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*The second half of the gender revolution: individual and national determinants of couples'
division of domestic labour.
The case of Chilean couples and International Comparisons.*

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*To Baltasar and Amanda,
so they can live a world with greater gender equality.*

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Introduction

Industrialization and the conformation of modern societies established separate spheres for men's and women's roles, leaving men in hand of the public sphere of production, and women in charge of the domestic sphere through care and household tasks, thus replacing the family economy of preindustrial societies (Nash, 1983, Newman and Grauerholz, McKeon, 2005, Abrams, 2006, Davidoff and Hall, 2007, Luna, 2009).

But in recent decades a gender revolution is undermining the modern division of labour in western societies, pushing cultural definitions of gender roles to the limit, weakening the policies and norms that were the support of the male breadwinner model, and leading to a new theorization about contemporary families (Hook, 2006, Goldscheider, Bernhardt and LappeGård, 2015).

This process has two sociological milestones: the first and the second half of the gender revolution. During the first half of the gender revolution women enter into the public sphere through paid work opening new opportunities and bringing economic support to the household, a phenomenon that is especially important among married mothers who had essentially a domestic role in the industrial period. The second half of the gender revolution occurs more recently through men's involvement in the private sphere of the family, contributing in housework and care of household members (Goldscheider, Bernhardt and LappeGård, 2015).

These processes do not occur in the same way or at the same pace everywhere. The intensity of the first and the second half of the gender revolution depends on prevailing norms and values about gender in each cultural context as on individual characteristics, making social research especially relevant for less observed societies (Budig, 2004). The increase in knowledge about the factors that favour equitable organization of daily life, can help women to reach more favourable positions both in the private and public spheres (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010).

The main goal of the present research is to help uncover the social determinants of the second half of the gender revolution, trying to establish the limits of the first half to

promote by itself male imbrication in the private sphere. In this scope I will examine the main sociological mechanisms that explain the gendered division of labour in different contexts and through different analysis strategies. First, I analyse the role of individual factors and national context on couples' division of domestic labour in 34 countries using data from the 2012 ISSP "Family and Changing Gender Roles" Module (Chapter Three). Then I will focus on one of the most unequal countries in terms of gender and work which is Chile. I examine the social determinants of the second half of the gender revolution using two data sets: the 2012 Chilean Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (Chapter Four) and the 2015 Chile's National Time Use Survey (Chapter Five). Chile has been a scarce focus of research regarding division of labour within the family; therefore, this dissertation will be an important contribution to knowledge in this subject.

To examine how couples divide domestic tasks in gendered lines, in each chapter I observe different measures of time use to take into account the gender gap in time spent in housework and care work separately. The incorporation of different type of dependent variables in the analysis allows me to evaluate the consistency of each measurement strategies. In terms of explanatory factors, I use the capacity of each survey to include different social determinants based on what previous research have found to be important in other contexts: relative resources, time availability and gender ideology. This allows me to incorporate the study of Chilean couples to the global sociological discussion on this topic.

To begin with, the first Chapter exposes the main theoretical and empirical backgrounds that sustain this research, to finalize with the exposition of the hypotheses that guide the following empirical chapters. Each chapter is self-contained and presents its own conclusions, however at the end of the dissertation a brief sociological discussion is presented as a conclusion.

1

Chapter One

Background and Hypothesis

1.1 The gendered division of domestic labour.

1.1.1 The separation of spheres and the cult of domesticity.

Until the mid-eighteenth century, the economy of western nations was primarily agrarian. Life was centred around the farm, where husbands and wives were partners not only in maintaining the home, but also in making a living. The concept of domestic labour as distinct from other type of work was not even part of the language; men and women developed different tasks, but they worked together (Tilly and Scott, 1981). Then, with the development of industrialization, things began to change. New forms of technology and the promise of economic opportunities and a better life in the context of an impoverished farm, moved people from the countryside to cities and factories where they would earn wages for their work. The work in the factory came to be considered a primary function of the new economy, and men took control of this new source of income, power and prestige (Newman and Grauerholz, 2002). For the first time, the family economy was based outside the home, and most families began to depend on salaries for their financial support.

In the beginning of industrialization, the need for workers increased; whether in the city or in the countryside, the demand for work extended to women and men, all except the smallest children and the sick. Women's labour force participation increased but it was closely related to the permanence of traditional values of the family economy (Tilly and Scott, 1981). In that context, the increasing participation of young single women during the nineteenth century (especially from middle and lower social class), is not the reflection of a shift from family values to individual interests, but rather it is the reproduction of the concept of work on the interest of the family, which was the centre of the cultural values in preindustrial societies. At the dawn of industrialization there was a continuity of traditional values evidenced in the orientations of the young workers of that time. Despite their new economic roles, they continued to define themselves as members of a family business, and since young women's paid work respond to family interest, they did not

manage their salaries independently but gave most of it, if not all, to their families. Likewise, the workplace and the time devoted to work were family not individual decisions (Janssens, 1993).

This shows that during a transitional period, old values remained and were used by people as a strategy of adaptation to the extensive structural changes brought by industrialization. People perceived and acted on the changes they experienced in terms of values and attitudes that they already carried with them. These values and attitudes eventually changed, and the individualization process deployed, but not so directly or immediately because the change in social behaviour was less the product of new ideas than the effect of old ideas operating in new and changing contexts (Scott and Tilly, 1981).

From the middle of nineteenth century, however, a model of domesticity slowly emerged. No longer an economic unit, the family became gradually and increasingly private and self-contained, and began to develop a self-conscious familism (Abrams, 2006). Therefore, a new configuration of roles arose in the household. While males were relieved from many of their domestic chores, females ceased to manage the family business as they once did on the farm. In return, they were consigned to powerless positions in the workforce and to the few domestic responsibilities that remained: care for children and housework (McKeon, 2009). Since no visible goods were produced in the home, this work was rightly unpaid; and since the type of paid jobs available for women were limited, such as seamstresses or domestic services for bourgeois families, they were low waged and unrecognized occupations (Tilly and Scott, 1981). Thus, women's work was devalued in the emerging industrial economy. At the same time, with women's confinement to home emerges the notion of men as the main provider. Men became almost the main responsible, at least in the eyes of the community, for the economic well-being of their families, and they were judged by their economic prosperity (Newman and Grauerholz, 2002).

This is how the modern idea of a nuclear, conjugal family, where men are the economic provider, and where woman plays her role in the reproduction of the household expands, establishing an ideology of separation of private and public spheres (Abrams,

2006). This ideology fostered by bourgeois values, facilitated the transition to a capitalist industrial society by allowing the separation of some sectors of production from women and transforming the family into a unit of reproduction and consumption (Nash, 1983).

The separation of spheres extended especially in the middle and upper-class and fostered the belief that men and women were naturally predisposed to different activities. Women were assumed to be inherently nurturing, demure and sacrificed -a perfect fit for their restricted domestic roles- while the ideal image of men, in contrast, was that of rude individuals whose virtue came from self-confidence, the power and mastery in the management of their job and family (Newman and Grauerholz, 2002). Thus, women acquired a 'natural' weakness and a fragility that were inadequate to assimilate the aggressiveness and competitiveness of work in modern industry, and from those arguments the limited supply of job opportunities for women was sustained. On the other hand, men were valued as naturally strict, aggressive, calculating, rational and audacious, typical elements for labour force demands.

Therefore, for a woman to be truly feminine, she must be devoted to the home and the family and hence, the ideal and glorified role of women was focused entirely on the domestic sphere. Further, the sublimation of motherhood at the end of the nineteenth century served to restore women's dignity and sense of utility, becoming the guarantor of the family as an emotional refuge of the external society, and consequently inspiring a cult for domesticity that society pursued for much of the twentieth century (Newman and Grauerholz, 2002).

However, while the separation of spheres operated in the middle and upper classes daily life's, lower class women had to work for pay exposed to the unwanted jobs for the rest of society. They were excluded from the cult of the right feminine condition, while ironically, upper-class women who could (and must) follow that precept depended on other women who served them in domestic labour (Nash, 1983). This process acquires a special connotation in cultures like Latin American, where ethnicity, colonialism and the fragile industrialization implied an intricate scenario. While Latin American middle and

upper-class urban families adhered to the separation of spheres at the end of the nineteenth century, lower class, migrant, rural and indigenous women had to confront the economic need for work along with men absence, which contributed to the elevation of woman's image in opposition to the drawing of an absent and phantasmagorical man (Montecino, 1990; Rodríguez, 2004).

1.1.2 The first half of the gender revolution.

a) Female labour force participation and the second shift.

During the first half of the gender revolution, women are increasingly incorporated into the public sphere through their participation in the labour force, marking a milestone in the process of individualization and in the organization of modern family life (Cherlin, 2012). This process opened a new field of action and decision for women, moving from a prerogative of 'self-sacrifice' to a new of 'self-realization', consequently they increasingly display expectations and desires that extend beyond the family (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001).

However, the incorporation of women into paid labour force implied new difficulties in the organization of private life (Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård, 2015). Women still carried on great part of domestic responsibilities, and along with new schedules and demands from paid work, a second shift was added to women's routine consistent in housework and care of family members (Hochschild and Machung, 1989). Therefore, women's new individual status implied inequalities in family life, making women delay their commitment to stablished gender roles, postponing marriage and motherhood, and thus reducing their fertility. In fact, previous evidence has shown a progress towards "less family" in Western societies during the last decades with the decrease in marriages and birth rates (Esping-Andersen and Billari, 2015).

The origin of these tensions seems to be the incomplete gender revolution. Families have great difficulties coping with the situation on their own, and the market is a space that has insufficient solution capability (Esping-Andersen, 2009). For this reason, some authors bet on the importance of State and social policies to prevent and solve the insecurities that this phenomenon may pose to families. In the case of Europe, Welfare States produced a process of "defamiliarization" that is characterized by the emancipation of part of family responsibilities through the action of different programmes. But studies show that the progression of the state function has not kept pace with the rapid changes in families during recent years, and the incomplete gender revolution adds new challenges (O'Brien and Shemilt, 2003; Esping-Andersen, 2009, Lewis, 2009, Gerson, 2010, Hemerijck, 2012, Baird and O'Brien, 2015).

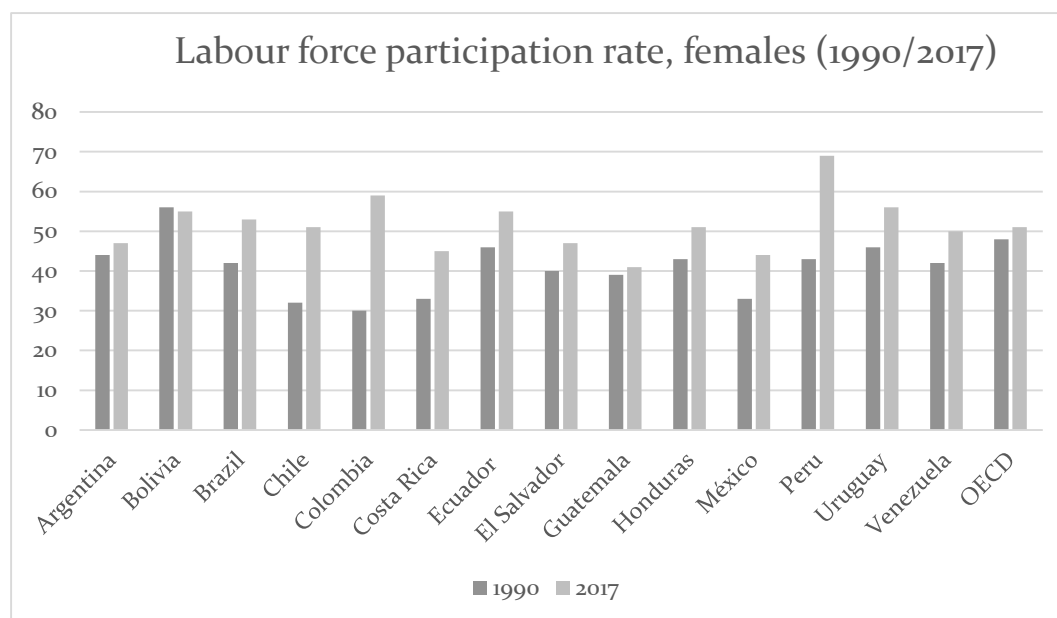
At the same time, looking across different countries, women's access to the labour force and family change have not occurred with the same intensity everywhere, nor has it necessarily generated the same consequences in social policy. For example, in Southern Europe countries the degree of defamiliarization has been relatively less intense, since the role reserved for family and women in the provision of services has been assumed privately as a guarantee of stability of the Welfare States (Moreno, 2007). In fact, even though in those countries a general reduction in fertility has been observed, this has not been accompanied by a similar increase in female economic activity rates. Some obstacles to the economic integration of women might be associated to the limited flexibility of labour market (e.g. low offer of part-time work), as well as the delay in modernization and, therefore, the slow tertiarization of Mediterranean economies (Flaquer, 2004, Salido, 2011). But also, an important obstacle is the permanence of modern normative family models, and the scarce definition of family policies and infrastructure destined to work-family balance (Navarro, 2006, Moreno, 2007). In this sense, the postponement of youth emancipation, the relevance of the extended family (and the solidarity between generations) and the prevalence of the gendered division of labour, are unequivocal signs of the permanence of familiarity as an economic strategy for organization of life (Mínguez, 2005, Márquez and Martín, 2013).

b) The first half in Latin America.

Even though data have shown the presence of lagging sectors concerning labour force participation (Abramo and Valenzuela, 2006; Martínez, Miller and Saad, 2013, Arriagada and Sojo, 2012), and the demographic transition has been unequal (Arriagada, 2001, Schkolnik and Chackiel, 2004, Chackiel, 2004, Schkolnik, 2004), Latin American countries also show an accelerated change in family dynamics and structure in recent decades, but some elements make it a dissimilar process (Rodríguez, 2004, Lesthaghe, 2010, Esteve, Lesthaghe and López-Gay, 2012).

On the one hand, the division of private and public spheres has never been entirely clear. In Latin America the forms of women's participation in the labour force depend on social class, the importance of the informal sector, the level of development of tertiarization in national economies, and cultural norms about female labour, all elements that make difficult to obtain comparable statistic measures (Abramo, 2004, Weller, 2004, Abramo, 2006, Abramo and Valenzuela, 2006). Nonetheless, as shown in Figure 1, women are more present in the labour force specially since the 1990's and some countries have important growth which indicate a change in women's social status. On the other hand, important changes in demographic trends accompany this scenario, such as the increase in single-parent households headed by women, the growth in consensual unions, the delay in the age of first motherhood, the rise of births outside marriage, the increase in marital ruptures and the prevalence of households with extended family structures (Castro, 2000, Arriagada 2004 and 2007, Jelin, 2007, Rosero, Castro, 2002; Ullmann, Maldonado and Rico, 2010; Martín, Cortina, García and Pardo, 2011, Spijker, López Ruiz and Esteve, 2012).

FIGURE 1. FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN LATIN AMERICA, 1990/2017



Note: Weighted averages, ages 15 and older that are economically active. Comparison between Latin American countries and OECD average rate.

Source: International Labour Organization, ILOSTAT 2017.

In this context, with the massive access to education and the consequent participation of women in the labour force, unprecedented cultural and subjective transformations have been unleashed which might be operating as a silent revolution in this region (Arriagada, 2007).

One of the most striking findings in this picture is the transition from the male breadwinner model to double income families. Currently a high proportion of males and females seek to strike a balance between work responsibilities and those related to home. Nonetheless, women are the most affected by this transition, since in Latin America they are assumed to be the main responsible for private life and this cultural script is socially ingrained (Arriagada, 2007:).

Therefore, female participation in labour force faces deeper institutional and cultural barriers everywhere. In Latin America, as in other societies, women's workforce participation has usually been determined by family life cycle and specially childrearing,

and respond to cultural expectations about gender (Schkolnik, 2004). Gender inequality in work reflects wider social inequalities between men and women, so for example, the most educated females must reconcile the lack of job opportunities, lower wages than males, and the permanence of symbolic patterns that overvalue the male capacity in economies (Coltrane, 2010).

On the other hand, it is not possible to declare a defamiliarization process fostered by social policy in Latin America, as states have often been deficient in the provision of services, so families are the main guarantors of private life functioning (Arriagada, 2004 and 2007, Sunkel, 2006, Del Valle, 2010). In this context extended kinship networks are the only resource in the absence of a Welfare State; furthermore, kinship networks currently allow the daily life family operation in various social groups that are unable to outsource their demands through external services (Segalen, 2004).

1.1.3 The second half of gender revolution.

a) The new masculine identity.

The second half of the gender revolution consists in the social and cultural transformation in which men begin to participate - to a greater or lesser extent - in the domestic labour that women has performed exclusively since societal modernisation, whether doing housework or caring for family members (Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård, 2015). Various studies show the emergence of a new pattern of values that promote the masculine role in domestic tasks, as well as the evidence of an increase in male domestic labour hours since 1960's, both elements revealing a new masculinity that seems to open doors to a renewed deal between couples (Bianchi et al., 2000; Segalen, 2006; Esping-Andersen and Billari, 2015). This reflects a trend of convergence in women's and men's domestic labour hours, given by the masculine adjustment to women's participation in the public sphere (Gershuny, 2003).

Contemporary masculinity consists in a status of men in transformation, with the experience of a conflict between the maintenance of parental authority - isolated from the domestic world- and the availability to the emotional dimension of private life, the participation in domestic chores and a greater parental involvement (Seidler, 2013, Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). However, given that men have not been socialized in the handling of these emotions, dispositions and practices, he can find refuge again in work outside the home and in the maintenance of a modern provider identity. Therefore, the transition to a new masculinity involves tensions and regressions that brings challenges for social research (Seidler, 2002 and 2005; O'Connell, 2005; McDowell, 2009).

In recent years, scholars have analysed the potential impact that this change in cultural patterns can have on family life, through the changes in the division of roles and consequently, through family preferences and practices. Some authors suggest that more equitable division of roles in the couple can have a regressive effect over the sociodemographic indicators affected by the first half of the revolution; for example, increasing marriage, fertility or decreasing rupture rates (Olah, 2003, Thor and Short, 2004, Cooke, 2004 and 2009, Puur et al., 2008, Mills et al., 2008; Neyer, Lappegård and Vignoli, 2013). Likewise, a more equal distribution of domestic labour has other implications in wellbeing, since those who carry the burden of work at home limit their access to full and productive employment, as well as have limited time for education and training, leisure, self-care, or social and political activities (Coltrane, 2000, Razavi, 2007). Also, other studies have found that a greater load of time devoted to domestic labour increases the perception of work-family conflict and stress, and decreases happiness levels (Baxter and Tai, 2016).

As it occurs with women's participation in the workforce, men's contribution to the domestic sphere faces prevailing cultural and, consequently, institutional barriers (Kan, Sullivan and Gershuny, 2011; Blair-Loy et al., 2015). This means that gender scripts tend to persist even when women have already massively entered into the labour force, and even when at discursive level gender equality is valued. Although men's domestic labour hours have increased since the 1960's in some countries, they have tended to stabilize during the

last decades causing the scientific interest in the study of what has been called the stalled revolution (Hochschild, 1989).

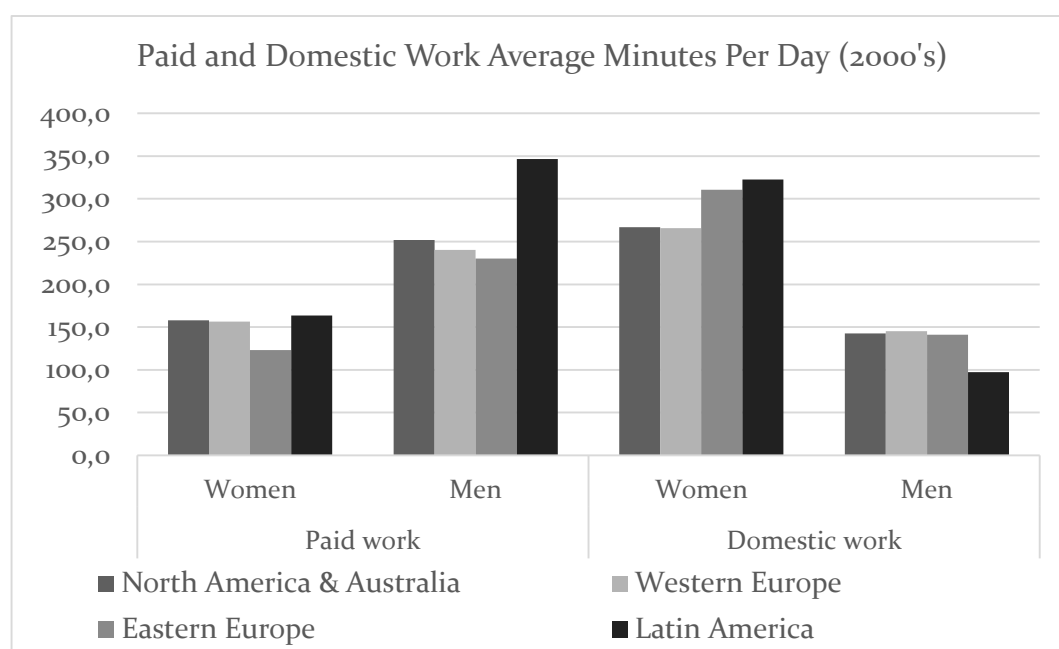
In general, women show better attitudes and predisposition for cleaning, cooking and caring than men, and in some countries, men seem more willing to take care of children than to do household chores (Poortman and Van der Lippe, 2009; Bonke and Esping-Andersen, 2011). However, even in countries considered the most egalitarian, like Denmark, it is women who carry most of the child related labour, especially when it comes to routine work (Guryan, Hurst and Kearney, 2008; Craig and Mullan, 2011; Miranda, 2011). Central domestic tasks tend to be dominated by women, while men tend to do the less frequently repeated tasks, such as deep cleaning, repairs, paperwork related to household finances (such as bill payment, or taxes), and eventually cooking (Coltrane, 2000, Bianchi, 2000, Singleton and Maher, 2004, Breen and Cook, 2005, Hook, 2010, Craig and Mullan, 2011, Martínez et al., 2011, Szabo, 2013, Meah, 2014, Moreno-Colom, 2015). But cultural barriers are also visible when the greater predisposition of men in the domestic sphere clashes with the negative women's response and the emergence of marital tensions, which reflects the symbolic permanence of female cultural ownership of certain home spaces and tasks (Meah and Jackson, 2013).

b) Domestic labour and the cultural puzzle in Latin America.

Less is known about how these cultural change occurs in Latin America, either because of the recent emergence of time use and gender attitudes surveys, the absence of periodic measurement, or the lack of measure comparability between waves and countries (Arriagada, 2004, Aguirre and Ferrari, 2013). However, some national studies have tried to show the way in which gender influence the allocation of domestic labour, and some differences appear between countries regarding this. As shown in Figure 2, women tend to spend more time than men in domestic chores (care and household tasks) in all geographic regions, nonetheless the time gap between women and men is bigger in less developed

areas like Eastern Europe and Latin American countries. This mirrors the situation for paid work, in which men exhibit the higher average time spent in this type of labour, having a wider gap in less developed countries (United Nations, 2016; Milosavljevic, 2007, Milosavljevic and Tacla, 2007).

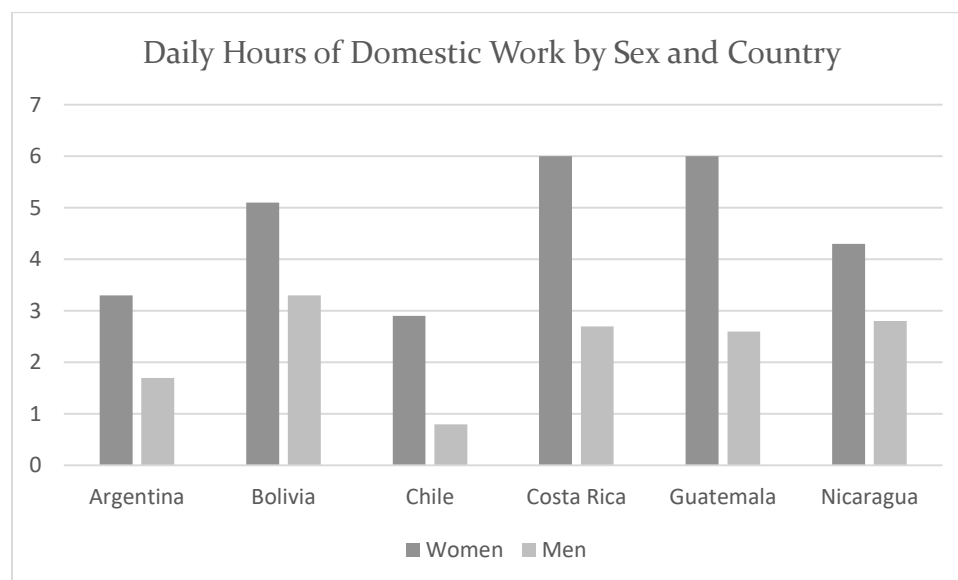
FIGURE 2. PAID AND DOMESTIC WORK TIME ACCORDING TO SEX AND GEOGRAPHICAL REGION



Source: United Nations Women, 2015.

Even though in Latin America the main load of the domestic labour responsibilities is under women's dominion, differences are also observed between countries in the time spent in this type of labour. As shown in Figure 3, in countries like Chile or Argentina, women and men spend less time in domestic chores than in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala or Nicaragua, but the time gap between men and women is significant in all countries.

FIGURE 3. AVERAGE DAILY HOURS OF DOMESTIC LABOUR.



Source: Gender Affairs, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC 2010.

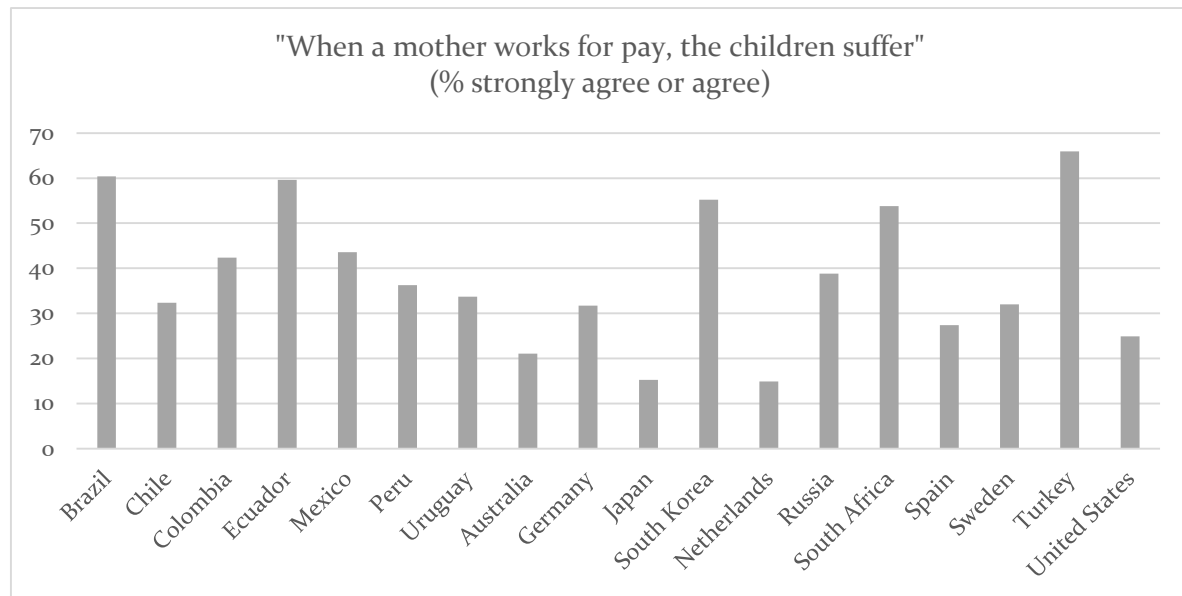
While the relative burden of women's time in domestic labour prevails, a few surveys show a slow trend of time convergence between women and men, nonetheless they have important comparability limitations (United Nations 1992 and 2015). Likewise, some studies suggest the emergence of a generational change in discourses with respect to gender identity and cultural values about gender roles. However, it only refers to a new valorisation of paternity and not to family roles in general, reproducing the gendered division of domestic labour (Olavarría, 2004; Arriagada, 2004; Valdés, 2009; Perea and Garrido, 2015).

Although the preeminent feminine role in the domestic sphere is present in a wide variety of cultures, the mechanisms that explain the permanence of this social norm varies across societies, and in Latin America researchers have pointed out to the important role of religious syncretism between Catholicism and the original cultures in the formation of women's social status (Montecino, 2007). Scholars have argued that the importance of women in the domestic sphere in this region may be due to the permanence of the

Marianist cultural model of gender roles (Diekman, 2005; Lindsey, 2015). According to this, the ideological corollary of Latin American women is modelled by the image of the Catholic Virgin, an image that prescribes women's dependence, subordination, responsibility for domestic tasks and an identity based in a disinterested devotion to family and children (Stevens, 1973, Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, Baldwin and DeSouza, 2001, Montecino, 2007). This is observed through public opinion surveys in which Latin American countries stand out for modern values regarding family roles, comparable with what happen in some other countries from Asia or Africa (see Figure 4).

In this sense, some studies in the region reveal the permanence of specialized gender scripts in work, where men define any work they do at home as 'help' and where family conflicts emerge when these scripts are transgressed (Olavarria, 2001 y 2004; Schkolnik, 2004; Torres et al., 2008; Undurraga, 2013). It is women who carry out most of the domestic labour, especially care, which is intensified by the growth of life expectancy and the need of care for the elderly (Wainerman, 2000; Acosta, Peticara and Ramos, 2006, Valenzuela and Herrera, 2006, Herrera and Aguirre, 2006, García, 2007, Aguirre, 2009, Ramos, 2009, Todaro, 2009, Poeschl, 2010, Dakduk, 2010, Arriagada y Sojo, 2012; Márquez and Reyes, 2015). Considering the increase of single-parent families in the region –most of them women headed- and although with the reduction in fertility the total childrearing burden has decreased, the number of adults available for that work has also decreased and as a result, in a significant proportion of families, woman is the exclusive responsible for both productive and reproductive tasks (Arriagada, 2004). The consequence of this contemporary puzzle is an inequitable scheme of opportunities and incentives in which Latin American women not only subsidize the market, but also respond to male absence and state deficiency (Batthyány, 2011; Nieves and Maldonado, 2011).

FIGURE 4. GENDER IDEOLOGY ACCORDING TO COUNTRY



Source: World Values Survey, 6th wave 2014-2016.

c) The role of social policy for the second half.

The second half of the gender revolution is also confronted by the limits of the institutions that prevail, which to a large extent reflect the cultural norms about gender (Kan, Sullivan and Gershuny, 2011). Many labour and social policies have favoured a greater capacity for negotiation between partners (especially in favour of female labour participation), but when these policies lack the benefits associated with the conventional structure of work (male-breadwinner full time worker), there is more incentive for couples to divide their roles in a modern manner (Hakim, 2006, Ruhm, 2011, Budig et al., 2012, Epstein et al., 2014, Pedulla and Thébaud, 2015, Munsch, 2016, Tavora, 2012, Boeckman et al., 2014). Likewise, the cultural stigmas associated with the flexibility of work practices (e.g. paternity leave), adds greater restrictions to male imbrication in domestic labour and family life (Vandello et al., 2013; Rudman and Mescher, 2013; Williams et al., 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013; Aguayo et al., 2012).

FIGURE 5. USERS OF PAID PATERNITY LEAVE BY COUNTRY.



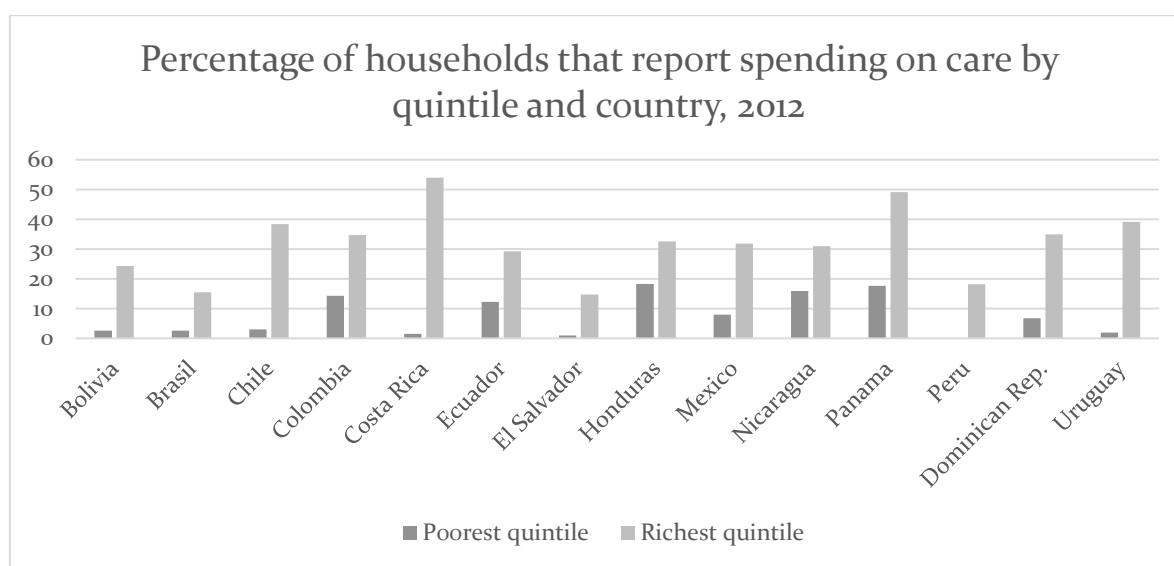
Source: OECD, 2013

Similarly, there are more options for negotiating the division of labour within the couple in countries that provide universal preschool education than in countries without it, since the opportunity cost of having both partners in the paid labour force is lower (Lewis, 2009, Lefebvre et al., 2009, Ruppanner, 2013, Korpi et al., 2013, Blofield and Martínez, 2014). However, cultural processes can moderate the effect of this type of policy and not generate the expected impact on male imbrication in the domestic sphere, because even though this kind of policies tend to favour women's incorporation in the labour force, it does not hinder the maintenance of the gendered division of domestic labour (Encina and Martínez, 2009; Havnes and Mogstad, 2011, Villena et al., 2015).

In Latin America, and particularly in care work, social policies may be promoting a paradoxical imbalance, since social and gender inequalities are closely linked to the unequal provision of family and social care, forming a complex circle (Marco, 2007, Pinheiro et al., 2009). Considering the male absence in the provision of routine care and housework, those with more economic resources have greater access to have quality care services and to outsource domestic labour, despite having fewer household members to care for (see Figure 6). And, on the contrary, those who have fewer resources but have more

burdens of care, have to confront a context where the public provision of care has little coverage, low quality and poor development in general, reproducing the circle (Arriagada, 2007, García and De Oliveira, 2011). Hence, disadvantaged households accumulate difficulties due to the limited public services plus the lack of access to private care, and as a result, they need to resort to informal caregivers (Batthyány, 2011; Arriagada and Moreno, 2011).

FIGURE 6. PRIVATE SPENDING ON CARE ACCORDING TO SOCIOECONOMIC QUINTILE AND COUNTRY



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, ECLAC 2012.

1.2 Theoretical perspectives of the division of domestic labour.

The interest in the sociological study of the family and the division of labour in modern society began at the end of the 19th century as a result of the cultural centrality that the conjugal family acquired as a fundamental unit of society. These initial theoretical descriptions analysed both kinship (from a biological and natural perspective) as well as affinity relations (legal or not) and the social links that this implies from a mainly positivist perspective (Klein & White, 1996, Smith et al., 2009). In general, the basis of this original academic interest is the affirmation of the family as the most important and lasting social group, and that its characteristics and dynamics have a relevant impact on the personality and development of individuals (Smith, et al., 2009).

However, since the 50's, sociologists have posed interest on this subject and it is possible to identify three main theoretical frameworks that have tried to explain the ways couples divide work: a) functionalism; b) the family life course; and c) the feminist theory.

1.2.1 Functionalism

Industrialization, the emergence of capitalism and market society, was seen with apprehension by many social scholars. Sociologists such as Emile Durkheim and later, Robert Bales and Talcott Parsons were concerned about the effects of the growing specialization on social solidarity and community well-being. Before the Industrial Revolution the family farm was the frequent site of the economic production. With the development of mass production workers were transferred from the farm to the factory. Typically, the adult man left home for work, and thus, left behind the adult woman who was responsible for developing the domestic labour of care and raising children (Budig, 2004). Even though the sexual division of labour was not new -for even in pre-modern societies woman was the one who made the clothes, cooked and took care of the children,

along with doing work in the farm-, the massive growth of this type of division of work is in the origin of the functionalist thinking of the 19th and 20th century. To the concern about modernization and the challenges to social welfare, functionalist social theorists responded with a tendency to develop a romantic view of family life (Budig, 2004).

Emile Durkheim (1888) describes modernization as a process whose fundamental implications were found in domestic institutions. According to Durkheim, changes in family structure have a correlate in the forms of organization of family roles and functions, destabilizing the community organization of the premodern family. Each of the members of the conjugal family have their own individuality, their own sphere of action. In this sense, the family community order goes to a second level in favour of the subject and their particularities. The advance in the process of individualization generates a radical change in the forms of family organization through a new division of labour that is functionally differentiated. Now, the organization of family roles is based on conjugal solidarity by the differentiation of the sexes. Durkheim (1893) explained that in modern societies, women lead an existence completely different from that of men and this reflects that the two main functions of the psychic life have been dissociated, one of the sexes has monopolized the affective functions and the other the intellectual ones (Durkheim, 2014). According to this author, the female role placed in the protection of the family and household tasks constitutes an advance in this process of sexual differentiation of labour and a condition for family stability. Therefore, says Durkheim, societies where the sexes have a low differentiation of roles then have a weak conjugal solidarity and an unstable family situation (Durkheim, 2014).

The initial approaches of Durkheim subsequently exert influence on American sociology, through Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales (1955). They instituted what is considered the functional framework about the modern family. They considered this so-called private and public spheres differentiation - which consists of assigning family life and women's activities to the private world, while political power and economic production activities of men to the public world - is highly functional to the industrial society and it constitutes a strategy of survival for the family in the modern era. From the functional

perspective, in modern Western society families are isolated, self-sustaining units and are geographically separated from the extended kin. In order for families to survive, they are configured as small and supportive groups that are supported by the material resources that allow their subsistence. In this sense, Parsons and Bales argued that the modern family is characterized by sustaining a fully functional, permanent and rigid sexual division of labour, which is, in turn, the guaranty of its stability over time (Parsons & Bale, 2014). For these authors, the differentiation of roles in the family is, in its character and sociological meaning, an example of the mode of qualitative differentiation that tends to appear in all other systems of social interaction. Consequently, the question is not why this differentiation of roles appear in the family, but why men takes a more instrumental role while women take a more expressive role. For them, the fundamental explanation of this distribution of roles between the biological sexes lies in the fact that the upbringing and primary care of children establishes a strong primacy of mothers' relationship with children, while establishing the presumption that the men must specialize in the instrumental direction (Parsons & Bales, 2014).

Likewise, Parsons (1954) also describes that the sexual division of labour is functional because it eliminates competition for status between husband and wife. Parsons points out that this elimination of competition due to the segregation and non-comparability of the lines of personal achievement, decrease the chances of jealousy and the sense of inferiority. However, Parsons recognizes that the incorporation of women into the labour market is a true and developing social fact, but nevertheless postulates that such progress for women is difficult and expensive for the family since its generalization can only be possible with profound alterations to the family functioning (Parsons, 2010).

From there, functionalism assumed as a premise that the sexual differentiation of roles and the consequent family stability, are critical elements for development and results in childhood and in the long term of people's lives. Gary Becker (1981) has been the main representative of this perspective. In his work he explains that families function better when spouses specialize separately in the sphere of the market and the sphere of reproduction, which operate more effectively through the sexual separation of roles. Becker

sees the domestic sphere as a sphere of production, as does the market sphere, and argues that rearing children and caring for the home is a productive activity where parents invest time, money, energy and love. In this productive sphere, there is a division of labour that is efficient for household productivity, and that clearly separates the activities of men and women according to various criteria (Becker, 2009). This division, according to Becker, produces a profit that allows to increase the returns of the investment made by men and women in both human capital and energy, which is mainly due to women's biological advantage in child-rearing, an advantage that has its primary origin in the exclusive ability of women to breastfeed (Becker, 2009).

Nevertheless, functionalism and the sexual differentiation of roles based on the natural advantage of women for breastfeeding, finds its limit with the development of the sterilization technique and milk bottles at the beginning of twentieth century. However, the fall of the relative natural advantage of women over men with the mass use of bottles did not necessarily mean a rearrangement of the segregation of roles between the sexes in the domestic sphere. This situation opened the theoretical debate through the question of power relations within the family; aspect not treated by functionalism (Budig, 2004).

In this sense, the work of the authors described, and the subsequent development of the functionalist perspective for the study of the family, have been widely criticized. Its detractors point out that the negative consequence of these approaches is the emergence of a rigid distinction of the roles between the father and the mother as a stabilizing picture for household member's personality (especially children) (Segalen, 2006). Likewise, other authors suggest that the model of family and sexual roles posed by functionalism no longer responds to contemporary forms of people's preferences, since the range of acceptable and functional family models has increased, based on heterogeneous choices established mainly by a revelation in women preferences and their job opportunities (Hakim, 2005). In the last decades, it is possible for a woman to choose between a life centred on a professional career in the public sphere; a life centred on home and family life; or a life that combines both dimensions; without a necessary rupture in the family and social order.

Consequently, posterior intellectual development can be separated in two responses to functionalism. First, the family life course perspective that raised the need of introducing a chronological dimension to the analysis of the division of roles, trying to cope the practices and decisions specific to each stage of the family life. And second, the feminist theories, the theoretical perspective most strongly opposed to functionalism which unfolds the role of gender in the division of work within the couple.

1.2.2 The family life course framework.

The first approaches to this theoretical framework defined families as social groups that are influenced by development processes -as is the case with individuals- in which families experience a life cycle with clearly defined stages, so that it is necessary to study them as a dynamic unit, and not as a simply set of static in time individuals (Smith et al., 2008). From this perspective, the family is composed of social roles and relationships that change with the pass of each stage of life to the next one (Klein & White, 1996).

This perspective defines that families have a life cycle that is more or less common to all of them and that operates as a frame of reference. Thus, it is possible to predict the development of families and knowing what to expect from them giving the different stages of their life cycle (Duvall, 1957). According to this perspective, families have a history of development marked by periods of dynamic action and intervals of relative calm, which changes respond to two great moments: the moment of expansion corresponding to birth and child rearing, and the moment of contraction when the children leave the home of the birth family (Duvall, 1957, Duvall and Miller, 1985). This emerges from the recognition of successive patterns through the continuous development of the family over time, however each family will follow this process in its particular way, in the same way that individuals follow a single life cycle with a particular history (Duvall, 1967).

The family life cycle is characterized according to three criteria: number of positions within the domestic group (father-mother-child, number of children, etc.); distribution according to the ages of the members; changes in family roles; and the role of

the head of the domestic group from the time is professionally active until the moment of retirement (Segalen, 2006). These elements allow to identify different stages in family life since the rearing stage to the empty nest and finally, the old age.

According to Duvall and Miller (1985) families in the rearing stage are in a critical moment. The arrival of a child brings a series of challenges that families must face. The family expands physically and emotionally; new roles emerge as that of mother or father; and the couple must now negotiate how they will share the new responsibilities of child care, while reorganizing the previously assigned tasks of home maintenance (Duvall and Miller, 1985). Infants are completely dependent on their parents to eat, dress, shelter and have good health; parents are also responsible for nurturing the cognitive and emotional needs of their children because they require a safe and stimulating environment for their proper development. Preschool children require structure in game and activities, and benefit from intense parental involvement, which means that they require physical attention, as well as cognitive and emotional parenting (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). In addition to the economic and emotional pressure that this involves, the couple must face the challenge of maintaining their own relationship, which puts the love bond to the limit (Smith et al., 2009).

Even though the family life cycle perspective gave an important response to functionalism, it will be the focus of many criticisms. It is criticised mainly because the family stages defined do not considered the determinant influence of historic period and sociocultural context but is the particular reflection of the North American middle class family from the second half of the twenty century. Jean Cuisenier (1977) elaborate an important part of this criticism saying that although the definition of life stages is value as a descriptive resource, he criticizes it in two senses: first it eliminates any type of family organization that is not sanctioned legally, then what happens to non-marital cohabitation? What is the life cycle of the divorced? What about single mothers? Second, the proposed model does not incorporate the transformations in family structure, as well as the withdrawal of the authoritarian paternal image. Moreover, it is difficult to transfer the same model of cycle stages to other social contexts in time and space. (Cuisenier, 1977).

All of these criticisms merge into a latent tension in the study of the family: on one side, the family conceived as the set of related individuals (husband-wife, father-son, etc.); in the other side, the family conceived according to the functions it fulfils, which does not occupy the same place in all societies (Segalen, 2006).

In response to these tensions, a family life course will subsequently be developed. While the family cycle measures the changes in the family as it moves from one stage to the next as a collective unit, the family life course will concern for both individual and collective development and the problems that arise in their synchronization processes, bringing more dynamism to family processes. Rather than identifying stages, this approach examines transitions, it follows the changes of individuals through different family configurations, and analyses the determinants of those changes (Haveren, 1978). This assessment will inspire a large part of longitudinal family studies in social research.

According to Bengtson and Allen (1993) the family life course perspective will broaden the framework to include additional factors, such as different time perspectives (ontogenetic, generational and historical), micro and macro social contexts, and the increasing diversity and complexity of the family over time. This theoretical line emphasizes the importance of the social context in which family changes occur, and the meanings that individuals give to changes through the course of their lives (Bengtson & Allen, 1993). Following this perspective even when the family is the primary socialization agent, people are also influenced by peers, school, religion, culture, the State, the neighbourhood; and this diversity of factors should be incorporated into any social analysis of the family, as well as ethnic, racial, geographic, or religious differences and their influence on the development thereof (Bengtson & Allen, 1993).

From this perspective the family is a microsocial group in a macrosocial context, that is, a kinship group that share a history and interact within the changing social context and through time and space, and where cultural meanings play a fundamental role. For each event, cultural values give meaning to changes in families, and those meanings can be very different between one cultural context and another (Bengston and Allen, 1993).

The family life course perspective nonetheless, does not deepen or problematize the forms of division of work in the family between men and women along these stages, but assumes them as a symbolic framework of elements in which families and individuals are coupled and adapted. The feminist perspective will seek to deepen these elements by questioning what is called a sense of nature in the assignment of sexual roles in the family and work, exerting a harder response to functionalism with the concept of gender roles.

1.2.3 Feminist theories

Feminism has had an important impact on the sociological analysis of family and gender, but this impact has not been unitary or uniform since it has been developed through different perspectives. Many of them have referred to the institution of the family and its definitions, the meaning of marriage, the experience of motherhood, and the historical separation of women's family roles with respect to paid work or political activity (Budig, 2006).

Considering the evolution of families -from the incorporation of the extended kin to the new family forms of couples without children; from the couples where men take the role of provider and women the role of care, to the couples where both work outside the home- the familiar form that the feminist perspective has been mostly critical, is the nuclear patriarchal type. The family composed by a couple of heterosexual married spouses with children is considered by most functionalist theorists as the optimal way to conform a family, relegating other family forms to the status of 'broken', 'vulnerable' or 'fragile' (Budig, 2004). It is precisely this form of isolated nuclear family that made the first wave of feminist thought emerge, since many feminists considered it to be the most oppressive form for women, thus establishing a frontal critique to functionalism and its definition of gender roles in the family.

The feminist tradition questions the sense of nature by which functionalism explains the sexual division of roles in modern society, arguing that the level of economic contribution of woman to her family has historically determined the degree of power and

prestige that she has both in family and society (Huber, 1991). From a social stratification viewpoint, the feminist theory states that in every society most of power and prestige falls on those who control the distribution of valuable assets in the family (Huber, 1991). Women's salaries are significantly lower than men's, reflecting cultural gender definitions that puts male over female role in the public sphere. Thus, if the power in the couple depends on the economic contribution to the household, the lower income obtained by women will relegate them to a second place in the family.

According to anthropologist Margaret Mead (1949) gender behaviours are largely cultural formations and definitions rather than any form of natural or genetic endowment. This suggests that gender practices are relative to the cultural context that in modern Western societies imply a radical separation of spheres between male and female (Mead, 1949). Based on the work of Mary Wollstonecraft about women's rights (1792/1978), Simone de Beauvoir (1949/2012) went further on Mead's argument explaining that in a patriarchal culture the masculine is set up as the positive or the norm, while the feminine is set up as the negative, the unessential, at the end, the other. The otherness for women lies in the reproductive aptitudes and the division of labour connected to those aptitudes, hence for Beauvoir the solution is the imbrication of women in the public sphere through education and work, although she recognized the difficulty of overcoming the biological imperative.

Even though the negative mark by which Beauvoir described women's reproductive labour has been criticised, she achieved the idea that women are in an inferior position in the public sphere of production (White et al., 2015). And because of the gender definitions in Western modern societies, the contemporary triple overlap of family, economy and gender -reformed by the continuous technological change- continues to affect differentially the status of women and men in society (Huber, 1991). This picture becomes especially critical with the presence of children and the cost-benefit ratio derived from their presence, as it increases the opportunity cost of women's time but not men's, who culturally carry less responsibility in child rearing (Huber, 1991). According to Collins (1988), although both men and women face this triple superposition (family-economy-gender) in their daily lives,

they do not respond in the same way to it due to gender definitions of male and female roles.

More recently, Hochschild (1989/2012) describes that there are three types of marital roles ideologies or codes in modern families responding to power negotiation: traditional (modern values), transitional and egalitarian. These constitute phases of modern family development representing the gender codes that operate in the intimate life. The traditional phase consists in the clear segregation of sexual roles in work, segregation that was the focus of interest of literature: men oversee paid work, while women are in charge of domestic labour (including care of children). The modern code prescribes asymmetrical rules of deference and leads to consider appropriate the fact that women have less power than men. Whatever power men have, they do not obtain it only through their position in the general social order, but also through personal relationships, especially within the family (Hochschild, 2012). At the other extreme, the egalitarian phase constitutes the scenario where men and women have an equitable distribution of paid and domestic work, so that men acquire greater prominence in the home. Within this code the differences lose emphasis and women enjoy the same power as men (Hochschild, 2008). The transitional phase, on the other hand, consists in the moment woman enters into the labour market (first shift) but maintaining a predominant weight in the responsibility of domestic and parenting activities (second shift) previously described in the first half of gender revolution.

Through Hochschild's confirmation of the second shift, a certain failure of liberal feminist thinking was observed by critics to see that even though women entered the public sphere, they still carry the most of domestic labour. Other critics exclaim the class bias that liberal feminist established by focusing only on women who do not work for pay, or by assuming that all jobs will develop the talents and freedom of women (Budig, 2004). In this sense, liberal feminism has ignored the life experiences of lower social class or non-white women, who historically have always worked outside the home, especially in unskilled jobs (such as babysitters or caregivers, among others), which can be considered more oppressive than performing those same tasks in the home environment (Hooks, 2000).

Feminism in Latin America has taken the cultural approaches that have tried to answer the question of why the gendered division of labour is produced and is maintained over time and generations. In Latin America Evelyn Stevens (1973) explains that there is a dual mechanism called 'Machismo-Marianism' that illustrates the distribution of roles based on cultural gender criteria. 'Machismo' is a form of cult of virility, which is characterized by the exaltation of aggressiveness and, arrogance and sexual assault in interpersonal relationships between men and women. Stevens argues that 'Marianism' is as prevalent as machismo in Latin American societies and consists in a mechanism of feminine idealization based on the precepts of Catholic religious' culture, manifested through the Virgin Mary, mother of Jesus. This idealized femininity favours the emergence of a series of beliefs about the spiritual and moral superiority of women over men, which in turn had the function of legitimating their subordinate domestic functions. Therefore, Latin American mestizo cultures exhibit a well-defined pattern of beliefs and behaviours based on the popular acceptance of an ideal woman. This stereotype, as also happens with the male as a counterpart, is present in all social classes (Montecino, 1990). Among the characteristics that this feminine ideal originates is the semi-divinity of women, their moral superiority and their spiritual strength. And is this spiritual strength that promotes self-denial, that is, an infinite capacity for humility and sacrifice (Stevens, 1973).

1.3 Recent evidence.

The way in which gender is assigned to domestic labour has become a recurrent topic of discussion, debate and research. Studies from the last twenty years can be divided between those that seek to analyse the impact of individual characteristics on the gendered division of domestic labour, and those that analyse the impact of macro-social or contextual characteristics through cross-national studies. More recently, studies seek to model the joint influence of both type of characteristics, assessing which elements of the context modify the impact of individual level factors on the division of domestic labour. All these empirical attempts respond to the main theoretical frameworks previously discussed (Hook, 2006; Shelton, 2006; Drobnič and Ruppanner, 2015).

1.3.1 Micro-social mechanisms of the division of domestic labour.

Previous research has established the main mechanisms that explain the gendered division of domestic labour at the individual level, and there are three explanations that have tended to dominate social research. All of them try to empirically test the three mayor theories previously presented: (a) the relative resources perspective that emerged from functionalism, (b) the time availability perspective that emerged from the life course perspective, and (c) the gender ideology perspective that raised from the feminist theory. There is evidence to support all these explanations, but none of them succeeded in substantially explaining the division of domestic labour by itself (Bianchi et al., 2000; Hook, 2006).

Following functionalism and the microeconomic theory, the relative resources perspective claims that families function better when spouses specialize in different spheres, responding to a rational allocation of work that seek to maximize the efficiency of the household: men, in the market sphere and women in the sphere of reproduction (Becker, 1987/2009). According this, spouses have different comparative advantages for market and domestic labour, which is especially clear in the case of women and their child-

rearing natural skills (biological advantage). Studies that support this perspective have sought to test the association between the difference in the educational level or earnings among partners and the distribution of domestic labour, showing that greater education or salary implies greater power for negotiation of roles in the couple. Specifically, evidence shows that the greater education or income that one has with respect to the other, the less amount of domestic labour (Coltrane et al., 2004, Evertsson and Nermo, 2007, Rizavi and Sofer, 2008, Román, 2011, Raley et al., 2012, Lam et al., 2012, Domínguez-Folgueras, 2012, Baxter and Hewitt, 2013, Ajenjo and García, 2014).

However, some studies have found partial or openly contradictory evidence about this thesis, because even when woman is the one who holds the power in the relationship (greater earnings or education than her partner) and the work gap tend to decline between partners, she always has a greater proportion of domestic labour (Greenstein, 2000; Evertsson and Nermo, 2004; Killewald and Goug, 2010; Bertrand et al., 2013; Gracia, 2014; Fetterolf and Rutmann, 2014; Bittmann, 2015; Latshaw and Hale, 2015). Other studies indicate that the association between income or education and domestic labour share is relative to the magnitude of woman's own characteristics, and not related to her partner's, thus it is woman's income and education that influences her own domestic workload (Gupta, 2007; Gupta and Ash, 2008; Schneider, 2011; Amarante and Rossel, 2017). Nonetheless, this association is not that clear when it comes to care of children, since some evidence have shown that grater income and greater education is associated with longer care time, which is linked to a more intensive parenting specially among the most highly educated people (Sayer et al., 2004, Mannino and Deutsch, 2007, Guryan et al., 2008, Gimenez-Nadal and Molina, 2013, Sullivan et al., 2014, Dotti and Treas, 2016).

The time availability perspective suggests that the gendered division of domestic labour is established through a calculation that considers household members and ages, the amount of work that must be done and the capacity to respond to it according to other loads like paid work hours, seeking to maximize family interests (Hiller, 1984; Coverman, 1985). This perspective raises the importance of the connection between paid work demands and the organization of domestic labour, as well as the imbrication of both

elements in family life course, being an especially critical moment when raising children (England and Farkas, 1986). The presence of children in the household has an important impact in the total amount of domestic labour that couples need to achieve. Research usually supports this saying that the presence of children increments the total domestic work hours. Nonetheless, as a counterpart, the more paid work hours a partner spends, the less time occupy in domestic tasks (Beaujot and Andersen, 2007, Casique, 2008, Pinto and Coltrane, 2009, González and Jurado, 2009, Esquivel, 2012, Schober, 2013, Cosp and Román, 2014, Gracia, 2014, Dechant and Blossfeld, 2015, Dominguez-Folgueras, 2015, Menniti et al., 2015, Gracia and Esping-Andersen, 2015).

The snapshot picture in the twenty century shows most mothers and fathers in the paid labour force in most industrialized countries, although mothers -especially mothers of toddlers- are less likely to be in paid work than fathers and childless women (Dex, 2004). Therefore, the presence of children affects men and women differently, being the mother who assumes the greater share of the domestic labour, especially care (Sayer, 2005; Kimmel and Connelly, 2007, Dribe and Stanfors, 2009, Craig and Mullan, 2010, Kühhirt, 2011, Deding and Lausten, 2011, Amarante and Rossel, 2014, Bick, 2015, Roman and Cortina, 2015, Sosa and Román, 2015, Dominguez-Folgueras, 2015). Further, some studies show the differential effect of sons and daughters in the organization of care time, tending to a modern division when it comes to girls (Pollmann-Schult, 2015).

Finally, the gender ideology perspective that origins in the feminist tradition, seeks to reply to functionalism by stating that the division of domestic labour is a replication of gender relations in a society (Collins, 1991; Greenstein, 1996; Elson, 1999; Hochschild, 2003). From this perspective, the division of labour does not have a neutral meaning but refers to the cultural definitions of men and women that are settled in modern society and that constitute stable symbolic frames, placing women in the eminently biological role of motherhood, while men are placed in a productive role outside the home (Davis and Greenstein, 2009).

Following this perspective, the relative resources and time availability factors are indeed mirroring power relations between partners given the economic contribution that each of them bring to the household and the permanence of modern values in society, and do not respond naturally to specialization given comparative advantages. Thus, the experience of economic dependence in the couple, and male and female roles assigned by culture, conditions the ability of negotiation of the allocation of work within couples (Huber, 1991, Brines, 1994).

Studies have explored the association between gender roles beliefs and daily practices, finding that more egalitarian preferences tend to be associated with a more equal division of labour in the couple (Cunningham, 2008; Poortman and Van der Lippe, 2009; Kraaykamp, 2012; Carlson and Lynch, 2013; Aassve et al., 2014; Evertsson, 2014; Grunow and Baur, 2014; Nitsche and Grunow, 2016). Nonetheless, authors point out that the change in gender beliefs is somewhat complex and uneven, sometimes reflecting inconsistent discourses and practices (Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2014). Likewise, some studies show that gender ideologies do not necessarily have a direct effect on the organization of domestic labour, but their influence is moderated by couples' relative resources and time constraints (Cunningham, 2005; Fuochi et al. al., 2014).

Cultural differences might be seen in the type of union that couples establish, thus some studies have analysed the differences between marriage and cohabitation in the way couples allocate labour. The main hypothesis is that the type of union responds to the same symbolic backgrounds that reflect gender ideology. In this sense, some evidence support that married couples tend to divide labour in a modern fashion, while couples in informal cohabitation divide it more equally (Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Baxter, 2005, Davis et al., 2007, Domínguez-Folgueras, 2012, Meggiolaro, 2014, Bianchi et al., 2014). However, other studies indicate that these differences disappear after controlling for socioeconomic factors, which seem to be on the basis of the explanation, that is to say, independent from the type of union, more educated couples tend to divide labour more equally (Kendig and Bianchi, 2008).

1.3.2 Macro-social elements of the division of domestic labour.

During the last ten years, research has tended to study the macro-social factors that influence the gendered division of domestic labour, through testing both the direct impact of this factors and the interactions of micro and macro social variables, to deepen in the complexity of the gender relations in contemporary Western societies (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). In general, these studies seek to compare the political, economic and cultural context of industrialized countries where couples negotiate the division of labour, evaluating how these contexts affect the gendered division of domestic labour. However, the evidence on Latin American countries or other national contexts is very scarce.

Scholars have argued that the context can affect the gendered division of domestic labour when policies, norms or institutions increase or reduce the economic or subjective benefits of adopting the ‘man-provider / woman-caregiver’ family model (Hook, 2006; Treas and Lui, 2013). Thus, women’s paid work (first half of the gender revolution) and its influence on male participation in the domestic sphere (second half of the revolution) is moderated by the larger social context where these relationships are embedded.

Studies focused on macrosocial aspects have addressed different elements of the national context, such as the economic development, social policy and cultural gender norms. Researchers that observe the role of countries’ economic development on the way couples divide labour, have analysed different macroeconomic indicators, being female labour force participation one of the most considered. Evidence indicate that in countries with higher female labour force participation, male spend more time in domestic chores (Hook, 2006 and 2010; Sayer and Gornick, 2011; Treas and Tai, 2012; Dotti, 2014). One aspect to consider is the importance of flexibility of labour markets, since low levels of flexibility favour that couples divide work in modern terms, because women do not find family compatible job opportunities (Cha and Thébaud, 2009). On the other hand, even though countries’ economic development favour more equal couples’ domestic arrangements through women’s public sphere imbrication, it has a limit in the way labour market and

social policy allow the work-family reconciliation (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008, van der Lippe, 2010, Heisig, 2011).

Evidence from the gender norms perspective indicates that the permanence of modern cultural values with respect to gender and the family establishes limits to the development of egalitarian forms of division of labour (Nordenmark, 2004, Stier et al., 2007, Kunovich and Kunovic, 2008; Davis and Greenstein, 2009, Lachance-Gzrela and Bouchard, 2010, Thébaud, 2010, Geist and Cohen, 2011, Goñi-Legaz et al., 2010, Aassve et al., 2014). From this perspective, countries with greater gender equality reflects the growth of feminist values in society, thus where women have greater empowerment social norms tend to favour the development of more equal arrangements within couples. Some studies have analysed the importance of the Measure of Gender Empowerment (GEM), a United Nations index that incorporates indicators of professional opportunities for women, economic power and political participation (United Nations, 2004). These studies -that consider mainly European and English speaker countries- have found that couples living in more egalitarian societies (i.e. where women have achieved more presence in the public sphere), tend to divide domestic labour more equally (Fuwa, 2004; Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Ruppanner, 2010; Campaña et al., 2015). Also, more recent evidence points out that countries where public opinion supports egalitarian gender ideologies tends to have more prevalence of equitable division of labour within the couples (Treas and Tai, 2016). Nonetheless, even in the most egalitarian countries women tend to spend more time in domestic chores, especially in child and elderly care (Craig and Mullan, 2011).

Finally, studies that undertake the analysis of social policy considers that institutional frameworks and conciliation policies influence the way in which couples organize responsibilities and time regarding their private sphere, institutions and policies that in turn reflect cultural gender values from a society (Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005; Fuwa and Cohen, 2007; Hook, 2010; Prince and Baxter, 2010; Noonan, 2013; Sauma, 2013; Neilson and Stanfors, 2014; Blofield and Martínez, 2014; Maume, 2015; Kleider, 2015, Pedulla and Thébaud, 2015, Edlund and Öun, 2016). Evidence points to the importance of public child care policy, as countries with greater state support for care of children favour a greater

women's labour force participation. Nonetheless, there is discussion about the possible discriminatory effect in women's job hiring given the costs associated with pro-maternity policies (Hennig, et al., 2012). On the other hand, these policies do not necessarily promote more egalitarian practices of domestic labour, since the need for male work is replaced with public care services, it is rather female labour force participation what in long term might favour men's imbrication in the domestic sphere (Windebank, 2001, Crompton and Lyonette, 2006, Kan et al., 2011).

Likewise, when couples can outsource care and housework through private services, although the total workload of women decreases, men's workload does not increase equally (Heisig, 2011, Craig and Baxter, 2016). However, countries that promote paid parental leave for fathers do seem to favour a more equal distribution of domestic labour, at least during the leave period (Hook, 2006, Sullivan et al., 2009, Kotsadam and Finseraas, 2011, Bünning and Pollmann-Schult, 2015; Romero-Balsas, 2015; Bünning, 2015). Although there is few and contradictory evidence on whether these dynamics are perpetuated or not over time (Almqvist and Duvander, 2014; Evertsson et al., 2015).

1.4 Hypothesis

The general hypotheses that sustain this dissertation are based on the literature previously described and intend to assess in an integrated manner the question for the determinants of the second half of the gender revolution in contemporary societies. That is, what factors are reducing or widening the gender gap in time spent in domestic chores? And more specifically, what elements are favouring or hindering men's imbrication in the domestic sphere? Using both national (Chile) and cross-national perspective, each hypothesis will be addressed and specified in the following empirical chapters, according to respectively specific analysis proposed.

Hypothesis 1: Relative resources between partners influence the bargaining process, leaving more domestic labour to those who have fewer assets to negotiate.

The experience of economic dependence matters for the way couples divide domestic labour, being the dependent partner more likely to have the greater share of house and care work. The main economic provider of the household justifies a lesser presence in domestic tasks through the earnings produced in the public sphere, while the dependent part assumes the maintenance of domestic responsibilities. Education favour a more equal division of domestic labour since more educated partners display more egalitarian practices.

Hypothesis 2: Time availability influence the division of domestic labour within couples affecting men and women differently. The way couples allocate domestic labour respond to time limitations that comprise a sum of elements: household members, the workload related to their presence, partner's time available to cope with it, the presence of domestic service or the capacity of some other family members to assume part of the workload functioning as informal social support. While children and other dependents tend to bring greater burden to women widening the gender gap in domestic work, elderly have a dual influence both relieving women's housework responsibilities but also bringing them more care needs. Domestic service is associated with a reduction in women's own time in domestic chores, thus reducing the gender gap.

Hypothesis 3. Gender norms influence the way couples divide domestic labour.

Cultural norms about gender and labour define women's and men's place in society and thus might influence couples' division of labour practices. Modern values and beliefs about gender are associated with modern arrangements in the division of domestic labour, reflecting the consistency between the meanings domain and social action within the couple. Moreover, cultural norms are observed in the way women has been imbricated in the public sphere, and in the way States develop specific social policy that either reinforce or not women's role in the domestic sphere. Couples that live in countries with greater

gender equality tend to display more equal domestic arrangements. Likewise, couples that live in countries with policies that favour male imbrication in the domestic sphere tend to divide work more equally.

2

Chapter Two

Concept, Measurement and Research Strategies

2.1 Introduction

The study of the gendered division of domestic labour has to cope with concepts, measures and research strategies that are in constant debate in the academic community. First, the conceptualization of domestic labour has been vague since this type of work has been relatively invisibilized in modern societies and the interest of social research over this topic has growth during the last decades. Hence, social research has established conceptualization first through the opposition to paid work and then, through the development of measures.

Domestic labour measure methodologies have been also relevant subjects of discussion. The difficulty of observing private life, the measurement bias derived from the different data collection techniques, social desirability and other methodological limitations, make social research of domestic labour especially problematic.

Finally, research strategies have also changed in recent decades, from observing individual dynamics to macro-level factors. This evolution has revealed important knowledge lags in contexts less observed like Latin American countries.

In the next pages a general discussion will be placed about the way academics has observed the gendered division of domestic labour, analysing the potential advantages and disadvantages of different research schemes and exposing the main proposal ideas of this study.

2.2 The concept of domestic labour

In most studies the concept of domestic labour (household labour, housework, family work or other synonyms used in literature) is rarely defined explicitly, except when the term is explained by the variables that are used to measure it or when scholars describe whether care work is included in the concept or not (Coltrane, 2000). However, from these elements, a consistent conceptualization has emerged in previous literature that considers domestic labour as the unpaid work done to maintain family members and/or a home (Shelton and John, 1996). Therefore, other types of 'invisible' work are typically excluded from the analysis (e.g. child minding or emotional support) (Daniels, 1987).

The absence of a clear conceptualization has led to problems concerning evidence comparability as scholars use different measures to define domestic labour, mainly due to data limitations (Kroska, 2004). Some of them observe routine housework (e.g. cooking, shopping, cleaning and laundry), some others consider less routine tasks (e.g. paying bills, gardening, house repairs), while others include child care or care of elderly. Some scholars use all these categories together without distinguishing the type of work, others separate them. However, the lack of attention to care and emotional work continue to be a major deficiency of social research (Erikson, 2005; Coltrane, 2010).

In this study domestic labour comprises all type of unpaid work that serves household members and house maintenance. Given the different type of data sources available the measures of domestic labour will differ in the next chapters, however all of them are indicators of the gendered division of domestic labour, separating the time spent in housework and care work. This distinction is relevant because meanings and expectation about specific tasks are differentiated by gender. Women tend to show a positive valuation and higher identification with care work and core routine household chores than men, while men tend to present a positive evaluation of less frequent activities like household repairs or gardening (Kroska, 2003). The range of positive and powerful (love, care or concern) and negative and weak (subordination, powerlessness) meanings associated with

domestic labour and the gender segregation of those meanings, have been documented in several studies, especially of qualitative methods (Olavarria, 2004; Kirkpatrick, 2005; Rehel, 2014; Young et al., 2015; Poortman and Van der Lippe, 2009; Hauser, 2012 and 2015).

Regarding this study, in the first empirical chapter (Chapter Three) the analysis will separate housework and care work without distinguishing the type of work within those categories. In the second empirical chapter the focus is on the distinction between routine housework and childcare (Chapter Four). While in the final chapter, the focus moves to the separation of housework in routine/non-routine work and child care (Chapter Five). This responds mainly to the relation between the analysis of the hypothesis proposed and the available data sources for that purpose.

2.3 Measurement

Previous research has used different measure strategies to analyse domestic labour, and usually is from the way it is measured that the definition of the concept arises. Earlier studies in the home economics tended to measure absolute hours of total household labour for all male and females, but more recent studies have tended to focus on couple dynamics, preferring the use of proportional measures and data collected for men and women in the same household (Shelton and John, 1996).

The most often used sources of information are time-diaries and survey questions. In time diary studies, randomly selected individuals are asked to fill diaries to account for the time spent on various activities (typically for a 24-hour period). This type of data is considered to be the most accurate estimates of time use, but usually tends to fail in collect other individual relevant information such as attitudes, preferences or perceptions (Coltrane and Shih, 2009). Diary-keeping is a rather burdensome activity for respondents, so it is problematic to include a broader questionnaire to gather other important variables for research (Kan and Pudney, 2008). Other limitation of time-diaries is the difficulty in

dealing with tasks performed simultaneously (Warner, 1986). Usually it is asked to log the main and the secondary activity done in a determinate period; some scholars only consider the main activity, while other consider both, tending the latter to have a higher estimation of time use (Lee and Waite, 2005).

The use of direct questions in stylized surveys about time spent in domestic chores range from questions about the respondents estimate of their usual time spent on a list of activities to those questionnaires in which respondents indicate how much time they usually spend on domestic labour in general (housework or care work), thus estimating an average time. In this type of survey respondents need to perform two difficult tasks: (1) to recall their activities in the recent past and (2) to carry out an appropriated calculation of the average time spent on those activities. Therefore, doubts about the accuracy of stylized surveys rest first on the difficulty of the respondent's report which might lead to measurement error, and second on the possibility that the respondent chooses a pre-existing (and possible inaccurate) self-image or a preferred self-representation (Kan and Pudney, 2008).

Consequently, stylized estimates have shown the presence of systematic error; however, the main source of error is randomness, with the variance of measurement error being much larger than what occurs for diary estimates. Also, the measurement error bias is larger when time-use variable is used as an explanatory factor rather than a dependent variable (Kan and Putney, 2008; Kan, 2008).

Nonetheless, time-diary methods are not error-free. The recall error while completing the diaries or the selection of days that might be unrepresentative of normal activities, are important sources of error (Niemi, 1993). However, the few studies that have compared time-diary to direct-question data have shown that the main difference is that direct questionnaires produce higher time estimates than time diaries, and this overestimation is given especially in short lasting activities or actions that have time interruptions, typically some domestic chores (Marini and Shelton, 1993; Robinson, 2002; Bonke, 2004).

Despite the differences between the estimates strategies, both methods –time diaries and stylised surveys- often reveal roughly similar patterns of variation between different social groups, and although stylized estimates are less accurate and reliable than time-diaries, they provide a useful classification of individuals' time use, especially for multivariate analyses for topics such as the division of domestic labour (Baxter and Bittman, 1995; Robinson, 1985; Jacobs, 1998; Juster et al., 2003; Schulz and Grunow, 2011). Moreover, direct questions usually included in national, regional and local surveys have the benefit of being able to incorporate other relevant dimensions that cover a broader range of topics, thus allowing the test of theories or the exploration of new theoretical mechanisms (Coltrane and Shih, 2009).

In addition to time-diaries and direct questions, other measures focus on who performs specific tasks rather than how much time is spent on those activities. This type of measures asks for who is the main responsible for specific tasks most of the time, or for the proportion of work assumed by specific household members (e.g. wife always, wife usually, both wife and husband, husband usually, husband always does a home task) (Shelton and John, 1996). This type of questions seems to reflect similar estimates than the ones collected from time diaries (Sullivan, 1997).

Besides differences in how domestic labour is measured, there is also variability regarding the person who provides the information of time use or tasks responsibilities (Shelton and John, 1996). Some instruments ask one member of the household to report the estimates of all members' time use, while others have each member reporting their own time use and responsibilities. It has been observed that respondents tend to overestimate their own housework time and to underestimate the time use of other household members (Kamo, 2000; Lee and Waite, 2005).

Because data sources are limited, researchers have tended to conform with whatever measures of domestic labour time use are available and then must contend with the difficulties of comparing their results with other studies (Shelton and John, 1996). In the present research, given data availability and their adequacy to cope with the research

hypothesis, three types of data sources are used: (1) stylized survey that collect the weekly average time use in domestic labour reported by one member of the couple (Chapter Three), (2) stylized survey that ask for who is the main responsible of selected domestic tasks most of the time reported by one partner (Chapter Four) and (3) time-diaries that collect retrospectively the activities carried out during one week day (24-hour period) in which the respondents reported only their own information (Chapter Five). Each of the data sources will be detailed in the next chapters.

2.4 Research Strategies

As exposed in the theoretical background (Chapter One), the progress of social research regarding the gendered division of domestic labour has moved from an individual determinants concern to a cross-national or comparative perspective.

In the beginning, studies focused on the factors that explain the larger presence of women in the domestic sphere, as well as the elements that favour their inclusion into labour force. Then, initial studies of domestic labour observed mainly housework (especially routine home tasks) trying to address the hidden dynamics of power and privilege, complementarity and caring, inspired by the theoretical questions about the maintenance of capitalism, patriarchy and gender (Hartmann, 1981; Davis and Wills, 2014; Allen, 2016). Studies observed the personal preferences, gender identities, and the individual circumstances that made possible particular domestic arrangements (Coltrane, 2000). However, the micro-level focus fails to analyse the elements beyond the household, in the broader society, where cultural scripts and social institutions channel individual practices in particular directions (Treas and Lui, 2013).

Consequently, during the last fifteen years, comparative studies began to ask how country-level differences constrain the alternatives for organizing private life. According with this recent academic shift, scholars argue that social institutions tend to shape the

division of domestic labour at the same time they are challenged or reinforced by the way couples organize their responsibilities (Dex, 2004).

Macro-level research has the advantage to bring a wider picture of cultural differences and their influence over actions in the private sphere. Nonetheless it has the restriction of data availability and comparability between countries. Also, great part of the evidence is centred in the most developed countries, contexts where micro-level research have had a large advance progress (Treas and Drobnič, 2010).

The present study starts with the recognition of social research bias observed through the strong expansion of studies based on developed societies and the relative absence of evidence from other institutional, cultural and social contexts like Latin American countries. Therefore, I will try to join the recent macro-level research debate, by incorporating Latin American countries in the comparative analysis of contextual factors for couples' division of domestic labour (Chapter Three). Then I will examine a particularly less observed country as is Chile through the study of the micro-level dynamics that help to understand the gendered division of domestic labour, and specifically the second half of the gender revolution in that context (Chapters Four and Five). Unfortunately, given the cross-sectional nature of the data, and given the analysis strategies proposed, it is not possible to infer causality. The main objective of this research is to examine associations that help to explain the gendered division of domestic labour.

3

Chapter Three

National context of gender equality and family policy for
the gendered division of domestic labour.

3.1 Introduction

Everywhere women do more housework and care work than men, but there are differences by country in the size of the average gap in time use between partners (Drobnič and Ruppanner, 2015). To scope this gender gap, previous social research has analysed the way different factors may influence the division of domestic labour with mixed empirical results. These studies have been separated in micro and macro-social perspectives presenting diverging explanations for couples' bargaining process in which finally domestic labour, and especially care work, remains more a women's than a men's task (Bianchi and Milkie, 2010).

As explained in Chapter One, in the micro-social perspective some of the explanations include the importance of the relative resources, time availability or gender ideology. In the macro-social perspective, studies have observed the role of countries' characteristics on couples' division of unpaid work, showing the importance of national context for a better understanding of this phenomenon (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). Some of the country-level dimensions analysed to explain those gender gaps include the gender equality context and the role of the welfare policy regimes, specifically the impact of certain family policies, which in fact reflect greater gender cultural scripts (Treas and Lui, 2013).

However, three observations emerge from previous literature. First, most of the evidence –both for micro and macro social perspectives- is based on the developed world, excluding other cultural and economic contexts as Asia or Latin America (Davis, 2010). Second, unpaid work has been mainly observed through routine household labour, sometimes including care work in the same category, while others excluding it from the analysis (Coltrane, 2010). Both are in fact distinct activities and have different nature and cultural connotation, but if the target is to develop an integrative micro and macro-social framing, then it is necessary to include and distinguish both type of work in the analysis. Third, both micro and macro-level perspectives have been used as separated framings that

haven't been recognized as part of a larger social structure of gender inequalities which is more complex to capture (Coltrane, 2010; Ferree, 2010). In fact, there is a lack of evidence with respect to the role of national context as a moderator of micro-social mechanisms.

In this chapter I analyse the importance of macro-social factors on the gendered division of domestic labour controlling for two of the most documented micro social determinants in previous studies: relative resources, and time availability. The aim of this chapter is to evaluate how national context circumstances may have an influence on the way couples allocate labour, either directly or moderating the effect of individual factors. Using a broader sample of countries than previous literature, I focus on the role of country-level gender equality and social policy on couples' bargaining process for the division of domestic labour.

3.2 Background

A decrease in gender specialization has been observed in selected countries since 1960's, being primarily attributed to the cultural and institutional context that favour women's incorporation to labour markets (e.g. women's access to education, public child care services, parental leave, prevalence of part-time work), and to changes in domestic labour nature (Hook, 2010; Anxo et al., 2011). Regarding the last, some studies have shown that although women spend increasingly less time in some domestic chores (e.g. cooking, doing laundry), this is the result of a decrease in the social standard requirements and the increase in the use of services or prepared substitutes, and not necessarily to male replacement on those activities (Van der Lippe et al., 2004; Bianchi et al., 2006).

Cultural and institutional contexts, for its part, constitute the more recent interest in social research in which Western European countries has been investigated more vigorously (Aassve et al., 2014). Although following different patterns, evidence have shown that country after country what change has occurred in the gendered division of domestic

labour has mostly been due to women, who have abandoned more housework than men have taken on (Sayer, 2010).

Moreover, contemporary research tries to link the circumstances of individuals to the social institutions of a society posing gender as a critical dimension of differentiation and inequality, connecting women's micro-level disadvantages to broader social structures (Treas & Tai, 2016). While micro-level research has often focused on a single country and analysed man's and woman's relative shares of housework -and eventually care work- macro-level empirical studies have addressed many different concerns trying to reach the multiple and inter-related origins of gendered practices. Among them, the development of women in the public sphere observed through gender equality national measures, and social policy regarding work and family, are relevant elements considered in the developing literature (Treas & Lui, 2013). This chapter focuses on two country-level characteristics while controlling for respondent's characteristics reported to influence the division of domestic labour in previous literature: the countries' gender equality and the presence of paid paternity leave.

3.2.1 Gender equality context

Women's achievements constitute an important reference of gender cultural norms and expectations of a society. Countries where women are more empowered in public life also show greater gender equality in couple's housework because individual women's power is "nested" in the gender power relationship of the macro-level, thus differences in country-level gender inequality -in wages, career trajectories, or political power- influence the effect of individual level factors on the division of labour (Blumberg, 1984). The less favourable macro level will act reducing the extent to which women can exercise their relative power at the more micro level; conversely, if women's relative power in the macro level is greater than in a particular micro level instance, the more favourable macro level will cushion women's less favourable micro level position (Blumberg, 1984). Hence, women's relative

power is a function of individual power resources and macro level male domination in economic, political and ideological spheres (Coltrane, 2000).

The Gender Empowerment Measure index (GEM) is constructed to measure women's agency within a country considering income, occupation and political representation and has been used to test the role of context on the way couples divide labour (Bardhan and Klasen, 1999). Previous studies have shown that the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) has a positive relationship with men's housework hours and with men and women's housework proportions (Batalova and Cohen, 2002; Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Ruppanner, 2010). Moreover, gender equality context seems to moderate the importance of individual factors that are related to it (economy and gender ideology), so for example woman's individual paid work status is significantly more effective in attaining a more egalitarian division of housework in more gender-egalitarian countries, and the individual gender ideology is also more effective in countries where women have achieved more presence in the public sphere (Fuwa, 2004). However, there are not formal test of the potential moderator role of gender equality context regarding other factors that may negatively affect the gendered division of domestic labour such as the women's economic dependence.

Regarding childcare, gender equality context has been less studied, mostly because care in general has been less analysed in the literature of the gendered division of labour. Attitudes about raising children develop within a social context, and understandings about the proper care of children are, to a large extent, collectively produced, therefore individuals negotiate their beliefs, norms and values in the context of wider social networks, groups and settings (Duncan and Edwards, 2003). Unrevealing the association between macro level factors and individual practices is not straightforward, but comparative research offers an opportunity to observe how social context may interact with family processes to shape divisions of care (Craig and Mullan, 2011).

Few studies have compared countries with different gender equality contexts in the analysis and results picture the complexity of the matter. For one part, evidence show that

fathers in less egalitarian countries seem to spend more time in childcare, but their relative contribution compared with their female partners is smaller than fathers from more egalitarian countries. Also, fathers in more egalitarian countries show more intensive practices with their children reflecting a more involved childcare behaviour (Craig and Mullan, 2011; Gracia and Esping-Andersen, 2015). This evidence denotes the importance of observing both absolute and relative measures of time spent in childcare, however it has limitations since it uses only a limited number of countries, mostly from the developed world (Yu, 2015).

Also, The GEM index (the most used in literature) is limited in other ways. First, this index aims to represent women's greater societal status, but the mechanisms that foster gender empowerment may vary by country and by historical context, thus the measures may not be equivalent across nations. Second, the index dimensions and indicators may not be highly correlated, especially given that some of them are imposed by legislation (e.g. quotas for women's parliamentary representation); this is especially important considering that previous literature have mainly observed countries from Europe, North America and some developed nations of Asia (Klasen, 2007; Ruppanner, 2010; Charmes and Wieringa, 2010). The same observations have been made about other measures like the Gender Related Development Index (GDI), nonetheless this measure has been less analysed in recent literature (Klasen & Schüler, 2011; Permanyer, 2013).

Hypothesis a (H.a). *Couples from more gender egalitarian countries display a more equal division of domestic labour (housework and care work), than couples from less egalitarian countries.*

Hypothesis b (H.b). *Gender equality context moderate the influence of individual level factors; thus, women's lower earnings are less detrimental to a more equal division of domestic labour in more gender egalitarian countries.*

3.2.2 Family Policy

Institutions represent strategic context and shared cultural understandings that reveal and reproduce power relations within a society (Stinchcombe, 1997). Countries' social policy have shown to both reflect and reinforce the cultural scripts about gender that brace male and female roles in paid and unpaid work. Therefore, the question of interest of researchers is why gender inequalities in paid and unpaid work persisted across industrialized countries despite some impressive policy achievements over the past half century (Cooke, 2011).

Welfare state regimes are one way to describe the structural characteristics expected to affect the domestic division of labour because it reflects the specific models of gender relations, share ideology and opportunity structures (Esping-Andersen, 2009). Some types of welfare regimes influence the division of domestic labour by privileging certain domestic arrangements, such as the male breadwinner/female homemaker family model. Previous research show that equal sharing of housework by both partners is rare in conservative countries, regardless of their individual relative resources, time availability and gender ideology. Similarly, the absence of state support for domestic and childcare work in liberal regimes, may lead husbands to contribute more out of necessity. This suggests that the division of domestic labour is not only the consequence of micro level determinants, but also shaped by contextual factors (Widebank, 2001; Geist, 2005; Hook, 2010).

Even though some authors have argued that single policies are a poor indicator of the overall welfare state effort made to achieve policy goals (Gornick et al., 1997), they constitute a proxy of the gendered structural characteristic and expectations of a society, especially when it comes to work and family policies (Lewis, 2006; Budig et al., 2012). Accordingly, particular policies such as parental leave and protections against employment discrimination, have been shown to be associated with greater gender parity in household labour over European countries (Fuwa and Cohen, 2007). In this countries, policies that promote defamilialization has a positive impact on women's labour force participation and

a negative impact on women's share of household labour (Bünning & Pollmann-Schult, 2016; Kleider, 2015).

One of the social policies most studied in previous literature is paid parental leave, specifically paid parental leave reserved for fathers. This type of policy enables fathers to stay at home for a given period of time. By allowing them more time with their children, this policy may have a lasting impact on father's involvement in their family life (Duvander and Jans, 2009; Brady et al., 2016). Paternity leave (the period off work after birth reserved for fathers) seems to favour the father/child bond and to promote fathers' involvement in childcare (Almqvist & Duvander, 2014; Nepomnyaschy & Waldfogel, 2007; Bünning, 2015). Previous literature has focus on its influence over childcare, paternal involvement, child wellbeing or over perceptions regarding work-family conflict (Rege & Solli, 2010; Meil, 2011). A study that analysed the perceptions and practices of parents before and after the implementation of the paternity leave in Norway and found that work-family conflict perceptions diminished and that parents divided more equally the task of washing clothes (Kotsadaam & Finseraas, 2011). Hence, because it is a single policy focused on parents that usually is imposed to promote gender equality (Ray et al., 2010), living in a country that has paternity leave might not affect all couples' division of domestic labour, but it is possible to envision its potential role over parents' division of domestic labour through the moderation of children's 'modernizing' effect. Even so, evidence over the link between paternity leave and the division of domestic labour -including housework- is scarce and non-comparable.

Hypothesis c (H.c). *Paid paternity leave do not affect directly couples' division of labour. However, paid paternity leave moderates the influence of children on the division of housework and care work (time limitation). Having children is less unfavourable to a more equal division of domestic labour in countries that have this policy.*

3.3 Data, Measures, and Method

3.3.1 Data

The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) has conducted annual, comparable, nationally representative surveys in a wide variety of countries since 1984. It is well known for developing questions that are meaningful in all the countries, and for its care in translating survey items (Harkness and Schoua-Glusberg, 1998). I have used data from the 2012 survey on “Family and Changing Gender Roles”. The ISSP fielded the survey in 41 countries, but six countries were excluded due to data limitations, leading to a 34 countries sample, shown by region in Figure 1.

I limited the analytic sample to the couples (both married and cohabiting) in which the respondent was aged 18-55 to focus on economically active age respondents, trying to minimize the presence of retirement¹. In order to restrict the sample to couples that had a choice over how to divide labour, I dropped couples where at least one partner was permanently sick or disabled, unemployed but seeking work or in compulsory service. Respondents who were temporarily not working because of parental leave were asked to provide information about their normal work situation. I dropped the respondents who did not give numeric responses for work hours (answers like “varies” and “don’t know”) and non-responses were imputed to the mean. Also, I eliminated the cases that did not report their gender. Related to this, the respondent’s gender is known, but the respondent’s partner’s gender is not known. The assumption here that all partners are opposite-sex partners might lead to a slight underestimation of the extent to which division of labour falls along gendered lines. This left 14,102 respondents across the 34 countries with the required information for the analysis²; from whom 13,642 were analysed in their division of housework hours, and 10,364 on the division of care work hours.

¹ Ideally, I would have imposed this age restriction on both partners in the couple, but the respondent’s partner’s age was not available in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Philippines, Russia, or South Africa.

² All descriptive and explanatory analysis uses unweighted data.

3.3.1 Measures

Dependent variable

To measure how couples divided domestic labour, I used the number of hours per week the survey respondent reported spending 1) doing housework and 2) caring for other household members. Respondents also reported the number of hours their partner spent in the same domains. First, I used the reported respondent's sex to obtain her/his housework and care work hours (top-coded at 70 per week), then I used both type of labour separately in the analysis.

I constructed two sub-types of dependent variables: 1) the gross gap of weekly work hours in the couple (her minus his weekly household and care work hours), and 2) the proportional gap of weekly work hours in the couple, that is her proportional contribution for couples' total time spent in domestic work per week (her household and care work hours divided by the sum of domestic working hours of both partners per week). For descriptive purposes, I multiplied the later per one hundred. The second half of the gender revolution is observed in couples whose gap of time spent in domestic chores is close to zero, or when his domestic work hours exceed hers.

Individual-level explanatory variables

The independent variables included respondent's education, age and sex and her paid work hours per week as controls, and the key independent variables were organized as they measure the individual level mechanisms that were considered in the theoretical background: 1) for the relative resources perspective: the relative income between partners as a dichotomous variable having "she earns more than he" as the reference category; and 2) for the time availability perspective: whether there was a child in the household. A first limitation emerge as the relationship of the children in the household to the respondent is not known, meaning the sample includes not just biological parents but an unknown number of other families, e.g., step-parents and grandparents whose grandchildren live with them. I use the term "parents" for the sake of brevity to describe all those with a

residential partner who also live with children. Also, the age of children was also tested in the analysis, however, results showed that the main changes in the effects were produced in the difference of presence/absence of children.

Regarding controls, age was used as a continuous variable where less than 10 percent of respondents was aged less than 22 years. The ISSP standardizes completed categories of education across countries, I grouped these in three categories: less than secondary (ref. category), secondary and postsecondary or higher education. The average education level was postsecondary or higher in North America, Australia, and all countries of Europe, but less than postsecondary in Asia, Central/South America and South Africa. I included a control for respondent's sex to capture differences in how men and women perceive, and report work hours. And her paid work hours (top coded 70) was also included to take into account the importance of the first half of the gender revolution. See Table 1 for all descriptive information.

Contextual explanatory variables

I measured the context of gender equality using the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGG) (Hausmann et al. 2014). The GGG measures how much of men's relative advantage has been closed in 1) health, 2) education, 3) economy, and 4) politics, and hence focuses totally on the public sphere of the gender revolution. This measure has several advantages, among them this index mirrors women's power in a society giving a wide view of their cultural position related to males; second, since it is available for a wide range of countries it is possible to make reliable comparisons; and finally, it has been less analysed in previous literature giving opportunities for new findings and to strengthening previous research. I normalized the index in a 0-1 range, having South Korea as the less egalitarian and Iceland as the more egalitarian country in terms of gender.

I employed paid paternity leave as the main family policy variable to test the hypothesis. A 38.5 percent of countries didn't have paid paternity leave in 2012, while 51 percent had up to 4 weeks, and 10.5 percent had more than five weeks (four countries in the sample). The correlations among these contextual variables –GGG and paternity leave–

were acceptable (0.38). Although having a paternity leave policy was more common in more egalitarian countries, the GGG range was wide in both countries that provided this policy (Hungary with a GGG of 0.16 to Iceland in the top of the GGG range) and countries did not (South Korea to Ireland with a GGG of 0.66). Finally, I used paternity leave variable as dichotomous and the absence of paternity leave as the reference category because using it as ordinal or continuous didn't change the results.

3.3.2 Method

Multilevel regressions

In the IPPS dataset individuals are nested within countries, therefore multi-level models for two level data account for this data structure. I used mixed effects models³, or multilevel models (Raudenbush and Bryk, 2002; Snijders and Bosker, 2012) to examine whether the effects of key individual-level factors differ by country and whether those differences are explained by contextual factors as countries' gender inequality and countries' paternity leave policy. The analysis includes a first stage in which individual-level variables are introduced after which country-level variables and cross-level interactions are added.

The individual-level model is based on the form:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}R_{ij} + \beta_{2j}CH_{ij} + \beta_{3j}X_{ij} + R_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where Y_{ij} is the gross or proportional gap (depending on the model) between partners in the hours spent on housework and care work per week; R_{ij} is relative income between partners (ref. category: she earns more than he); CH_{ij} is the presence of children in the household; X_{ij} are the controls of the model (respondent's education, woman's paid work

³ For descriptive analysis I used SPSS Statistics 24, and for the explanatory analysis I used R-studio for Windows with "lme4" package (linear mixed random effects) for the multilevel regressions.

weekly hours, respondent's sex and age). Finally, R_{ij} is the error term, assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and variance σ^2 .

The country-level model is

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(GGG_j) + \gamma_{02}(Pater_j) + U_{0j} \quad (2)$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}(GGG_j) + U_{1j} \quad (3)$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}(Pater_j) + U_{2j} \quad (4)$$

$$\beta_{kj} = \gamma_k \quad (5)$$

where γ_{00} is the country-level intercept, γ_{01} and γ_{02} are the effects of GGG and paternity leave on the model intercept (β_{0j}), that is, the link between national context and the division of labour for all couples. γ_{10} is the intercept for the relative resources slope (the predicted effect of relative income for women in the average GGG country), and γ_{11} is the effect of GGG on β_{1j} ; γ_{20} is the intercept for the time availability slope, and γ_{21} is the effect of paternity leave on β_{2j} . U_{0j} , U_{1j} and U_{2j} are error terms assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and variance σ^2 . Finally, γ_k represents the coefficients for the control factors, whose effects are fixed across countries.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Descriptive

As shown in Table 2⁴ most of respondents in the sample declare they divide the work in modern gender lines. Regarding the time spent on housework, the average time gap between partners was 10.3 hours more work for females per week, going from 3.9 hours in Norway to 21.9 hours in Chile. Proportionally, on average women devote 69% of the total time spent in housework within couples, having 60% in Sweden in the lower part of the range to 86% of total time in Japan in the higher. With respect to care work, the average time gap is 9.8 hours of more work for women per week, going from 3.8 hours in Mexico⁵ to 18.9 hours in Chile. In proportional terms, the share of women's time spent in care for other family members is 64% of the total time spent of both partners on average, going from 56% in Norway to 79% in Japan. As previous research, these results confirm that even in the more egalitarian countries regarding couples' division of time spent in domestic labour, women do more housework and care work than their partners.

Concerning contextual variables, the correlation between GGG and the different measures of couples' division of time spent in domestic labour is negative and significant ($p < 0.01$), that is, the higher the countries' GGG the more egalitarian division of housework and care work on average. Although the correlation is conservative (from $r = -.12$ to $r = -.22$, $p < 0.01$), it is statistically significant, and it does not improve significantly when countries with an outlier behavior are excluded from the sample (e.g. Mexico show a relatively egalitarian division of labour in couples but a low national level of gender equality). This is

⁴ All tables and figures of this Chapter are presented in Appendix B.

⁵ It called my attention that Mexico had such a low time gender gap in care tasks compared with the rest of the sample, so I went to the Mexico's 2009 National Time Use Survey (ENUT, 09) and I checked that in 2009 women declared to spent in average 12.69 hours per week in care for family members, and men spent 8.27. The ISSP is a survey while the ENUT uses time diary. In the ISSP 2012 male respondents tend to overestimate their own contribution, but it is slightly corrected considering both respondent's declaration, thus her average time spent on care work per week is 14.28 while his is 11.1. As previously discussed in Chapter Two, this is part of research limitations regarding measurement.

consistent with previous research using different measures of national gender equality, suggesting that this association is not driven by outlier countries (Fuwa, 2004).

With respect to paternity leave, in countries that have this policy couples display a more egalitarian division of housework and care work, and this correlation is statistically significant although this association is weak. Nonetheless, this is coherent with the hypothesis previously raised since it is not expected that paternity leave has a direct statistical effect on all couples' division of domestic labour, but it is expected to influence parents' allocation of time. Thus, it is projected that this policy moderates the effect of the presence of children.

It is important to notice at this point that since I use cross-sectional data, it is not possible to infer causal relations, but to deepen associations between important individual-level and country-level factors for couples' division of domestic labour.

3.4.2 Multilevel models

Table 3 and Table 4 show a series of models as the individual-level and country-level variables are added for housework and care work respectively. Model 1 in both tables is an ANOVA model that do not have predictors at either level to examine the overall individual-level and country-level variance. The variance components of this models show that the between-country variance is about 6 percent of the overall variance in the division of housework when is proportionally measured, and 9,5 percent when it is measure in unpaid working hours' gap. In the case of care work, the between-country variance is 4,4 percent for the proportional time gap and 5,2 percent for the gross gap⁶. The first conclusion here is that the division of care work is less responsive to context than housework, hence care work is more driven by individual-level determinants than by national-level factors. Snijders and Bosker (2012) suggest that the intraclass correlation value (ICC) should be

⁶ The intraclass correlation (ICC) is: $\left(\frac{\tau_{00}}{[\sigma^2 + \tau_{00}]} \times 100\right)$. For example, for the proportional gap in housework time is $\left(\frac{25,91}{[25,91+405]} \right) \times 100 = 6$ percent.

more than 0.05 (at least 5% of the dependent variable' variance explained by the group characteristics, in this case, countries) to consider the multilevel analysis. In this study only in couples' proportional time gap in care work the ICC value is lower than that, consequently I considered appropriate the use of multilevel analysis. Also, despite the low value of ICC, all of between group variances are statistically significant ($\rho < 2.2e-16$).

Model 2 include the two main individual-level variables and controls, and results are consistent with previous literature. First, results confirm that relative income is significantly associated with couples' division of domestic labour. Independent of respondent's sex, age, education and woman's paid work hours, when woman's income is lower than her partner, the proportion of total housework hours that she does raises in 6 percentage points and in 3 percentage points when it comes to care work hours, compare with women that have the same or higher income than their partners. In terms of absolute gap, when she earns less than him, the gender gap grows in 3 hours for housework and in 2.3 hours for care work a week, compared to couples where she earns the same or more than her partner.

With respect to couples' division of domestic labour and the presence of children in the household, results also confirm the importance of the time availability perspective. The presence of children is significantly associated to an expansion of the gender gap, so that parents tend to divide domestic labour less equally. The presence of children in the household raises her share of the couple's total weekly housework time in 2 percentage points, while in absolute terms children extend the time gap in 2.4 hours a week. Regarding care work, the growth in proportional terms is lower (only one percentage point), but in absolute terms the hours' gap grows in 5.3 hours a week. The effect of children is also controlled by respondent's sex, age, education and woman's paid work hours. These results are not sensitive to children's age. When I tested the difference that produces the presence of toddlers and children separately in two variables, I found that the care work hours' gap (both proportional and absolute) grows significantly for toddlers and for children, but in proportional terms, the presence of toddlers in the household does not have a statistically significant effect on her share of care work. These results may be explaining the low average

effect of the variable finally used (see Table 5). One explanation might be that although women do much more care work than her partners, the total amount of time spent in care work (the sum of both his and her work hours, with which her share of the work is calculated) might be not representing the actual total care work; possibly due to the outsourcing of care work through services or relatives. Finally, using separately both toddlers and children variables did not improve the quality of the models; consequently, considering that this indicator was included to test a country-level hypothesis, and it is not a main hypothesis of this chapter, I decided to keep children variable as one (presence/absence).

The effects of the control variables are consistent with prior research: age has a positive effect on the time gap in domestic chores between partners, so that older respondents tend to report a greater gender gap⁷; education has a negative effect so the more educated the respondent is, the lower the couple's time gap; women tend to report worst time gaps regarding their partners; and woman's paid work hours is negatively associated to the gender gap in unpaid work hours, so the more hours woman spend in paid work, the less the unpaid work time gap between partners.

Model three incorporates the two national-level variables of interest: GGG and the presence of paternity leave. Regarding the first, a country's greater gender equality is significantly associated with a retreat in couples' time gap in domestic labour. Including all the individual-level variables and controls, the increase by one point on the country's GGG scale decreases her share of housework in 8.5 percentage points, and in 9.7 percentage points when it comes to care work. Regarding the gross hours' gap, the increment in one point of GGG diminish the time gap between partners in 10.3 hours a week of housework, and in 4.7 hours of care work.

With respect to paternity leave, as expected, it is not associated with all couples' division of time in domestic labour (housework or care work). This type of policy does not affect the way all couples allocate the time spend in unpaid work, but it should be

⁷ Except for the absolute hours gap in care work, in which the association is not linear, and at a point couples have less responsibilities for childcare.

associated to a retreat in gender gap of parents. The incorporation of both country-level variables does not affect the effects of individual-level factors⁸.

Model four incorporates the interaction terms between levels to test the moderator role of GGG and paternity leave respecting the two individual-level factors that have shown to hinder greater equality within the couple: relative income and the presence of children in the household. The inclusion of these interaction terms does not affect the individual-level coefficients or significance. On the one hand, holding constant their individual characteristics, GGG reduces the impact of relative income for both the proportional and absolute measures of couples' time gap in care work; a worse economic position of women compare to her partner, has less influence on the division of care work in countries with greater gender equity. For couples in the highest GGG country, when woman has lower income than her partner her share of care work is only 1.6 percentage higher than woman that earn the same or more than him. The absolute time gap is also reduced in higher GGG context to less than an hour (0.81 hours) in couples where woman earn more income than him, compared to couples where she earns the same or more. Regarding housework, living in the highest GGG country reduces significantly the time gap for couples in which woman earn less than him; this couples' time gap is 1.04 hours higher than couples where she has the same or higher income than him. Nonetheless, the interaction term for her proportional contribution to housework is not statistically significant. This mean that relative resources and time availability are less effective in hindering a more equal division of domestic labour within the couple in more gender egalitarian countries.

Regarding paternity leave, the presence of children has a lower incidence in countries that have this policy when it comes to housework. Women's proportion of time in housework for couples that live with children is only 1.6 percentage points higher than couples without children in countries that have paternity leave, independent of all individual-level factors. The absolute gap is also reduced, because the time gap for couples in a paternal role is 1.9 hours higher than couples without children in countries with this policy. However, paternity leave does not moderate the influence of children on the

⁸ Unfortunately, it was not possible to identify in ISSP the fathers that did take paternity leave.

division of care work time. The interaction term is not significant neither for the proportional or absolute measure of time gap in care. It seems that the gender gap in care work is more difficult to narrow, even when living in countries that promote male involvement with children.

The effects of these individual- and country-level variables are illustrated in Figure 2 and Figure 3. Figures show the differences in the predicted effect of relative income and children according to the country's GGG level and according to the country's Paternity Leave status, for a hypothetical respondent who has the mean characteristics of the 34 countries. Following Figure 3, the upper lines show the predicted effect of relative income for respondents in the lowest GGG country; the lower lines show the predicted effects in the highest GGG country. The distances between the two lines shows the difference in women's predicted housework and care work share in the highest GGG country versus the lowest GGG country. The steeper slopes indicate stronger effects of relative income. Likewise, Figure 4 show the differential predicted effects of children according to the country's Paternity Leave Status for housework (because in care work coefficients were not statistically significant). Following this figure, an average parent that live in a country with no paternity leave report a more unequal division of housework, both in proportional and gross measures, comparing with parents living in countries with this policy.

3.5 Summary and Conclusions

I started this investigation assuming that context matters when it comes to the reduction of the gendered division of domestic labour. Results have demonstrated that in fact they do, not only showing a direct impact in the way couples allocate time, but also moderating the effect of individual determinants that tend to increase women's workload more than men's: couple's relative income (relative resources) and the presence of children in the household (time availability).

On the one hand, and following the presented hypothesis, the second half of the gender revolution is more plausible in more gender egalitarian countries in which couples tend to divide more equally both housework and care work (H.a). Gender equality context also moderate the effect of woman's economic disadvantage in relation to her partner, because in more gender egalitarian countries, relative income has a lower impact in the division of domestic labour (H.b). National context can reinforce individual expectations, values and choices that conform the gender ideology, even in personal situations that may encourage specialization as when woman is in economic disadvantage.

On the other hand, single social policy focus on particular subjects can promote or disincentive particular behaviours. In the case of paternity leave, it's existence is not associated with a reduction in gender gap of domestic labour time of all couples (H.c), nonetheless this policy moderates the effect of children in the division of housework (H.c, partially proved). That is to say that parents report more equal housework in countries that promote father's involvement in the private sphere. However, the findings indicate that living in countries with paternity leave does not imply a reduction in couples' gap of time spent in care work. This highlights the fact that the second half of the gender revolution - equal participation in domestic labour- is more difficult to achieve for couples with children. Even when woman participate in the public sphere (all models controlled for her paid work hours), independent of the country's GGG, and even in countries with policies that favour gender equality in the home, children tend to reinforce a greater gender gap in care work. One way to see this is that it is easier to divide a small amount of domestic work in an egalitarian fashion than it is to equally divide the larger amounts of hours that children require. By increasing the total amount of domestic work required, children encourage specialization. Other is considering that children seem to exert a modern force in countries with lower fertility rates, where intensive parenting norms increase time demands for children; and time demands seem to have fallen more heavily on mothers than fathers which might be related to gender ideology (Coltrane 1997, Lareau 2011, Bianchi et al. 2012).

3.6 Limitations

Work such as this based on cross-sectional data does not, of course, measure how much the division of labour changes when a couple change their country of residence or before and after paternity leave is implemented. When I compare couples in the different scenarios, the estimates are subject to endogeneity: e.g. modern couples may be more likely to live in more gender egalitarian countries, and therefore differences between couples may not result solely from national context having a causal impact, but from other factors like individual gender ideology. Further, time diaries would have provided superior measures of time allocation compared to the weekly recall data I used (especially given that respondents reported on partners' time use). Nevertheless, ISSP data allowed me to assess the effect of different individual and national-level factors on couples' division of domestic labour in a wide variety of countries, and the results for previously studied countries seem consistent with studies using better time measures.

4

Chapter Four

Her work, equal work or substitution?
Time availability, relative resources and gender ideology
in Chilean couples with children.

4.1 Introduction

Women's entrance to the labour market in Chile has been recent and slow (Larrañaga, 2006). In numbers, the female labour force participation rate was of 43 percent in 2011, below the Latin America's mean rate of 54 percent, having Peru with the highest rate of 64.4 percent (National Institute of Statistics, INE, 2015). Despite the low rates, since the middle of the 1980's the female labour force participation has grown consistently, especially among mothers of young children (Benvin and Perticara, 2007). This scenario has challenged gender roles within the family, in which Chilean women have the greatest weight of responsibility for domestic labour (Arriagada, 2010; Fawaz and Soto, 2012).

Among the countries observed in previous literature, women's incorporation to the labour force seems to be one of the main factors that drive change regarding the division of labour in the private sphere. Nonetheless, there is a lack of evidence about the role of this factor in the way couples divide housework and care responsibilities in Chile. Likewise, elements that prior research in different countries have found to be relevant -e.g. parenthood or the gender ideology- have not been analysed for the Chilean case. Yet, other social factors are also part of the complex organization of domestic labour within Chilean couples; for example, outsourcing or the presence of relatives in the household (specially grandparents), might be helping to the reproduction of the low male imbrication in the private sphere (Rodgers, 2009; Encina and Martínez, 2009; Todaro, 2009; Rocha and Ochoa, 2011).

The aim of this chapter is to explore the determinants of the division of domestic labour responsibilities within Chilean couples with children. To address this question, I use the 2012 Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey (ELPI) to analyse the factors that favour the second half of the gender revolution while, at the same time, I study the elements that might produce the opposite effect, hindering a greater male imbrication in the domestic sphere.

4.2 Background

Childcare and housework come packaged together. The parent who take care of children usually is also available for housework, and even egalitarian couples tend to tap the mother for domestic labour responding to the gender-specialization ethos (Treas and Lui, 2013). Nonetheless, the way couples cope with the extra load of work when children arrive varies according to individual factors, thus gender-specialization unfolds to a greater or lesser degree depending on those scenarios.

4.2.1 Time availability

This perspective suggests that carrying out domestic tasks is a function of the time available of both partners. The main factor considered in previous research is partners' imbrication in the labour force and the amount of household production to be done (England and Farkas, 1986; Bianchi et al., 2000). But various other elements influence couples' rational allocation of time, whether because they increase time constraints or because they relieve the weight: the number of children in the household or the presence of other relatives, whether they are dependants or potentially available for help with the domestic labour (e.g. grandparents).

Partners' paid work status

Paid work hours or the paid work status (working or not) has been considered to be the main element affecting couples' time availability. Following this, as men spend more hours in the work market than women, then women have more time available to carry out domestic chores (Lyonette and Crompton, 2015).

Studies have shown that unemployment is associated both with a reallocation of housework to the unemployed spouse and an increase in the family's total household production time (Krueger and Mueller, 2012; Van der Lippe et al., 2017). Also, evidence

demonstrate that the adjustments to the division of domestic labour during unemployment are aligned by gender: woman's unemployment is associated with an increase in her housework hours that doubles the increase of man's hours produced by his unemployment (Gough and Killewald, 2011; Van der Lippe et al., 2017). However, even though in a lesser degree compared with females, male unemployment influences their own commitment with domestic responsibilities. A longitudinal study of Swedish couples found that men who were unemployed at survey's first wave reported higher housework hours at the second wave compared with continuously employed men, even if they had been re-employed by the second wave (Ström, 2002).

On the other hand, women who accumulate more employment experience over the course of marriage perform a relatively larger amount of routine housework than the husbands of women with shorter employment histories (Cunningham, 2007). The influence of women's employment status may operate in part by increasing women's support for egalitarian roles between spouses. This suggests that if women involve more in paid work, then it is possible that men undertake more family responsibilities and, thus, display the second half of the gender revolution (Voicu and Constantin, 2016). Nonetheless, women's individual paid work status is also associated with outsourcing housework strategies, showing the difficulty of overcoming the gender-specialization ethos (Cohen, 1998; Gupta, 2007; De Ruijter and Van der Lippe, 2007; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010).

Hypothesis d (H.d). When mothers work for pay, the likelihood of having a revolutionary arrangement within couples (equal or he as the main responsible) is higher compared with unemployed mothers.

Hypothesis e (H.e). When fathers work for pay, the likelihood of having a revolutionary division of responsibilities within the couple is smaller than couples were fathers are unemployed.

Hypothesis f (H.f). Mothers' and fathers' paid work status are positively associated with substitution strategies of housework and childcare.

The role of children

The transition to parenthood is a critical moment in the development of a gap in time spent on routine household labour and childcare between parents (Duval and Miller, 1985). While for women the transition to motherhood seem to increase their time spent on housework (Kluwer, Heesink and van de Vliert, 2002; Baxter and Hewill, 2008; Yavorsky et al., 2015; Domínguez-Folgueras, 2015); for men, most research shows that the arrival of a child does not lead to a significant increase in their housework hours, and that even, it decreases them (Gjerdingen and Center, 2004, Kluwer et al., 2002; Grunow et al., 2012).

Evidence show that motherhood leads to a long-term decline in market hours regardless of household income and mothers' pre-birth resource constellation (Kühhirt, 2011). Mothers tend to leave employment or limit their contact with paid work in the year after a child birth (Gibb et al., 2014; Schober, 2013; Gutiérrez-Domènech, 2005). Consequently, children reduce mothers' marital power by limiting their involvement in paid labour force (Budig and England, 2001); and the greater the number of children, the lower the probability of mother's labour insertion (Contreras and Plaza, 2010; Díaz and Rodríguez, 2013).

Moreover, beyond the arrival of a child, having more children always tend to hinder the possibilities of gender equality in couples' division of housework; women undertake the largest amount of extra work derived from it, independent of their paid work status (McFarlane, et al., 2000). Although mothers are more favourable than fathers to do all domestic chores, fathers are usually more willing to take care of children than to do housework, which might lead to a reduction in gender gap in those tasks, especially in more egalitarian contexts (Poortman & Van der Lippe, 2009).

Cultural and country-specific characteristics are also important elements when examining the role of children. In Chile, although fertility rates have fallen heavily during the last decades, motherhood and household labour are still tied to modern gender lines, particularly when it comes to childcare, and especially in the lower social class (Yopo, 2016). Outsourcing, for its part -using paid or unpaid substitutes depending on household

income- is a common strategy in Chilean couples, thus children might be pushing more to externalization than to equality in the couple in those contexts (Rodgers, 2009).

Hypothesis g (H.g). *Among Chilean parents of toddlers, having also school aged children is negatively associated with the likelihood of having an equal division of domestic labour responsibilities (DDL, housework and childcare)⁹, compared with couples that do not have school-aged children.*

Hypothesis h (H.h). *Among parents of toddlers, the added presence of school aged children tends to favour substitution strategies in housework rather than having an equal division of responsibilities between partners, compared with couples without school aged children.*

Grandparents in the household

Parents provide many types of support to their grown children, being an important substitution strategy for working parents, specially concerning childcare (Wheelock and Jones, 2002; Herrera and Kornfeld, 2008; Hank and Buber, 2009). Evidence in different contexts show that parents provide emotional, financial and practical help to their adult child, and offspring receive more assistance when they have greater needs (presence of toddlers or other children to take care off) and were help is perceived as more successful (Fingerman et al., 2009; Haberkern et al., 2011; Albertini et al., 2007; Igel et al., 2009). This is more relevant considering that in developing countries (including Chile) intergenerational coresidence has not declined over the past decades but, on the contrary, it has grown; specially the proportion of households where grandparents are the main economic provider of the household (Ruggles and Heggeness, 2008).

Nonetheless, the elderly are also a source of responsibility and obligations for adult children, bringing additional work and needs to the home depending on their age, health, education or income, and depending on the quality of the affective relation between generations (Grundy, 2005; Herrera and Fernández, 2013; Fingerman et al., 2015). As with the division of housework and childcare, the care for elderly is also gendered assigned;

⁹ Henceforth I will use the concept DDL for the division of domestic labour considering both childcare and routine housework. When is necessary to separate them, I will use their specific concepts.

hence, it is more likely that woman assume the most part of the extra work load (Moen et al., 1994; Grundy and Henretta, 2006; Gomes, 2007; Lee and Tang, 2013; Haberkern et al., 2013). As a result, whether because of the help they generate or because of the potential emotional and practical work they bring to the household, the presence of grandparents can discourage the development of an egalitarian division of domestic responsibilities within the couple.

Hypothesis i (H.i). *The presence of grandparents in the household reduce the probability of having an equal division of both housework and childcare within the couple.*

Hypothesis j (H.j). *Couples that live with their parents in the household are more likely to have substitution as the main strategy than having an equal division of housework and childcare, compared with couples that do not live with their parents.*

4.2.2 Relative resources

The ‘relative resources’ argument is closely linked to time availability explanations: as men spend more time in the public sphere than women, they bring more resources to the partnership, having more power to get the other spouse to do more domestic chores (Huber, 1991, Brines, 1994). Following this argument, men’s greater material contribution to the household relieves them from the responsibility of carrying out housework and childcare; then, if women is the one who earns more than men, they should have more relative power to negotiate a lesser amount of domestic labour.

Evidence tend to support this perspective showing that, even though women always do more domestic work than men, women’s higher absolute and relative income leads to a decrease in their household workload (Gupta, 2007; Hook, 2017). Likewise, evidence support that women’s income is associated with male imbrication in the domestic sphere, so the more she earns the more he gets involved in domestic chores (Coltrane, 2000; Lyonette and Crompton, 2015). However, other authors argue that women’s relative power regarding income do not necessarily reduce the gender gap between partners; in practice, women with higher incomes are able to hire other women to do the devalued feminized

labour, especially in contexts where outsourcing is a common practice (Risman, 2011; Baxter and Hewitt, 2013).

Hypothesis k (H.k). *When women have a lower income than their partner, couples are less likely to develop an equal division of housework and childcare, compared to couples in which she earns the same or more than him.*

4.2.3 Gender ideology

Notwithstanding the conditions of time and resources, mothers are still assuming the great part of the domestic responsibilities, and some authors point to the gender ideology. Gender ideology refers to how a person identifies herself or himself with regard to marital and family roles that are linked to gender (Elson, 1999). The conjugal life provides a significant arena in which these ideologies are played out. In addition to its manifest functions of providing emotional or economic support and enhancing care (for children or other dependants), the marital relation serves as the scenario in which women and men behave in ways that validate their identities as male and female, displaying the visible aspects of their gender ideologies (Greenstein, 1996).

Gender beliefs and practices

As discussed in Chapter One, previous research has shown the importance of gender ideologies in the way couples “do” gender every day, especially observed through the difficulties of men’s greater involvement in care and emotional work given the feminisation of care since the conformation of modern societies (Thébaud and Pedulla, 2016; Erickson, 2005). Evidence shows that women have more favourable attitudes toward routine housework (cleaning, cooking) and childcare than do men, and that this favourable attitude towards domestic labour is associated with women’s greater contribution to household labour (Corrigall and Konrad, 2007; Poortman and Van der Lippe, 2009; Davis and Greenstein, 2009). Prior research has found that gender beliefs with respect to family roles are associated with everyday practices, e.g. the more egalitarian values a person have,

the more egalitarian are the practices that she or he carries out with their partner (Grunow and Baur, 2014; Nitshe and Grunow, 2016).

Nonetheless, in the progress to gender egalitarianism, some paradoxes arise when discourses about gender values are not consistent with practices in the private sphere. The so called ‘female paradox’ correspond to the simultaneity of egalitarian values and inegalitarian practices, as well as the ‘male paradox’ is the simultaneity of inegalitarian values and egalitarian practices (Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2014; Brandén et al., 2018). This point out that gender beliefs might not have necessarily a direct impact on the division of labour and that it is highly sensitive to individual expectations and conditions. Some authors argue that the influence of gender ideology operates through the moderation of the influence of time constraints and couples’ relative resources (Cunningham, 2005; Fuochi et al. al., 2014). Other authors say that its impact also depend on generations and on the life course transitions (Baxter et al., 2014; Horne et al., 2017).

In this context scholars have raised that the change in gender beliefs and practices is a slow and uneven process, in which daily interactions are linked to attitudes and discourse over generations and among cultures (Sullivan, 2004; Sullivan et al., 2018). Therefore, the association between gender ideology and practices is difficult to predict, especially in a country living a process of changing gender values like Chile, where modern identities coexist with the growing presence of egalitarian discourse (Kovalskys, 2005; Valdés, 2009).

Hypothesis 1 (H.1). Respondents’ gender ideology is associated with the way they divide housework and childcare with their partners. The more “modern” the respondent is, the less likely to having a revolutionary DDL with their partner.

Hypothesis m (H.m). Gender ideology moderates the impact of children and relative resources on the DDL; the presence of children and mother’s lower income has a stronger “modern” effect among respondents with modern gender attitudes.

Marriage versus cohabitation

Marriage and cohabitation are associated with different ways of organizing domestic labour within the couple. Authors have argued that the union type might reflect symbolic definitions about gender which are observed in daily practices, and that varies depending on the type of work that is studied (Lindsey, 2015). With respect to housework, married couples tend to display modern arrangements compared with couples in cohabitation (Baxter, 2005; Davis et al., 2007; Domínguez-Folgueras, 2012; Meggiolaro, 2014; Bianchi et al., 2014). Further, this relation tends to be stronger in more masculine cultures than what occurs in more egalitarian ones: it appears that married women in masculine cultures do less paid work and more housework than their counterparts in more egalitarian cultures (Van der Lippe et al., 2010).

When the division of childcare is observed for its part, the type of union seems to affect differently mothers and fathers. On the one hand, living arrangements differences in women's time spend in childcare disappear after controls for socioeconomic status and other characteristics are introduced, so woman's marital status seems to not make a difference on her childcare time (Kendig and Bianchi, 2008). On the other hand, evidence support that married fathers do spend more time in childcare than cohabiting fathers, especially in care of school age children, reflecting a higher parental involvement (Kalenkoski et al., 2005; Landale and Oropesa, 2001).

Hypothesis n (H.n). Married parents are less likely to divide housework in revolutionary ways than cohabiting parents.

Hypothesis o (H.o). Marriage is associated with a more equal division of childcare compared with cohabitation; married parents are more likely to divide childcare in a revolutionary manner than cohabiting fathers.

4.3 Data, Measures, and Method

4.3.1 Data

For the purpose of this chapter, I used the 2012 Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey (ELPI), which gather information about children between six months and seven years old and their households with national representativeness. Among other relevant information, the main caregiver gives demographic and socioeconomic information, but also describes behaviour related to children's care and the distribution of housework responsibilities between the household members. The main goal of this survey is to characterize and analyse the development of successive cohorts of children throughout their childhood and adolescence, considering the characteristics of the household, in particular, of the mothers or primary caregiver, of the surrounding environment and services to which they access (education, health, housing, among others). Even though it is a longitudinal survey, questions regarding time use and the division of housework and care responsibilities are only incorporated in the second wave, that is why I only examine the 2012 survey.

The vast majority of respondents are biological mothers (98% of the sample) living in different type of family structures, where a 67% correspond to intact families (both biological parents living with their children). I limited the analytic sample to mothers aged over 18 years old (the older is 56 years old), living with their children's biological fathers, including both married and cohabiting couples. This decision is to control the potential differentiating effect given by the presence of stepparents, which is not part of the focus of this chapter because it responds to a different explanatory process (Ganong and Coleman, 2012). Thus, the sample includes parents of at least one child of preschool age (up to seven years old) who lives with them, whether they have or no other school aged children. In order to observe couples' relative resources, I drop the cases where at least one partner was disabled or permanently sick, in retirement or whose main activity was being a student. I also eliminated the cases that that answered "don't know" to the gender role attitude

question, and non-responses were imputed to the mean¹⁰. The result is a final sample of 8,883 married and cohabiting mothers with the required data for the analysis of couples' division of routine housework and childcare. All analyses were performed with and without weights and no substantive differences emerged; results presented here are unweighted.

4.3.2 Measures

Dependent variable

Mothers were asked who performs different domestic tasks most of the time, and the possible answers were: the mother, the father, both equally or another person (substitute, relative or not). These questions are used in previous studies to know who is primarily responsible for particular activities, and from there try to infer the distribution of work by gender (Shelton and John, 1996). As discussed in Chapter Two, this type of stylised survey is usually considered to be less accurate than time-diaries, nonetheless both techniques reflect similar estimates regarding the division of domestic responsibilities by gender (Sullivan, 1997).

I used these questions to observe who is the main responsible for childcare tasks and routine housework (which includes laundry, ironing and cleaning, but excludes cooking and shopping), with the purpose of constructing two types of dependent variables for each type of labour. The first, is a binary variable coded one when the responsibility is equally shared between partners or when the father is the main responsible. Both options reflect the development of the second half of the gender revolution, indicating a revolutionary arrangement within the couple. I coded zero when the responsibility is mainly under the mother or under a substitute (reference category). Prior research in the US have considered that when the tasks are mostly done by a third person, the task is considered to be split between the partners (Geist, 2005). However, in Chile, substitution strategies might be reflecting something else: the externalization of labour through paid services (mostly in

¹⁰ The non-responses in the gender attitude question were low (under 2 percent of the sample).

higher-income households), or through the help of others relatives or non-relatives (mostly in lower-income households). Both situations might be hindering the development of the second half of the gender revolution (male imbrication in the private sphere).

For that reason, I tried to distinguish the effects associated with substitution arrangements, thus the second type of dependent variable is a nominal outcome composed of three categories: 1) equal division of responsibilities or the father as the main responsible (revolutionary), 2) the mother as the main responsible (modern), and 3) substitution through others. These three scenarios represent different type of organization of domestic responsibilities, all important to be examined. I defined the first –the presence of the second half of the gender revolution- as the reference category.

Individual explanatory variables

The individual level variables included can be classified according to the theoretical perspectives they represent in the models. Regarding the time availability perspective, considering that all the couples in the sample are parents of toddlers, the additional presence of school aged children in the household is a key explanatory variable of the time constrains¹¹. Likewise, mother's and father's paid work status (working/non-working) and the presence or absence of grandparents in the household (her or his parents) were included, both responding to the time availability perspective.

With respect to the relative resources perspective, a measure of relative earnings between partners was included, which is the reported mothers' and fathers' income per month obtained from paid work. In cases were any of the partners was not working for pay, their income was coded zero. Then, I constructed a binomial variable coded one when he earns more than she does, and coded zero when she earns the same or more than he does. With this variable, I tried to obtain a measure of relative income between partners as an indicator of relative economic power¹².

¹¹ The number of children and ages were also tested in separate models, but it does not alter the results, so I decided to incorporate only the presence or absence of school aged children in the models.

¹² See Crompton, Brockman and Lyonette (2005) for a similar measure of relative income between spouses in a comparative study of Britain, Norway and the Czech Republic.

With regard to the gender ideology perspective, I included a scale of agreement with the sentence “it is better for everyone if the man is the one who works for pay and the woman takes care of the home and the family”, as an indicator of mothers’ gender role attitudes. The scale goes from “totally disagree” to “totally agree” with the sentence, so the higher the value, the more “modern” is the respondent’s gender ideology. Also, a binary variable of the respondent’s marital status is incorporated, having value one when the respondent is married and zero when cohabiting (reference category).

Finally, controls are composed by mother’s and father’s education (less than secondary, secondary and post-secondary, having less than secondary as the reference category), mother’s age, and the area of residence (rural or urban, which is the reference category). Regarding controls, a 47% of mothers and a 46% of fathers in the sample has completed secondary education, while a 34% of mothers and a 36% of fathers has less than secondary education¹³. The average mothers’ age is 32 years old, and an 88% of the respondents live in urban areas. See Table 1 for all descriptive information.

4.3.3 Method

Logistic Regressions

Since the dependent variables are categorical, the proper estimation strategy is the use of logistic regressions to obtain the probabilities to be in different scenarios concerning the division of domestic responsibilities related to the explanatory factors. I estimated a series of multinomial and binary logit models using SPSS Statistics 24. The models of this chapter are based on equation (1) that is expressed by the form:

$$\text{Logit}[P(Y_i = 1)] = \beta_{Ti}T + \beta_{Ri}R + \beta_{Gi}G + \beta_{Ci}C + \beta_{GTi}(GT) + \beta_{GRi}(GR) \quad (1)$$

¹³ This is coherent with other data sources like the 2013 Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN), which shows that half of people aged between 45 and 59 years old, a 30,3% of people between 30 and 44 years old, and a 16,5% aged between 19 and 29 years old haven’t completed secondary education. In Chile, secondary education is obligatory since 2003; see Espinoza, Castillo and González (2017) for more information.

In the binomial models, $P(Y_i = 1)$ is the likelihood of having a revolutionary arrangement between partners in the distribution of routine housework and childcare responsibilities (equal division of responsibilities or he is the main responsible) compared with being in another arrangement (modern or substitution). In the multinomial models, $P(Y_i = 1)$ is the likelihood of having a modern arrangement or having substitution as the main strategy, compared with being in a revolutionary arrangement (reference category). T are the independent variables corresponding to the time availability perspective; R is the independent variable of the relative resources perspective; G are the independent variables corresponding to the gender ideology perspective; C are the controls; GT is the interaction term between gender ideology (attitude scale) and the time availability factor (the presence of school aged children); and GR is the interaction term between gender ideology and relative resources.

I first tested the association between time availability and gender ideology, and the likelihood of having a 'revolutionary' arrangement in respect of domestic labour. Separated analysis provided important marks regarding the way Chilean couples organize domestic labour in gendered lines. Then I made the multinomial analysis to test if independent factors push towards modernisation (she has the main responsibility), to substitution, or instead, are associated to the second half of the gender revolution.

Finally, seeking to respond to each of the hypothesis, I estimate separate models for each type of labour, childcare and routine housework, to observe the way explanatory factors are associated with the division of different sort of responsibilities by Chilean couples.

4.4 Results

4.4.1 Descriptive

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics of mothers' report of the division of childcare and housework¹⁴. It shows that most of couples divide childcare and housework in modern gender lines, that is, mothers are the main responsible for both tasks most of the time. The proportion of modern couples goes from 66,7% in childcare to 79% in housework. That is, housework tends to be divided more modern way than childcare in Chilean couples with children. In fact, while in childcare tasks a 26,7% of mother declare they have a revolutionary arrangement (equal division or the father as the main responsible), this proportion decreases to 11,5% when talking about housework. On the other hand, substitution is a minor strategy in both types of tasks. While in childcare a 7% of mothers declare to have a third person as the main responsible, in routine housework this proportion increases to 9,4%. Given that housework is precisely the type of task where man is less involved, it seems easier to outsource housework chores than childcare, especially considering that this survey is applied to mothers of children up to seven years old, a period of high mother dependency.

Revolutionary couples in childcare is the group in which less consistency is observed about the division of routine housework (Table 2). While a 93% of couples that divide childcare in a modern way tend to divide housework in the same way, only a 36% of revolutionary couples in the division of childcare tend to divide housework in revolutionary ways. Finally, a 62% of couples that use substitution strategies in childcare have the same scheme for housework, while a 31% divide it in modern terms. The lack of consistency in revolutionary couples regarding childcare might be reflecting the transitional cultural stage in which new gender values coexist with modern beliefs about female and male roles, the

¹⁴ All the tables and figures of this Chapter are presented in Appendix C.

resistance of fathers to involve in routine housework, or mothers' gatekeeper role in the domestic sphere, impeding a greater male imbrication (Meah and Jackson, 2013).

Looking at the independent variables (Table 3), relevant results emerge. Regarding time availability, a 63% of mothers declare they also have school aged children besides their toddler/s, and a 19% declare they live with at least one children's grandparent. Also, while less than a half of mothers are working for pay (41%), almost all fathers have paid work (96%). According with their employment status, the sample is composed by a 56% of dual earner couples (both working for pay), a 49% of male breadwinner couples (only he works for pay), a 3% of couples where both are currently unemployed, and only a 1% of female provider couples (Figure 1). These statistics are consistent with woman's relative income indicator, as woman produce the lowest share of income compare to their partners; only a 24% of women admit they earn the same or more than him, while a 75.9% declare that her income is lower than his.

Observing the gender ideology factors, mothers' sample is divided in terms of gender beliefs: a 51,4% of them agree with the sentence "it is better for everyone if the man is the one who works for pay and the woman takes care of the home and the family". However, within this group, almost a 15% say they totally agree with the sentence; considering that a 7.9% of mothers totally disagree with the sentence, mothers seem to be closer to more modern gender attitudes. Lastly, most of mothers are married (55%), and married mothers seems to agree more to this sentence compared with cohabiting mothers (Figure 2).

4.4.2 Logistic Regressions

Table 4 shows the results from the first regression analysis using binomial dependent variables for childcare and routine housework. Models 1 and 3 present the odds ratio of factors without interactions, incorporating all independent variables and controls. The results indicate that time availability is a relevant explanatory dimension of both the division of childcare and the division of routine housework for Chilean couples with

children. Having school aged children -besides the presence of toddlers¹⁵-, is significantly related to a lower likelihood of a revolutionary division of childcare (model 1), however it does not make a significant difference for the division of routine housework (model 3). As shown in Figure 3, the predicted probabilities of performing a revolutionary division of housework is 13.7% in couples with no school aged children and 10.2% in couples with school aged children (not a statistically significant difference). While the predicted probabilities of revolution in childcare are of 30.7% and 24.4% respectively.

The influence of mothers and fathers' work status is as expected: when mother works for pay, the likelihood of having a revolutionary arrangement is significantly higher for both childcare and housework. When mothers work for pay the likelihood of having a revolutionary DDL is more than twice the likelihood of couples where mothers are unemployed (odds ratio 2,34 for childcare and 2,91 for routine housework). The relative significance of this factor, showed by the odds ratio, is higher for housework than for childcare. On the contrary, when fathers work for pay the likelihood of having a revolutionary DDL is significantly lower, reflecting a pressure towards modern arrangements or substitution. Living with children's grandparents in the household is also significantly associated with a lower likelihood of having a revolutionary division of childcare and housework.

With regards to the relative resources perspective, results confirm that when fathers have a higher income than mothers¹⁶ the odds of having a revolutionary division of both childcare and housework is significantly lower compared with couples in which mothers earn the same or more than their partners (models 1 and 3). Gender ideology for its part also explain the gendered DDL as prior literature have shown. On the one hand, the more modern are mothers' gender role attitudes, the less likely to have a revolutionary arrangement within the couple in both childcare and routine housework. The increment

¹⁵ Note: sample is composed of mothers of preschool aged children that live with their children biological fathers.

¹⁶ Including when mothers have no income at all. Analysis were made to distinguish between mothers whose income is lower than their partners and mothers that perceive no income, compared with mothers that earn the same or more than fathers, and results were the same independent of her income conditions.

in one point in the attitude scale is associated with a reduction in the odds of a revolutionary DDL in about 20 percent. Figure 4 shows the decline in the predicted probability of having revolutionary arrangements in the DDL by the gender role attitudes level; the more modern, the lower the probability. On the other hand, marital status has a differential impact depending on the type of labour, as some previous research suggest. In childcare, married parents are more likely to divide work in a revolutionary way (equal division or he is the main responsible); being married is associated with higher odds of having a revolutionary arrangement by odds of 22% (model 1). However, in routine housework marital status is not significantly associated with the way couples divide labour. Controlling for all other explanatory factors, being married does not make a difference in the division of housework (model 3).

Regarding controls, mothers' education is significantly associated with an increase in the odds of having a revolutionary DDL (childcare and housework); compared with less than secondary education, mothers with secondary and with postsecondary education are more likely to divide domestic labour in a revolutionary way. Fathers' education has a nonlinear effect, as secondary education significantly associated with an increase in the likelihood of a revolutionary DDL, nonetheless postsecondary education does not produce a significantly difference compared with fathers with less than secondary education. The impact of age, suggesting a link between mothers' older age and a lower likelihood of having a more equal DDL, is consistent with prior evidence, however this association is weak (close to one). Also, couples that live in rural areas are significantly less likely to have a revolutionary arrangement in both childcare and routine housework.

Finally, interaction terms are not statistically significant (Table 4, models 2 and 4), neither for childcare nor for housework, which means that the gender ideology -measure by gender role attitudes-, does not moderate the impact of children (time availability) nor the one of relative income (relative resources) as I stated in the hypothesis.

Table 5 and 6 report the results for the multinomial logistic regressions, separating between the division of childcare and routine housework respectively; all the models

include controls. First, regarding the time availability perspective, having school aged children make pressure to modernism more than to substitution in childcare, as it is associated with an increase in the odds of having a modern childcare arrangement rather than a revolutionary, but it does not impact in the odds of having substitution as the main strategy (Table 5, model 1). As exposed before, the presence of school aged children does not have an impact on the division of housework for Chilean couples. The general logistic model showed that mother's work status is associated with higher odds of having a revolutionary arrangement. Nonetheless, this association is more complex than it looks. Multinomial models show that when mothers are employed the odds of having modern arrangements for both childcare and housework are significantly lower compared with having revolutionary arrangements, but it is also associated with an increase in odds of substitution. In fact, in childcare, mother's work status has a stronger effect in pushing more to substitution than to revolution, since when mothers work for pay, couples are a 66 percent less likely of being modern, but it increases the likelihood of having substitution strategies rather than a revolutionary arrangement by odds of 6.4 (Table 5, model 2). Fathers' work status, on the other hand, both pushes to modernism and to substitution rather than to revolution. In childcare and in housework, father's paid work status is significantly associated with an increase in the likelihood of having modern and substitution arrangements rather than revolutionary. Likewise, when there are grandparents in the household the odds of modernism and substitution are significantly higher than revolutionary arrangement in the DDL, but odds ratio show that it has a stronger impact in substitution. When they are present in the household, the odds of having substitution rather than being revolutionary are almost 6 times higher than when grandparents do not live with the couple. This could mean that grandparents are helping their grown children to take care of home and children, being themselves who are the substitutes in both domestic tasks (Table 5 and 6, model 2).

Concerning the relative resources perspective, fathers' relative economic power over mothers, drives couples mainly to modern arrangements and not to substitution in the DDL. Couples in which fathers have higher income than mothers are significantly more

likely of performing modern arrangements rather than revolutionary, both in childcare and housework. With respect to the gender ideology perspective, as for the relative income factor, the gender role attitude is significantly pushing couples to modernism but not to substitution. The more modern are the mothers' attitudes, the more likely of having a modern DDL with their partner. Marital status for its part, drives couples to egalitarianism in childcare but it makes no significant difference in housework; married couples are less likely of having modern arrangement and substitution strategies in childcare, rather than being revolutionary.

Controls' effects are also better specified in the multinomial models. Mothers' education is related to a decrease in the likelihood of modernism in the DDL, but higher educated mothers compared with mothers with less than secondary education, are also more likely of having substitution strategies rather than revolutionary arrangement in both tasks. In the general logistic model, fathers' postsecondary education did not make any significant difference in the explanation of any type of DDL, but multinomial models help to clarify this association. Results show that fathers' education is significantly associated with a reduction the odds of having modern arrangements in the DDL, favouring revolution. Nonetheless, in housework, highly educated fathers (with postsecondary education) compared with fathers with less than secondary education, are significantly more likely of having substitution rather than revolution. While in childcare, postsecondary education has no significant effect in the division of labour, thus highly educated fathers compared with fathers with less than secondary education do not differ significantly in the way they divide childcare. Mother's age is slightly but significantly associated with an increase in the odds of having modern arrangements in childcare, and modern and substitution arrangements in housework. And finally, although living in rural areas is associated with higher odds of being modern rather than revolutionary in the DDL, it pushes to substitution in housework but not in childcare, showing that in rural areas childcare is carried out mainly by mothers and not by substitutes.

4.5 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has focused on the way the three main perspectives discussed in previous literature in developed countries –time availability, relative resources and gender ideology– are associated with the manner in which Chilean couples with children divide childcare and routine housework. Using data from the 2012 Early Childhood Longitudinal Survey for mothers living with their children’s biological fathers, results demonstrate that the determinants of the DDL are similar than other national contexts. Results strongly support the initial hypothesis that time availability, relative resources and gender ideology shape patterns of the DDL within couples; nonetheless, some particularities emerge for the Chilean case.

With respect to the time availability perspective, the analysis has shown that when mothers are employed in the market, it favours the likelihood of having a revolutionary DDL (equal or he as the main responsible) supporting the first hypothesis (H.d), but it also favours substitution strategies, especially in childcare. Mothers’ work status is somehow promoting revolution, but fathers are not replacing their absence at home in all cases, and substitution strategies emerge as an important way to organize domestic labour (H.f). Fathers’ paid work is, as expected, promoting both modernism (H.e) and substitution (H.f) in both childcare and housework. On the one hand, this result reflects cultural differences about domestic labour; in Latin America, the private sphere is tight to gendered lines and the family and the home are conceptualized as a feminine dependent role (evident in the statistic descriptive about Chilean mothers’ gender role attitudes). On the other hand, women’s paid work status -as fathers’- is in practice deriving the non-covered labour to substitutes, however it is not clear in this analysis if the substitution strategies are paid outsourcing or help given by relatives, as well as if the motivation is lack of time or resistance to the second half of the gender revolution.

The hypothesis that the presence of school aged children hinders gender revolution in both childcare and housework is partially supported (H.g and H.h). Having school aged

children, besides toddlers, promotes modernism in childcare but it didn't affect significantly the division of housework (H.g). Children discourage male imbrication in childcare promoting modernism but not substitution, however it has not significant effect in the division of housework since the likelihood of being a revolutionary couple does not significantly differ between couples with and without school aged children. Also, it does not affect significantly the likelihood of substitution strategies, rejecting the hypothesis (H.h). As exposed in the background, housework is the kind of labour that men are less willing to do, while females are more accessible and set higher standards. This can explain why independent of the presence of children, the likelihood of a revolutionary arrangement in the DDL for Chilean couples is low. Nonetheless, other elements seem to explain why males can be more willing to get involve on it.

The presence of grandparents in the household is associated with lower chances of a revolutionary arrangement in childcare and in housework within couples (H.i). Simultaneously, living with grandparents propel modernism and especially, substitution strategies in the DDL. This show the importance of incorporate different type of family structures taking into account the complexity of family roles. In this case, results confirm a mixed reality: grandparents bringing additional work to the household, but also, giving help to their grown children as potential mothers' substitutes.

Results also support the hypothesis of the relative resources perspective. The analysis clearly shows that mothers' economic disadvantage reduces the chances of having revolutionary arrangements in the DDL (H.k). Multinomial models show that mothers that experience economic disadvantage are more likely to perform modern DDL compared with mothers that earn the same or more than their partners, but it does not promote substitution strategies.

The present study gives partial empirical support to the notion that gender ideology is a relevant explanatory factor of the DDL for Chilean couples with children. On the one hand, the more modern are the mothers' gender role attitudes, the less likely of having revolutionary arrangements in the DDL (H.l). Moreover, modern gender beliefs tend to

promote modernism and not substitution. However, gender beliefs do not moderate the effects of children and relative resources as expected; statistical analyses show that its effect is mainly direct (H.m). Results did not support the hypothesis related to marital status, as married parents do not differ with cohabiting parents in the division of housework (H.n), however, married parents are more involved in childcare than their cohabiting counterparts. Married fathers might have characteristics that drives them more to their children attention, which can be mirroring selection due to engagement.

This chapter demonstrate that Chilean couples with children behave very similar than couples in another national context. The current theoretical framework that provides prior literature, is a useful tool to explain the way Chilean couples cope with domestic chores. However, substitution strategies, which have been explored in this chapter, are less addressed by literature. Thus, there are some association that require better explanations, like going deeper in the type of substitution strategies that couples perform (paid outsourcing, help by relatives or other) and in the reason of them. This is especially relevant in Chile where an important proportion of families are extended and, as results demonstrated, in this families the second half of the gender revolution might be more difficult to achieve.

4.6 Limitations

This chapter explore a different measure of the division of domestic labour, using stylised survey with responses reported by only one of the partners. This type of measure presents several limitations, discussed in Chapter Two, nonetheless it tends to report similar results in terms of associations and magnitudes compared with time diaries measures, which are considered to be the most accurate for this type of research. However, favours to this study that is mothers who reports the division of responsibilities within the couple, because it has been observed in prior research than men tend to overestimate their own contribution to the domestic sphere in a greater degree than females.

Although statistical analysis provided in this chapter do not allow to conclude causality, the incorporation of different explanatory dimensions and several controls allows trusting in the inferences of established causal associations. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to better explain why children do not affect the division of housework in Chilean couples, and why married couples tend to divide childcare more equally.

Finally, in this chapter I tried to explore the importance of substitution strategies in couples DDL, however, theories do not explain adequately this scenario. This is a weak point of the study to be addressed more deeply in future research.

5

Chapter Five

Second half of the gender revolution? Individual factors on Chilean men's domestic time.

5.1 Introduction

One of the most important issues contributing to the persistence of the gender inequality is the gendered division of domestic labour (Lyonette & Crompton, 2014). Even though women enter into labour force, they still carry out more domestic responsibilities than men, conditioning their relative position to negotiate in the workplace. The gendered division of labour has been a matter of discussion from the functionalist theorists that describe gender role specialization as natural and functional to the family (Parsons and Bales 1955), to the feminist perspective arguing that it is the result of the imposed modern gender scripts that limits female development in other domains (Budig 2004). The gender revolution that has taken place over the past decades has revealed the radical change in female roles, meanwhile men's family care roles did not need to change much, as women were responding to new opportunities adding new roles even as their commitment to home care remained (Baxter 1997; Stanfors and Goldscheider 2015). Tension raises when women's second shift harms their quality of life and hassles family relationships putting pressure on male role expectations and practices (Hoshchild 1989).

Prior research has shown that time availability, relative resources and gender ideology might be explaining both the gendered division of domestic labour and the potential development of the second half of the gender revolution, that is, male imbrication in the domestic sphere. However, these explanatory mechanisms are challenged in national contexts like Chile where a double story converges. On the one hand, the prevailing mother-centred cultural model hinders women's entrance into the public domain while put social pressure to working women to maintain their second shift. On the other hand, women must move between the need of an economic (and personal) development in the market, and the cultural problem of male absence (Montecino, 1990; Rodríguez, 2004). In Chile, the permanence of the culture of Machismo-Marianism might be limiting the explanatory potential of the three traditional sociological mechanisms to study the second half of the gender revolution (see Chapter One).

5.2 Background

On the way to understand the contemporary gender specialization in work, scholars have tried to explain the individual and more recently, the macro level mechanisms that are underneath the permanence of couples' unequal division of domestic labour, and different perspectives emerged (Bianchi and Milkie 2010). Regarding the micro-social perspective, the main theoretical explanations refer to the role of time availability, relative resources between partners and the gender ideology paradigm. However, even though there is evidence supporting each of these perspectives in a systematic pattern, the way each of these paradigms influence differently women and men has been a scarce focus of social research beyond developed societies. It is not clear if these individual-level mechanisms affect men and women similarly in different contexts, nor which of them are really pushing to the second half of the gender revolution, that is, to male imbrication in the domestic sphere.

5.2.1 Individual factors on men's domestic time.

The time availability perspective raises that the division of labour is rationally allocated responding to availability of household members in relation to the amount of domestic work to be done (England & Farkas, 1986; Coverman, 1985). Time constraints due to employment status and time spent in paid work, family composition or parenthood account for a large amount of variation in women's and men's time. However, prior research in the developed world have shown that, even though men's time is sensitive to these variables, the relation between this indicators and domestic work time differs markedly by gender having women's time more affected by these factors (Shelton's, 1992; Bianchi et al. 2000; Coltrane, 2000). Therefore, independent of individual time pressures, the same equation emerges: while women perform most of the non-flexible routine household chores (cooking, cleaning, shopping or laundry) and childcare, men often

perform the more flexible ones that are discretionary to their own time availability (e.g. household repairs or garden care) (Coltrane & Shih, 2009).

Prior research has shown that employment and time spent in the market are negatively associated with women's and men's time in housework, childcare and leisure, though this association is stronger for women than for men (Sayer, 2005; Bianchi et al. 2012). Parenthood, for its part, is strongly associated with women reduced paid work hours and increased housework and care work hours, while men' increased paid work hours, even among couples with egalitarian arrangements before the birth of the child (Grunow et al. 2012). Care work is even more gendered in the case of the presence of people with disability in the household; women tend to do more care work than men, and they are less likely to be in the labour force, especially when the disabled is a child (Porterfield, 2002; Corcnan et al. 2005).

Hypothesis p (H.p). *Women's market work hours are associated with a reduction in women's own time in housework and care work, however it is not associated with an increase in men's domestic time. Men's time in the market work is associated both with a decrease in their own domestic time and with an increase in women's time.*

Hypothesis q (H.q). *The presence of different people in the household will be associated with different effects in the time women and men spend in domestic chores. While children, elderly and disabled dependents are associated with a greater gender gap in care work due to the larger increase in women's time, the presence of domestic service and elderly will reduce housework time gap reducing women's time due to substitution.*

The relative resources perspective for its part argue that the division of labour is the result of a power relationship in which individual resources are brought into the bargaining set that couples conform (Huber, 1991; Brines, 1994). Work earnings are one of the most important sources of individual power according to this perspective, higher earnings compared to the partner are associated with a reduction in domestic work hours, thus the one who earns the less is more likely to have the core of the domestic responsibilities (Coltrane et al., 2004; Hook, 2017). Moreover, studies have found that the increment of women's own earnings is positively associated with male imbrication in domestic chores

(Coltrane, 2000; Lyonette and Crompton, 2015). Similarly, the more educated the partner is less willing to take up domestic chores as they privilege the public sphere looking for better jobs and higher income (Evertsson & Nermo, 2007; Bianchi et al. 2000). However, even when women reach greater education or earnings than their partners, they still carry out most of the domestic labour (Gracia, 2014; Bittmann, 2015; Latshaw & Hale 2015). Nevertheless, education may promote more time in care, especially childcare, as more educated parents elevate the education standards, and more burden can fall over women (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 1990).

Hypothesis r (H.r). *Couples in which men are more educated than women are associated with a greater amount of women's housework hours compared with couples in which partners have the same education or women is more educated than men. However, more educated women and men can be associated with greater amount of care work hours for both partners, with a greater burden to women.*

Hypothesis s (H.s). *The increase in women's proportional contribution to couples' income is associated with a reduction in women's housework and care work hours, and with an increase in men's time in domestic activities, promoting the second half of the gender revolution.*

Hypothesis t (H.t). *The difference in age between partners can mirror power differences. Couples in which men is older than women are associated with greater amount in women's domestic work hours, compared with couples that have around the same age or couples in which women are older than men.*

Scholars have argued that the underlying mechanism that is behind the permanence of the gendered division of domestic labour -independent from the individual time availability or relative resources- is the gender ideology. Increasing men's involvement in work within the household—the second half of the gender revolution—often challenges prevailing notions of what is “men's work” and “women's work” that is observed in individual beliefs and practices (Kan et al. 2011; Blair-Loy et al. 2015). Following this perspective, studies have shown that couples that have more egalitarian attitudes about work are more likely to develop more egalitarian practices in the domestic sphere (Evertsson, 2014; Grunow & Baur 2013).

5.2.1 The dual culture of Machismo-Marianism

Beliefs about gender and the division of labour conform cultural constructs that are related with individual attitudes and practices (Hochschild, 2012). “Modern” beliefs that research in developed societies well describe, are in the basis of the male-breadwinner family model that subscribes gender specialization. However, these beliefs emerged from the modern nuclearization process of families in industrial urban societies, which is not exactly the case of societies from overseas like Latin-American. In Chile, contemporary gender beliefs conform a complex construction that gather pre-colonial notions with the emerging synthesis that produced colonization and later, industrialization, which is represented through the dual culture of “Machismo-Marianism” (Stevens, 1973; Morandé, 2017). On the one hand, “Machismo” represents the cult of virility that exalts aggressiveness, arrogance and sexual assault in men-women relationship. On the other, “Marianism” is a mechanism of feminine idealization based on the catholic adoration to Virgin Mary. One consequence of “Marianism” is the formation of matrifocal families; families that are not women-centred but mother-centred, where mothers are de facto leader of the household, and conversely the husband-father is a phantasmagorical figure who (if present), is usually marginal to the group relationship, especially regarding the organization of the domestic sphere and childcare responsibilities which are considered emotional activities (Smith 1953/2013; Montecino, 1993). This gender corollary may be hampering further development of the second half of the gender revolution in a deeper way as it encourages women’s second shift (Arriagada, 2009). But it also limits the development of the first half of the gender revolution, as it contributes to the maintenance of modern values and women’s identity of disinterested devotion to family and children (Montecino, 2007).

Nevertheless, qualitative evidence regarding masculinities in the Chilean culture have reveal that new ideals of deeper male imbrication in the domestic sphere have emerged, but these are developed specially among younger and middle-class people. And more importantly, these ideals are played mainly in the field of parenting and particularly

in the affective father-son/daughter relationship, but not on domestic life in general (Olavarria, 2001). Also, prior research has found that married couples may have more modern preferences regarding the division of labour compared with cohabiting couples in Latin cultures (Domínguez-Folgueras, 2012).

Hypothesis u (H.u). *Couples employment status is not associated with a difference in the amount of domestic work time women and men spent, as male-breadwinner couples do not differentiate from two-job couples, due to the presence of a second shift. The only status that is associated with a greater amount of men's time in the domestic sphere is couples in which men are unemployed.*

Hypothesis v (H.v). *Marital status is associated with the gender gap in time spent in domestic labour. Married couples are associated with a greater number of women's domestic work hours.*

The question that arises then is to what extent time availability, relative resources and the gender paradigm, perspectives that well describe the limits of the gender revolution in the developed world, are related to changes on women and men's housework and care work time in the Chilean case, where the second half of the gender revolution is confront with these rooted elements of the local culture.

5.3 Data, Measures, and Method

5.3.1 Data

This chapter examines respondent-reported time use data on housework and care work that were collected in the 2015 Time Use National Survey (ENUT) which is the first of this type applied in Chile. This urban character survey gathers information in person about time use of household members that were 12 years old or older at that moment, based on strict probability sampling methods that covered 10,502 homes. Respondents were asked to retrospectively select the different productive and non-productive activities they did from

a previously define list, during a selected weekday and during a day from weekend, and the time they spent in those activities in hours and minutes. For this analysis I took only information declared for the selected weekday. Even though this survey does not use a time-diary format (considered to be the most accurate measure of time use¹⁷), it is considered an adequate measure of time use that captures both primary and secondary activities since the questionnaire reports time spent in all activities during a 24-hour period.

I wanted to analyse the time use declared in first person by both members of couples that lived together. First, the only certain way to identify couples that lived together was the question about the relation with the head of the household, so I only could incorporate to the analysis the heads of the household with their partners. Second, the survey could not collect time use information from both partners in all households, so the sample were restricted only to households were both registered their own time use information.

The sample were restricted to heterosexual couples¹⁸ living together that were between 18 and 64 years old to focus on couples in economically active age, and to make this analysis comparable with the previous two (Chapters three and four). This lead to a final sample size of 6,298 informants, that is 3,149 couples.

When analysing missing values in time use variables it was observed that the prevalence of non-response was quite low at both the people (few activities without response per informant), and the activity level (few informants without response per variable). On the other hand, the non-response was distributed randomly by sex and age in the variables considered for this chapter. Due to the lack of international experiences of imputation in time data, the risk of generating biases in the estimates and considering the National Statistics Institute recommendations (INE, 2016), I decided not to impute time data for the ENUT. Also, low non-response was observed in explanatory variables, however

¹⁷ See the discussion on methodological strategies in Chapter Two.

¹⁸ Seventeen gay and lesbian couples were identified in the original sample. These cases were excluded from the analysis because even though recent evidence show that similar sociological mechanisms are underneath the division of domestic labour, some necessary particularities need to be considered for the analysis in those situations, which was not the focus of this chapter (see Oerton, 1997 and Goldberg, 2013 for references on the division of labour in gay and lesbian couples).

imputation to the mean was applied and analyses were conducted with and without imputation; no important differences emerged in the results. Finally, since each respondent reported time use for only one weekday and due to the cross-sectional nature of data, no weights were used for the analysis.

5.3.2 Measures

Dependent Variable

Total care work time was obtained by summing respondent time reports of hours and minutes spent in thirteen different types of activities, including emotional work, in a selected weekday: to feed, bed, bathe, to give advice, give medicines, to accompany, help with school tasks, play, read stories, among others. I selected activities respondents spent in three groups of family members: children under fifteen years old, care time spent with household members that were over 65 years old, and care work time spent with permanent disabled dependents.

Housework time for its part, was also obtained by summing respondents reports on time spent in seven different types of activities: cooking and meals' service (including cleaning), housecleaning, laundry and ironing, maintenance and minor home repairs, bills and other financial accounting or activities, food and household supply (shopping), and garden and animal care. I did not distinguish between routine and non-routine activities in models since non-routine activities showed most people reporting spending no time in these tasks in the selected sample; thus, I added both types of activities in one "housework" variable.

With this information, I separately estimated two sub-types of dependent variables: individual time use, and relative time use variables. First, I constructed a set of continuous variables for: 1) women's time spent in housework and care work, and 2) men's time spent in the same activities. Then I estimated relative time use variables: 1) the gender gross gap in time spent in both housework and care work between partners (hers minus his time use), and 2) binary variables to identify egalitarian couples, that is, couples in which the second

half of the gender revolution might be taking place in the division of domestic labour. These variables are coded one when couples report that the difference between women and men time spent in housework and care work is zero hours per day or lower, including couples where men is spending more time than women in domestic chores (egalitarian couples)¹⁹. On the contrary, these variables are coded zero when couples report that women spent more time than their partners in the same activities (modern couples).

These gender gap measures are an arithmetic function of women's and men's relative contribution to the household. It rises or diminishes either because women's or men's time spent in domestic labour increases or decreases with a change in independent variables (Bianchi et al. 2000). That is why using a relative measure as a dependent variable might be a problematic bet, since any change in this variable exposed by regression analysis might be difficult to explain. The independent variables might be affecting women's or men's time, or both simultaneously, that is why I will analyse both individual and relative measures to get a clear image of the way independent and dependent variables are related.

Individual-level explanatory variables

The main scope of this chapter is to analyse whether the three main sociological perspectives are explaining or not a gender convergence in the division of housework and care work within Chilean couples. Particularly, my main target is to identify if time availability, relative resources and gender ideology are associated with the second half of the gender revolution in Chile, or if on the contrary, they are mainly explaining women's time use change. I analyse separately care work from housework to try to identify possible explanatory particularities giving each type of activity.

I include three sets of variables trying to capture the conceptual framing of each perspective. For the time availability perspective, I examine two main dimensions: time

¹⁹ The zero-hour cut point was chosen as a discretionary cut representing the theoretical absence of gender gap between partners. With this cut-point descriptives (Table 1) show a similar distribution of type of couples than what occurs with ELPI survey results (Chapter Four). However, several tests were made considering other cut-points (0,5; 1 and 1,5 hours of difference between partners), and results were the same and even stronger.

spent on paid work and household composition. Employment dimension is measured by each partner's usual number of hours worked per week at one's main job, top-coded 55,5 in case of women and 84 in case of men²⁰. The household composition variables include binary variables to measure the presence of toddlers (0-4 years old), children (5-14 years old)²¹, elderly (66 years old or older), disabled dependents (people that require support for their daily activities) and domestic service.

To test the relative resources perspective, I examine three dimensions: education, income and relative age. Education is measured using set of dummy variables that show whether (a) neither she or he has higher education degree²², (b) both have higher education degree, (c) she has it, but he does not. The reference category in the analysis is couples in which men has higher education degree, but women does not. Relative salary income is obtained by self-report of one's main job wage of the month that preceded the survey application; respondents that were unemployed were coded zero. Then relative income is measured in terms of women's proportion of the couple's total income. Relative age is incorporated by a set of dummy variables: (a) he is more than five years older than she (reference category), (b) her and his age are the same relative age (within 5 years), and (c) she is more than five years older than him.

Regarding the gender perspective, I incorporate two measures. One includes a set of dummy variables of employment statuses for both partners: (a) both are employed, (b) he is unemployed (independent of women's work status), and (c) he is employed, she is not (omitted category). Employment arrangements within couples mirror the presence of the first half of the gender revolution, which might be pushing either to her second shift or to the second half of the gender revolution. And the second is marital status, comparing married couples with cohabiting ones.

²⁰ Both correspond to the percentile 95 of each distribution. Tests were made with and without this adjustment and results did not change.

²¹ It was not possible to examine either the effect associated with the number or gender of toddlers, children or other household members, since the ENUT's household composition module was not completely available in the data base.

²² In higher education I considered both Technical or University credentials.

Finally, controls include several sociodemographic scenarios. I include household size, because more people in the household might mean more burden towards women. Quintile of household income per capita, a measure of socioeconomic status in a country that has high levels of economic inequality (OECD, 2017). Women and men student status (he/she is currently studying or not), considering that students may spend less time in domestic chores. In Chilean territory different indigenous communities reside; even though it is not clear that this condition might provide difference in the way couples allocate time use in domestic labour, I incorporate a control for her/his indigenous identity. Also, I include a control for respondents (women and men) that the day of survey application were sick or disabled. Finally, a control for the day of the week that respondents reported was included.

5.3.3 Method

OLS and Logistic Regressions

Two types of dependent variables are used in this chapter, continuous and binary. Thus, the main estimation strategies are OLS and logistic regressions. I estimated a series of linear and binary logit models using SPSS Statistics 24. The models of this chapter are based on equations (1) and (2) that are expressed by the forms:

$$Y_i = \beta_i T + \beta_i R + \beta_i G + \beta_i C + R_i \quad (1)$$

$$\text{Logit}[P(Y_i = 1)] = \beta_{Ti} T + \beta_{Ri} R + \beta_{Gi} G + \beta_{Ci} C \quad (2)$$

In the linear models (1) Y_i is women's and men's own time spent in housework or care work (depending on the model), and the gross gap of time use between them in those activities in the reported day. In the binomial models (2), $P(Y_i = 1)$ is the likelihood of having an egalitarian arrangement between partners in the time spent in housework and care responsibilities compared with being in a modern arrangement (she has the main

burden of the domestic labour). Egalitarian arrangements are considered when the difference between her minus his time spent in DL is less than or equal to zero, that is, when his time spent in DL exceed or is equal to hers. In both linear and logit models T are the independent variables corresponding to the time availability perspective; R are the independent variables of the relative resources perspective; G are the independent variables corresponding to the gender perspective; and C are the controls. Finally, $R_i(1)$ is the error term assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and variance σ^2 .

The analysis proceeds as follow. First, I tested the association between all three explanatory dimensions (time availability, relative resources and gender perspective) and the time spent in DL by women and men separately (linear models). This gives important outlines about the gendered effects of each explanatory dimension in Chilean couples. Then, I estimated the association between the same dimensions and the gross gender gap in time spent in DL (either opening or closing the gap), to finally analyse the way that these factors explain the odds of being in egalitarian arrangements.

As previously exposed, pursuing to answer each of the hypothesis, I estimated separate models for each type of domestic labour, housework (including routine and non-routine) and care work (including emotional work, childcare and care for elderly and disabled dependents), and hence examine the way explanatory factors are associated with the division of different sort of responsibilities in Chilean couples.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Descriptive

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics of daily number of hours of housework and care work performed by women and men, and the gender gap of time spent in both activities between them (her minus his hours)²³. Consistent with prior research in Chile and different national

²³ All tables and figures of this Chapter are in Appendix D.

contexts, Chilean women perform more hours of housework and care work than men. In average, women spent 4.78 hours doing housework and 2.55 hours doing care work²⁴, while men spent in average 1.58 hours in housework and 1.13 hours in care work. This leads to a daily gender gap of 3.2 hours in housework and 1.42 hours in care work. That is, while in care work women's time almost doubles men's, in housework women's time triples men's. In proportional terms, the share of women's time spent in care for other family members is 69% of the total time spent of both partners on average, and 75% in housework. These results are similar to what was found in the ISSP 2012 (Chapter Three), where women's share of couples' total time was 67% in care work and 77% in housework.

As explain before, I consider to be egalitarian couples the ones where the difference between women's and men's time in domestic chores is negative or equal to zero. That is, where men's time spent in housework or care work is the same or exceed women's time. However, egalitarian couples are not necessarily developing the second half of the gender revolution, indeed, their situation may be hiding women's reduction in time spent in domestic labour through substitution strategies (relatives or non-relatives, focus of analysis in Chapter Four). This is how segregated analysis by gender are necessary to underline the way explanatory factors are or not associated to male imbrication in the domestic sphere.

However, relative measures of the gender gap in time spent in domestic chores are still relevant instruments. Observing couples that sum more than zero hours of care (Table 2), a 17.5% of couples are egalitarian with respect to housework activities, percentage that raises to 22.8% in care work. Moreover, while an 87.7% of modern couples in care work (her time exceed his) are also modern in housework, a 31.1% of egalitarian couples in care work are also egalitarian in housework (Table 3). These results are consistent with what was found in ELPI survey (Chapter Four) and reflect that even when couples tend to spend similar time in care work, housework still remains mainly a feminine task. This is also consistent with prior literature in other national contexts that shows that men tend to be

²⁴ As explained in Methods, care work includes care for children (0-15 years old) and care for older people (over 66 years old).

more favorable to care work (especially non-routine childcare, as play time) than housework (Poortman and Van der Lippe, 2009; Davis and Greenstein, 2009).

Moving to explanatory variables, Table 4 displays descriptive statistics of all independent variables and controls used in the models. Regarding time availability perspective, while in average women spend 21.5 hours in paid work, men spend 45.4 hours. This is considered to be one of the most important determinants of women's and men's time in domestic labour, and as women's time in the domestic sphere doubles (care work) and triples (housework) men's, it is expected that they dedicate less time in the public sphere, demonstrating the gendered division of labour. Time availability is measure also through the presence of other family members. A 29.2% of couples live with toddlers (children aged between 0 and 4 years old), a 46.9% live with children (aged between 5 and 15 years old), a 2.7% with elderly (66 years old or more), a 3.7% with disabled dependents and an 8.1% has external support through domestic service.

Regarding the relative resources perspective, in 68.9% of couples neither she or he has completed higher education degree, while in 14.2% of couples both have completed higher education. Only in 8% of couples he has completed the degree, but she does not; the same percentage of couples where women have completed higher education, but men have not. A 73 % of couples have an age difference kept within 5 years, while couples where man is five years older than woman represent a 21.6%. Finally, in average, women's income represents the 24.1% of total couple's income.

With respect to gender perspective, in most couples both partners are employed (55.8%), while a 37% are male breadwinner couples (only he is employed). In a 7.3% of couples he is not working, independent of woman's employment status. Also, a 67.3% of couples are married.

Finally, regarding control variables, a 9.3% of women and an 8.5% of men recognise to have indigenous identity, and a 3.5% of women and a 3% of men are students. In average, represented households have 3.83 members, and socioeconomic quintile is heterogeneous, having a 16.7% of couples belonging to the first and a 17.2% belonging to the fifth (mean of 2.97 sd. 1.34). Also, a 4% of women and a 1.4% of men declared they were sick or disabled

on the selected day of time use registration, and the average registered week day was Wednesday.

5.4.2 OLS Regressions

Tables 5 and 6 predict female and male variability of housework and care work hours and the gender gap in time spent in those activities by time availability, relative resources and gender ideology factors. Results show a gender patron in the association between these variables, that is, predictors tend to explain more variance in women's than in men's time (see adjusted R-squared statistics).

In terms of time availability, both employment hours and household members are important predictors of unpaid labour time. Women's hours of market work affect couples' housework and care work hours reducing significantly the gender gap, however this occurs due to women's time reduction and not to an increase in men's time, as it occurs in other contexts like the US (Bianchi et al. 2015). However, although significant, the reduction in women's domestic time is marginal, as ten additional hours per week in the market work reduces her time doing housework in only 21 minutes and care work in 10.2 minutes per day²⁵. Men's weekly hours of market work for its part is, as expected, increasing the gender gap in housework and in care work, as it increases women's time in housework, and reduces men's time in both housework and care work. Because most men in Chile work full time (more than 40 hours a week, as the descriptives showed), working 40 hours a week implies an increase of 43.2 minutes a day in the gender gap in housework, and of 24 minutes in care work over the unequal baseline of time allocation.

Toddler and children significantly increase time in care work for both women and men. However, toddlers increase women's care work hours more than two times more than for men, and children's effect over women's time doubles men's (Table 6). The presence of toddlers in the household increases women's time in 4.5 hours a day and men's in 1.9 hours;

²⁵ Calculated as follows: $(-0.035 \times 10) \times 60 \text{ minutes} = 21 \text{ minutes}$ & $(-0.017 \times 10) \times 60 \text{ minutes} = 10.2 \text{ minutes per day}$.

children increases women's time of care work in 2.4 hours and men's in 1.3 hours. Therefore, children and toddlers tend to significantly widen the gender gap in time spent in care work in 1.1 and 2.6 hours a day respectively. As a counterpart, toddlers are associated with a slight reduction in women's time in housework (23 minutes), which might be justified precisely by the great increase in care work hours. Mothers may be slightly moving from housework to care responsibilities. Children, for its part, increase women's and men's time in housework and the gender gap, however these effects are not statistically significant.

The presence of elderly in the household narrows the gender gap in housework time in almost 1 hour a day, but it does through a reduction in women's time and not in men's increase. The family structure and intergenerational exchanges are indicators of how couples cope with domestic labour in different contexts (Eggenbeen, 1992). This result might be showing the presence of substitution strategies through elderly (usually grandmothers) in Chilean couples, replacing women in some domestic activities and hampering the development of the second half of the gender revolution. Nonetheless, elderly increases both women's and men's time in care work, as their presence also generates new care needs, however they do not significantly increase the gender gap in care work time as toddler and children do. On the other hand, disabled dependents increase both women's and men's care work time but are significantly widening the gender gap as women's time increase more than doubles men's (2.8 hours a day of increase for women, 1.1 for men). However, men are compensating this gap in housework where the presence of disabled dependents increases their time in more than half an hour a day; nevertheless, this increase is not enough to generate a reduction in the housework time gender gap. Domestic service for its part does reduce the gender gap in housework by significantly reducing women's time; conversely, it does not affect the division of care time.

The relative resources of men and women also affect the division of unpaid labour time. Compared with couples in which men have a higher education degree but woman does not, couples in which both partners have higher education degree have smaller gender gaps in housework, but it is produced by a significant reduction in woman's time not by an increase in men's. There is not significant difference in housework time of women in

couples where she has more education than he, compared with couples in which he has more educational resources. Educational resources are not affecting the gender gap in care work, although women in couples where both have higher education degree are spending more time in care than women in couples in which they have lower education than men. Also, women and men in couples in which neither of them has completed higher education spend less time in care than couples in which men has higher education. Both results seem to reinforce prior literature as it shows that the more educated -or the higher the couples' cultural capital- the more time they spend in care (specially, childcare) (Craig and Mullan, 2011; Gracia and Esping-Andersen, 2015).

The greater the proportion of couples' income woman earns, the less housework she does, the more her partner does, and the smaller the gender gap. In care work, women's proportional income contribution increase men's time, but do not produce a significant narrow in the gender gap. Women who are around the same age than their partners perform less hours in housework, and men perform more time in care work, however this effect are not statistically significant.

I assessed the gender perspective with measures of couples' employment and marital status. In terms of employment status, only when men are not employed (independent of women's work status) the gender gap in housework is reduced compared with male breadwinner couples. This occur through the increase in men's housework time in 1,4 hours per day, however it is not associated with a change in care time. Being in a couple in which both partners are employed is not associated with a lower gender gap in time spent in housework or care work compared with male-breadwinner couples; this confirms the presence of women's second shift in Chilean two-job couples. Descriptive analysis show that even in couples where women are employed but men not, they spend more time in domestic labour (see Figures 1 and 2). Married women and men spend less time in care work compared with cohabiting couples, however it does not affect neither the gender gap in care work, nor the gender gap in housework.

In terms of controls, being a student reduces women's time in housework in 1 hour and men's care work in 0.4 hours. Household size increase women's time in housework and

slightly reduce men's time, increasing the gender gap. However, having more people in the household reduces women's time in care work, thus reducing the gender gap. Finally, when women are sick or disable, they spend less time in housework and increases men's time, reducing the gender gap in 1.6 hours.

5.4.3 Logistic Regressions

Table 7 compares the associations between time availability, relative resources and gender perspective with the odds of having an egalitarian division of housework and care work, that is, when women's and men's daily time spent in those activities are the same, or men's time exceed women's. However, having an egalitarian arrangement may not necessarily mirror a revolutionary division of domestic labour. Prior results given by OLS analysis have shown that most of the narrowing in the gender gap is explained by a reduction in women's domestic time but not by a men's higher imbrication, and that the work that women have left might being replaced by other household members (grandmothers, domestic service or others). This is especially relevant considering that in this analysis I have not considered the total hours that all household member spent in domestic labour.

However, most couples that compose the sample (Figure 3) live alone or with dependents in the household (toddler, children or elderly) (16% and 64% respectively, sum 80% of the sample). And considering that the household size's mean is 3.83, most couples are dealing with domestic labour by themselves. Therefore, egalitarian arrangements (especially when men's time exceeds women's) still might be enlightening the emergence of the second half of the gender revolution.

In terms of time availability, ten extra hours in women's weekly hours in the market work are increasing the changes to be an egalitarian couple in housework in 12%, however it is not significantly associated with having an egalitarian arrangement in care work. Men's paid work hours, as expected, are negatively associated with the odds of having an egalitarian division of housework and care work; the more hours he works per week, the

less likely to develop the second half of the gender revolution. The presence of toddlers and children in the household reduce the odds of being an egalitarian couple in 94% and 95% respectively. However, toddlers and children are not associated with the odds of being egalitarian in housework, denoting that the gendered division of housework might be produced in Chilean couples before having children as it may be naturalized since the conformation of life as a couple. As OLS results showed, overall the proportional contribution of men is not significantly different in couples with and without toddlers and children (Figure 4).

The presence of elderly decreases significantly the odds of being an egalitarian couple in care work in 56% while increases the odds of being egalitarian in housework in 29%, however this result is not statistically significant. Domestic service for its part, increases the odds of being egalitarian in a 40%; OLS showed that this is produced by the reduction in female hours. The factor that is effectively related to the second half of the gender revolution in housework is the presence of disabled dependents in the household. It increases the odds of being an egalitarian couple in an 83%, and according to OLS analysis, it is through men's higher imbrication (Table 5). On the other hand, it decreases the odds of being egalitarian in care in a 90%, that is women are mainly assuming their care while men are replacing them in housework.

The only indicator of the relative resources perspective that is strongly associated with the odds of being an egalitarian couple is women's relative contribution to couples' total income. The more women earn compared with men, the more likely of being in an egalitarian arrangement. Also, couples in which both have higher education degree are more likely to be egalitarian in housework compared with couples in which only the man has degree. And couples with and age difference within 5 years have higher odds to be in egalitarian division of care work than couples in which the man is older. However, these two results are significant only at $p \leq 0.10$.

In terms of gender ideology, married couples are more likely to have egalitarian arrangement in care (similar to what was found in Chapter Four, with the division of

childcare), however this effect is also significant at $p \leq 0.10$. When men are not employed, the odds of being egalitarian couples are 2.3 times the odds of couples where men are employed but women are not.

Finally, controls confirm results of OLS analysis. When women are students, their odds of being in an egalitarian couple in housework are 69% higher than non-student women. Also, when women are sick or disabled the odds of divide equally housework are more than three times higher than when women are healthy. Regarding care work, the more members have the household, the more likely that couples are egalitarian. OLS analysis showed that this reduces both partner's time as the distribution of care is being made among more people, however, the main reduction is produced in women's time (Table 6). Quintile is positively associated with the odds of being an egalitarian couple, the wealthier the household the more likely of being an egalitarian couple. However, this result might be hiding a non-linear association that I did not measure because I only incorporate this variable as a control.

5.5 Summary and Conclusions

This study underscores the continued gendered division of housework and care work in Chilean couples. Gender segregation of tasks continues, with women performing the core of the domestic responsibilities to a large degree. Results show that women's time seems more sensitive to explanatory factors than men's, and scarce elements are driving to the second half of the gender revolution.

In terms of social determinants affecting how couples divide up unpaid labour in Chile, I have found that time availability, relative resources and gender ideology are important predictors of the gap between partners' time in housework and care work. However, time availability and relative resources measures account for more of the variance

of the domestic chores time allocation than the gender perspective variables. It is possible that gender perspective indicators used for this analysis are not the best to capture the essence of gender ideology, but no other indicators were available in the questionnaire. However, the fact that men's time is less responsive to time availability and relative results suggest that gender ideology keeps as the underlying mechanism that hinders the second half of the gender revolution (Goldscheider et al., 2015). Still, some conclusions emerge for the three perspectives.

Time availability factors affect differentially women's and men's time. While women's time in the market work are associated with a reduction in women's time in housework and care work (H.p), as expected it is not associated with a men's increase in their domestic time. Men's time in the market work for its part affects women's and men's own time by increasing women's housework and decreasing men's domestic time. Children, elderly and disabled dependents are associated to an increase in the number of women's and men's care work time, however women's increase is larger widening the gender gap. Domestic service and the presence of elderly reduces women's housework time as expected, and thus, reduce the gender gap (H.q).

The hypothesis in which I affirmed that the more equal the relative resources that partners have, the more likely that men are more involved in the domestic sphere has been partially probed. More equal relative resources in education is associated with a lower amount of women's time in housework (H.r). Also, the higher the proportion of couples' income that women's salary represent, the less time women spent in housework and the more time men spent in housework and in care work (H.s). More educated men and women are associated with an increase in the amount of care work hours, increasing the burden towards women's time. The age difference between partners did not make a difference in the gender gap (H.t).

Finally, there is no significant difference between male-breadwinner couples and two-job couples confirming the prevalence of women's second shift (H.u). The only situation in which men spend more time in housework and care work is when they are

unemployed. Marriage is associated with a greater amount of women's housework time compared with cohabiting couples (0.2 more hours per day), however it is not associated with an increase in the gender gap. However, controlling for all other determinants (including domestic service) being married is associated with a reduction in both women's and men's time in care work (H.v). This is an unexpected result. Some evidence in the UK show that married couples tend to spend more time sharing together than cohabiting couples in the weekdays, which may lead to a reduction in other activities like sharing with children (Gatenby, 2005). This can be one explanation for this time difference between married and cohabiting couples, unfortunately, I cannot confirm that since I have not observed those activities.

Overall, when both the role of the time availability, relative resources and gender ideology perspectives are analysed, selection and endogeneity is always present to some degree. For instance, female labour force participation (first half of the gender revolution) is one of the most relevant factors that promote a retreat in women's domestic work time and later, men imbrication in the domestic sphere in developed societies (second half of the gender revolution). However female labour force participation itself is influenced by a set of individual and contextual factors related to the gender culture (Goldscheider et al. 2015). Women are less likely to be in the labour force, and more likely to leave work when they have children or when their male partners work more hours (Stone, 2007). The permanence of modern gender beliefs and attitudes in Latin America –as in other regions– discourages female imbrication in paid work (Contreras & Plaza, 2010), as well as the permanence of a gender wage discrimination, the presence of educational ceiling, or the presence of family policies that encourage maternalism (i.e. long maternal leaves) (Ñopo et al. 2012; Carrillo et al. 2014; Betancor & Robano, 2014; Pedula & Thébaud, 2015).

Fertility is another example of how gender scripts are conditioning family behaviour. Prior studies have found that fertility is associated with the unequal division of domestic labour as the workload derived from it falls mainly on women (Baxter et al. 2008; Kühhirt 2011). However, fertility is also the result of an intricate set of mothers and fathers'

individual and contextual characteristics. Parenthood is influenced by life course circumstances and trajectories, including age, education, employment, marital pathways, childbearing expectations and economic conditions (Bongaarts et al. 2017; Liefbroer 2005; Puur et al. 2008); factors that affect differently women and men (Dykstra and Hagestad 2007; Keizer et al. 2008). But fertility is also affected by couples' gender role attitudes and practices, as more equal housework arrangements seems to favour parity, as well as the perceived degree of work-family conflict predicts the intentions to having children (Oláh 2003; Cooke 2009; Began and Mills 2011). Nonetheless, this association varies across countries (Miller Short and Torr 2004; Mills et al. 2008), and causality is always difficult to achieve (Balbo et al., 2012).

Consequently, time availability, relative resources and gender ideology conform a complex picture when analysing the gendered division of domestic labour, especially in less observed societies like Chile where the widespread validation of gender specialization and its permanence over time, stands on a cultural construction that goes beyond the process of societal modernization and which origins precede it.

5.6 Limitations

This chapter analyse a new measure of the division of domestic labour examining the first time use survey that has been applied in Chile. This instrument seems to be the more accurate to estimate women's and men's daily time in the domestic sphere, and results seems to be consistent with previous literature that use this type of instruments. However, some cultural particularities have emerged that open future research scenarios.

One important element that has emerged in this analysis is that, giving Chapter Three and Four analysis, the different instruments analysed tend to report similar results in terms of the associations between explanatory determinants and the division of domestic labour between partners.

The most relevant limitation of this study, as previous chapters is that analysis do not allow to conclude causality. However, the incorporation of several controls can favour the expression of strong associations. Other limitation is the impossibility to incorporate a measure of all household members' time allocation, since not all reported information. This could have provided a frame of reference of the total time spent in domestic chores, especially in households with more members. Finally, the lack of attitudinal variables in the survey is a relevant limitation to capture the gender ideology perspective. The proxy variables that I have chosen might not be the more accurate.

6

Chapter Six

Discussion and conclusion

Main results

The main scope of this research was to uncover the determinants of the second half of the gender revolution, that is, which are the main elements that drive to egalitarianism in the division of housework and care work, and more specifically which factors are associated with men's imbrication in the domestic sphere.

The hypothesis that I proposed are based in the sociological discussion that has been developed since the middle of the last century, observed through three theoretical perspectives: functionalism, life course perspective, and feminist theory. Functionalism argue that the gendered division of domestic labour is due to women's natural advantage in childcare and that this biological predisposition makes specialization functional for society (Parsons and Bales, 1955). While women invest time, energy and love in rising child, men invest time, energy and money in the public sphere, so the retribution of both productive investments bring profit to the household (Becker, 1981). If men are specialized in the labour force, and is economically effective, then specialization is desirable for family's wellbeing as it maximize the efficiency of the household (Becker, 1987).

As explained in Chapter One, this microeconomic argument inspired the development of the relative resources perspective in recent decades' social research which raise the idea that if women also invest in the public sphere, then their economic retribution might force to a reconfiguration of roles in the domestic sphere (Baxter and Hewitt, 2013; Ajenjo and García, 2014). Following this, I proposed that the division of domestic labour depends on the difference between women's and men's earnings. The comparative advantage in the market influence the allocation of domestic labour within couples so the one who earns the more spend less time in the domestic sphere (**Hypothesis 1**).

Findings have shown that this hypothesis is correct for both Chilean and international samples observed. In all three empirical studies the relative resources variables have been statistically significant showing that when women's income is equal or higher than their partners, the gender gap is narrowed as they spend less time in housework

and care work and couples are more likely to be in a revolutionary arrangement. Moreover, analysis based in Chile's ENUT have shown that the higher the proportion of total couples' income produced by women is associated with an increase in men's time in domestic chores.

The life course perspective for its part answered functionalism arguing that couples respond to a broader social and cultural context in which bargaining process take place, and that includes the family life stage (raising children, empty nest, aging, etc.) (Bengston and Allen, 1993). Research that followed this perspective have tested the role of time availability of partners which considers the relation between family structure (presence of children, toddlers, elderly), and the time they spend in paid work. Based on this argument, I posed a second hypothesis to say that the way couples allocate domestic labour respond to time limitations that comprise a sum of elements: the presence of children and toddlers in the household, grandparents or elderly, domestic service and the time partners spend in paid work (**Hypothesis 2**). Results have shown that in the international sample children are related with an increase in the gender gap both in housework and in care work. However, in Chile the presence of children and toddlers are associated with an increase in the gender gap of time spent mainly in childcare as it reduces the likelihood of having a revolutionary arrangement between partners. Children and toddlers are linked with an increase in both women's and men's childcare hours, however the increase is significantly higher for women. Housework for its part is not significantly affected by the presence of school age children, which might be reflecting that the division of housework is assigned in gendered lines before having school aged children (Goldscheider et al. 2012). Toddlers are associated with a reduction in women's housework hours, which might be a compensation for the significant increase in their care work hours. Men's housework hours are not significantly associated with the presence of children or toddlers as expected.

The presence of elderly in the home (grandparents or not) is associated with a reduction in the odds of having a revolutionary arrangement within the couple. Their presence increases the odds of women's centrality in care work and housework, but it also increases the odds of substitution strategies in both type of activities. It seems that in Chile

while the presence of elderly implies more work for the family home, they are exerting a substitution role of women's labour discouraging the second half of the gender revolution. Domestic service for its part is also associated with substitution as it is related with a retreat in the gender gap due to women's reduction in housework hours, however it is not related with a significant reduction of women's care work hours. It seems more possible the externalization of housework through non-relatives than care work -especially childcare- in a society that privileges motherhood as the main symbolic dimension of women's identity (Montecino, 1990).

Finally, women's time in paid work seems the only mechanism in the time availability perspective that might be driving to the second half of the gender revolution in Chilean couples. It is associated with a reduction in women's time in domestic chores, but in couples with young children it is also associated with higher odds of having revolutionary arrangement rather than modern both in childcare and in housework. However, it is associated more strongly to substitution strategies, that is, it seems that in some couples it is pushing to the second half of the gender revolution but above all it is related to externalization of workload in other persons. This might be reflecting a stalled revolution (Hochschild, 1989) that is not displayed because of the operation of other daily collaboration mechanisms that are common in Chilean society. Collaboration mainly given by relatives and that also may be determining residential decision (Rodríguez, 2004; Segalen, 2004).

Feminist perspective has argued that both the role of relative resources and time availability are mirroring the permanence of gender scripts that assign women to powerless positions in the public sphere in the modernization process, and that has rooted a gender ideology of separation of spheres that limits male imbrication in the home (Collins, 1991; Greenstein, 1996; Elson, 1999). Research in this line has tried to unfold the permanence or change in gender values as the baseline mechanism that explain the lack of men's participation in the private sphere. In this regard I raised that the permanence of "modern" gender values that privileges the male-breadwinner model both in the micro level (gender attitudes, labour practices and marital status) and macro level (women's power in the

public sphere and family policy) might be limiting men's participation in housework and care work (**Hypothesis 3**).

Results showed that regarding the micro level dimension, gender ideology matters. First, as prior research has shown, in Chile the more the division of labour is identified with modern values the less likely to develop a revolutionary arrangement, both in childcare and in housework. Gender role attitudes are related to modernism in the division of labour in Chilean couples with young children. However, marriage is associated with higher odds of having revolutionary arrangement in childcare compared with cohabitation but is not associated with the second half of the gender revolution in care work in general when observing couples overall. Married fathers of young children might be more willing to take care of them compared to cohabiting fathers, which may be related with personal qualities that are associated with the selection into marriage that make them more involved in fatherhood.

Regarding labour practices in the couple, having both partners employed is not associated with the second half of the gender revolution. Controlling for all other determinants, two-earning couples are not developing more equal arrangements compared with male-breadwinner couples, showing the presence of women's second shift (Hochschild, 1989). The only scenario in which men are more involved in housework is when they are unemployed (independent of women's employment status), though it is not associated with higher involvement in care work compared with male-breadwinner couples. This factor seems to be mirroring the permanence of modern gender values for the division of domestic labour.

Finally, with respect to gender ideology in the macro level dimension, the first finding is that the variance of the division of labour within couples associated with countries characteristics is around 5%, that is, even though it is statistically significant, more than 90% of the variance is explained by individual factors and not national ones. Considering this, international study showed that women's power in the public sphere (measured by the Gender Gap Index) is directly associated with a reduction in the gender gap in both

housework and care work observed in proportional and gross terms. However, I did not test whether this narrowing is only due to the reduction of women's time or to an increase in men's time in domestic chores. In terms of social policy, living in a country that has paid paternity leave (leave especially design for fathers after the birth of a child) is not directly associated with overall couples' allocation of housework time, though it is associated with a reduction in the effect of children over the division of this type of work. That is, children "modernist force" is less strong in countries that have this policy. However, because of the nature of my analysis it is not possible to infer that it is due to a longer dedication of time by men, but considering the masculine emphasis of this policy, it is possible that this is the case. Nonetheless, paid paternity leave is not associated with a retreat in the gender gap in care work, which pose the fact that equality in care seems more difficult to achieve by social policy.

Discussion

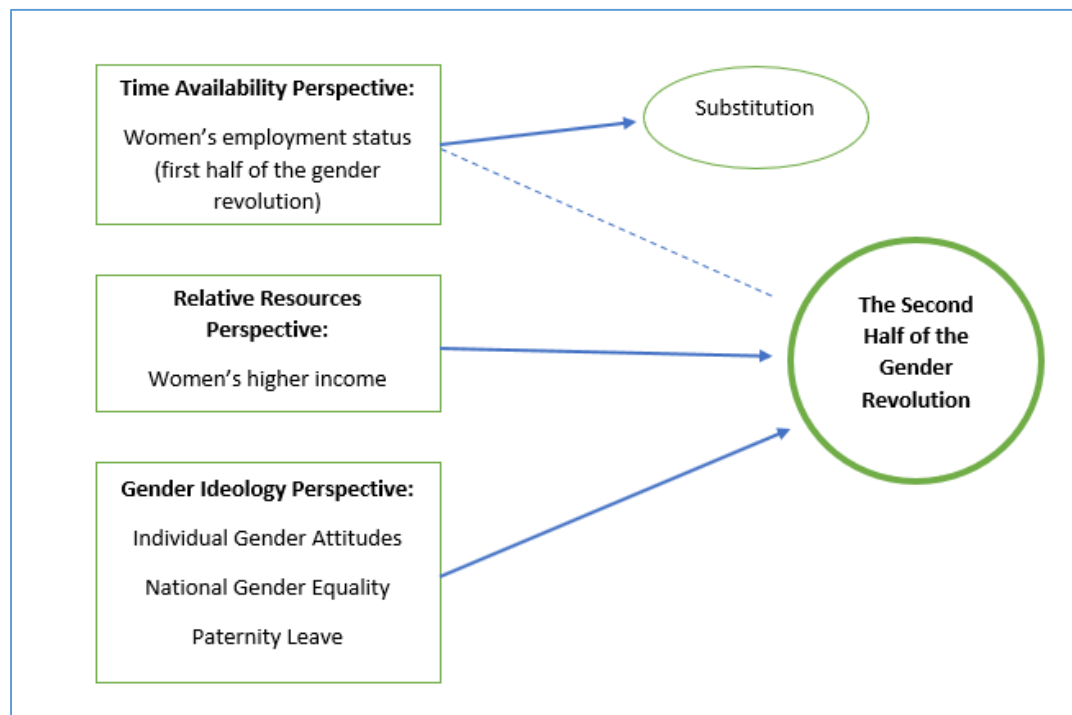
It is an undeniable fact that women and men maintain differentiated roles in contemporary societies as did in the modern period. This dissertation has tried to add elements to this debate by demonstrating that the gendered division of labour remains strong and somehow inalienable in the private sphere were the second half of the gender revolution has been difficult to achieve.

As shown in Chapter Three, women participation in the work force is an important source of differences between countries, and the first half of the gender revolution has been more limited in Latin American countries. While in some countries women work more than 30 hours per week in average in a paid job, in others the time they spent fall under 15 hours a week. On the other hand, considering that even in countries with the highest female labour force participation they spend more time than men in the private sphere, in countries were the first half of the gender revolution has been limited men's domestic work contribution is even lower.

Chile show one of the highest gender gaps in the allocation of domestic time (Chapter Three). The low social value of domestic work, the lack of economic retribution and its invisibility contrast with the high cultural value of economic success as a reflection of success in public life (Huber, 1991; Davis and Greenstein, 2009). Consequently, both the search for recognition and the competitiveness in the public sphere will make men continue to escape from a sphere that does not reward them for what they expect.

Results in Chapter Three, Four and Five confirm that what might be driving to the second half of the gender revolution is precisely women's higher power produced by their imbrication in the public sphere. At the micro level dimension, women's higher relative earnings and women's more equal gender attitudes, and at the societal level, lower gender inequality levels and the presence of social policy that seeks to break the modern gender role pattern (paid paternity leave) are associated with more equal arrangements in the domestic sphere. Therefore, the second half of the gender revolution seems only conceivable in my research for the pressure exerted by women through the gains of power in the public sphere. That is, first half of the gender revolution is not driving the change in male roles by itself, as it is associated more strongly to substitution strategies than to the second half of the gender revolution (Chapter Four). Is women's relative power and penetration in the public domain and the change in personal and national gender ideology what seems to be significantly associated with men's imbrication in the private sphere (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Gender Revolution Social Mechanism.



Note: Figure based on the factors that resulted to be statistically significant associated with the second half of the gender revolution.

Undoubtedly the fact that the first half of the gender revolution is not strongly associated with the second half shows that this process is full of cultural tensions and resistances due to the permanence of gender role values that validate the separation of spheres (Goldscheider et al. 2012). This dissertation has exposed the relevance of the distinction between housework and care work to consider these obstacles. As results revealed in the Chilean case, time availability keeps affecting mainly women's care work time, as the responsibility for children, elderly and other dependents remain under their errands, expanding the gender gap independent of women's employment status, income and other determinants. As explained before, women's second shift is evident in the Chilean case as being in a two-job couple is not significantly associated with a higher imbrication of men in the domestic chores compared with male-breadwinner couples (Chapter Five). In fact, women's employment makes more likely substitution strategies

than equality between partners (Chapter Four, Figure 1). In this sense, substitution is a relevant relief mechanism for Chilean women, as the presence of domestic service or other adult relatives in the household are associated with a retreat in women's housework hours. However, this substitution is generally made by female counterparts, as most of domestic workers are women and the household members that dispose help are usually grandmothers; hence, reproducing the feminization of domestic work (Arriagada, 2007).

Gender ideology, as previous research has shown, constitute an important barrier to the second half of the gender revolution (Chapter Four and Five). The more modern in terms of gender values are women, the more likely to develop modern arrangements with their partner. The fact that two-job couples are not significantly associated with the second half of the gender revolution might be reflecting the permanence of modern values regarding the division of domestic labour. Marriage for its part, is not significantly associated with an increase in women's hours and a decrease in men's in Chilean couples as I expected. On the contrary, married couples of young children might be more likely to have more egalitarian arrangement in childcare (Chapter Four and Five). However, it might not be explained by marriage itself, but by other mechanisms that I could not clarify in this research opening future explorations.

Moving to macro-level determinants, power gathered by women in the public sphere is a factor associated with a retreat in the gender gap (measured here by the Global Gender Gap Index, GGG). But social policy is also a relevant element to be considered. In this research I found that even a social policy that have been thought to promote male imbrication in the domestic sphere -paternity leave- is not directly associated to a retreat in the gender gap between partners when all controls are incorporated. However, paternity leave is associated with a reduction of the effect associated to the widening in housework gender gap that children produce. That is, paternity leave might be promoting that men participate more in housework as they spend more time at home but is not associated with higher imbrication in care work. Is it women's gatekeeping which is explaining this outcome? It is possible that the permanence of gender values that validates segregation in

care work are underneath this result as other scholars have previously suggested (Allen & Hawkins, 1999).

Methodological contribution and final comments.

In this work, I argue that to address the gender gap in the division of domestic labour it is necessary to examine the two levels in which couples' bargaining process take place: individual and national contexts. As explained, household characteristics, as the primary place of socialization process, involve a series of factors that promote or discourage the second half of the gender revolution (time availability, relative resources and gender ideology) (Chapter Four and Five). But macro-level institutional contexts are also crucial for favouring or not the narrowing of the gender gap in time spent in the private sphere (Chapter Three). All these factors seem to affect differentially women and men, highlighting the permanent relevance of gender scripts in the culture. In general, the link between individual and contextual factors with the division of domestic labour resulted as my hypothesis regarded at the beginning of this research. However, these associations are not straightforward to pinpoint. A note of caution in interpreting the results is required, considering that many factors were not accounted for in the analyses (mainly due to questionnaire limitations) and that the analysis strategies used in this research may not conclude causal relations. However, the associations found in each of the chapters, using different data sets and analysis strategies allows me to conclude that results are consistent, coherent with prior literature and theoretically substantive.

This is an important scientific find. In this research I have tested different sources of information using different strategies of analysis, and beyond differences at a descriptive level, explanatory analysis report similar associations when comparing each study. This fact helps to understand that the available sources of information are robust and interpret the behaviour of couples in a similar way.

In general, the emergence of the second half of the gender revolution seems to be promoted by women's relative power in families and overall societies and hindered by the permanence of gender values that maintain the social need of women in work related to children or other dependants. In a highly unequal country like Chile (economically and in gender terms), the low female labour force participation is affecting family capacities to overcome poverty and is limiting the development of the second half of the gender revolution. The state then has a role not only fostering the first half of the gender revolution as has been doing in the past (through care policies, labour policy, etc.), but also on the promotion of men's commitment with the private sphere, not only for relieving women's second shift, but to promote an equalization of gender conditions in the public sphere.

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Appendix A for Chapter One.

Table 1. Female labour force participation rate by country (1990/2007).

Country	1990	2017
Argentina	44	47
Bolivia	56	55
Brazil	42	53
Chile	32	51
Colombia	30	59
Costa Rica	33	45
Ecuador	46	55
Salvador	40	47
Guatemala	39	41
Honduras	43	51
México	33	44
Peru	43	69
Uruguay	46	56
Venezuela	42	50
OECD	48	51

Source: ILOSTAT, 2017.

Table 2. Proportion of total expenditure on care, according to household income quintile and head of household' sex (2005).

Country	Year	Total	Per capita household income quintile					Head of household' sex	
			I	II	III	IV	V	Man	Woman
Bolivia	2003-2004	3,3	1,7	1,1	1,3	2,5	5,5	3,3	3,5
Brazil	2002	3,1	2,8	2,8	3,3	3,3	3,2	3,1	3,1
Chile	2006-2007	7,0	1,3	1,9	5,1	7,3	8,4	6,7	7,8
Colombia	2007	3,4	2,0	2,0	3,0	4,1	4,5	3,4	3,5
Costa Rica	2004	4,3	6,0	5,6	6,0	4,2	3,9	4,1	5,0
Ecuador	2003-2004	2,0	1,5	2,4	2,6	2,4	1,7	2,0	2,2
Salvador	2006	4,5	1,1	3,3	4,6	5,2	4,5	4,3	4,8
Honduras	2004	4,3	4,7	3,5	3,0	3,9	5,2	4,2	4,4
Mexico	2006	6,2	3,8	4,5	5,9	7,1	6,9	6,0	6,6
Nicaragua	2005	7,4	8,6	6,7	6,8	5,7	8,2	7,5	7,0
Panama	2007	3,3	2,3	2,5	3,7	3,7	3,5	3,0	3,8
Peru	2008	6,0	4,5	8,2	7,9	6,6	5,6	5,5	7,7
Dominican Rep.	2007	6,5	7,3	4,6	6,0	5,9	7,3	6,4	6,7
Uruguay	2005-2006	5,7	9,6	5,3	5,9	5,6	5,6	5,0	6,7

Source: Social Panorama of Latin America 2012, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC, 2012).

Table 3. Time use in selected activities 1965-2011: weekly average hours by sex and country.

Country	Year	Economic Activity		Unpaid Domestic Work					
		Women	Men	Housework		Children Care		Total	
				Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
North America and Australia									
Australia	1987	16,9	35,5	27,2	13,8	5,8	1,6	33,0	15,3
	2006	14,9	28,9					36,3	20,1
Canada	1971	18,8	41,2	29,5	8,9	6,2	1,5	35,7	10,4
	1981	17,2	30,7	23,0	11,1	4,3	1,5	27,3	12,5
	1986	17,5	32,9	24,6	12,1	4,3	1,4	28,9	13,5
	2005	21	29,8					29,9	19,8
USA	1965	18,7	48,3	32,1	8,8	5,7	1,3	37,8	10,0
	1975	16,7	37,6	27,6	9,6	4,4	1,3	32,0	10,9
	1986	24,5	41,3	29,9	17,4	2,0	0,8	31,9	18,1
	2013	19,4	29,4					27,1	10,0
Western Europe									
Germany	1965	13,3	42,4	39,3	10,2	4,9	0,9	44,2	11,1
	2002	15,6	25,9					31,4	16,5
Belgium	1966	19,3	50,8	34,7	6,0	3,6	0,8	38,4	6,9
	2005	14,6	23,6					28,6	19,1
Denmark	2001	17,2	24,6					28,4	21,7
Spain	2002	17,0	32,3					32,8	10,9
Finland	1979	21,8	30,0	22,5	10,8	3,0	0,9	25,6	11,7
	2009	18,9	23,2					27,1	18,6
France	1965	21,7	51,8	35,0	9,9	7,6	1,3	42,6	11,3
	2009	13,5	20,2					27,2	16,7
Norway	1972	14,4	40,0	32,8	5,7	4,4	1,2	37,2	6,9
	1981	17,1	34,2	25,1	7,1	4,8	2,0	29,8	9,2
	2010	21,2	29,3					34,5	21,5
Netherlands	1975	5,8	27,3	27,1	7,1	5,3	1,6	32,4	8,7
	1980	7,1	23,9	27,9	7,4	5,5	1,5	33,4	8,8
	2011	14,4	26,4					24,7	15,5
United Kingdom	1961	16,5	45,7	31,1	4,3	2,6	0,4	33,9	4,8
	1975	17,2	39,6	27,1	4,9	2,4	0,6	29,5	5,5
	1984	14,1	26,8	26,4	10,3	3,6	1,1	30,0	11,4
	2005	19,7	30,2					30,1	16,5
Eastern Europe									
Bulgaria	1965	42,6	52,9	25,6	11,1	29,9	1,4	28,6	12,5
	1988	37,7	46,9	29,3	14,3	4,3	1,1	33,7	15,3
	2009	17,7	23,8					33,1	16,2
Hungary	1965	34,0	56,6	36,3	5,5	4,7	2,5	41,0	7,9
	1976	26,7	41,5	30,2	10,9	3,0	1,4	33,3	12,3
	2009	15,4	23,5					33,3	17,9
Poland	1965	30,5	52,2	35,5	9,7	5,3	2,7	38,9	12,4
	1984	24,9	42,2	30,5	7,7	4,4	2,0	34,9	9,7
	2003	15,9	27,3					35,5	18,3
Latin America									
Argentina	2005	19,3	36,6					29,9	10,9
Brazil	2001	35,9	44,4					24,1	10,0
	2008	35,3	42,5					20,9	9,2
Chile	2008	17,3	31,9					28,1	10,0
Colombia	2007	42,0	48,1					32,0	13,1
Ecuador	2007	28,8	34,4					47,9	27,9
Guatemala	1977	29,4	56,7	39,9	6,3	9,8	4,6	49,7	10,9
	2011	15,4	50,3					48,8	9,6
Peru	1966	15,1	52,1	36,0	5,6	4,5	0,5	40,5	6,1
	2010	21,5	42,9					46,3	14,8
Uruguay	2007	18,7	34,6					34,8	13,4
Venezuela	1983	15,5	42,2	28,2	3,0	4,0	0,7	32,2	3,7

Source: Based on consolidated data from the United Nations (1992), UN Women (2015).

Appendix B for Chapter Three.

Figure 1. ISSP Sample of Countries with the Requested Information.

Region	Country
Western Europe	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Netherlands, Switzerland
Northern Europe	Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden
Southern Europe	Croatia, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain
Eastern Europe	Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovakia
North America	United States, Canada
Oceania	Australia
Asia	Israel, Japan, Philippines, South Korea
Latin America	Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Venezuela
Africa	South Africa

Table 1. Individual-level Descriptive Statistics by Country

Country	Relative Income	Children in the Household	Respondent's sex	Respondent's age		Respondent's years of education		Her paid work hours per week		N
	(Woman earn less than him)	(Yes)	(Females)	Means	SD	Means	SD	Means	SD	
AR-Argentina	70,8%	75,4%	56,1%	37	10	11	5	30,69	18,89	264
AU-Australia	69,6%	61,3%	60,9%	42	9	15	3	25,33	17,12	514
AT-Austria	75,7%	44,5%	58,2%	40	10	12	2	26,88	15,20	416
BE-Belgium	62,3%	58,5%	54,7%	40	9	14	3	30,30	15,56	677
CA-Canada	62,6%	50,0%	40,2%	46	8	15	3	29,37	18,03	174
CL-Chile	73,7%	76,5%	64,4%	40	10	11	4	16,96	21,24	452
HR-Croatia	58,6%	60,3%	53,0%	40	9	13	2	34,01	16,62	302
CZ-Czech Republic	66,2%	55,8%	56,0%	40	8	13	2	34,34	16,40	650
FI-Finland	56,3%	61,0%	55,8%	40	10	15	3	31,37	16,19	421
FR-France	62,0%	70,3%	70,1%	40	9	15	4	30,37	14,44	768
DE-Germany	71,0%	55,5%	55,5%	41	9	13	4	23,08	16,83	573
HU-Hungary	74,0%	63,0%	50,2%	40	8	12	3	29,23	19,35	281
IS-Iceland	70,2%	73,8%	52,2%	39	9	17	3	31,53	16,23	423
IE-Ireland	60,2%	68,9%	73,0%	42	8	16	3	25,24	16,75	415
IL-Israel	63,1%	83,7%	64,0%	39	9	14	3	28,19	17,66	417
JP-Japan	90,6%	69,0%	60,5%	42	8	14	2	21,92	18,77	352
KR-Korea (South)	75,2%	69,6%	61,0%	43	7	13	3	23,52	23,63	408
LV-Latvia	63,9%	66,8%	58,3%	39	10	14	3	30,32	18,45	319
LT-Lithuania	67,1%	66,1%	57,6%	40	9	14	2	31,44	17,79	316
MX-Mexico	60,9%	74,8%	48,3%	37	9	10	4	18,92	22,28	507
NL-Netherlands	77,4%	61,3%	63,0%	42	8	16	3	23,48	13,52	349
NO-Norway	60,8%	67,7%	52,7%	40	9	15	4	36,31	14,41	533
PH-Philippines	78,6%	90,9%	57,1%	38	9	9	3	14,89	21,31	473
PL-Poland	65,0%	68,5%	55,7%	40	9	14	4	31,73	17,45	343
PT-Portugal	48,2%	58,6%	53,8%	42	9	11	4	33,85	15,71	249
RU-Russia	69,9%	60,6%	62,6%	38	10	13	3	27,16	20,10	409
SK-Slovakia	72,3%	57,8%	52,6%	43	8	14	3	34,13	15,44	329
SI-Slovenia	51,9%	59,8%	54,4%	42	8	13	3	34,47	15,22	316
ZA-South Africa	66,7%	67,5%	65,3%	40	9	12	4	26,50	20,89	360
ES-Spain	63,3%	58,8%	55,1%	43	8	15	12	28,67	17,43	730
SE-Sweden	64,8%	61,3%	57,9%	41	9	14	3	32,97	14,76	349
CH-Switzerland	65,3%	56,4%	51,7%	42	9	14	4	22,23	16,77	470
US-United States	66,5%	54,1%	54,4%	40	9	14	3	26,57	20,91	316
VE-Venezuela	50,2%	82,4%	60,4%	38	9	11	3	26,34	17,67	227

Table 2. Dependent Variables and Country-Level Descriptive Statistics by Country

Country	Gross Difference in Household Work (her hours minus his)	Her Proportion of Total Household Work Hours	Gross Difference in Care Work (her hours minus his)	Her Proportion of Total Care Work Hours	Global Gender Gap Index		Paternity leave
	Means	Means	Means	Means	(Original)	(Normalized)	
AR-Argentina	16,75	70,40	18,53	69,32	0,73	0,42	Yes
AU-Australia	8,25	65,26	14,31	67,34	0,74	0,46	Yes
AT-Austria	10,78	68,78	11,26	63,07	0,73	0,40	No
BE-Belgium	6,80	66,44	5,90	62,93	0,78	0,64	Yes
CA-Canada	5,90	62,05	4,67	56,93	0,75	0,48	No
CL-Chile	21,98	77,03	18,95	72,13	0,70	0,26	Yes
HR-Croatia	12,92	70,91	9,48	61,51	0,71	0,31	Yes
CZ-Czech Republic	10,78	69,48	9,36	67,05	0,67	0,15	No
FI-Finland	4,60	63,65	5,48	59,10	0,85	0,93	Yes
FR-France	5,89	69,72	8,12	63,88	0,76	0,54	Yes
DE-Germany	10,04	70,92	10,20	64,44	0,78	0,63	No
HU-Hungary	12,84	69,89	9,96	63,23	0,68	0,16	Yes
IS-Iceland	5,43	61,83	6,16	57,77	0,86	1,00	Yes
IE-Ireland	8,66	69,50	13,11	64,43	0,79	0,66	No
IL-Israel	13,07	71,28	11,75	65,25	0,70	0,28	No
JP-Japan	21,64	85,77	15,85	78,76	0,66	0,08	No
KR-Korea (South)	14,84	76,66	13,59	72,17	0,64	0,00	No
LV-Latvia	8,20	64,42	9,80	65,07	0,77	0,59	Yes
LT-Lithuania	11,87	68,72	11,53	65,95	0,72	0,37	Yes
MX-Mexico	13,09	67,87	3,75	56,68	0,69	0,23	No
NL-Netherlands	7,39	69,92	8,01	66,06	0,77	0,60	Yes
NO-Norway	3,88	62,58	4,20	56,03	0,84	0,90	Yes
PH-Philippines	12,23	66,27	11,05	63,20	0,78	0,64	Yes
PL-Poland	8,57	63,16	9,71	62,08	0,71	0,30	Yes
PT-Portugal	11,82	73,54	7,53	65,74	0,72	0,38	Yes
RU-Russia	10,15	66,96	12,28	69,41	0,69	0,24	No
SK-Slovakia	9,75	68,14	8,81	67,24	0,68	0,19	No
SI-Slovenia	14,61	74,21	8,02	61,92	0,74	0,47	Yes
ZA-South Africa	9,83	68,90	10,47	67,04	0,75	0,51	Yes
ES-Spain	13,03	70,45	11,16	64,53	0,73	0,42	Yes
SE-Sweden	3,98	60,11	4,63	56,57	0,82	0,80	Yes
CH-Switzerland	11,50	71,51	11,12	63,38	0,78	0,64	No
US-United States	7,78	65,19	9,61	59,12	0,75	0,48	No
VE-Venezuela	7,16	60,35	4,22	56,28	0,69	0,20	Yes
Total Sample	10,29	68,70	9,68	64,04	0,74	0,47	62%

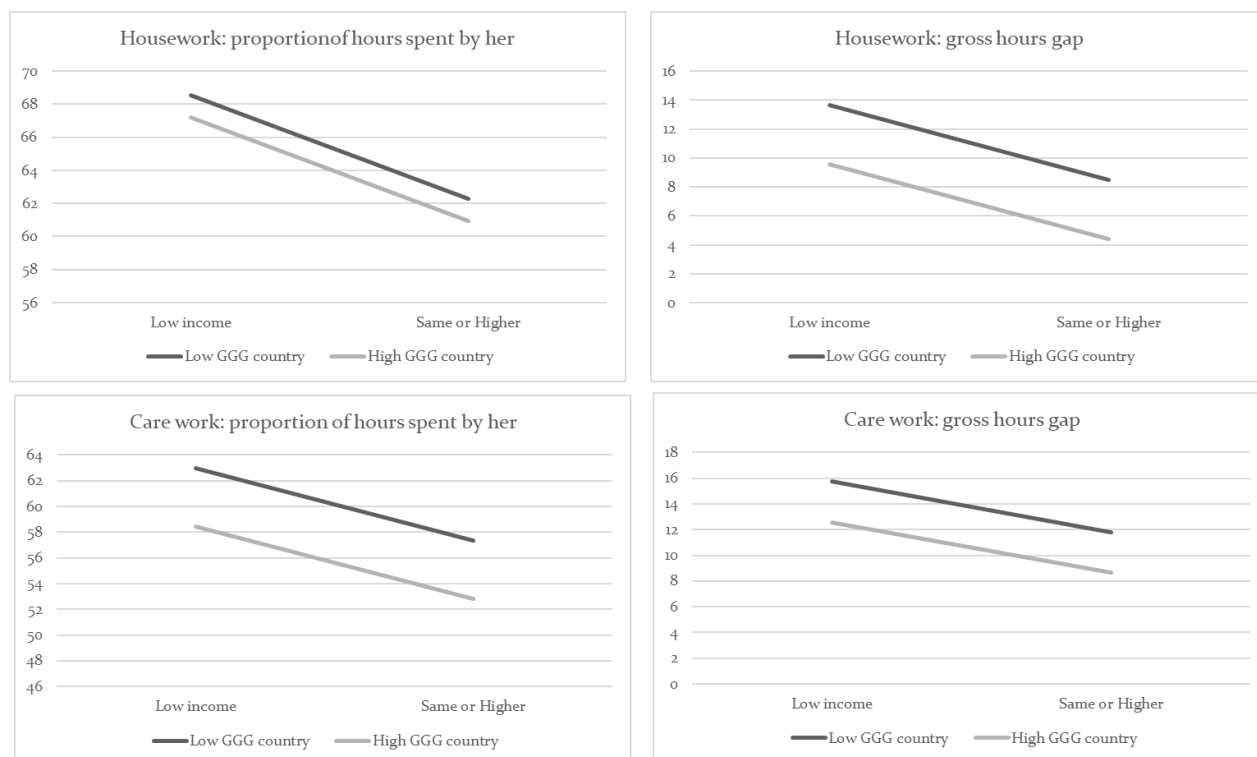
Table 3. Multilevel Models for Individual and Country-Level Determinants of Couples' Housework Time Division.

Dependent Variable: Household Work								
	Proportional Gap				Gross Gap			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	68.594*** (0.892)	59.308*** (1.295)	63.515*** (1.882)	62.293*** (2.113)	10.470*** (0.743)	6.789*** (0.920)	10.903*** (1.289)	8.512*** (1.222)
Individual Level								
Relative Income		5.563*** (0.372)	5.561*** (0.372)	6.242*** (0.974)		3.084*** (0.241)	3.084*** (0.241)	5.152*** (0.849)
Children		2.362*** (0.359)	2.360*** (0.359)	3.519*** (0.568)		2.432*** (0.232)	2.431*** (0.232)	3.183*** (0.390)
Country Level								
GCG			-8.486*** (3.176)	-7.314*** (3.620)			-10.332*** (2.223)	-7.284*** (2.029)
Paternity Leave			-0.638 (1.567)	0.158 (1.551)			0.888 (1.096)	1.633 (0.979)
Interactions								
Relative Income x GCG				-1.342 (1.824)				-4.107** (1.610)
Children x Paternity Leave				-1.895*** (0.724)				-1.199** (0.492)
Controls								
Age		0.152*** (0.019)	0.152*** (0.019)	0.155*** (0.019)		0.139*** (0.012)	0.139*** (0.012)	0.143*** (0.012)
Respondent's sex		7.503*** (0.338)	7.502*** (0.338)	7.512*** (0.338)		1.760*** (0.219)	1.758*** (0.219)	1.774*** (0.219)
Secondary		-1.143** (0.459)	-1.137** (0.459)	-1.134** (0.458)		-1.694*** (0.298)	-1.687*** (0.298)	-1.617*** (0.297)
Postsecondary		-3.742*** (0.483)	-3.697*** (0.483)	-3.672*** (0.483)		-3.433*** (0.314)	-3.406*** (0.313)	-3.348*** (0.313)
Her paid work hours		-0.165*** (0.010)	-0.165*** (0.010)	-0.162*** (0.010)		-0.167*** (0.006)	-0.167*** (0.006)	-0.162*** (0.006)
Variance components								
Intercept (tau00)	25.91	19.96	16.06	20.13	18.29	13.19	7.94	5.46
Residual (sigma)	405	368.16	368.17	367.61	173.75	154.71	154.71	154.75
Observations	13,642	13,642	13,642	13,642	13,642	13,642	13,642	13,642
Log Likelihood	-60,363.340	-59,713.890	-59,706.220	-59,697.690	-54,599.100	-53,810.860	-53,799.250	-53,769.000
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01								

Table 4. Multilevel Models for Individual and Country-Level Determinants of Couples' Care Work Time Division.

Dependent Variable: Care Work								
	Proportional Gap				Gross Gap			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	63.997*** (0.870)	55.020*** (1.675)	59.060*** (2.092)	57.371*** (2.299)	9.784*** (0.650)	11.108*** (1.141)	13.141*** (1.537)	11.769*** (1.286)
Individual Level								
Relative Income		3.355*** (0.504)	3.366*** (0.504)	5.603*** (1.299)		2.355*** (0.337)	2.355*** (0.337)	3.949*** (0.889)
Children		1.089** (0.529)	1.094** (0.529)	1.140 (0.990)		5.277*** (0.354)	5.277*** (0.354)	5.906*** (0.839)
Country Level								
GGG			-9.678*** (3.009)	-6.593** (3.346)			-4.701** (2.381)	-3.861** (1.647)
Paternity Leave			0.286 (1.492)	0.159 (1.650)			0.075 (1.179)	0.990 (0.774)
Interactions								
Relative Income x GGG				-4.544* (2.416)				-3.137* (1.660)
Children x Paternity Leave				0.060 (1.266)				-1.009 (1.069)
Controls								
Age		0.191*** (0.027)	0.193*** (0.027)	0.195*** (0.027)		-0.094*** (0.018)	-0.093*** (0.018)	-0.089*** (0.018)
Respondent's sex		6.406*** (0.450)	6.412*** (0.450)	6.399*** (0.450)		3.856*** (0.301)	3.854*** (0.301)	3.897*** (0.301)
Secondary		-1.299** (0.612)	-1.241** (0.611)	-1.212** (0.611)		-0.304 (0.410)	-0.291 (0.410)	-0.278 (0.407)
Postsecondary		-3.117*** (0.640)	-2.984*** (0.640)	-2.954*** (0.640)		-0.882** (0.429)	-0.839* (0.430)	-0.837* (0.428)
Her paid work hours		-0.139*** (0.013)	-0.138*** (0.013)	-0.136*** (0.013)		-0.170*** (0.009)	-0.170*** (0.009)	-0.166*** (0.009)
Variance components								
Intercept (tau00)	23,85	18,2	13,59	15,02	13,47	9,57	8,82	0,68
Residual (sigma)	518,65	496,54	495,56	495,08	246,05	222,72	222,73	221,48
Observations	10,364	10,364	10,364	10,364	10,364	10,364	10,364	10,364
Log Likelihood	-47,143.720	46,915.960	-46,907.550	-46,899.530	-43,282.590	-42,767.000	-42,762.040	-42,738.080
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01							

Figure 2. Predicted Effects of Relative Income on the Division of Domestic Labour, by Country GGG Level and type of Labour.



Note: Based on results of Table 3 and Table 4, model 4.

Figure 3. Predicted Effects of Children on the Division of Domestic Labour, by Country's Paternity Leave Status and type of Labour.

Note: Based on results of Table 3 and Table 4, model 4.

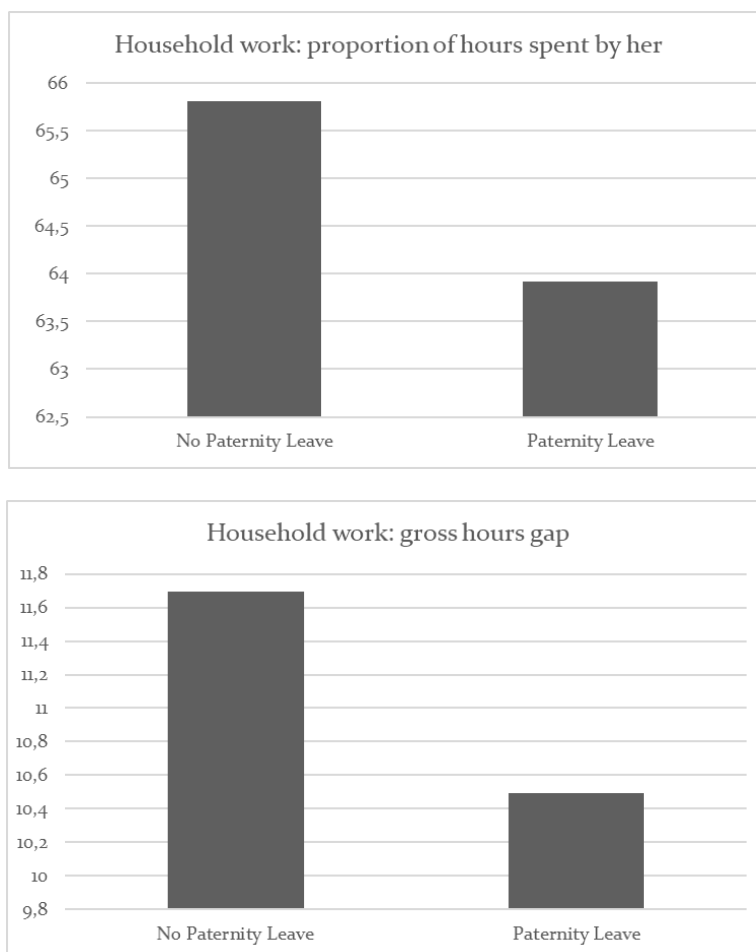


Table 5. Linear Regressions for Individual-Level Determinants of Couples' Division of Time Spent in Domestic Labour.

	Household Work		Care Work	
	Proportional gap (1)	Gross Gap (2)	Proportional Gap (3)	Gross Gap (4)
Intercept	60.560*** (1.316)	6.958*** (0.854)	55.256*** (1.316)	10.992*** (0.854)
Individual Level				
Relative Income	5.618*** (0.372)	3.297*** (0.432)	3.330*** (0.504)	2.434*** (0.337)
Toddlers	0.426* (0.240)	0.791*** (0.183)	0.464 (0.322)	3.022*** (0.215)
Children	0.966*** (0.173)	1.159*** (0.155)	0.451** (0.224)	1.186*** (0.150)
Controls				
Age	0.134*** (0.020)	0.131*** (0.013)	0.187*** (0.028)	-0.071*** (0.019)
Respondent's sex	7.471*** (0.338)	1.754*** (0.219)	6.395*** (0.451)	3.868*** (0.302)
Secondary	-1.037** (0.460)	-1.494*** (0.298)	-1.237** (0.613)	-0.050 (0.411)
Postsecondary	-3.582*** (0.484)	-3.245*** (0.314)	-3.080** (0.641)	-0.847** (0.430)
Her paid work hours	-0.166** (0.010)	-0.160*** (0.007)	-0.137*** (0.013)	-0.159*** (0.009)
Observations	13,612	13,612	10,340	10,340
Log Likelihood	-59,592.220	-53,662.770	-46,813.750	-42,661.580
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01				

Appendix C for Chapter Four.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and description of dependent variable (multinomial)

Variable	Description	%	Mean	SD.	Min.	Max
Division of childcare	Who is responsible of childcare the most of the time:					
	0, equal division between partners / father is the main responsible	26,7	0,8	0,56	0	2
	1, she is the main responsible	66,4				
	2, other person is the main responsible	7,0				
Division of routine housework	Who is responsible of routine housework (laundry, ironing and cleaning) the most of the time:					
	0, equal division between partners / father is the main responsible	11,5	0,98	0,46	0	2
	1, she is the main responsible	79,1				
	2, other person is the main responsible	9,4				

Note: sample size is 8.883 mothers.

Table 2. Type of division of routine housework according to the division of childcare.

		Childcare		
		Revolutionary	Modern	Substitution
Routine housework	Revolutionary	35,7%	2,3%	6,9%
	Modern	56,5%	93,2%	31,3%
	Substitution	7,8%	4,5%	61,7%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

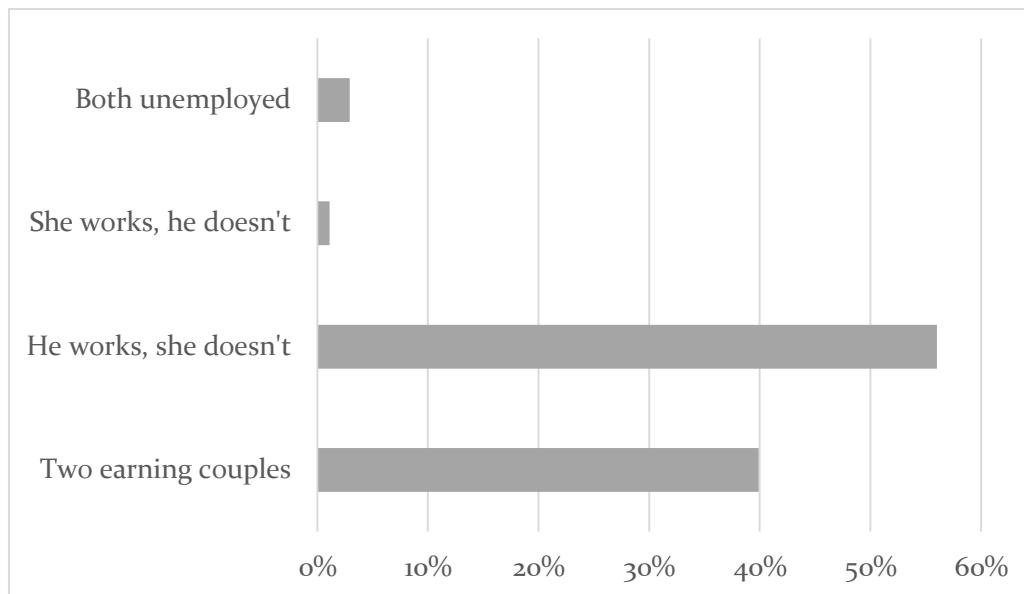
Note: sample size is 8.883 mothers; Revolutionary: equal division or he is the main responsible; Modern: she is the main responsible; Substitution: other person is the main responsible (relative or not)

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and description of explanatory and control variables.

Variable	Description	%	Mean	SD.	Min.	Max
<i>Time availability</i>						
School aged children	0, no school aged children in the household	36,7	0,63	0,48	0	1
	1, one or more school aged children	63,3				
Mother's work status	0, non working for pay	59	0,41	0,49	0	1
	1, working for pay	41				
Father's work status	0, non working for pay	4,1	0,96	0,19	0	1
	1, working for pay	95,9				
Grandparents in the household	0, no grandparents	81,1	0,19	0,39	0	1
	1, at least one grandparent	18,9				
<hr/>						
<i>Relative resources</i>						
Relative income	0, she earns the same or more than him	24,1	0,76	0,43	0	1
	1, he earns more than she	75,9				
<hr/>						
<i>Gender ideology</i>						
Gender role attitudes	Scale of agreement with the sentence "it is better for everyone if the man is the one who works for pay and the woman takes care of the home and the family"					
	1, totally disagree	7,9	2,58	0,84	1	4
	2, disagree	40,7				
	3, agree	36,6				
	4, totally agree	14,8				
Marital status	0, cohabiting	44,8	0,55	0,49	0	1
	1, married	55,2				
<hr/>						
<i>Controls</i>						
Mother's education	0, less than secondary	34,3	0,84	0,7	0	2
	1, completed secondary	47,4				
	2, postsecondary	18,3				
Father's education	0, less than secondary	36,0	0,82	0,7	0	2
	1, completed secondary	46,3				
	2, postsecondary	17,7				
Mothers' age	Respondent's age in years		32,07	6,8	18	56
Area	0, urban	87,9	0,12	0,33	0	1
	1, rural	12,1				

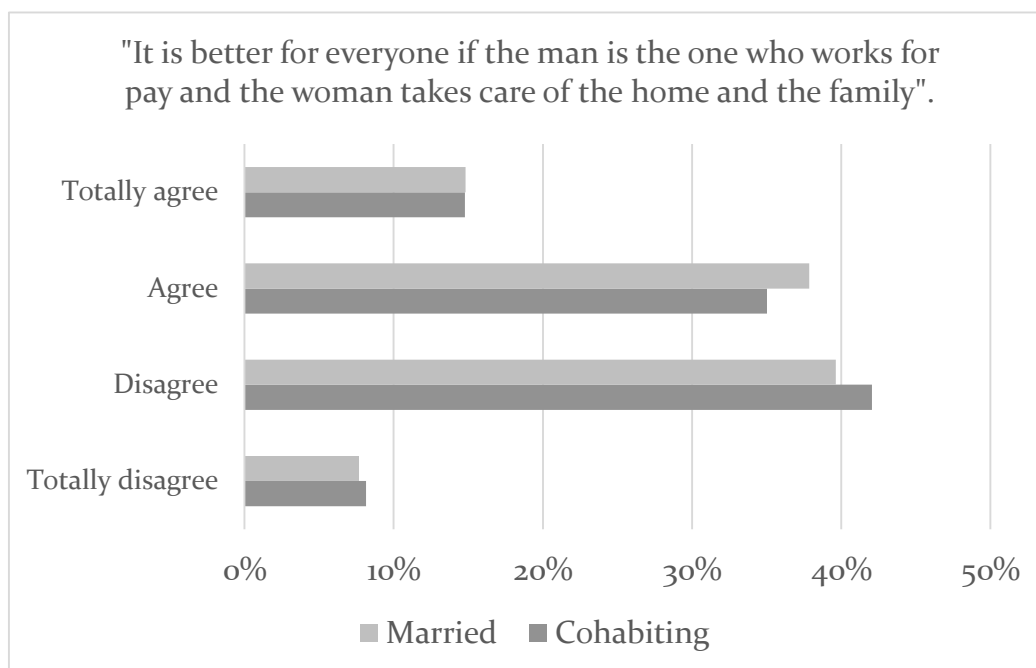
Note: sample size is 8.883 mothers.

Figure 1. Type of couples according to employment status.



Note: sample size of 8.883 mothers living with their children's fathers.

Figure 2. Gender ideology according to marital status.



Note: sample size of 8.883 mothers living with their children's fathers.

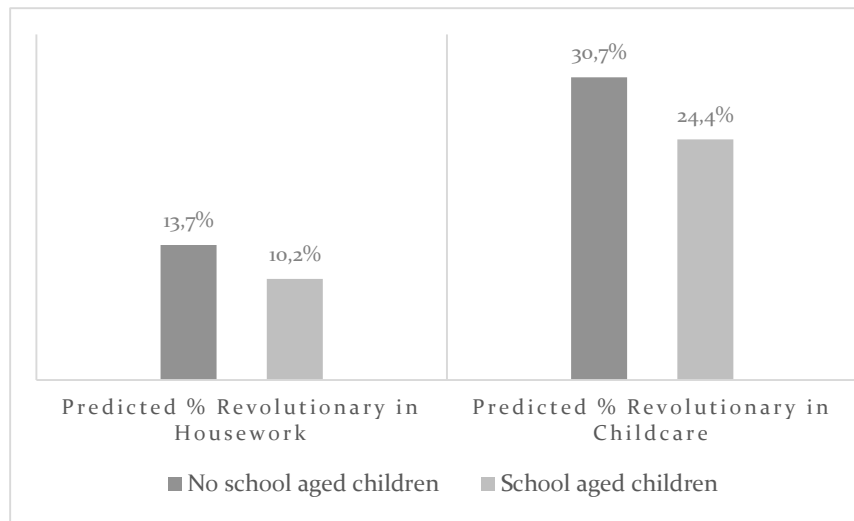
Table 4. Logistic regression on revolutionary division of domestic labour.

Variables	Odds ratio childcare		Odds ratio housework	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Time availability</i>				
School aged children	0,85**	0,77	0,87	1,02
Mother's work status (working)	2,34***	2,35***	2,91***	2,90***
Father's work status (working)	0,52***	0,52***	0,56***	0,56***
Grandparents in the household	0,42***	0,42***	0,46***	0,46***
<i>Relative resources</i>				
Relative income (he earns more than she)	0,77***	0,76***	0,72***	0,79
<i>Gender ideology</i>				
Gender role attitude	0,82***	0,79**	0,79***	0,86
Marital status (married)	1,22***	1,22***	1,10	1,1
<i>Interactions</i>				
Gender role attitude: Relative income		1,01		0,95
Gender role attitude: School aged children		1,04		0,93
<i>Controls</i>				
Mother's education (ref: less than secondary)				
Secondary	1,32***	1,32***	1,32**	1,31**
Postsecondary	1,63***	1,63***	1,63**	1,39**
Father's education (ref: less than secondary)				
Secondary	1,21**	1,21**	1,21*	1,21*
Postsecondary	1,08	1,08	1,08	1,04
Mother's age	0,99**	0,99**	0,99*	0,99*
Geographic area (rural)	0,79**	0,79**	0,79***	0,51***
N	8.883	8.883	8.883	8.883
-2Log Likelihood of null hypothesis model	9471,8	9471,34	5792,41	5791,5

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

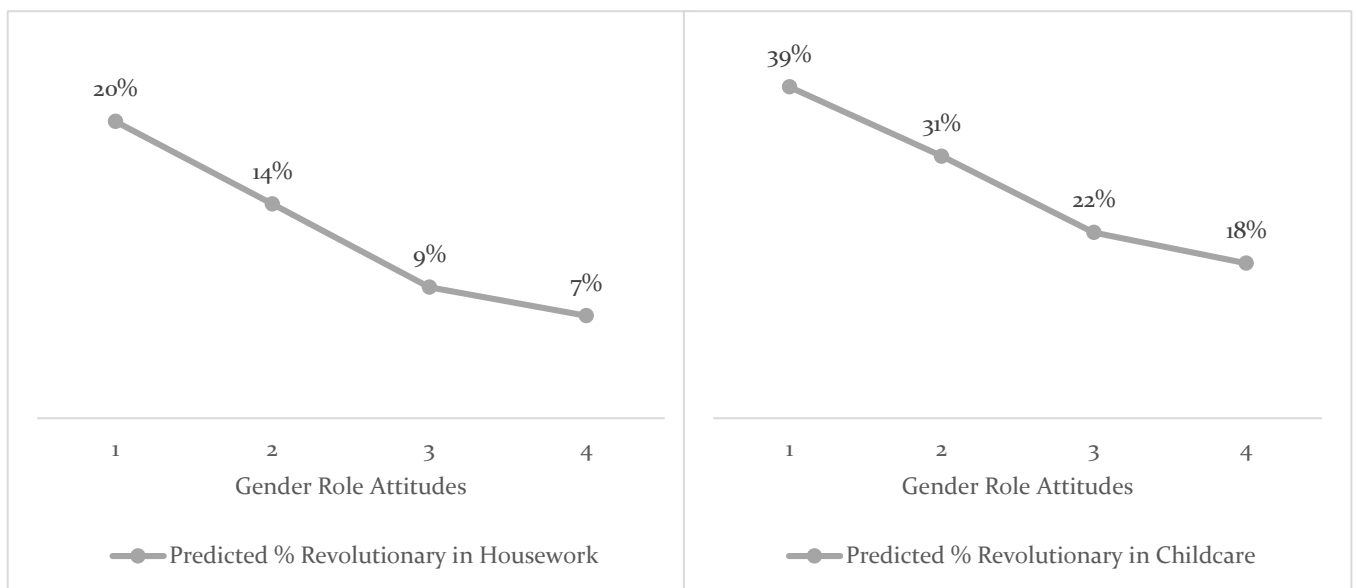
Note: for mothers living with their children's biological fathers. Reference category: non revolutionary (traditional or substitution)

Figure 3. Predicted probabilities of a revolutionary DDL by the presence of school aged children.



Note: Sample size: 8.883 mothers living with their children's biological fathers. Predicted probabilities of revolutionary arrangements controlling for all the factors.

Figure 4. Predicted probabilities of a revolutionary DDL by gender role attitudes.



Note: Sample size: 8.883 mothers living with their children's biological fathers. Predicted probabilities of revolutionary arrangements controlling for all the factors.

Table 5. Multinomial logistic regression on the division of childcare.

Variables	Odds ratio childcare	
	Modern (1)	Substitution (2)
<i>Time availability</i>		
School aged children	1,17**	1,19
Mother's work status (working)	0,34***	6,38***
Father's work status (working)	1,92***	1,77*
Grandparents in the household	1,91***	5,98***
<i>Relative resources</i>		
Relative income (he earns more than she)	1,40***	0,84
<i>Gender ideology</i>		
Gender role attitude	1,26***	0,96
Marital status (married)	0,82***	0,79*
<i>Controls</i>		
Mother's education (ref: less than secondary)		
Secondary	0,74***	1,28
Postsecondary	0,52***	1,61**
Father's education (ref: less than secondary)		
Secondary	0,82**	0,95
Postsecondary	0,88	1,34
Mother's age	1,01**	1,01
Geographic area (rural)	1,26**	1,18
N		8.883
-2Log Likelihood of null hypothesis model		9835,65

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

Note: for mothers living with their children's biological fathers. Reference category: Revolutionary (equal or he is the main responsible)

Table 6. Multinomial logistic regression on the division of routine housework.

Variables	Odds ratio routine housework	
	Modern (1)	Substitution (2)
<i>Time availability</i>		
School aged children	1,15	1,17
Mother's work status (working)	0,29***	1,33*
Father's work status (working)	1,82***	1,56
Grandparents in the household	1,65***	6,49***
<i>Relative resources</i>		
Relative income (he earns more than she)	1,50***	0,98
<i>Gender ideology</i>		
Gender role attitude	1,31***	0,96
Marital status (married)	0,89	0,94
<i>Controls</i>		
Mother's education (ref: less than secondary)		
Secondary	0,74**	1,53**
Postsecondary	0,56***	2,56***
Father's education (ref: less than secondary)		
Secondary	0,80*	1,12
Postsecondary	0,78*	2,55***
Mother's age	1,01*	1,02*
Geographic area (rural)	1,98***	1,74**
N		8.883
-2Log Likelihood of null hypothesis model		8098,23

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

Note: for mothers living with their children's biological fathers. Reference category: Revolutionary (equal or he is the main responsible)

Appendix D for Chapter Five.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and description of dependent continuous variables.

Variable		Mean	SD.	Min.	Max.
Housework	Women's housework hours	4,78	3,37	0	22,42
	Men's housework hours	1,58	2,17	0	17,5
	Gender gross gap in housework time	3,2	3,92	-17,37	20
Care work	Women's care work hours	2,55	3,67	0	20
	Men's care work hours	1,13	2,14	0	20
	Gender gross gap in care work time	1,42	3,19	-15,83	19,5

Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

Table 2. Type of gender gap in time spent in housework and care work between partners.

	Housework	Care work
Egalitarian	17,5%	22,8%
Modern	82,5%	77,2%
Total	100%	100%

Note: sample size is 1,972 couples that live together and sum more than zero hours of care work.

Table 3. Gender gap in time spent in housework according to gender gap in time spent in care work.

		Care work	
Housework		Egalitarian	Modern
	Egalitarian	31,1%	12,7%
	Modern	68,9%	87,3%
	Total	100%	100%

Note: sample size is 1,972 couples that live together and sum more than zero hours of care work.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics and description of explanatory and control variables.

Variable	Description	%	Mean	SD.	Min.	Max.
Time availability						
Women's weekly paid work hours			21,5	21,3	0	55,5
Men's weekly paid work hours			45,4	19,11	0	84
Toddlers	0, no children of 0-4 years old	70,8				
	1, one or more children of 0-4 years old	29,2				
Children	0, no children of 5-14 years old	53,1				
	1, one or more children of 5-14 years old	46,9				
Elderly	0, no person of 66 years or older	97,3				
	1, one or more of 66 years old or older	2,7				
Disabled dependents	0, no disabled dependents	96,3				
	1, one or more disabled dependents	3,7				
Domestic service	0, no domestic service	91,9				
	1, presence of domestic service	8,1				
Relative resources						
Education	He has higher education degree, she does not (omitted)	8,4				
	Neither she or he has higher education degree	68,9				
	Both have higher education degree	14,2				
	She has higher education degree, he has not	8,5				
Her proportion of couple's income			24,09	27,45	0	100
Age	His age > 5 years her age (omitted)	21,6				
	Her and his age within 5 years	73,5				
	Her age > 5 years his age	4,9				
Gender perspective						
Employment	He works, she does not (omitted)	36,9				
	Both are employed	55,8				
	He does not work (she does or not)	7,3				
Marital status	0, cohabiting	32,7				
	1, married	67,3				
Controls						
Indigenous identity	She belongs to indigenous people	9,3				
	He belongs to indigenous people	8,5				
Student status	She is a student	3,5				
	He is a student	3				
Household demographics	Household size		3,83	1,37	2	13
	Quintile (f)		2,97	1,34	1	5
Health status	She is sick or disabled that day	4				
	He is sick or disabled that day	1,4				
Survey	Day of the week		2,99	1,41	1	5

Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

Table 5. OLS coefficients for determinants of daily housework hours and the gender gap for Chilean couples.

	HER HOUSEWORK HOURS	HIS HOUSEWORK HOURS	HOUSEWORK GENDER GAP HOURS
<i>Time availability</i>			
Work			
Her weekly paid work hours	-0,035***	0,000	-0,035***
His weekly paid work hours	0,013**	-0,004+	0,018***
Members of the household			
Toddlers	-0,385**	-0,053	-0,329*
Children	0,155	0,026	0,133
Elderly	-0,719*	0,137	-0,853*
Disabled dependents	0,012	0,578**	-0,564+
Domestic service	-0,846***	-0,159	-0,687**
<i>Relative resources</i>			
Education (a)			
Neither she or he has higher education degree	-0,394	-0,114	-0,271
Both have higher education degree	-0,621**	0,059	-0,674*
She has higher education degree, he hasn't	-0,219	0,104	-0,316
Income (b)			
Her proportion of couple's income	-0,008**	0,005*	-0,013***
Age (c)			
Her and his age within 5 years	-0,117	0,000	-0,114
Her age > 5 years his age	0,033	-0,079	0,115
<i>Gender perspective</i>			
Both are employed (d)	-0,056	0,243+	-0,297
He does not work (she does or not)	0,184	1,405***	-1,217***
Married couple	0,204+	0,015	0,189
Controls			
She has indigenous identity	-0,075	0,052	-0,128
He has indigenous identity	-0,001	0,140	-0,140
She is a student	-1,110***	-0,007	-1,103**
He is a student	-0,045	0,222	-0,268
Household size	0,113*	-0,064+	0,175**
Quintile (e)	-0,026	0,007	-0,032
She is sick or disabled that day	-0,942***	0,721***	-1,663***
He is sick or disabled that day	0,539	0,125	0,415
Day of the week	-0,079*	-0,013	-0,066
Intercept	5,588***	1,671***	3,903***
Adjusted R2	.12	.05	.15

Source: Author's calculation, ENUT 2015

N= 3.149 couples that live together

(a) He has higher education degree, she hasn't omitted

(b) Measured in percentage points

(c) His age > 2 years her age omitted

(d) Only he/she is employed omitted

(e) Estimated with total household income per capita

+ p ≤ .10 * p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 6. OLS coefficients for determinants of daily care work hours and the gender gap for Chilean couples.

	HER CARE WORK HOURS	HIS CARE WORK HOURS	CARE WORK GENDER GAP HOURS
<i>Time availability</i>			
Work			
Her weekly paid work hours	-0,017***	-0,002	-0,016***
His weekly paid work hours	0,003	-0,007***	0,010**
Members of the household			
Toddlers	4,511***	1,907***	2,604***
Children	2,394***	1,275***	1,119***
Elderly	0,769**	0,601**	0,168
Disabled dependents	2,774***	1,098***	1,676***
Domestic service	0,379+	0,232+	0,147
<i>Relative resources</i>			
Education (a)			
Neither she or he has higher education degree	-0,457**	-0,373**	-0,084
Both have higher education degree	0,452*	0,020	0,432+
She has higher education degree, he hasn't	0,297	0,255+	0,042
Income (b)			
Her proportion of couple's income	-0,002	0,004*	-0,002
Age (c)			
Her and his age within 5 years	0,094	0,111+	-0,018
Her age > 5 years his age	-0,121	-0,099	-0,022
<i>Gender perspective</i>			
Both are employed (d)	0,039	0,097	-0,058
He does not work (she does or not)	-0,259	-0,005	-0,254
Married couple	-0,259*	-0,173**	-0,085
Controls			
She belongs to indigenous people	0,154	-0,027	0,181
He belongs to indigenous people	0,084	0,016	0,100
She is a student	0,170	0,334+	-0,164
He is a student	0,209	-0,420*	0,628
Household size	-0,298***	-0,125***	-0,173***
Quintile (e)	-0,027	-0,021	-0,006
She is sick or disabled that day	-0,275	0,146	-0,421+
He is sick or disabled that day	0,571	0,342	0,230
Day of the week	0,005	0,047*	-0,043
Intercept	1,693***	0,787***	0,907**
Adjusted R2	.42	.26	.19

Source: Author's calculation, ENUT 2015

N= 3.149 couples that live together

(a) He has higher education degree, she hasn't omitted

(b) Measured in percentage points

(c) His age > 2 years her age omitted

(d) Only he/she is employed omitted

(e) Estimated with total household income per capita

+ p ≤ .10 * p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed tests)

Table 7. Logit coefficients for the likelihood of having an egalitarian time arrangement in housework and care work (Exp B).

	EGALITARIAN IN HOUSEWORK	EGALITARIAN IN CARE WORK
<i>Time availability</i>		
Work		
Her weekly paid work hours	1,012***	1,006+
His weekly paid work hours	0,991**	0,989***
Members of the household		
Toddlers	0,869	0,061***
Children	1,022	0,051***
Elderly	1,291	0,415**
Disabled dependents	1,830**	0,095***
Domestic service	1,402*	0,801
<i>Relative resources</i>		
Education (b)		
Neither she or he has higher education degree	0,848	1,198
Both have higher education degree	1,379+	0,873
She has higher education degree, he hasn't	1,056	0,920
Income (c)		
Her proportion of couple's income	1,010***	1,005*
Age (d)		
Her and his age within 5 years	0,908	1,214+
Her age > 5 years his age	0,755	0,835
<i>Gender perspective</i>		
Both are employed (e)	1,212	0,910
He does not work (she does or not)	2,275**	0,792
Married couple	0,949	1,148+
Controls		
She belongs to indigenous people	0,967	0,816
He belongs to indigenous people	1,115	0,883
She is a student	1,689*	1,370
He is a student	1,419	0,669+
Household size	0,942	1,130**
Quintile (f)	1,029	1,121**
She is sick or disabled that day	3,422***	1,465+
He is sick or disabled that day	1,158	1,600
Day of the week	1,024	1,023
Intercept	0,160***	4,637***

Source: Author's calculation, ENUT 2015

N= 3.149 couples that live together

(a) Egalitarian: the difference between her and his time spent in housework and care is less than or equal to zero.

(b) He has higher education degree, she hasn't omitted

(c) Measured in percentage points

(d) His age > 2 years her age omitted

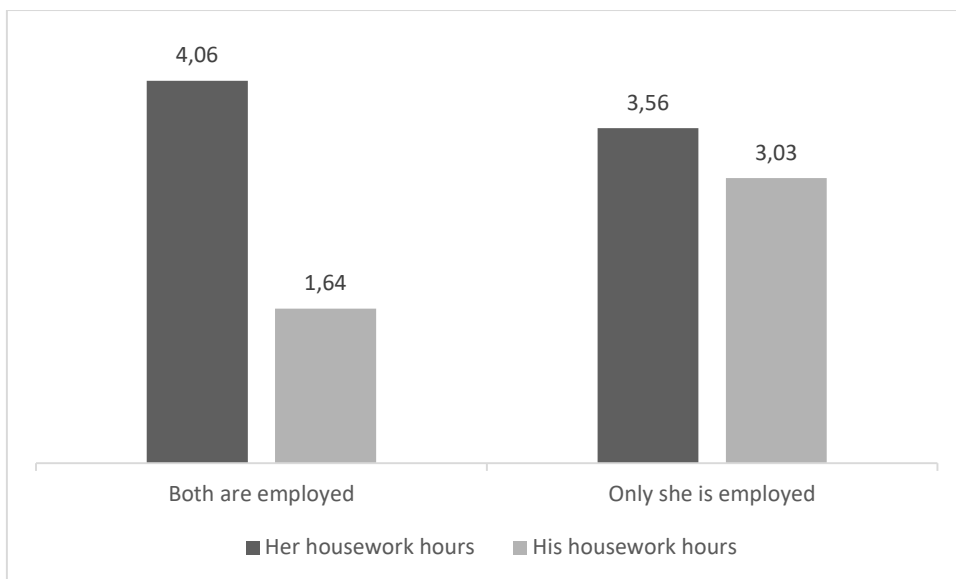
(e) She is not employed, he is employed omitted

(f) Estimated with total household income per capita

+ p ≤ .10 * p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

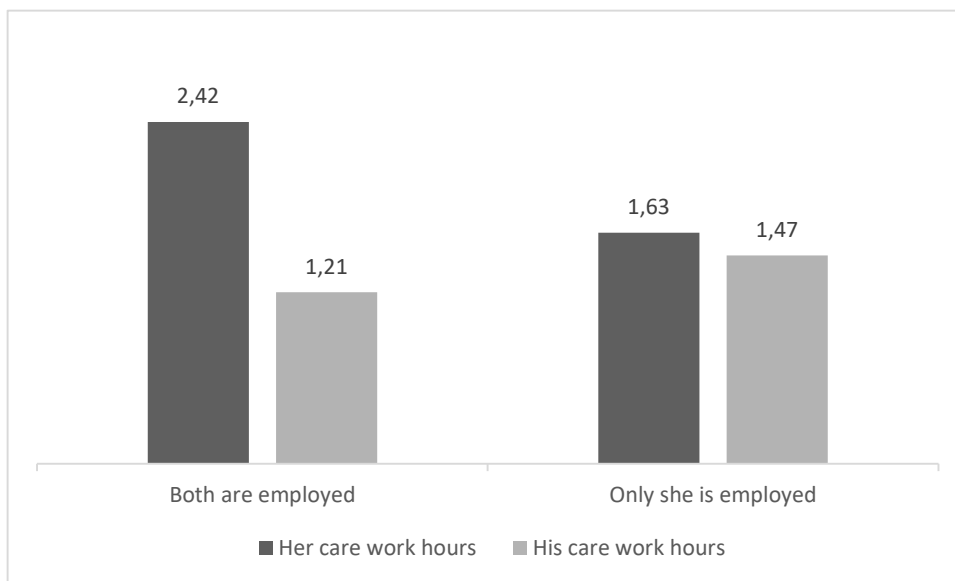
(two-tailed tests)

Figure 1. Women's and men's average daily hours in housework according to couples' employment status.



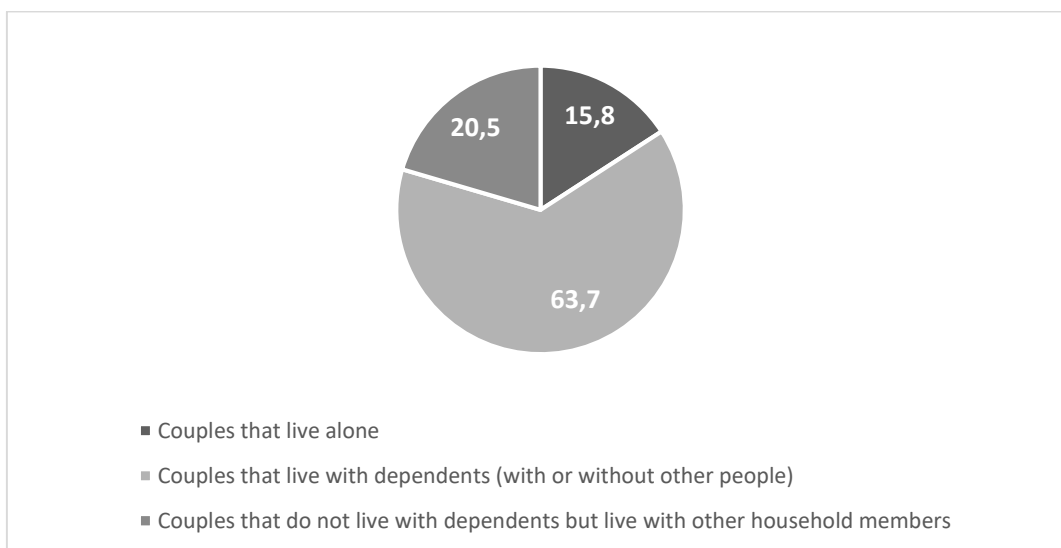
Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

Figure 2. Women's and men's average daily hours in care work according to couples' employment status.



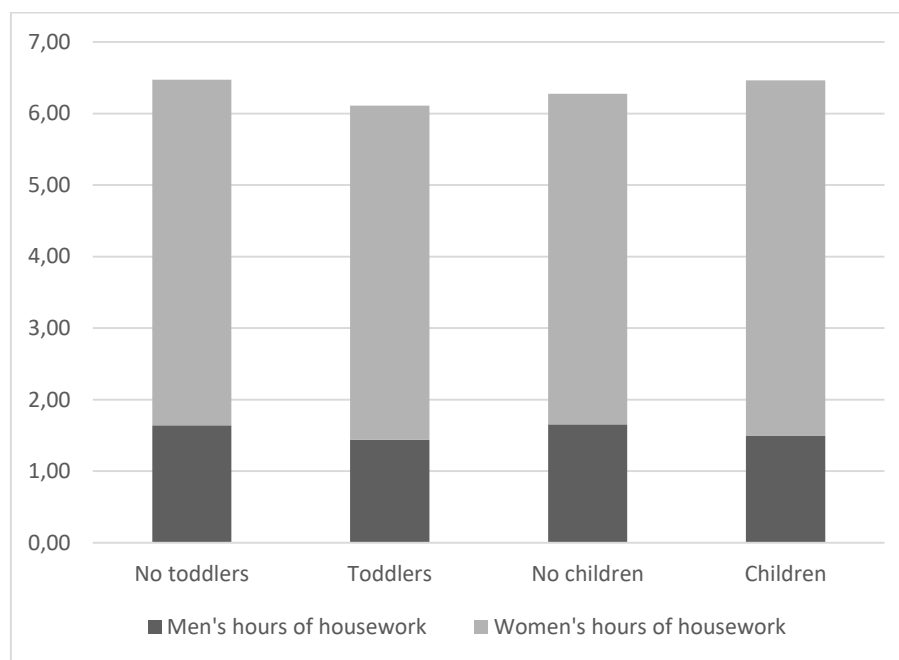
Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

Figure 3. Couples' household composition.



Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

Figure 4. Average women's and men's daily time spent in housework by the presence of toddlers and children in the household.



Note: sample size is 3,149 couples that live together.

