Though women are working in the paid labour force at a rate approaching that of men, they are still carrying the bulk of the responsibilities at home. Facing a 'male career model' for success on the job, women are disadvantaged compared to their male colleagues by their greater share of family responsibilities (Sirianni and Negrey 2000). Despite the concerted efforts of feminist scholars and others, unpaid domestic labour remains largely 'invisible'. Because of its invisibility and its location in the private sphere, domestic work still garners scant attention on the policy agenda.

Policy Options

The state is complicit in maintaining the subordinate status of women through social policies and legislation concerning marriage and sexuality (Pateman 1983: 297). The persistence of the gendered division of housework "cannot itself be explained without reference to elements of the non-domestic sphere, such as the current sex segregation and sex discrimination in the labour force, the scarcity of women in high-level politics, and the structural assumption that workers and holders of political office are not responsible for the care of small children" (Okin 1991: 78).

For instance, of the explanatory variables examined, paid work clearly had the largest impact on the domestic labour contributions of both women

and men. However, none of the three models tested in this paper addresses the reasons women tend to work fewer hours for pay than do men. Continued wage discrimination and a general undervaluing of 'women's work' in the public sphere means that dropping women's employment when young children require care in the home is often the most economical option for heterosexual couples. In 2005, women on average earned only 64.0% of the average man's income (Statistics Canada 2007c). Even when both partners work full-time, the generally lower wages of women in the paid workforce place them in a position of dependence within the home. In this way, "gender disadvantage in the wider society is thus transmitted into the internal power structure of the individual household" (Ferree 1991: 160).

Revisiting the feminist refrain, in the case of unpaid domestic labour, 'personal' problems require public solutions; in order for women "to participate fully, as equals in social life, men have to share equally in childrearing and other domestic tasks", an objective which "[presupposes] some radical changes in the public sphere, in the organization of production, in what we mean by 'work', and in the practice of citizenship" (Pateman 1983: 299). While 'out-sourcing' household production can reduce women's domestic burden to some extent, the ability of families and individuals to take advantage of this option depends heavily on income level. Moreover, "the major problem with relying on the growth of marketized domestic services to replace women's unpaid labor in the home is the market will never remunerate mothers for child-rearing labor" (Bittman 1999: 37).

Though the state isn't likely to pay wages for domestic labour or intervene in households to ensure an equitable division of housework, governments interested in supporting families and rectifying the gender imbalance with respect to unpaid labour have a variety of policy options available to them, particularly in the area of childcare. Sweden and the Scandinavian counties are generally held up as the exemplars in this regard.

In Sweden, for example, new parents are entitled to 450 days parental leave, including 360 days at 80% of previous salary and the remainder at a flat rate of SEK 60 (approximately $9 CAD) per day. This leave can be taken on a full or part-time basis and shared as desired between parents, except for one non-transferable month each (Gunnarsson et al 1999: 19). The non-transferable month, as well as advertising campaigns and the distribution of literature on the importance of shared parenting, has increased the proportion of fathers taking advantage of the benefit to 70% (Gunnarsson et al 1999: 20). Temporary parental leave provides for up to 120 days leave of absence from employment at 80% of earnings in order to care for a sick child at home, up until the child reaches the age of 12. Fathers are also entitled to 10 'daddy days' leave from work upon the birth of their child. Children aged 1-12 are entitled, by law, to highly subsidized childcare if both parents are working or studying, and staff are required to undergo extensive training at the college or university level (OECD 2001: 177). It should be noted that, "as one of the results of family financial support... childhood poverty associated with family break-ups and absent fathers is, by international standards, practically non-

existent in Sweden" (Gunnarrson et al 1999: 18), compared to "historically high child poverty rates" in Canada (O'Hara 1998: 9).

Finland also has several family-friendly policies in place, including a maternity benefit to cover basic baby expenses (e.g. clothing, bedding etc.), a child allowance system that provides benefits along a sliding scale until the child is 17 years of age, parental leave of seven-and-a-half months at 80% of previous salary, and nursing leave until the child is three with eligibility for compensation equivalent to the costs of state-provided daycare. When children are under the age of four, parents qualify for state-compensated reduced working hours (Bittman 1999: 38).

In Canada, family-related policies, including eligibility requirements, length of leave, and guaranteed right to return to employment, vary considerably by province (Skrypnek and Fast 1996: 797). For the sake of comparison with the Swedish and Finnish cases, however, Canadian mothers are eligible, through Employment Insurance (EI), to receive 55% of previous earnings up to a yearly maximum of $40,000 for 15 weeks of maternity leave, provided they have worked for pay a minimum of 600 hours in the last 52 weeks or since the most recent claim. This is followed by 35 weeks at 55% of income, which can be shared between both parents. The program tends to benefit middle to high income earners, as well as dual income families, because it only covers 55% of salary, while women with lower incomes must often return to work more quickly out of financial necessity (Brodie and Bakker 2007: 10). Women who are self-employed or contract workers are excluded from receiving this benefit (Brodie and Bakker 2007: 10).

With the exception of Quebec, there is no statutory right to family responsibility leave (Skrypnek and Fast 1996: 799). The closest parallel to Sweden's temporary parental leave is the Compassionate Care Benefit (CCB), for which workers are eligible only if a family member is "gravely ill with a significant risk of death" (Service Canada 2007).

Primary care-givers of children 18 years of age and under who fall below a specified taxable income are eligible to receive the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB), supplemented with the National Child Benefit Supplement (NCBS) for low-income families, though these initiatives are arguably more strongly linked to objectives of labour force attachment among the 'working poor' than ensuring equity among children (Brodie and Bakker 2007: 12). In lieu of universal publicly-funded daycare, parents of children six years and under receive a Universal Child Care Benefit (UCCB) of $100 a month (Canada Revenue Agency 2007), an amount that is insubstantial in light of private daycare costs hovering in the $1000 per month range (CBC News 2005, Lanagan 2006). Moreover, the UCCB "effectively subsidizes a particular family form – the male breadwinner model" because it is taxable off the income of the lowest earning partner, and therefore results in larger gains for a family with one spouse at home than for a household with two working parents or a single working parent (Brodie and Baker 2007: 14).

The quality of childcare, in terms of staff qualifications, staff-to-child ratios, programming, and maximum group size, is patchy across the country, with many provinces setting standards that fail to meet the recommendations of early childhood experts, and some facilities operating unregulated and

unlicensed (Strypnek and Fast 1996: 802). From 1997 to 2000, the government of Quebec phased in the Quebec Family Policy, a highly-subsidized child care system[35] which has subsequently been criticized for its inability to meet demand, leaving thousands of families in search of alternative child care (CBC News 2005). Still, the Quebec model has been shown to significantly increase women's participation in the paid workforce (Baker et al 2005), and is heralded by many as an archetype to be replicated by the rest of Canada (Leonhardt 2006).

In contrast to Sweden, where "shared parental responsibility for children in a family is an explicit goal of the Government" (Gunnarsson et al 1999: 19), one of the key factors influencing the Canadian government's failure to institute wide-ranging family policies along the lines of the Scandinavian model is a lack of consensus on the state's role in family matters (O'Hara 1998: 7). Instead, based on "the values of self-reliance, individualism, and family privacy" (Baker and Phipps 1997: 105), and with the exception of Quebec, Canadian governments have taken a "minimalist approach", and for the most part "left families to fend for themselves" (O'Hara 1998: 7, 8). Researchers have shown how neo-liberal strategies of privatization and off-loading of state-provided caring work have created a "policy program that relies on the unpaid work of women in the home for its success", demonstrating "the assumption on the part of politicians and policy-makers...that women's labour is infinitely elastic" (Harder 1999: 178, 200).

[35] Cost to parents is $7 per day per child, plus additional supply fees that vary by facility (CBC News 2005).

Flexible employment options for parents with young children, including part-time work, job sharing, working from home, reduced working hours, and flex time, could be encouraged through tax breaks to companies spearheading such initiatives (Hochschild 1989: 246-247). Recognizing and accommodating the family responsibilities and interests of workers would result in a reduction of long-range costs due to "absenteeism, turnover, juvenile delinquency, mental illness, and welfare support for single mothers" (Hochschild 1989: 247). Family-friendly work options have been shown to increase productivity while alleviating work-home conflict and stress for parents (Coleman 1999: 11). Care must be taken in the implementation of such policies to avoid the "danger that part-time work options specifically designed to accommodate women striving to balance job and family responsibilities may undermine career prospects and create a new and subtle form of job discrimination – the so-called 'mommy track'" (Coleman 1999: 12). Workplace reforms should be gender neutral by applying to both sexes equally, and legislation should prohibit discrimination against part-time workers with respect to pay, benefits, and career advancement (Coleman 1999: 12).[36] Comparable worth policies could also be instituted to rectify wage discrimination that devalues feminine-typed work in the market because of its similarity to the 'invisible' work completed 'for free' by women in the home (Hochschild 1989: 246, Coleman 1999: 7).

Electing more women to parliaments, while not guaranteeing the implementation of women-friendly or family-friendly policies, would increase

[36] This type of legislation exists in Norway (Coleman 1999: 12).

the likelihood that the perspectives of women were brought forward in policy discussions, and would ensure that female representation was at the table when policy decisions affecting women's lives and responsibilities were made. Legislation recently brought forward by a female member of parliament in Spain, for example, clearly reflects a woman-centred perspective and the recognition of injustice in the current division of household labour; a new marriage contract "mandates that husbands and wives share domestic responsibilities including housework and looking after children or elderly parents", and allows women "to cite domestic negligence in divorce proceedings" (Zagor 2006: 35). At the very least, the growing presence of women in male-dominated legislatures and their influence on public policies should force the question: "would the structure or practices of the workplace, the market or the legislature be the same if they had developed with the assumption that their participants had to accommodate to the needs of child-bearing, child-rearing, and the responsibilities of domestic life?" (Okin 1991: 83).

Another facet in a multi-pronged approach to the problem of the gendered division of unpaid household work is its measurement. While the measurement of housework may not at first appear to have tangible impacts on the daily lives of Canadians, it is more than merely an academic exercise:

> In the long run, the measurement of unpaid work can prevent its subtle devaluation and trivialization in our scale of values, and restore appreciation of the contribution of vital household work to our social well being... A simple step like measuring and valuing unpaid household work places our market-based economic activity in a much larger perspective and provides a more accurate description of our total economic world that begins to correspond to people's actual experience of the economy (Coleman 1999: 12).

The growing popularity among governments of collecting time-use data is thus an encouraging, if still underdeveloped, initial step towards making women 'count' (Waring 1999).

Further Study

Research such as the current study is important to raising awareness of the continued gender imbalance with respect to unpaid domestic labour, particularly in light of recent efforts to reinforce the identification of women with the domestic sphere through the "revival of anti-feminist organisations and the 'scientific' reformulation of the argument from nature by the sociobiologists (Pateman 1983: 296).

Because of the interdependence of the public and private spheres, a comprehensive analysis of the gendered division of housework "must take both domestic and wage labour, as well as the relationship between the two and differences among women, into account" (Armstrong and Armstrong 2003: 4). While a quantitative approach is useful for enlightening certain aspects of the unpaid work dynamic, it is, like any method, limited in its scope. The results are more superficial than could be obtained by deeper exploration, in-depth interviews or focus groups.

Qualitative studies may prove fruitful in illuminating how the meaning of specific chores is constructed (Twiggs et al 1999: 13), how intra-household bargaining regarding housework actually occurs, and how the performance (or non-performance or avoidance) of housework 'produces' the gender of the 'performer'. For example, the strategies that men have reported using to resist 'helping' their wives with domestic labour include: "ignoring wives'

requests or pleas for help; telling their wives that they will complete the tasks that they have been asked to do, and then simply failing to do so; feigning incompetence; and avoiding tasks through intimidation, threats and violence" (Hewitson 2003: 272 citing Bittman and Lovejoy 1993 and Bittman and Pixley 1997, Chapter 6).

Further questions are raised regarding changes in the familial distribution of household labour over the life-cycle (Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992); longitudinal studies will prove particularly useful in this regard. The question of equality versus equity[37] in task distribution also deserves some attention, particularly in light of the fact that many women and men claim to enjoy tasks that are deemed 'gender-appropriate' for them. This raises the issue of whether certain activities (e.g. baking, walking the dog) should be considered 'leisure' or 'work', a distinction that will vary from person to person and household to household, and which is likely to be imbued with gendered meanings.

Consistent Measures

One of the major sticking points in the research on unpaid domestic labour is the lack of consistency in measurement, complicating the comparison of findings across studies and over time, and indicating the need for the development of reliable and comparable measures (Shelton and John 1996: 302, Twiggs et al 1999). The collection of data on housework began relatively recently, and currently, "there is no commonly accepted method for

[37] i.e. An equitable distribution of housework may not necessarily require that each partner complete 50% of every task.

maximizing both validity and reliability in measures of household labor time", a problem which, "rather than fostering research to develop good measures of household labor time,...has more often been used to justify not studying household labor" (Shelton 1992: 64-65).

Some researchers use responsibility for housework as the dependent variable, while others use weekly estimates of hours or, as in the current study, time diaries. With respect to measuring task segregation, tasks are usually categorized as male or female typed, divisions that do not necessarily match up across studies even when using the same data set (Twiggs et al 1999: 714). There is also debate regarding the use of relative versus absolute measures. Bianchi et al (2000) note that conclusions are heavily influenced by the type of measure chosen. For example, since employed women perform less housework than their homemaker counterparts, proportional measures of time spent on housework show greater gender equality among dual-earner, as opposed to single-earner couples, despite husbands of employed women increasing their actual time spent on domestic work only minimally or not at all.

The GSS specifically would benefit from the addition of several variables, including race, attitudinal questions around gender ideology, and whether or not (and how many) domestic labour services were purchased. The data would be more versatile if both partners were asked the same questions and completed a time diary. The $100,000 caps on the personal and household income variables should be removed or at least raised substantially.

Of course, there remains the problem of measuring the 'emotional' and caring work of households, performed primarily by women, and not captured by the survey data typically collected by governments on unpaid domestic labour. Failing to measure this important nurturing work not only contributes to its devaluation and invisibility, but also leads to the underestimation of women's household work (Hewitson 2003: 268). A priority in the examination of unpaid domestic labour, then, is research into appropriate measurement techniques in this regard.

Conclusion

This project set out to examine the division of unpaid household labour, and to explore the three primary explanatory theories in the quantitative literature on the performance of housework. Though women have entered the paid workforce in greater numbers than ever before, they have not experienced a corresponding reduction in the amount of unpaid work awaiting them at home, which has resulted in the growing prevalence of the 'double day'. Women are facing increased time-stress as they attempt to balance the demands of employment with domestic responsibilities that still fall primarily to them, as opposed to male partners. Despite the rhetoric of shared household responsibilities and equal parenting, women continue to perform almost twice as much unpaid domestic labour as men, often at the expense of their own leisure time and sleep.

The continued invisibility of household work in measures such as GDP contributes to an undervaluing of 'women's work' in the home and the market, and reinforces the false notion of the separation of public and private

spheres. Because of their disproportionate involvement in unpaid domestic labour, women are often disadvantaged economically when seeking credit, pension benefits, employment insurance, and legal compensation.

The present study found clear evidence in support of the time-availability hypothesis, though the effects were shaped by gender. The impact of paid work on unpaid domestic labour, both overall and feminine-typed, was negative and significant, but the effect was larger for women than men. Unpaid housework and feminine task time rose in response to increases in partner's paid work time for both women and men, but women on average spent a significantly greater amount of time on feminine tasks than did men in response to identical increases in their partners' paid work time. Reflecting the enduring influence of the public/private divide that casts women as primary caregivers, the number of children in a home had a significant impact on the amount of time spent on feminine-typed tasks for women, but not men. The persistence of task segregation was evidenced by gender differences that were generally more pronounced for the feminine-typed tasks, as compared to total unpaid domestic labour. Contrary to the preliminary analysis, the resources theory was not supported by the data, though this may reflect data limitations. The findings around age and marital status may offer some speculative support for the gender role hypothesis, with older respondents and married women demonstrating higher levels of task segregation, though a more thorough assessment would involve the use of attitudinal variables.

Though women have achieved formal equality with men in many aspects of the public sphere, they are making very slow gains towards breaking through the 'domestic glass ceiling' that currently impinges on their ability to compete in the labour market on equal footing with their male colleagues, robs them of leisure time necessary for mental development and self-actualization, and prevents them from assuming full and equal membership in public life. Policy options modeled on the Scandinavian example, including free or highly-subsidized universal daycare and family-friendly workplace reforms, are advocated in order to facilitate and encourage more equitable divisions of unpaid household labour. Further research on unpaid domestic work is needed to increase its visibility and raise its profile as a legitimate issue of political concern.

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Appendix A
Regression Diagnostics

Regression diagnostics were conducted in order to confirm that the data met the assumptions necessary for multiple regression, namely: linearity, normality, independence, homoscedasticity, and the absence of collinearity or influential outliers.

Linearity: Scatterplots showed relatively linear or seemingly random patterns between housework and the independent variables, and compared to quadratic and cubic lines of best fit, Rsquare was highest for linearly fit lines.

Normality: The histograms for the two dependent variables, and their studentized residuals, were positively skewed due to a floor effect (Miles and Shevlin 2004: 65). However, the skewness statistics were below 2.0 (1.081 and 1.268 for total housework and feminine task time respectively), indicating minimal cause for concern with respect to parameter estimates, particularly given the large sample size which makes departures from normality less problematic (Miles and Shevlin 2004: 74). The kurtosis statistics were also below 2.0 (0.823 and 1.622 for total housework and feminine task time respectively), and therefore not large enough to warrant concern with the distributions (Miles and Shevlin 2004: 65). Q-Q plots showed points falling approximately along a straight line, with some minimal concave curving. Future research may find transformed data to provide a tighter fitting model; however, for the purposes of this project, it was decided to use the data in its original form.

Independence: Durbin-Watson statistics for the six regressions were approximately equal to 2.0 (ranging from 1.642 for men's feminine task time to 1.908 for women's feminine task time), meaning the necessary assumption of independence of observations was met (McDonough 2005: 51).

Homoscedasticity: Scatterplots of the studentized residuals against unstandardized predicted y for each of the six regressions showed some fan patterning, indicating increasing variance around the regression line and some cause for concern regarding heteroscedasticity. Similarly, scatterplots of the studentized residuals against the paid work time variable revealed some tapering. Fortunately, heteroscadasticity is not a major statistical concern, though calculations of significance will be somewhat affected (Miles and Shevlin 2004: 101). The model is likely weakened by the presence of heteroscadasticity, but not invalidated.

Collinearity: Collinearity statistics were within acceptable ranges; tolerance statistics for all variables in each of the six regressions were over 0.6 and VIF statistics were below 1.7 (McDonough 2005: 63, Miles and Shevlin 2004: 130).

Outliers: There were several outliers - residuals greater than three standard deviations from the mean - identified through the regression analyses. However, the Cooks distance statistics for the regressions were well below the cut-off point of 1.0, indicating that the regression coefficients did not change substantially when these cases were removed from the model (McDonough 2005: 79). Table

5-1 compares the regressions for men's feminine task time, with and without outliers, to demonstrate the minimal impact of the outliers on the end results. This particular regression was chosen for comparison because it contained the largest number of outliers relative to sample size of the six original regressions.

Table 5-1
Regression Results for Men's Feminine Task Time, with Outliers Included and Excluded

Independent Variables	Total Housework Time (B, b, s.e.)	
	Outliers Included	Outliers Excluded
Mean Age (years)	-0.049* -0.397 0.150	-0.050* -0.357 0.134
Marital Status 0=Common-law 1=Married	-0.006 -1.673 4.580	-0.018 -4.722 4.078
Limited Activity 0=No limitation 1=Limited	0.009 3.292 5.448	-0.007 -2.193 4.892
Education (years)	0.054* 2.025 0.633	0.058* 1.916 0.563
Partner Education (years)	0.015 0.578 0.649	0.001 0.042 0.579
# Children under 15 0=None, 1=1, 2=2, 3=3 or more	0.005 0.568 1.953	0.011 1.126 1.740
Paid Work Time (minutes)	-0.445* -0.158 0.006	-0.459* -0.145 0.005
Partner Paid Work (hours)	0.064* 1.602 0.391	0.076* 1.698 0.348
Personal Income ($)	-0.030 -0.149 0.079	-0.026 -0.114 0.071
Constant	127.885	125.536
F	94.026*	96.925*
R^2	0.179	0.186
Adjusted R^2	0.177	0.184
N	3884	3834

Note: B = Standardized regression coefficient (Beta)
b = Unstandardized regression coefficient (slope)
s.e. = Standard error of the unstandardized regression coefficient
* = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.01$)
** = Relationship is statistically significant ($p<0.05$)