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Gender, Employment Status, and Unpaid Household Labor: A Test of the Time Availability Perspective on Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work Before, During, and After the 2007 U.S. Economic Recession

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GENDER, EMPLOYMENT STATUS, AND UNPAID HOUSEHOLD LABOR: A TEST OF THE TIME AVAILABILITY PERSPECTIVE ON HOUSEWORK, CHILD CARE, AND EMOTION WORK BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE 2007 U.S. ECONOMIC RECESSION

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Abstract

Using the American Time Use Survey (2003-2011), I examine gender differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work before, during, and after the 2007 U.S. economic recession. This study draws on three primary theoretical perspectives; time availability theory, gender socialization theories, and relative resources theory, to explain differences in unpaid household labor tasks. I examine these differences across three time periods to explain the recessionary impact on the division of household labor. With a sample of 22,507 respondents, I employ ordinary least squares regression models to predict the total number of minutes per day that respondents spend performing core housework, other housework, child care, and emotion work. Results indicate different time use patterns based on gender and employment status during the pre-recession, recession, and recovery time periods. Overall, women continue to perform more core housework, child care, and emotion work; however men increased their time in these tasks when unemployed. Men and women displayed the greatest difference in time spent performing housework, while time spent performing child care and emotion work indicated similar patterns. Time periods yielded important results for men and women, particularly for the unemployed. Unemployed men and women performed more child care and emotion work during the recession when compared to the pre-recession and recovery time periods. During the recession, a narrowing of the gender gap was found among unemployed men and women for core and other housework tasks. In sum, the recession was found to be influential in men's and women's time spent on core housework, other housework, child care, and emotion work. The findings of this study

suggest economic forces, such as the recession and employment disruptions, impact unpaid household labor tasks.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Unpaid household labor within the home is a vital task that takes place in homes all across the world. Household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, shopping, caring for children, and maintaining the well-being of family members are unpaid labor activities that contribute to family stability and well-being and often require a significant amount of time, sometimes more than other forms of labor in our economy (Coltrane and Adams 2008). Historically, men have been more associated with paid work than unpaid household labor. These separate spheres (Ferree 1990) for men and women entail different allocations of time within the family. If men are more associated with paid work and women unpaid work, then the duties each perform within the family will be different (i.e., women contributing more to housework and child care). However, as dual-earner families have increased with economic restructuring, the separate spheres approach has declined. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, full-time employment for men has been slowly declining in the United States. In 1972, the percentage of employed men was 75% compared to 41% for women. In 2012, 64.4% of men are employed while 53.1% of women are employed. As the proportions of men and women in the labor force begin to converge, the distribution of household responsibilities within the family has undoubtedly been challenged. With rapid increases of women in the labor force, and declining male employment, household labor has experienced changes. While women continue to perform more unpaid household labor, men have slowly contributed more in response to these changes in this paid labor market (Shelton 1992; Gershuny and Robinson 1988; Robinson and Godbey 1997; Sullivan 2010)

Yet despite this progress in the gendered division of labor of household tasks, economic forces remain the primary driver of both paid labor and unpaid labor. As a result, the economic recession of 2007 introduced new economic stress to American families and might have disrupted all the previous gains to gendered division of unpaid household labor.

The recent economic recession (December 2007-June 2009) resulted in major shifts for our economy which impacted families through massive and lengthy unemployment and underemployment. The total unemployment rate in December 2007 was 5% and had reached 9.5% by June 2009 and the average duration of unemployment was 23.2 weeks (Pew Research Center 2010). Certain groups were hit harder than others, including men, Blacks and Hispanics, and those with less than a high school diploma. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in 2007 Whites had an unemployment rate of 4.10%, Blacks 8.30% and Hispanics 5.60%. In 2010, these rates had increased to 8.70%, 16.00%, and 12.5%, respectively. Those with less than a high school diploma experienced an increase in unemployment from 7.10% in 2007 to 14.90% in 2010. For men, the unemployment rate was 4.7% but had reached 10.5% by 2010. While women also experienced unemployment during this time, their rates were less severe (4.5% in 2007 and 8.6% in 2010). Those that suffered unemployment were impacted by larger social changes brought on by the economic recession. In addition to these macro level changes, on a micro level, their families and households were also impacted. Research suggests paid labor contributions, i.e. employment, impact the allocations of unpaid labor within the home, thus it is my goal to understand how employment status may have impacted the domestic division of labor.

Discourse surrounding the 2007 U.S. economic recession has referred to it as a "mancession" (Rampell 2009) because it overwhelmingly impacted men. In other words, they experienced more unemployment and employment disruptions than women during this time. This unemployment placed men at the forefront and may have shifted gender role expectations within the home, which may have threatened male-breadwinner expectations (Baxter 2009; Williams and Tait 2011). Studies have suggested that while the focus was on men during the recession, women were placed with the burden of continued contributions to both the paid and unpaid labor market which resulted in a "momcession" (Williams and Tait 2011).

One way researchers have studied divisions of household labor is through time use studies. These studies aim to determine how individuals spend their time, whether it is working for wages, contributing to household labor, caring for children, providing emotional support, engaging in leisure activities, etc. As opposed to paid work where time is recorded and paid for on a formal basis, the work contributed within families can be difficult to measure. Time use studies provide an avenue for researchers to gauge the amount of time spent on tasks. These studies can be conducted through a variety of research methods and sample sizes. The current study will use a nationally representative secondary dataset to analyze the divisions of unpaid household labor. This dataset, The American Time Use Survey, is conducted through the Bureau of Labor Statistics and provide data from respondents of the Current Population Survey.

My study is guided by recent research showing that mothers and fathers time use was impacted by the economic recession (Berik and Kongar 2013). The authors focused on gender differences in employment status and their time spent on housework, child

care, adult care, and leisure. The study shows that the gender gap in housework narrowed for mothers and fathers during the recession due to a decrease in mothers' time spent on housework, child care, and shopping. When fathers experienced a loss in paid labor hours, they slightly increased their time spent on unpaid labor. My study builds upon this work by extending the timeframe of post-recession analysis and by focusing on how some groups experienced differential effects of the recession on unpaid labor. Using a combination of economic and gender theories, I use The American Time Use Survey from 2003 to 2011 to examine unpaid household labor among married couples in the United States.

This dissertation includes seven chapters. Chapter 2 is a detailed discussion of the literature which includes a discussion of work/life balance, paid work, and unpaid work. Gender differences are discussed for each of these factors with a detailed discussion of unpaid work. Specifically, unpaid work is discussed in terms of housework, child care, and emotion work.

In the Data and Methods chapter, Chapter 3, I outline the use of the American Time Use Survey (2003-2011) and the operationalization of each variable being used in this study. A discussion of sample characteristics is also presented.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 include analytical analyses of each of the three dependent variables for this study. Chapter 4 focuses on housework, including core and other unpaid household labor tasks. Child care, the second dependent variable is discussed in Chapter 5. The final dependent variable, emotion work, is discussed in Chapter 6.

This dissertation concludes with Chapter 7 where I discuss the results of this study and provide a theoretical explanation. Limitations and policy implications are also discussed.

Significance of the Study

The strengths of my study allow for several important contributions to the sociological literature on work/family balance and household division of labor – a field that burgeoned with the onset of the women's transition from the home into the workplace following the Women's Rights Movement. Since that time, scholars have continued to focus on how increasing rates of women's labor force participation coupled with declines in men's labor force participation have impacted household division of labor. The onset and duration of the Great Recession in 2007 has now provided scholars a unique opportunity to revisit trends in the household division of labor in the context of changing economic dynamics. This study makes five significant contributions to the field.

First, my study examines the time period from 2003 to 2011 to explore pre-recession, during recession, and post-recession patterns. During this recession, men's employment was dramatically impacted (Pew Research Center 2010).

Previous research indicates that women outperform men in their time spent on unpaid household labor (Kurdek 2007; Bianchi et al 2000; Smock 2000). By examining the differences before, during, and after the economic recession, I will determine if this gap persists in each respective time period. It will also be important to better understand racial differences in unpaid household labor. Racial differences have been found within

the division of household labor. Specifically, minority families perform more unpaid household labor than white families (Bianchi et al 2000). The current study will determine if this is still the case and if so, how these allocations are different, and how these allocations may have changed before, during, and after the economic recession.

Second, the American Time-Use survey covers a variety of daily activities including housework, child care, and emotion work. Many previous studies tend to examine one set of activities or another, such as just analyzing differences in housework or child care or emotion work. This project will examine all these activities within the same study. This dataset provides numerous activities to choose from. For my analysis I will be examining four distinct categories: core housework, other housework, child care, and emotion work.

Third, the current study will also examine the differences in time spent performing unpaid household labor by labor force status of both partners. By doing this, I will be uncovering differences in the domestic division of labor across these work dyads. This is a significant contribution as previous studies tend to focus on the labor force status of the individual, rather than the relationship work dyad and will create a better understanding of how labor force statuses impact time spent on the various activities chosen for this study.

Fourth, this study will also examine time allocations among the unemployed. By doing this, gender differences among the unemployed and their time spent on unpaid household labor can be examined. More importantly, duration of unemployment will also be analyzed.

Fifth, this study will examine income differences in time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work before, during, and after the economic recession. This is important because while income is often a variable that is examined, it tends to examine total household income rather than individual income. Gupta (2007), however, suggests that individual income is a better predictor in determining time spent on housework. In his study, he found that women's individual income was more important as it follows a negative relationship. I will be able to test this in this current study while taking it a step forward by including men. In short, this current study will examine individual income for both men and women to determine how they relate to time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work.

In summary, the current study adds to the existing literature on the division of household labor, a field that began as a result of changing workforce patterns among women following the Women's Rights Movement. The contributions to the field as a result of this study include an opportunity to examine the division of household labor within the context of the Great Recession of 2007. In particular, this study analyzes how employment status may impact allocations of unpaid household labor before, during, and after the recession, especially among men who were particularly impacted during the recession. The current study also provides insight on the labor force status of both partners and how this dyad may result in different allocations of unpaid household labor. Adding to existing literature, I will also contribute results based on gender, racial, and income differences.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Gender Differences in Work-Family Balance, Paid Work, and Unpaid Household Labor

According to the 2010 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics beginning in 1973 the total percentage of men in the population that were employed was 75.5%, compared to 42.0% of women. Since 1973 men's total employment has been on an almost steady decline (63.7% in 2010) whereas women's employment has experienced an increase (53.6% in 2010).World War II (an era not captured by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics) was a time of increased workforce participation for women when jobs that were previously held by men were now available, at least temporarily. Immediately after the war, women's employment dropped because of a push to get men back into the paid labor market. Women were urged to give up their paid labor market contributions and return to roles within the home. This urge occurred through increased media representations and government incentives in favor of the male breadwinner family model. Even though women's workforce participation decreased immediately after WWII, by 1955 women had entered the workforce in larger numbers than during the war (Coontz 2011). Debate ensued on whether or not women working outside the home were inhibiting their family life and this interest gave way to research that continues today.

Preliminary theories that were used to explain gender differences in paid and unpaid labor include role theory (Parsons 1951), gender theories (Engels 1884; Ferree 1990). These theories provide a foundation for research on the topic of gender and work. Role theory suggests that the male breadwinner/female homemaker family model was the ideal and perpetuated through differences in the socialization of boys and girls. Through

this socialization boys are taught to contribute to the paid labor market, while girls are socialized as unpaid labor contributors (e.g., caring for the home and its members).

Gender theories, which critiqued role theory, focused on how behaviors and roles are given gendered meanings, how the division of labor is used to express gender differences, and how social structures convey gender values (Hess 1989). This theory has been used as an attempt to explain one of the many factors of gender inequality, while also allowing for changes in gendered meanings thus, changing our idea of gender appropriateness. Researchers continue to use this theory to bring about social change indicating the potential for changing the structures of gender inequality. Another gender theory, Marxist feminist theory (Engels 1884), suggests that women are continually oppressed by men. These inequalities may begin in the home with the unequal division of household labor but also carries over into other spheres such as the paid labor force and childcare. In other words, Marxist feminist theory explains that the oppression of women by men leads to a gender ideology that impacts other spheres of social life.

It is from these main theories, sex role theory, gender theory, and Marxist feminist theory, that gender inequalities were first explained. Beginning with the second wave of feminism in the 1960s, women began to question these roles that were supposed to come naturally, be embraced, and be enjoyed. This "natural" enjoyment of being an unpaid laborer began to take its toll and women began suffering what Betty Friedan called "the feminine mystique" (1963). This "condition which had no name" was that of unhappiness with the homemaker role.

Following WWII, the push for women to step out of their new-found independence in the workforce and return home was supported by many. The roles of

wife and mother was placed on a pedestal and argued to be the most important to women according to psychiatrists, conservatives, educators, and even women (according to poll data from women's magazines) during this time (Coontz 2011). If women wanted to work they were not fulfilling their true feminine nature. If women insisted on working, Friedan suggested they only work part-time so they could still devote the appropriate time and energy to their home (1963). The push to get women to stay at home rather than working, which they had been doing during WWII, caused unhappiness because of a conflict between a woman's desire to work and society's expectations of her to be a full-time wife and mother. This, in part, led to a resurgence of women's labor force participation. Women entered the labor force for many reasons including economic necessity, a need and desire for their self-worth and contributions to be tied to paid work rather than their roles as wife and mother, or to escape the feminine mystique. This resurgence of workforce participation (after a dip in employment immediately following WWII), along with the second wave of feminism, women began to distinguish between paid and unpaid labor and the juggling act of balancing both. It is important to note that this distinction was brought about by mostly white, educated women because women of color and those in the lower classes had already been experiencing both for some time (Franklin 2010).

Work-Family Balance

Historically, men's objectives were to focus on their work lives, while women's objectives were to focus on family life, creating separate spheres for men and women (Ferree 1990). According to Ferree, men and women's lives were placed into "separate spheres" and political and cultural influences were ignored. Moving beyond the separate

spheres model, research has advanced by placing gender within a framework where roles are not static or ideal but rather a type of social relation wherein power and inequalities exist (Martin 2003). Therefore, gender has evolved from a functionalist dichotomy with specific roles (i.e., men work while women care for children and home), to a more conflict oriented approach where both men and women work outside the home and are in conflict with each other over work-family demands and balance.

Based on role theory (Parsons 1951), multiple role commitments have been used to explain and describe the battle to find a balance between work and family. Some research has shown multiple role commitments increase stress and exhaustion (Goode 1960; Mui 1992; Pearlin 1989) while other research has shown multiple role commitments have positive consequences such as increased economic resources, self-esteem, and better social integration (Barnett 1999; Baruch and Barnett 1986; Crosby 1991; Moen et al 1995). Role balance has also been applied to the work-family balance, specifically role spillover (Frone et al 1992a, 1992b; Greenhaus and Beutell 1985; Kossek and Ozeki 1998) which is explained as the conflict which arises when roles and commitments from one domain (such as family) spills over into the other domain (such as work) and vice versa. Role spillover has been a source of conflict for women (Barnett 1997; Crosby 1991; Hochschild 1989; Moen 1992) and men (Grief et al 1993; Hochshild 1997; LaRossa 1988) and may be more prevalent for workers who experience more pressure at work (Crouter et al 1999), and may be classified as either negative or positive. Negative role spillover occurs when family demands impact workers' attitudes, capabilities, energies, and obligations on the job (Barnett and Rivers 1996; Crouter 1984; Kanter 1977; Lambert 1991; Moen and Yu 1999) and are associated with feelings of

burnout, stress, dissatisfaction with job, and lower company loyalty (Keene and Reynolds 2005). This negative work-family spillover may result in workers opting for part-time work (Raabe 1998), or by making adjustments at work. This modern strategy in balancing work and family (Keene and Quadagno 2004) can be seen in scheduling adjustments (Hewlett and West 1998), which has been found to cause employees to feel successful in the work-family balance (Tausig and Fenwick 2001). Workers also may refuse assignments or overtime, and cut back their hours (Keene and Reynolds 2005). These strategies are risky and may have negative consequences such that work experience is jeopardized, which could lead to fewer promotions and less pay (Attewell 1999; Hardin 1995; Judiesch and Lyness 1999; Kirchmeyer and Cohen 1999; Shellenberger 1996).

Recent research has debated the opting-out of workforce participation by women in an effort to ease conflict between work and family life. Using Public Use Microdata Series (PUMS) data from 1960-2000 and the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Census (both from 2005) Percheski (2008) set out to determine if women are opting out of the paid labor force in order to raise children. Her results suggest that employment rates for those with and without children in younger cohorts are working more and for longer periods of time than their predecessors. Mothers were shown to work less overall hours than non-mothers but the motherhood penalty (also referred to as the child penalty) is decreasing. Percheski concludes that women in recent cohorts are not opting out of the paid labor force in order to raise children like previous cohorts and finds there to be no "opt-out revolution" and no support was found for declining employment in women with children.

Research is mixed on gender differences in the balancing work-family spillover. Some research has found there to be gender differences in work adjustments of men and women to accommodate family demands, whereas other research has found gender similarities in the balance. These differing views have been explained using the gender similarity model, the gender difference model, and sex-role model.

The gender similarity model predicts that men and women's similarities in labor force participation along with family demands should result in both men and women aiming for a balance between work and family (Bielby 1992; Loscocco and Leicht 1993). On the other hand, the gender difference model states there are still gender differences in men and women in that family is still a woman's domain while paid work is a man's domain (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Ferree 1990; Pleck 1977).While these models are dated, they are useful in describing how researchers explained and predicted the work-family balance, recent research however focuses more on the work-family balance for workers in general, children's outcomes, and public policy to combat conflicts between work and family.

According to the sex-role model, women put family obligations over work obligations (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Voyandoff 1989), although this gender difference could be a product of a work culture designed for male workers (Maume and Houston 2001) or a result of working women's unequal share of work in the home compared to working men (Hinze 2000; Shelton and John 1996; South and Spitze 1994). Using the 1996 Sex and Gender Module of the GSS and the 1992 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Keene and Quadagno (2004) examined gender differences in work-family balance. Their results indicate that women who make adjustments at work or postpone

family vacations felt less balanced than women who did not make these adjustments, while men felt the opposite (Keene and Quadagno 2004). Men and women also differ in perceived balance, women report more balance when they give more priority to family while men report less balance when they have less personal time because of work. Men feel more balanced when they have made changes to their work schedules for their family. Greater job autonomy was found to be best predictor for perceived work-family balance (Keene and Quadagno 2004). This study compared both the gender similarity model and the gender difference model to help explain these gender differences, ultimately finding more support for the gender difference model.

Paid Work

Paid work is not gender neutral nor is it equal. For example, women will earn less in a lifetime than their male counterparts (Harris 2011) and workplace discrimination is still prevalent through wage gaps and through gendered occupations (Hartmann et al 2009). Women have been entering the workforce more and more over the decades yet they will earn less over their lifetime than men. This could be explained by the types of jobs women have, for example women may take on part time work or work that pays less in order to devote more time to their families. These lower earnings over the lifetime create greater gender disparities in later life when it comes to benefits such as social security. Gender discrimination is also found in the workplace through statistical discrimination which is a practice of discriminating against women based on their perceived abilities or inabilities to perform certain jobs, the perception of increased need for time off for their families, or simply because they are women. Additionally, the socialization of boys and girls could result in different career choices for men and women.

The gender wage gap has been extensively studied by both sociologists and economists. This research has yielded four main explanations for the gender wage gap: preference, crowding, power, and socialization. Research from the 1970s and 1980s suggest that women have personal preferences for jobs that pay less, however this research was mainly carried out by economists who did not consider these preferences to be a result of processes such as gender socialization. Other economists and researchers interested in power differentials between men and women suggest that men are advantaged by their social superiority (in this American patriarchal society) and therefore have the ability to earn higher wages because of these advantages (Kessler-Harris 2007). Sociologists studying the gender wage gap suggest that because of girl's socialization into women's work they receive secondary status in the labor market (England and Folbre 2005). Finally, crowding has been used as an explanation for the gender wage gap. Crowding refers to a larger concentration of women in a smaller number of occupations which generally have lower pay than jobs with a higher concentration of men (Bellas and Coventry 2001, Solberg 2005).

In a study conducted to test these four explanations, Pham (2011), using Census and American Community Survey data, found support for the power and crowding explanations of the gender wage gap. Results of this study suggest that men have more wage bargaining power than women despite women's presence in the same occupations. Further results suggest that occupations that are crowded are more likely to suffer wage penalties (by both men and women), however these occupations where more likely to be crowded by women.

The motherhood penalty is another type of discrimination that also results in lower pay for women. This penalty is a result of exits from the labor force or part-time work because of family and childrearing demands (Cohen and Bianchi 1999), which results in less experience and seniority within the workplace (Wellington 1994). Sociologists have found that the motherhood penalty is due in part to reduced experience, is worse for married and divorced mothers (Budig and England 2001), and for mothers that cross into other countries for work (transnational motherhood) (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997). Other research, however, has shown the pay gap between mothers and non-mothers is decreasing (Percheski 2008). This finding is attributed to fewer women, particularly for women in the Generation X cohort, opting out of employment to raise children as was more common in earlier cohorts. This decrease in time spent outside the labor force results in women maintaining a presence in the labor force thereby increasing their work experience and tenure, something that has been attributed to the lower wages of mothers who opt out of work for during the childrearing years.

While research indicates women suffer a motherhood penalty, men have actually been found to benefit from being fathers. White men are more likely to experience this bonus, with as much as a 14 and 23 percent increase (Glauber 2008). In a study using National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (waves 1979-2006), Hodges and Budig (2010) found that fathers experience an earnings bonus, even after controlling for numerous factors. The authors suggest that fatherhood bonuses are a result of workplace practices that emphasize organizational hegemonic masculinity.

Unpaid Household Work

Unpaid household labor within the home is a part of our everyday lives. In our homes we perform tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, shopping, caring for children, and maintaining the well-being of family members and we do so without earning a wage. This unpaid labor contributes to the well-being of the household and its members and takes as much or more time as other work within our larger economy (Coltrane and Adams 2008). Paid work is more valued and rewarded than unpaid work because this type of labor contributes to our capitalist economy. Unpaid work, on the other hand, is often undervalued and taken for granted because it does not directly contribute in the same manner as paid work (Folbre 2001). Increasing workforce participation (particularly by white, middle class women) and feminist movements has helped highlight to larger society the importance of unpaid household labor and the balancing act women, in particular, tend to perform as they juggle paid and unpaid work.

Homes can be described as combinations of hotels, restaurants, laundries, child care and entertainment centers (Coltrane and Shih 2010). While the work performed within the home is part of our everyday lives and impacts every member of the household, who actually does the work is gendered. While both men and women are capable of performing this work, it is often referred to as "women's work" stemming from a long history of separate work spheres for men and women beginning in the late 1800s (Coltrane and Shih 2010). While many societal changes have occurred since this time, women and men still tend to perform different types of labor within and outside the home. The majority of men and women in our population work outside the home, yet women still perform more unpaid household labor (Kurdek 2007; Bianchi et al 2000;

Smock 2000; Bianchi and Milkie, 2010; Coltrane and Shih 2010). Researchers have identified perspectives which attempt to explain this inequality and how cultural, economic, and gender theories may influence these allocations.

Scholars have examined the gendered division of unpaid household labor using three main explanations: time availability, relative resources, and gender theories. Time availability, also referred to as time constraints, suggests that the partner with the most time available, or, conversely, with the least time constraints, will perform more unpaid labor in a relationship (Hiller 1984; Coverman 1985; England and Farkas 1986; Artis and Pavalko 2003). The relative resource perspective, on the other hand, suggests that the partner contributing the most resources (e.g. money) has the power to negotiate out of domestic labor responsibilities (Blood and Wolf 1960; Brines 1994). Gender theories used to explain household labor allocations include gender socialization and gender construction theories. The gender socialization, or gender ideology, perspective suggests that women are socialized into domestic roles while men are socialized as economic providers, rather than domestic labor contributors (Coverman 1985; Berk 1985). This perspective generally uses traditional versus egalitarian gender ideologies to explain divisions of unpaid labor. In other words, families with traditional gender ideologies would allocate more unpaid household labor to women, while egalitarian gender ideologies would allocate unpaid household labor more equally between genders.

The social construction of gender is similar to the gender socialization perspective, but emphasizes how gender is constructed through everyday experiences and how household and market work is constructed as masculine or feminine and performing these tasks is a form of "doing gender" (West and Fenstermaker 1993,1987). Thus, men

and women "do" (or resist) their gender by performing certain tasks they perceive as masculine or feminine (Bianchi et al 2000, Coltrane Shih 2010). In the past decade, women outperformed men in the domestic division of labor despite their continued presence in the labor market (Bianchi and Milkie 2010).

Research on household labor saw a boon in the 1990s. There were such significant differences in men and women's household work allocations that gender could no longer be ignored. Currently, despite women's increased paid work contributions and, ultimately, less time to perform household labor, they still contribute more hours to unpaid household labor than their male counterparts (Coltrane and Shih 2010). Even though they are still performing more than men, their overall time on household labor has decreased while men's hours have increased slightly (Sullivan 2010). Researchers who have set out to specifically test time availability, relative resources, and gender perspectives find mixed results, suggesting these perspectives may be too simplistic and may ignore different family types (Coltrane and Shih 2010). Even though studies control for variables such as race and class, their results tend to highlight mostly white, middle class, heterosexual families consequently leaving out other family types with possibly different allocations of unpaid labor. In her analysis of mainstream family journals, Walker (2009) found there to be a research "norm" of married, white, middle-class families with children, concluding these journals are missing important contributions to family studies. Other family types, such as non-white, non-middle class, and same-sex families also face unpaid labor decisions and their experiences may produce much different unpaid household labor negotiations.

In this section I will attempt to create a better understanding of the distribution of unpaid household labor within and across diverse families and households. Since the majority of research on the household division of labor emphasizes the experiences of white, middle class, heterosexual families, my review will compare and/or contrast the research findings about those families with the findings about the household division of labor among nonwhite, non-middle class, non-heterosexual family types. I will focus on three facets of unpaid household labor: housework, childcare, and emotion work. In the following sections I discuss the research on the gender division of household labor in each of these areas in turn. Within each substantive section I review research about differences according to gender, race, class, and sexual orientation.

Unpaid Household Labor: Housework

Housework is the most common form of unpaid work discussed in research on the domestic division of labor and it is usually defined as tasks such as cleaning, cooking, laundry, and grocery shopping. Studies on heterosexual relationships have consistently shown that women spend more time doing housework than men (Kurdek 2007; Bianchi et al 2000; Smock 2000), especially during transitions to motherhood (Baxter et al 2005). Recent studies, however, have revealed the gender gap in women's and men's housework hours are decreasing (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Sayer 2005; Coltrane 2000). This decrease in the gender gap may be attributed to men and women's changing participation in the paid labor market and changing attitudes of masculinity (Sullivan 2010).

As women have increased their hours in paid work, they have decreased their hours performing housework (Bianchi et al 2000) but not their time spent on child care (Bianchi et al 2006). Research is mixed on the relationship between employment and

unpaid household labor for men (Coltrane and Shih 2010). Sullivan (2010) suggests men have increased their contributions to family work, and while this increase has been slow it is a significant change in views of masculinity, fatherhood, and gender equality. According to Sullivan (2010) men's increase in family work are not directly linked to an increase in women's paid work hours, but rather a combination of factors including changes in masculine caring behavior, which may indicate more social acceptability of involved fathers. Rather than labeling housework and child care as feminine tasks, men are beginning to adopt more equitable ideologies and therefore are contributing more, although increased contributions to child care are more likely than housework (Sullivan 2010). This study's findings not only suggest gender socialization but time availability as well. In other words, men's changing contributions to household labor reflects their changing attitudes about gender and a decrease in women's time availability because of their increased paid work hours.

Race and Ethnicity

In a study using both time diaries and the National Survey of Families and Households, Bianchi et al (2000) found racial disparities in housework such that white husbands and wives perform significantly fewer hours than minority husbands and wives. Specifically, Landry (2000) found that Black husbands contributed an average of 22.2 hours on housework whereas White husbands were found to contribute 18.4 hours. Black single mothers, in particular, have been shown to contribute more housework hours (Gupta 2007). Housework has also been found to be shared within Black families among adult children living in the home and extended kin (Coltrane 2000). Studies have shown that the differences between Black and White families' allocation of housework could be

due to Black families' more egalitarian attitudes about gender roles (Kamo and Cohen 1998; Orbuch and Eyster 1997).

One explanation for race and ethnic differences in unpaid household labor may be differences in gender ideologies. Davis and Greenstein (2009) suggest that compared to White women, Black women are more egalitarian because of their increased labor force participation. Like Black families, Latino and Hispanic families also receive help with housework from other family members. In her study of immigrant workers, Hondagneu-Sotelo (2007) found that Latinas enlist the help of their husbands and children in housework at home, more frequently than their White, middle-class counterparts. When compared to white women, Mexican origin women are also found to perform more housework overall. However, their allocations seem to follow the same triggers and not be related to cultural differences. In a study of Mexican origin and white families from California and Arizona, Pinto and Coltrane (2008) set out to bring focus on allocations of household labor beyond White and Black families. The researchers specifically tested time availability, relative resources (total household income, mother's proportion of household income, and the education of the father and mother), and gender socialization explanations for how unpaid household labor is allocated within families. The division of household labor in this study was measured by the average weekly hours on different tasks (cooking/preparation, cleaning, laundry, and grocery shopping). They found that Mexican origin and White families responded similarly to time constraints and relative resources with regard to the division of household labor. Even though divisions of household labor responded similarly to time constraints and relative resources, the amount of time spent on housework and the relative income of mothers was found to be

different. Mexican women who earn more spend less time on housework (Gupta 2007) and their husbands respond by contributing more. This finding was stronger for Mexican women than White women in this study. Even though there are differences in Mexican and White mothers in this regard, the authors do not attribute it to a cultural difference. Rather, they explain this finding could be a result of differences in labor force participation among Mexican and White men. This finding differs from other research showing that traditional gender ideology may motivate Mexican women's comparatively greater time on housework (Bianchi and Milkie 2010). The authors suggest that Mexican families are more traditional than their White counterparts but future research is needed to examine cultural differences further.

Based on the available research, Black and Hispanic families perform more housework and are more likely to enlist help from other family members than White families. Research is lacking on other racial and ethnic families and their allocation of housework, however one study found that Vietnamese and Laotian families share housework among other family members as well (Johnson 1998). Based on the findings of the previous studies, there are racial and ethnic differences in how men and women divide housework and future research should examine these differences more closely.

Social Class

Social class differences in the allocation of housework tend to focus on working-class families and the role of women's earnings. In general, working-class men share more family responsibilities than other groups of men (Deutsch 1999; Pyke 1996; Shows and Gerstel 2009); however when they become unemployed their willingness to help diminishes. (Bittman et al 2003; Legerski and Cornwall 2010) Research on social class

and housework also suggests that women with higher incomes are likely to outsource certain tasks (Gupta 2007; Killewald 2011).

Research suggests that middle-class Blacks who have experienced recent upward mobility have more conservative gender role ideologies than their middle class counterparts. This is seen as a way to distance themselves from Black family stereotypes associated with being lower class (Hill 2002). Black women who have recently become middle class view the separate spheres model and women's ability to be full-time homemakers as a privilege. Therefore, they divide their housework along more strict gender lines, while lower class Blacks tend to model egalitarian behavior within their households (Davis and Greenstein 2009).

In their study of White, heterosexual, religiously conservative, working-class families whose primary breadwinners (men) experienced long-term unemployment, Legeski and Cornwall (2010) found that men did not "undo'" gender and perform more housework, even though they had more available time. Despite their claims of helping with household tasks, men in this sample were found to provide minimal help. The results of this study were explained by a lack of renegotiation of the domestic division of labor between family members in response to the husband's unemployment. Women were found to be unwilling to approach the topic because of concern about their husband's mental health during their unemployment. Overall, these results suggest men's unemployment undermined their ability to be breadwinners and threatened their masculine ideals and they therefore avoided doing housework since its association with femininity further threatened their masculine self-image.

Using the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), Gupta (2007) examined married women's paid work earnings and their weekly housework hours. This study is unique in that it examines women's own earnings rather than examining total household income. Gupta found that with every $7500 increase in income, she spends one fewer hour on housework per week. Gupta concludes that the relative resources perspective may be applied to this study as women with higher incomes may have greater bargaining power within these households. Gupta states that the gender display model is apparent in this study because women are still performing more housework than their husbands; however, this may have more to do with wives' autonomous earnings rather than their earnings relative to their husbands.

Previous research has suggested that women's earnings are negatively associated with their time spent on housework (Gupta 2006, 2007; Killewald and Gough 2010). In other words, women who earn enough are able to outsource their housework and thus perform less housework themselves. Using the Consumption and Activities Mail Survey of the Health and Retirement Study, Killewald tested the buying out hypothesis to determine if women's higher earnings allowed them to outsource housework or if their higher earnings allowed them to opt out of housework without outsourcing. Results indicate that women's earnings matter more than husband's earnings when it comes to hours of housework performed (Gupta 2007). Further results suggest that women who earn more do, in fact, perform less housework but they do not necessarily take advantage of market substitutes. Women in this study still performed more housework than their husbands, even if their earnings allowed for outsourcing. Killewald suggests that market substitutes may be an inadequate replacement for women's contributions therefore

concluding that gender norms play a large role in women's housework hours, regardless of their earnings.

While women who earn higher incomes are able to afford to outsource household tasks, women in working-class families are not. In a study of market substitutes for cooking and cleaning based on wives' earnings, Killewald (2011) found that high-earning wives spent less time doing housework than low-earning wives. These differences were attributed to buying out market substitutes (more often for cleaning than cooking), and an opting out of housework among high-earning wives compared with women who earned less.

Overall, social class has been shown to impact housework for working-class families, especially when the breadwinner experiences long-term unemployment. Social class also plays an important role in the ability to afford outsourcing of certain tasks. Working-class families also tend to share family responsibilities except when husbands and fathers experience unemployment in which case their contribution to sharing housework declines. Wives' higher absolute earnings in dual-earner families, on the other hand, are related to her performing fewer housework hours. These findings indicate that gender influences the division of housework among unemployed breadwinners, and relative resources (higher incomes allow for opting-out and buying out) influence the division of housework among high-earning wives.

Sexual Orientation

Research on the division of unpaid household labor among non-heterosexual partnerships indicates that lesbian, gay, and transgender families divide housework differently than heterosexual partnerships. Compared to heterosexual families, lesbian mothers allocate housework more equally and desire equality within their relationships

(Coltrane and Shih 2010). While heterosexual couples tend to follow models that include gender, time availability, and relative resources in their allocation of unpaid household labor, allocations in gay and lesbian households may follow a personal interest model. This model posits that partners will perform household tasks based on their personal interest in the task in the task at hand.

In their study of Australians and New Zealanders, Perlesz et al (2010) used both quantitative and qualitative data compiled from the Work, Love, and Play (WLP) and Negotiating the Life Course Study (NLC) study to compare household divisions of labor among heterosexual and same-sex families. The Work, Love, and Play study samples same-sex parents while the Negotiating the Life Course Study examined heterosexual parents. With a total sample size of 1277 participants, their results demonstrate that egalitarian divisions of household labor are associated with couples' higher levels of education and with both partners working full time. Overall, lesbian and gay households reported a more egalitarian division of household labor than heterosexual households.

In a quantitative study of child-free, White, dual-earner, same-sex couples, Kurdek (2007) found that gay and lesbian couples allocated household tasks differently from previous research on heterosexual couples. While heterosexual couples tend to practice unequal divisions of labor where women outperform men, among gay and lesbian cohabiting couples, partners tend to share tasks more evenly. While they perform housework more evenly, there were differences in who performed these tasks and for what reasons. In this study, surveys were conducted separately by each partner asking how often (on a scale of 1 to 5) six tasks were performed in relation to their partner. These six tasks include dusting and vacuuming, cooking, cleaning the bathroom, doing

laundry, grocery shopping, and dishwashing. Among lesbian couples, tasks were shared and likely to be performed equally by both partners based on the partner's interest in the task at hand. Gay partners, on the other hand, tended to specialize in certain tasks and the partner who specialized in these tasks performed them more often (Kurdek 2007). Explanations for these differences were attributed to a better understanding of gender socialization among lesbians; therefore more efforts were made to make those divisions fair.

Perceptions of fairness in the unpaid household labor arrangements are important for couple's relationship satisfaction. Among heterosexual couples, relationship satisfaction is increased if women perceive they are performing less housework than their female friends and perceive their husbands as performing more housework than other men (Himsel and Goldberg 2003). On the other hand, lower relationship satisfaction is reported when both men and women perceive an unfair unpaid labor arrangement (Coltrane and Shih 2010). Examining the perceptions in the fairness in the division of housework among lesbian, dual-earner partnerships, previous research indicates that while women in heterosexual relationships out-perform men in household tasks, they still report this inequality as fair. This perception of fairness has been explained by three perspectives: justice principles of outcome values, justifications, and comparison referents. The justice principles of outcome values explains that women perform more housework because the outcome results in more family harmony and this is deemed more important than the equality of household divisions of labor. Women also made excuses for others not contributing to the household labor, thus causing justifications for the unfair household labor arrangements. Finally, women may make comparisons to other

women in their social network and justify their unequal division of labor based on their references (comparison referents) (Major 1987; Esmail 2010).

Testing these justice principles in lesbian relationships, Esmail (2010) conducted a qualitative study of full-time employed, mostly-White, lesbian families. He found that partners reported fairness in their allocations and relied on justifications and comparison referents in their perceptions, even if there was an unequal distribution of household tasks. Partners justified their unequal divisions if one partner had higher standards of cleanliness, more time available, or physical or emotional limitations which prevented them from contributing more. These partners also made comparisons in their perceptions of fairness. When comparing themselves to heterosexual relationships, these partners recognized that women in these relationships often struggle with fairness. These partners also recognized equality in household division of labor if they were raised in egalitarian households or had previous relationships with equal arrangements.

Despite previous studies that predict women perform more housework than men, gay couples may perform more housework than their lesbian counterparts (Coltrane and Shih 2010). Explanations of this discrepancy have been explained by the perceived status of women in larger society and income. Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) suggest that lesbians perform less housework because housework is associated with a traditional gender construct of women and thus performing housework would symbolize the lower status of women in society.

While most research on household labor allocation has focused on heterosexual families, clearly gay and lesbian families are beginning to enter the literature. However, even less is known about other non-heterosexual family types. Among transgender

relationships, one recent qualitative study (Pfeffer 2010) highlighted the divisions of housework among women partners of transgender men. The relationships in this sample are among two biological women, where one partners' gender identity is male. Despite these partners self-identifying as feminist, an unequal division of household labor is evident. According to Pfeffer (2010), the respondents in this sample specifically described the unequal division of housework as not related to gender but rather individual choice, preference, and free will. Relationships that were initially self-identified as "lesbian" were likely to report performing more household labor overall and used choice and free-will as explanations. On the other hand, relationships that were never self-identified as "lesbian" reported performing less household labor and were unlikely to report choice and free will as explanations of unequal divisions of domestic labor.

Overall, sexual orientation differences in the divisions of housework indicate different explanations than those of heterosexual partnerships. Heterosexual relationships are likely to exhibit unequal divisions of housework with women performing more than men. Unlike heterosexual relationships, lesbian and gay partnerships are likely to report a more equitable division of housework (Perlesz et al. 2010; Kurdek 2007) and these tasks were based on interest among lesbian partnerships and task specialization among gay partnerships (Kurdek 2007). While lesbian and gay households tend to have a more egalitarian arrangement than their heterosexual counterparts, some studies suggest gay men perform more housework overall than lesbians (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Carrington 1999; Coltrane and Shih 2010). Transgender partnerships, on the other hand, report unequal divisions of household labor but are likely to report these divisions based on individual choice and not gender socialization (Pfeffer 2010). In other words, gender

theories, time availability, and relative resources work as predictors for the unequal divisions of household labor within heterosexual families but does not appear to be the case within gay, lesbian, and transgender families.

Race and Class

Collins (2000) suggests that research should focus on race and class, specifically Black women and class, because of their long history in both paid and unpaid labor. Black women also have historically earned less income than their White counterparts, which has not afforded them the types of choices and luxuries White women may experience such as outsourcing, opting out, or buying out of domestic tasks. Black single mothers have an especially difficult time due to lower incomes, less child support, and have fewer partners to share in household tasks (Collins 2000). Collins (2000) calls for studying Black families as their own separate unit of analysis, allowing for more contextual social class and historical analyses. This approach to Black families may also be applied to households headed by same-sex couples. It is not enough to simply highlight differences between heterosexual and same-sex family types, it is important to further examine their racial/ethnic and class differences. As same-sex unions become more accepted by society in general, hopefully researchers will look further into these family types so a clearer picture may be painted.

In a study specifically examining low-income Mexican American families and father involvement, Coltrane et al (2004) state that men in these families were likely to perform both housework and child care. Activities these men engaged in were considered both feminine (for example shopping, cooking, reading, and indoor games) and masculine (for example hobbies, outdoor games and entertainment) suggesting that fathering to these men may not be dependent on certain types of activities. Findings also

suggest that in these families, higher levels of family rituals were associated with more involvement with their children. The results of this study are interesting because they contradict the macho stereotypes of Mexican men used by the dominant culture (Mirande 1997). Rather than "macho" interactions with their children, these men were found to interact in nurturing and emotional ways. This study did not specifically test the perspectives of time availability, relative resources, or gender theories; therefore it is difficult to determine which perspective may have more impact. It may be that fathers are responding to time availability or relative resources, however this conclusion is unclear.

Race and class have also been found to determine who helps with unpaid household labor. Among low-income families, children are often used as unpaid laborers, especially within Hispanic and Black families, and these children are overwhelmingly female. These families suggest a cultural explanation for their participation in family labor (Dodson and Dickert 2004). Daughters are enlisted for help with family labor due to family needs, such as low family earnings, which prevents families from using child care services and parental absences due to employment. The duties involved for these children include housework, child care, and household management (Dodson and Dickert 2004). Despite the increased need for domestic help, sons are less likely to perform family labor, suggesting a strong and persistent gendered ideology of women performing housework (Dodson and Dickert 2004).

Unlike middle class families where children who perform family labor are often rewarded with allowances, family labor in low-income families are replacement labor for when parents are unavailable (Blair 1992, Dodson and Dickert 2004). The girls who participate in this unpaid labor often suffer in their personal lives because of their

contributions. This suffering often results in lost opportunities in their own education, extracurricular activities (such as athletics and arts) and life events (such as interacting with friends). These lost opportunities turn the focus of their young lives to caregiving and may even create avenues for early childbearing (Dodson and Dickert 2004).

Race and Sexual Orientation

In a study examining Black, lesbian stepfamilies, Moore (2008) found that biological mothers perform more unpaid household labor, money management, and childrearing not because of personal preference but as a means of exerting control within their relationships. Moore (2008) suggests these biological mothers perform more unpaid household labor because they were performing these tasks as single mothers prior to the relationship formation with their current partner. By continuing to perform the bulk of household labor, these biological mothers were performing as if they were still single mothers. Moore suggests that even though these partnerships are between two women, gendered meanings still drive the division of household labor. Rather than gendered meanings of men and women, however, the gendered meanings are attached to biological mothers and their needs to uphold behaviors that portray them as "good mothers" to other family members, society and themselves (Moore 2008).

Class and Sexual Orientation

Current research examining the interaction of class and sexual orientation on the domestic division of labor indicates that working-class lesbian couples in the United Kingdom do not share child care evenly. Gabb (2004, 2005) suggests that biological mothers engaged in more maternal roles (such as primary caretaker) while co-mothers were given a more paternal role. This finding is similar to the dynamics within Black lesbian stepfamilies discussed earlier (Moore 2008). The findings from this study indicate

that class and sexuality (working-class lesbian) partners divide child care based on biological motherhood rather than time availability or relative resource perspectives.

Another study examining class and sexual orientation concludes that economic advantages are different for lesbian, gay, and heterosexual families. Using 2000 Census data, Prokos and Keene (2010) compared gay and lesbian cohabiting couples to cohabiting and married heterosexual couples and their chances of poverty. They conclude that two-parent cohabiting gay and lesbian families are at an economic advantage compared to two-parent cohabiting heterosexual families. This result was found to be attributed to higher educational levels for lesbians but could not be explained by age, education, or employment for their gay or heterosexual counterparts. Overall, Prokos and Keene suggest that cohabiting gays and lesbians are economically more advantaged than their heterosexual counterparts. Because of this, their children may be at greater advantage in terms of resources which may contribute to greater outcomes for their children.

Unpaid Household Labor: Child Care

Child care is a component of unpaid household labor within the home and is often combined with housework in research studies on the domestic division of labor. Because of this, research is lacking in this area in general, especially with respect to class, and few studies have examined childcare differences across lines of racial, ethnic, and sexual orientation. Of the studies that have examined child care independent of housework, research shows that the amount of time devoted to child care has increased since the mid-1960s, but that racial, generational, and sexual orientation differences exist among Black

and Hispanic families. Overall, more satisfaction is experienced when spouses share child care more evenly (Coltrane and Shih 2010).

Sayer et al (2004) analyzed mothers' and residential, married fathers' time with children using time diary data from four national data sets spanning from the mid-1960s through the late 1990s. Results indicate that both mothers and fathers are spending more time in child care activities in the late 1990s than during the 1960s. In this study marital status is not associated with time in child care, however working longer hours decreased time in child care while having young children and being college-educated increase time in child care. These results suggest that although both mothers and fathers are altering their behavior in order to spend more time with their children, women are still providing more child care overall. These results are intriguing given that mothers' paid work hours have increased over this time. This study did not assess race, class, or differences in sexual orientation; however results provide important advances in parent's time with their children, even though this time may still be unequal.

Other studies suggest that men do more child care when they also increase their housework (Coltrane 2000) contributing to a narrowing of the gender gap in cooking, cleaning, and child care (Sayer 2005). The narrowing of the gap in child care is also attributed to men's increasing time in unpaid household labor perhaps as a result of increased household labor work load demands while women perform more paid work (Sayer 2005).

Within Hispanic families, fathers have been shown to interact with children more if they are of first generation Mexican origin than less acculturated Mexican origin men (Coltrane et al 2004). Examining flexibility and child care in Black families, Wilson et al

(1990) found that mothers have the most prominent role in child care. However when mothers are unavailable, fathers and grandmothers make up the difference. According to Pruchno (1999) Hispanic grandparents are likely to live with the grandchild's parent(s) (Burnette 1999) while Black custodial grandparents may not. Grandparents in Black and Hispanic families are likely to provide assistance with child care because, unlike White families, they have been shown to place greater emphasis on intergenerational assistance for the wellbeing of the family as a whole (Cox et al 2000; Pebley and Rudkin 1999).

Compared to heterosexual couples where women are likely to be responsible for more child care (Patterson et al 2004), lesbian and gay couples are likely to report a more equal arrangement with respect to child care (Fulcher et al 2008; Biblarz and Savci 2010; Farr et al 2009). In a study comparing heterosexual and lesbian couples that were White, well-educated, and of higher than average income, Fulcher et al (2008) found differences in attitudes about gender roles. Results showed that lesbian mothers had more liberal gender attitudes than heterosexual couples and therefore were more likely to allocate child care and paid work more evenly. Fulcher et al (2008) suggests that regardless of sexual orientation, if parents had more egalitarian ideologies and attitudes about gender, children's gender role socialization could be more flexible.

Patterson and Farr (2010) suggest that rather than dividing childcare by gender, same-sex couples are more inclined to share responsibilities. In the Atlantic Coast Families Study, sixty-six upper-middle-class families were examined. Within the sample, half were heterosexual couples while the other half were lesbian. Among these families Patterson and Farr (2010) found that mothers in heterosexual families performed more child care while lesbian mothers reported sharing child care more evenly. In this study

fathers worked more hours in paid employment than mothers and lesbian mothers worked about equal hours in paid employment. Interestingly, the arrangements between both family types were viewed as ideal by the participants in the study.

Within the framework of child care and gay and lesbian families, researchers have distinguished between adoptive and biological ties. That is, the division of child care may be different for families with biological ties to children rather than families in which children were adopted. Studies have shown that biological lesbian mothers perform more child care than co-mothers (the non-biological mother) (Moore 2008; Goldberg and Perry-Jenkins 2007; Coltrane and Shih 2010). Lesbian families formed through adoption report more egalitarian divisions of child care (Ciano-Boyce and Shelley-Sireci 2002). Regardless of biological versus adoptive ties, child care in lesbian families is still allocated more evenly than in heterosexual families (Patterson and Farr 2010).

Biblarz and Savci (2010), in their review of the decade's research on lesbian, gay, transgender and bisexual families, suggest that lesbian and gay families allocate child care more evenly, however different motivations guide which partner performs which tasks. In lesbian families, biological mothers were likely to assign tasks such as feeding and bathing to co-mothers in an effort to support their identities as biological mothers. Gay parents, on the other hand, were likely to divide child care responsibilities based on personal choice, aptitude, and fairness rather than on the basis of biological ties to the child(ren).

In their study of gay fathers, lesbian mothers, and heterosexual couples, Johnson and O'Connor (2002) found differing patterns with respect to housework and child care. They found that gay fathers were likely to share child care but not necessarily housework

while lesbian mothers were likely to share housework but not necessarily child care. Child care among lesbian mothers was divided based on biology in that the biological mother tended to perform more childcare. These couples reported these were ideal arrangements for their households.

In a study of same-sex couples in Australia and New Zealand, Perlesz et al (2010) found that same-sex couples are better able to achieve egalitarianism within their relationship than heterosexual couples with regard to the division of household labor. In households where couples had higher education and both partners worked full time, more equal child care was found. Couples in this study explained the process by which differences in household labor were negotiated. Finances, career-interests, and desire for time with children all played roles in deciding which partner contributed what tasks to the relationship. These assigned roles, however, were not fixed and changed during the course of the relationship depending on situations and opportunities and without regard to biological ties to the children (within lesbian couples). This study suggests that in heterosexual relationships, gender theories depict family roles, while same-sex couples negotiate family roles, responsibilities, and tasks depending on skill, inclination, and availability (Peplau et al 1996; Dunne 1999; Heaphy et al 1999; Weeks et al 2001; Patterson et al 2004).

Much less research is available for gay fathers and their allocations of child care. In a study comparing heterosexual and gay parents of young children, McPherson (1993) found gay fathers not only report equal child care arrangements but their satisfaction in their arrangements are greater than in heterosexual families with children. These results

are similar to studies that compare lesbian and heterosexual child care arrangements (Patterson and Farr 2010).

Research on child care as an independent facet of unpaid labor within the home is lacking. According to the available research, lesbian couples make decisions about their roles within paid and unpaid work, while heterosexual couples tend to organize family roles and work outside the home based on gender (Baxter et al 2005; Baxter and Western 2005; Ferree 1990; Lipsitz Bem 1993), both of which impact their child care arrangements. These arrangements result in more equality among lesbian families than heterosexual families. Among gay families, child care is also found to be based on equality. Overall, child care (independent of housework) has increased for both parents in heterosexual unions since the 1960s and may be based on biological ties in same-sex unions. Also, more flexibility is found in same-sex unions as, unlike heterosexual parents, they are more willing to re-negotiate arrangements and tasks based on life course situations (Perselesz et al 2010).

Other than within families, children may be cared for outside of the home by other family members or in a more formal setting such as daycare centers. According to Johnson (2005) over half of all children under the age of five receive some form of non-maternal care in the U.S. The decision to place children in kin care or formal care depends on several factors. According to Rose and Elicker (2010) parents' ideal arrangements would be for their infant and toddler children to be in their care, followed by kinship care, while preferring center-based care for preschool-aged children. While these are ideal arrangements, they are not always the type of care they are able to provide. Factors impacting child care decisions include income, ethnicity, education, and family-

role ideology. In their survey of over 300 mothers of children under the age of six, Rose and Elicker (2010) found that non-parental care was more common among Whites with higher incomes, higher education, and egalitarian family-role ideology (Rose and Elicker 2010). This study indicates that while parents have certain preferences for the types of care their children receive, they are often inhibited by income and other factors which cause them to place their children in formal care settings. This study also indicates that parents of preschool-aged children, regardless of ethnicity or income, value formal care in order to prepare their children for school.

Unpaid Household Labor: Emotion Work

Unpaid household labor has historically been studied as a broad variable including different housework tasks and child care. Recently, the case for including emotion work within unpaid household labor has surfaced (Erickson 2005) and because this perspective is fairly new, few studies have taken this approach. First introduced by Hochschild (1979) to describe emotion work in the market economy, Erickson (2005) defines emotion work within the family as tasks that are concerned with others' emotional and well-being enhancement. In a study of White, dual-earner married couples in 1995 and 1996, Erickson (2005) found that women were more likely to perform emotion work whether they self-identified themselves as having feminine or masculine traits, while men were likely to perform more emotion work if they self-identified feminine traits to themselves. The findings of this study support gender construction as the main predictor of performing emotion work and rejected time constraints and relative resources as determinant factors. Overall, heterosexual couples have been shown to be more satisfied with their relationships when both partners perform emotion work

(Coltrane and Shih 2010). Research is lacking on racial differences in emotion work, and limited research is available for class and sexual orientation differences.

Class differences suggest that women partners of unemployed working-class men perform more emotion work because of their husbands' fragile mental state following their unemployment (Legerski and Cornwall 2010). Women were reluctant to renegotiate unpaid household labor in these families because of the fragility due to the loss of the primary breadwinner status, and its ties to masculinity experienced by their husbands.

Sexual orientation differences in emotion work suggest that some lesbian partners perform emotion work. In an ethnographic study of fifty-two lesbian and gay families, Carrington (1999) found differences in sexual orientation and emotion work. Results suggest that some lesbian partners perform emotion work by socially shielding the partner that performs less household labor in an effort to decrease their vulnerability to accusations of masculine stereotypes. These strategies are not unlike heterosexual households in which gendered unequal divisions of labor are justified.

Research is lacking on emotion work within gay families, however a study conducted by Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) highlights intimacy within gay relationships in comparison to lesbian and heterosexual relationships. According to their study, gay couples have more open sexual relationships than lesbians or heterosexuals, it is important to note, however, this study was conducted prior to the AIDS epidemic and therefore attitudes and actions may have changed.

Within transgender partnerships, women partners of transgender men were found to perform more emotion work in several ways (Pfeffer 2010). First, these women partners provided transition-related support including hormonal and surgical transitions,

which likely involved medical assistance as well. Also these women partners engaged in emotion work by acting as personal advocates and mediators for their transgender partner. Instances where these women acted as personal advocates and mediators included communications with medical staff and family members. Finally, these women partners also engaged in emotion work by providing emotional support during their partners' gender transitions. Pfeffer (2010) also suggests these women perform emotion work in their efforts to facilitate emotional expression from their partners and by enacting traditional gender roles despite their identities as feminists.

In general, research on emotion work is lacking on lesbian, gay, and transgender families. Based on available research, emotion work is found to be performed more by women within heterosexual families (Erickson 2005). Among lesbian couples, emotion work is performed by both partners when shielding each other from masculine stereotypes (Carrington 1999). To the extent emotion work has been studied among gay families, intimacy is found to be fluid in that partners are more open to having other sexual partners than lesbian or heterosexual relationships (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983). Within transgender relationships, one partner performs more emotion work when they are providing emotional support for their transgender partner during their identity and/or medical transition, with medical personnel, and larger social networks (Pfeffer 2010). Overall emotion work is found to be performed more by women within heterosexual unions and transgender relationships and performed by both partners in lesbian and gay partnerships.

According to Daly (2003), family research should also examine what is referred to as "negative spaces". These negative spaces refer to the "the recessive areas that we

are unaccustomed to seeing" (page 771). These recessive areas include cultural differences in families, the differences in family experiences across time and place, the role of religion in forming family ideologies, consumption patterns within families, and a different approach to emotion work within families. According to Daly, research on emotion work within families tends to focus on emotion work as negative. The argument is made that perhaps there should be a shift in how we study emotion work by changing the focus to more positive emotional experiences within families.

The limited research on emotion work has supported gender ideology as an explanation, however only among heterosexual, working-class families. Among transgender partnerships, women partners perform more emotion work but insist that it is not connected to gender ideology, rather, they claim the division is motivated by individual choice.

The main perspectives used to explain gender differences in unpaid household labor are time availability, relative resources, and gender theories. Among heterosexual couples, research suggests mixed support for these perspectives.

Based on the research presented here, findings suggest that what is known about White, middle class, heterosexual divisions of unpaid household labor within the home may not automatically apply to nonwhite, non-middle class, non-heterosexual family types. Compared to White families, Black and Hispanic families contribute more housework and are likely to seek help from other family members. Hispanic families, in particular, are found to respond to time constraints and relative resources rather than gender socialization. Working-class families adhere to gender socialization and construction in their divisions of unpaid household labor when the primary breadwinner

suffers long-term unemployment. Higher-earning women, however, are likely to respond to housework demands by outsourcing, opting out, or buying out. This suggests they are able to bargain out of housework using the resources (money) they contribute to the family; however these resources are contingent on their absolute, rather than relative, income. Sexual orientation differences in housework suggest that lesbian couples allocate housework based on interest in the task at hand while gay couples tend to specialize in tasks, transgender couples, on the other hand, rely on personal preference. These partnerships, however, are overall more likely to divide housework in ways that are more evenly distributed than in heterosexual households.

Of the few recent studies that examined child care independent of housework, it is unclear the extent to which racial differences can be applied to the main perspectives of time availability, relative resources, and gender theories. Black and Hispanic families are likely to share child care; however it is not yet determined if this sharing is a reflection of time constraints or relative resources. Sexuality differences, however, do indicate that allocations of child care are different for gay and lesbian partnerships. Gay partnerships are likely to allocate child care based on personal choice, whereas in lesbian partnerships more responsibilities of child care are likely allocated to the biological mother in the partnership. Rather than this responsibility falling on the mother because of gender norms, as is the case in heterosexual couples, this reliance on the biological mother for child care is a matter of personal choice.

Emotion work, which has recently been recognized as a component of unpaid household labor, is much like child care in that few studies have studied it specifically. Of the current research available, working-class families who experience long-term

unemployment of the primary breadwinner adhere to traditional gender roles because women partners in these families perform more emotion work as a result of their husbands' fragile mental health. Sexuality differences in emotion work reveal that some partners in lesbian relationships perform more emotion work in an effort to shield their partner from masculine stereotypes because of their lower contributions to unpaid labor within the home. Women partners of transgender men also perform more emotion work by providing transition-related support to their partners. These findings for lesbian partnerships and transgender partnerships reveal support for gender theories in that the partner who identifies with a feminine gender construction (the lesbian partner that performs more unpaid labor and the female gender identified partner of transgender men) performs more emotion work, even though women partners of transgender men insist their performances are not related to gender.

Finally, several studies examined the allocation of unpaid household labor using the interactions of race and class, race and sexual orientation, and class and sexual orientation. Among low-income Hispanic families, fathers were shown to provide child care time despite contradictory stereotypes that Hispanic fathers were too "macho" to perform these tasks. This study did not support gender socialization, however, it is unclear whether these fathers' involvement reflects time constraints or relative resources, and therefore the motivations behind these behaviors are unclear. Among Black, lesbian stepfamilies biological motherhood is the determining factor for which partner performs more childrearing and housework tasks. Unlike heterosexual families, however, this unequal division of unpaid labor is based on individual choice, however Moore (2008) states this could also be a form of gender socialization. Among working-class lesbians,

biological motherhood was also found to be the determining factor in the allocation of unpaid household labor, suggesting that biological mothers performed maternal roles while co-mothers were *given* more paternal roles within the family. Framing these roles as maternal and paternal suggests gender socialization; however it could also be a case of individual choice as with Black, lesbian stepfamilies.

Unpaid household labor has been a highly studied component of relationships and family life for decades; however past research has focused mainly on heterosexual family types. Within this research domain women have been found to contribute more unpaid household labor than men. Mixed support for gender socialization, time availability, and relative resources have been shown as explanations for these differences. Research is emerging in which lesbian, gay, and transgender families' allocations of unpaid household labor are being examined and compared to heterosexual family types. These studies suggest that the main predictor for unequal divisions of labor within heterosexual families cannot necessarily be applied to non-heterosexual family types. Overall, lesbian and gay families are more egalitarian than heterosexual families and therefore may allocate tasks more evenly.

Within heterosexual families, women may report satisfaction with unequal divisions of household labor because they perceive their contributions as symbols of love for their family members (Coltrane and Shih 2010). However with these arrangements given to the females in the family (mothers and daughters) gender inequality within our society perpetuates. Thus studying unpaid household labor is not only important for women but for families as well.

Within same-sex couples, gender inequality is not as blatant; therefore studying their allocations may assist in highlighting gender inequalities in heterosexual families and provide solutions for more equitable arrangements. As women continue their participation in the workforce alongside men's reluctance to contribute in the private sphere, outsourcing may be required to keep up with demands of work and home. Both heterosexual and same-sex relationship satisfaction can be predicted by their perceived fairness in unpaid household labor arrangements, that is, satisfaction with arrangements leads to greater relationship satisfaction (Cooke 2006). Happiness with the division of labor has also been attributed to more well-adjusted children within lesbian households (Patterson and Farr 2010), although these child outcomes may be a result of parent's satisfaction and not directly related to the division of household labor (Patterson 2009; Patterson and Farr 2010).

Conclusion

There are two areas of research that are lacking in this literature that this dissertation could contribute to. These areas include a lack of focus on men's contributions and how larger social forces, like an economic recession, may impact unpaid household labor.

One shortcoming of previous research is a focus on men's increasing contribution to unpaid household labor, an area that has received increasing attention in recent research. As women have entered the workforce in larger capacities there has been a cultural lag, or stalled revolution (Hochschild 1989,2003), in which women have had to incorporate strategies and strain in their balance of work and family. Women have

consistently contributed unequally to unpaid household labor, even though their increased participation in the labor force has not been met with decreased participation in unpaid household labor. While women are shown to be more prepared to reject traditional gender role attitudes (Scott et al 1996), men are less willing to give up their traditional roles (Scott et al 1996) and less likely to increase their unpaid household labor.

There are three primary perspectives used to explain men's lower rates of participation in unpaid household labor and their potential impetus to increase their participation. The first perspective for explaining men's increasing contributions to unpaid household labor focuses on the patterns of female employment (Scott et al 1996; Sullivan 2010). According to 2010 data, 43.4 percent of men aged 16 and older are in the workforce full-time, compared to 40.7 percent of women aged 16 and older working full-time. This data suggests men and women are both contributing significantly to the labor force. According to the time availability perspective (the partner with the most time available will do the majority of the unpaid labor) this would suggest that women have slightly more time available, however as stated above they are still performing the majority of the unpaid labor. Applying the relative resource perspective on the gendered division of household labor (the person that contributes the most monetary resources will be able to bargain out of unpaid labor), women may be bringing the same or more resources than their partner and therefore may be better able to negotiate unpaid labor.

Another perspective that has been used to explain men's increasing contributions to unpaid labor is gender consciousness (Scott et al 1996; Sullivan 2010). This perspective explains that both men and women have become more conscious of their gender roles and expectations and by being conscious of these roles and expectations they

can change them. By recognizing gender consciousness, men and women are changing their contributions and "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) differently. Doing gender differently, the active reconstruction of gender in daily interaction, can reconstruct gender socialization and therefore impact what it means to be male or female, husband or wife, father or mother.

Another reason used to explain men's changing contributions to unpaid labor is the changing images of what it means to be a partner and/or father, and changing ideas about masculinities. According to Coltrane (1998), there is an "uncoupling of gender from caring." Knijn (1995) states that symbolic representations of "the new father" in media portrays men as having a deep bond and increased care for his children and this "new father" is becoming part of male gender identification. This change in masculinities have been attributed to social forces in late modernity (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995) where despite increased autonomy and individualization the parent-child bond persists, also personal identity as a reflexive identity (Knijn 1995) whereby fathers choose how to father rather than adhering to traditional norms.

The second area lacking in previous research is the impact of social forces, like the recession on the division of household labor. The recession in particular is interesting because it directly impacts employment which has been shown to predict contributions to unpaid labor. For example, if men lose their jobs and stay unemployed because of lack of job availability this will cause other members of the family (his wife in heterosexual unions) to contribute more unpaid labor regardless of her work status (see Sayer et al 2009). This dissertation will contribute to both these areas, thus significantly add to this field of study.

Recent Studies on Unpaid Household Labor and Hard Times

The recent economic recession in the United States has impacted the paid labor force and ultimately may place further strain on unpaid household labor within families. Social changes, particularly those impacting economic markets, disrupt not only the lives of individuals but families as well (Gough and Killewald 2010). Employment patterns impact unpaid labor within the home, as suggested by the time availability perspective which argues that the partner with the most time available to perform household tasks will take up the responsibility. This perspective, however, does not explain allocations of unpaid household labor within homes where individuals' employment patterns change, especially when men experience changes in their employment. Research indicates that men who are employed part time, or not at all, do not increase their unpaid labor contributions to the home (Sayer et al 2009), resulting in more total work for their women partners, especially when children are present in the home. These results indicate the time availability perspective may not apply to these types of families; rather specific gender roles may be at play. The relative resource perspective may also be applied to allocations of unpaid household labor during this economic crisis. As stated, the household member with the most resources (i.e., money) is able to bargain out of domestic work, leaving members with the least resources with the work. During the economic recession, with high levels of unemployment and underemployment, partners earning less money would be expected to contribute more. Again, according to Sayer et al (2009) when men contribute less money to the household they still do not perform more. However, according to Gupta (2007) when women earn more they perform less unpaid household labor.

According to Gough and Killewald (2010) it is important to distinguish voluntary versus involuntary changes in paid labor and how this may impact household divisions of labor. Using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), a longitudinal (1973-2003) quantitative dataset, Gough and Killewald set out to test the time availability perspective on unpaid household labor and involuntary job loss. The results indicate that over the waves of the study, husbands experienced more involuntary job loss than wives. While these men adjusted their time in unpaid household labor it was much lower than anticipated. Specifically, a husband's job loss is only associated with a 1.1 hour increase per week in unpaid household labor, with multiple job losses, however, their time in unpaid labor increases (specifically after the third job loss their increase is 1.98 hours per week). Husbands were found to significantly increase their hours of unpaid labor within the home but only if their wife was employed full time. Housewives, however, experience an increase in unpaid household labor when their husband experiences a job loss. When wives experience a job loss, their time in unpaid work increases while their husbands' time in unpaid work decreases. This study, therefore, finds weak support for the time availability perspective and its impact on unpaid labor within the home and may find support for the impact of gender within these households.

Using the American Time Use Survey Berik and Kongar (2013) tested the recession's impact on paid and unpaid household labor. The authors specifically analyzed housework (defined as interior and exterior cleaning, laundry, sewing, and grocery shopping) and child care (physical care for children; reading to and playing with children; looking after children; arts and crafts with children; playing sports with children; talking and listening to children; organizing and planning events; attending children's events;

picking up and dropping off children). The results of this study indicate the gender gap in unpaid labor lessened due to women decreasing their time in housework, child care, and shopping, while fathers only increased their time spent in child care slightly. After June 2009, fathers spent more time in personal care and leisure even if they had extra time due to lost paid labor hours. Overall, the authors find no equality in total workload hours before the recession and even wider gaps after the recession. Based on their results, it seems that gender may be an important predictor for who performs what tasks when unemployment is experienced.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

Data

For this study I will employ data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS). This survey is sponsored by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and is conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The ATUS asks respondents how they spend their time in a variety of activities. It is important to note that respondents are asked only about their own time use and no one else's in the household. For the purposes of this study I will be focusing on tasks pertaining to housework, child care, and emotion work.

The ATUS began collecting data in 2003 and has been collected every year since. Currently, multi-year data files are available through 2011 and will be used for this project. Data files for the American Time Use Survey were downloaded from the Bureau of Labor Statistics website. There are eleven data files in all, for the purposes of this project I retrieved the following: Respondent file and Activity Summary file. These files were chosen for their applicability to the study at hand. After downloading each separately, I followed the instructions provided through the ATUS User's Guide and merged the files. Weights are provided and will be applied to future analyses.

The activities captured by the ATUS are of utmost importance to this study because they assess how the respondent spent their previous day using a time-diary. Respondents are interviewed once by telephone regarding how, where, and with whom they spent their time from the previous day. The day is defined as 4:00 A.M. the previous day to 4:00 A.M. the day of the interview. During the survey, two types of interviewing methods are used: structured questions and conversational interviewing. The structured questions are read from scripted text and answers are reported are entered into a CATI system. Conversational interviewing is used for a time-use diary section which allows for

more flexible interviewing and more comfortable and accurate responses. This type of interviewing permits the interviewers to probe, redirect, and guide through memory lapses (Schober and Conrad 1997). Each activity is recorded with a start time and a stop time. ATUS has edited these start and stop times into total times for simpler analysis. Each activity has a specific code and is compiled into eighteen major categories. Within these eighteen categories, I have chosen activities that I define as housework, child care, and emotion work (see Appendix 1) In order to be eligible for this analysis, respondents must be living with a spouse/partner and have at least one child present in the home (under the age of 18).

It is important to include respondents living with a spouse/partner in this analysis because it provides insight into the division of household labor among partners. It is also imperative to include households with at least one child present in the home because having a child (or children) in the home increases the amount of household labor to be conducted. It will also provide specific data for one of my dependent variables, child care.

A significant contribution of this work is the ability to examine trends before, during, and after the 2007 economic recession. Thus, I have divided the data into three time periods, following Berik and Kongar (2013). These time periods are: Pre-Recession (January 2003-November 2007), Recession (December 2007-June 2009), and Recovery (July 2009-December 2011). These distinctions are important because they will allow me to compare time periods and specifically determine what impact the 2007 U.S. economic recession had on unpaid household labor. It is important to note, however, that while this

data is longitudinal, it is also cross-sectional. Thus, while the data covers the years 2003 through 2011, each time period contains different respondents.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables in this study include time spent performing housework, child care and emotion work.

- Housework: Following Bianchi and Milkie (2000), I conceptualize household tasks as either "core tasks" or "other tasks." In their study they defined core tasks as cooking meals, meal cleanup, housecleaning, laundry and ironing. Other housework tasks include outdoor chores, repairs, garden and animal care, and bills and other financial management. Therefore,

  Core Tasks: interior cleaning; laundry; food and drink preparation; kitchen and food clean-up; grocery shopping

  Other Tasks: exterior cleaning; exterior repair, improvements, and decoration; vehicle repair and maintenance (by self); appliance, tool, and toy set-up, repair, and maintenance (by self); financial management
- Child Care: physical care for household children; reading to/with household children; playing with household children, not sports; arts and crafts with household children; playing sports with household children; helping with homework, looking after household children; attending household children's events
- Emotion Work: The ATUS does not explicitly ask about emotion work; however there are certain tasks in the dataset that I can conceptualize as emotion work. These tasks include talking with/listening to household children; household

organization and planning; organization and planning for household children; handling household mail and email; telephone calls to/from family members. For each of these categories, I computed the total time in minutes spent on respective activities for a total time spent in each category.

Independent Variables

The independent variables used in this analysis are gender, race, respondent's income, labor force status of respondent and their spouse/partner, and work dyads.

Gender is coded as either male or female. The racial categories being used for this analysis include White, Hispanic, Black, and Asian. Other racial categories were not included due to lack of respondents. Respondent's income is also included in the analysis and is coded as weekly earnings. Employment status of the respondent includes those working full time, part time, and unemployed. The dataset allows for analysis of respondents that are not in the labor force, however, I have chosen not to include these data as it may skew the overall time spent in unpaid household labor and income analyses. I also include labor force status of the respondent's spouse/partner in the analysis. The ATUS provides data on whether the respondent's spouse/partner is employed full time, employed part time, and not employed. I have chosen to only include full time and part time workers for this analysis for two reasons. First, I am unable to determine if the not employed category are retired, disabled, not in the labor force, or unemployed. Second, the ATUS is conducted in conjunction with the Current Population Survey and while the same respondents are surveyed, their data is collected at different times. The time between conducted the CPS and ATUS could be as much as six months.

Because of this time difference, I am unable to definitively determine if the employment status is still the same when the ATUS was conducted.

To further examine employment status, I have created a variable that combines the employment status of the respondent and their spouse/partner. I call this variable work dyad. After creating this variable, I have six work dyads. The first employment status describes the respondent, while the second describes their spouse/partner. These work dyads include: full time and full time; full time and part time; part time and full time; part time and part time; unemployed and full time; and unemployed and part time.

Control Variables

I will be controlling for age, household composition, education, and ATUS weights. The age of respondent and the age of the youngest child in the home will be used in this analysis. Household composition control variables include the number of children under the age of 18 in the household, and the number of people present in the home. I will also be controlling for the respondent's highest level of school completed. I have coded this variable as high school diploma or less, some college, Bachelor's degree, Master's or Professional degree, and Doctoral degree. The weights I will be using in these analyses have been provided by ATUS.

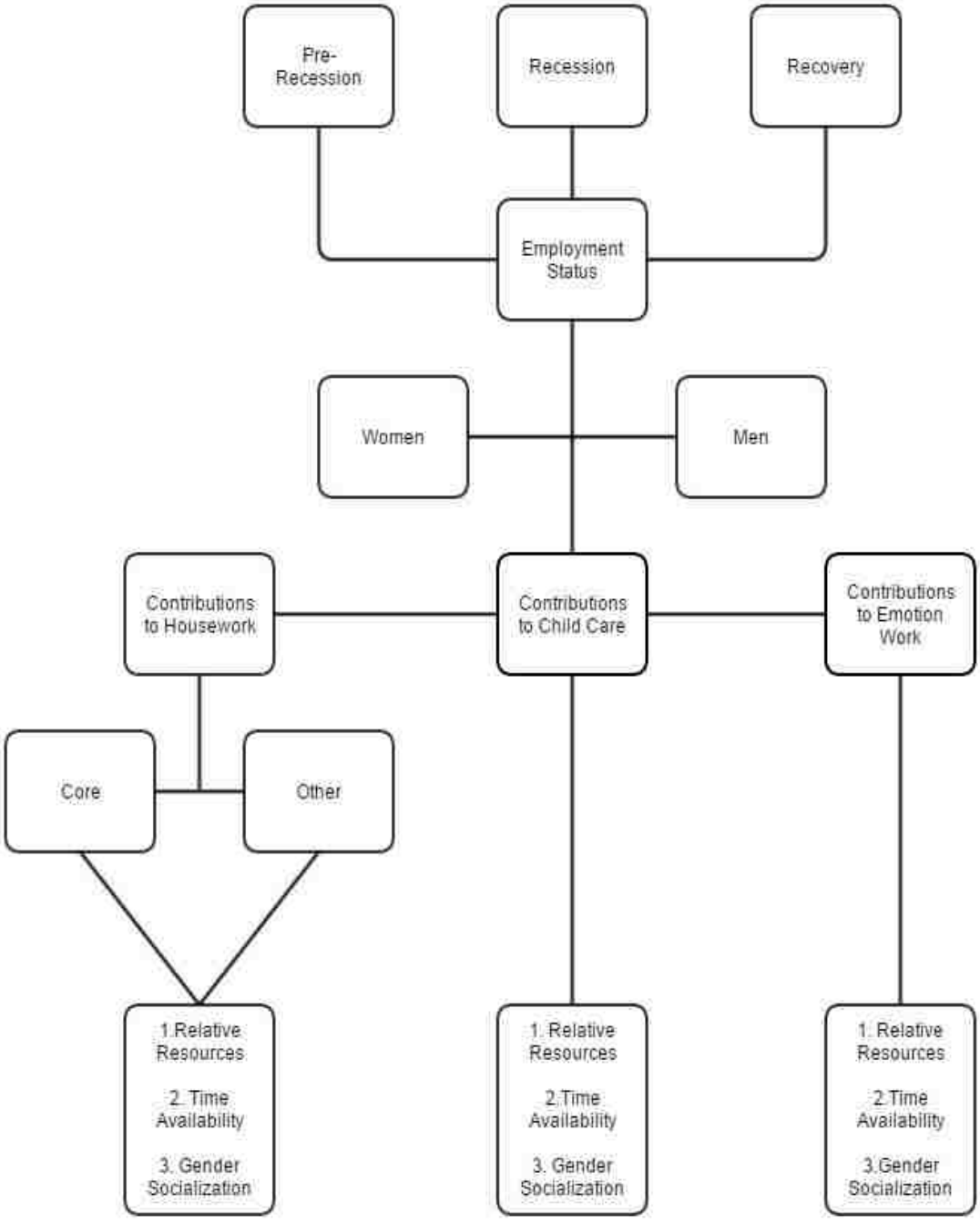

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Unpaid Household Labor by Employment Status across Three Time Periods.

Sample Characteristics

After merging the applicable ATUS files, the sample size contains 124,517 respondents who completed the time-diary portion of the ATUS. I selected only the cases in which at least one child was present in the home, households in which a spouse or unmarried partner was present, and respondents who are White, Hispanic, Black, or Asian. The resulting final sample consists of 22, 507 respondents.

Overall, most respondents were White, were employed full time, were in relationships with a spouse or partner who also works full time, and earned an average of $395 per week. Respondents spent an average of eighty-eight minutes per day on core housework tasks and an average of eleven minutes per day on other housework tasks. The average time spent performing child care was sixty-one minutes and the average time spent performing emotion work was thirteen minutes per day (See Table 1). Overall, more men were employed full time across all time periods and women experienced more unemployment during the recession (See Table 2). More black women were employed full time across all time periods, while Hispanic women experienced the most unemployment during the recession (See Table 3). White men were most likely to be employed full time across all time periods, while Black men experienced the largest unemployment during the recession (See Table 4).

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent and Independent Variables Across all Time Periods.

Dependent Variables (minutes per day)		Mean (s.d.)
Housework		
	Core	87.98 (109.2)
	Other	10.95 (49.18)
Child Care		61.38 (92.58)
Emotion Work		13.4 (34.2)
Independent Variables		
Income (weekly earnings)		$395.66 ($530.62)
		% (n)
Sex		
	Women	53% (11930)
	Men	47% (10577)
Race		
	White	78.2% (17595)
	Black	11.6% (2604)
	Hispanic	5.9% (2604)
	Asian	4.3% (970)
Labor Force Status (respondent)		76.5% (17210)
	Full Time Employed	18.6% (4182)
	Part Time Employed	5% (1115)
	Unemployed	
Labor Force Status (Spouse/Partner)		
	Full Time Employed	82.2% (18505)
	Part Time Employed	17.8% (4002)
Work Dyads		
	Full Time + Full Time	60.9% (13713)
	Full Time + Part Time	15.5% (3497)
	Part Time + Full Time	17% (3819)
	Part Time + Part Time	1.6% (363)
	Unemployed + Full Time	4.3% (973)
	Unemployed + Part Time	0.6% (142)

N=22507.

Table 2. Labor Market Status of Women and Men, 2003-2011.

	Women			*Men*		
	Full-Time employed	*Part-time employed*	*Unemployed*	*Full-time employed*	*Part-time employed*	*Unemployed*
Distribution by employment status (percent)						
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	62.6	32.3	5.2	93	3.9	3.1
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	64.4	30	5.6	91	5.4	3.6
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	63.2	28.9	7.9	88.6	5.2	6.2
n	7520	3709	701	9690	473	414
Total		11930			10577	
Weekly Paid Work Hours						
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	41.75	19.68		46.51	21.03	
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	41.68	19.6		45.77	21.44	
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	41.18	20.05		45.18	21.56	
n	7520	3709		9690	473	
Total		11229			10163	

Table 3. Labor Market Status of Women by Race, 2003-2011.

	White			*Black*			*Hispanic*			*Asian*		
	Full-Time employed	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*
Distribution by employment status (percent)												
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	61.4	34.8	3.8	75.4	16.6	8.0	63.6	24.7	11.7	65.4	27.2	7.4
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	62.9	32.6	4.4	86.8	9.4	3.8	59.7	25	15.3	75.9	23	1.1
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	62.9	30.7	6.5	75.2	15.5	9.3	58.0	26.1	15.8	67.2	24.9	7.9
n	5747	3103	421	504	99	50	899	366	194	370	141	36
Total		9271			653			1459			547	
Weekly Paid Work Hours												
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	42.01	19.53		41.14	20.58		40.65	21.01		41.34	19.18	
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	41.72	19.33		43.74	17.9		40.66	22.1		40.55	19.55	
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	41.26	19.7		40.76	24.36		40.49	21.6		41.89	19.73	
n	5747	3103		504	99		899	366		370	141	
Total		8850			603			1265			511	

Table 4. Labor Market Status of Men by Race, 2003-2011.

	White			*Black*			*Hispanic*			*Asian*		
	Full-Time employed	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*	*Full-Time employed*	*Part-Time employed*	*Un-employed*
Distribution by employment status (percent)												
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	93.8	3.7	2.5	87.4	5.8	6.8	90.8	4.9	4.3	92.4	2.5	5.1
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	92.7	4.9	2.4	79.0	8.6	12.4	85.6	7.7	6.7	90.8	4.6	4.6
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	90.8	4.7	4.6	74.7	7.2	18.1	82.0	7.3	10.7	88.5	5.7	5.7
n	7733	343	248	569	45	71	1003	69	73	385	16	22
Total		8324			685			1145			423	
Weekly Paid Work Hours												
Pre-recession Jan 2003-Nov 2007	47.03	21.07		45.24	18.58		44.02	21.63		44.25	26.67	
Recession Dec 2007-June 2009	46.19	21.09		45.2	17.22		43.27	24.3		44.63	27.33	
Recovery July 2009-Dec 2011	45.62	21.22		44.51	24.17		42.73	20.18		44.22	26.0	
n	7733	343		569	45		1003	69		385	16	
Total		8076			614			1072			401	

Research Hypotheses

This study focuses on the role of changing labor force status on the allocations of unpaid household labor. My study is guided by five hypotheses. First, as previous research has suggested, women outperform men in their time spent on unpaid household labor (Kurdek 2007; Bianchi et al 2000; Smock 2000). Whether this pattern holds steady throughout an economic recession remains unanswered. Nevertheless, I hypothesize that women across all time periods will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men (H1). Emotion work is consistently shown to be performed more by women (Erickson 2005; Eggebeen and Hogan 1990; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004). In addition, Black and Hispanic families provide more practical support and emotion work than White families (Hogan et al 1990, 1993; Kamo 2000; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004; Sarkisian et al 2007). As a result, I hypothesize that men will perform less emotion work than housework and child care no matter their labor force status or time period. Women will perform more emotion work than men across all labor force statuses and time periods. This hypothesis will be tested in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

H1: Women will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods.

Second, based on the time availability perspective, the partner with more available time will perform more unpaid household labor. Intuitively, partners who are unemployed have more available time than those working part time and full time. Therefore, unemployed respondents in this study will be expected to perform more

housework, child care, and emotion work than those employed full time (H2A). While previous research suggests men resist increasing their time in unpaid household labor when they have more time available because of job loss (Gough and Killewald 2010; Berik and Kongar 2013), I will rely on the time availability perspective to guide this hypothesis. In addition, , during the economic recession, when men's unemployment was highest, the gap between men and women's time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work will be greatest (H2B). These hypotheses will also be tested in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

H2A: Respondents who are unemployed will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than respondents who are employed.

H2B: The gender gap in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work will be largest during the recession.

Third, racial differences have been found in time spent on housework, particularly among Black and Hispanic families. These families perform more unpaid household labor than their White counterparts (Bianchi et al 2000). Based on these findings, I predict that White respondents will perform less unpaid household labor than other racial groups across all time periods (H3). This hypothesis will be tested in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

H3: There will be racial differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work. Specifically, White respondents will perform less than other racial groups across all time periods.

Fourth, research has shown that time spent in child care has been increasing for both men and women since the 1960s, perhaps responding to unpaid household labor demands as both partners earn paid wages (Sayer 2004). Research also suggests that when men perform more child care, they also perform more housework (Coltrane 2000). Therefore, I hypothesize that men will display a positive relationship between housework and child care across all time periods (H4). This hypothesis will be tested in chapters 4 and 5.

H4: There will be a positive relationship between housework and child care for both men and women.

Fifth, guided by the literature showing that earnings is an important predictor for time spent on housework, I predict that higher earning wives will perform less unpaid household labor than lower earning wives across all time periods.. Additionally, I suspect that income will not be a significant predictor for men and their allocations of unpaid household labor. In other words, no matter their income they will perform less than women across all time periods (H5). These hypotheses will be tested in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

H5: Income will influence time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work, especially for women. Specifically, women with higher incomes will perform less housework, child care, and emotion work than women earning less.

I have created a table outlining the above hypotheses (Figure 2). This table will be revisited in chapters 4, 5, and 6 as the hypotheses are tested. In these chapters, the table will indicate whether the hypotheses are supported or not supported by my results.

Figure 2. Hypothesis Table.

1	Women will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods.
2	A: Respondents who are unemployed will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than respondents who are employed. B: The gender gap in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work will be greatest during the recession.
3	There will be racial differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work. Specifically, White respondents will perform less than all other racial groups.
4	There will be a positive relationship between housework and child care for both men and women.
5	Income will influence time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work, especially for women. Specifically, women with higher incomes will perform less housework, child care, and emotion work than women earning less.

Chapter 4: Time Spent Performing Core and Other Housework

This chapter will focus on time spent performing core and other housework tasks with particular emphasis on differences by gender and employment status. These two variables are important because they have guided explanations for the divisions of unpaid household labor. The time periods before, during, and after the economic recession will also be analyzed as these times contributed to employment patterns, thus impacting time performing housework tasks within the home. This chapter will also provide results for hypotheses 1, 2A, 2B, 3, 5A, and 5B.

Research suggests women perform more housework than men (Kurdek 2007; Bianchi et al 2000; Smock 2000), however the gap between men and women's contributions have been on a decline (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Sayer 2005; Coltrane 2000). This decrease has been attributed to women's increasing workforce participation and changing ideals of fatherhood (Sullivan 2010). The economic recession, however, may impact this decreasing trajectory because of the increased unemployment that was experienced during this time.

The goal of this chapter is to determine the contributions of housework before, during, and after the economic recession and analyze the gender differences in these patterns. Employment status, specifically unemployment, race, and income are also analyzed. I use three theoretical perspectives to guide this study: relative resources, time availability, and gender socialization. Because I rely heavily on employment status, the time availability perspective is most applicable.

I will begin this chapter with a discussion of gender, racial, and employment status differences in time spent performing core and other housework. I will then discuss

differences based on employment status and how length of unemployment impacts time spent on these tasks. Regression results will follow and the relevant hypotheses will be revisited. The results will be presented based on the pre-recession, recession, and recovery time periods. The data across these times are cross-sectional and do not include the same respondents at each time period.

Results: Core and Other Housework by Gender and Race

An examination of differences in mean minutes of housework reveals notable differences between men and women and racial groups. See Table 5, all values are significant at .000. Women, overwhelmingly perform more core housework tasks than men. During the pre-recession, women spent an average of almost two hours a day on core housework (115.81 minutes), compared to men who spent an average of 38.38 minutes per day. Women's contributions to core housework slightly increased during the recession (116.24 minutes) and the recovery time periods (116.60). Men also slightly increased their time spent performing core housework across the time periods. During the recession they averaged 39.49 minutes and during the recovery time period they averaged 44.9 minutes per day.

While women contribute more than twice the amount of time on core housework tasks as men, the inverse in found for other housework tasks. While the time spent is relatively small, men perform much more other housework tasks than women across all time periods. During the pre-recession men performed an average of 15.48 minutes per day on other housework tasks compared to just 4.50 minutes per day on average for women. During the recession time period, men decreased their average to 12.73 minutes on other housework tasks per day compared to just 3.63 on average for women. During

the recovery time period, men averaged 12.68 minutes per day on other housework tasks, compared to women who spent an average of 4.59 minutes per day. Overall these findings demonstrate much more time is spent performing core housework tasks than other housework tasks. They also reveal women perform much more than men, whereas men perform more other housework tasks than women.

Racial differences were also found for core and other housework tasks. During the pre-recession, Hispanic respondents performed an average of 95.40 minutes per day on core housework tasks, the most of any other racial group. Asian respondents performed an average of 88.06 minutes per day on core housework, followed by Whites (73.74 minutes per day). The racial group that performed the least amount of core housework during the pre-recession was Black respondents, with an average of 71.00 minutes per day. The same pattern was found during the recession, where Hispanic respondents performed an average of 96.35 minutes per day on core housework, followed by Asian respondents with an average of 88.51 minutes per day on core housework. White respondents performed an average of 74.14 minutes per day on core housework, followed by Black respondents who performed an average of 64.11 minutes per day on core housework. The same pattern continues during the recovery time period, with Hispanic respondents performing the most core housework (104.03 minutes per day). They were followed by Asian respondents who spent an average of 98.39 minutes per day on core housework, followed by White respondents who spent an average of 75.37 minutes per day. Again, the racial group that spent the least amount of time on core housework was Black respondents at an average of 64.27 minutes per day on core housework.

Other housework tasks revealed a different pattern than core housework with regard to racial differences. For these tasks, White respondents performed the most while Asian respondents performed the least. During the pre-recession, White respondents performed an average of 10.96 minutes per day on other housework tasks. They were followed by Hispanic respondents who averaged 7.65 minutes per day, followed closely by Black respondents who performed an average of 7.42 on other housework tasks per day. Asian respondents performed the least amount of other housework tasks during the pre-recession, averaging 5.89 minutes per day. The same pattern continues during the recession where White respondents performed the most (an average of 9.15 minutes per day), followed by Hispanic respondents (an average of 7.22 minutes per day), followed by Black respondents (an average of 5.34 minutes per day). The racial group that performed the least other housework tasks during the recession was Asian respondents who averaged only 1.58 minutes per day. During the recovery, the pattern again indicates that White respondents performed the most other housework tasks (an average of 9.49 minutes per day), compared to Hispanics who performed an average of 7.31 minutes per day, Black respondent who performed an average of 6.54 minutes per day. Lastly, Asian respondents who performed an average of 4.43 minutes per day on other housework tasks during the recovery time period.

These racial differences indicate Hispanic respondents performed more core housework tasks across all time periods, while White respondents performed more other housework tasks across all time periods. An interesting observation here is that for every racial group, their time on core housework increased across the time periods. Black respondents, however, decreased their time on core housework across these time periods.

Another interesting pattern here is that for Asian respondents, the recession time period showed a sharp decrease in other housework tasks. This time increased, however, during the recovery time period.

The overall findings for employment status reveal differences based on working full time, working part time, or being unemployed. The unemployed performed the most core housework tasks, on average, than other employment statuses. During the pre-recession, the unemployed performed an average of 149.59 minutes per day on core housework, compared to those employed part time (an average of 120.45 minutes per day). Those employed full time performed the least amount of core housework tasks during the pre-recession, an average of 62.89 minutes per day. During the recession, the unemployed averaged 145.75 minutes per day on core housework, compared to an average of 121.24 minutes per day among those employed part time and an average of 62.62 minutes per day for those employed full time. During the recovery time period, the pattern remains the same. The unemployed perform the most core housework tasks, an average of 153.84 minutes per day, followed by those employed part time (an average of 123.53 minutes per day). Those employed full time, again, performed the least core housework tasks, an average of 62.87 minutes per day. This indicates that even when respondents are employed full time, they are still contributing an average of at least an hour a day on core housework tasks.

A different pattern emerged for other housework tasks by employment status. During the pre-recession, the most time spent on other housework tasks were actually performed by the full time employed (an average of 10.71 minutes per day). The unemployed performed an average of 8.28 minutes per day on other housework tasks

during the pre-recession, followed by the part time employed who performed an average of 7.25 minutes per day. During the recession, those that were unemployed now performed the most other housework tasks (an average of 11.68 minutes per day), followed by the full time employed (an average of 8.69 minutes per day). Those that were employed part time performed the least amount of other housework tasks, an average of 5.18 minutes per day. During the recovery time period, the pattern was similar to the recession. The unemployed performed the most other housework tasks, an average of 16.58 minutes per day, followed by the full time employed (an average of 8.35 minutes per day). Those that were employed part time performed the least amount of other housework tasks, an average of 6.46 minutes per day.

The overall sample findings based on employment status indicate those who are unemployed perform the most core housework tasks, compared to those employed part time and full time. The unemployed also performed more other housework tasks, although only during the recession and recovery time periods. An interesting finding here is that there was an increase in time spent on other housework tasks across the time periods among the unemployed.

A variable was created in which the employment statuses of the respondent and their spouse/partner were combined into a 6 work dyads. Time use data is only available for the respondents in this dataset and not their spouse/partner. Therefore, the data presented for these work dyads are based on the respondent's time use. During the pre-recession the most core housework tasks were performed by respondents who were unemployed with a partner than worked full time (an average of 157.59 minutes per day). Work dyads in which the respondent was employed part time with a partner that worked

full time averaged 124.27 minutes per day on core housework tasks. This was followed by work dyads in which the respondent was unemployed with a partner that worked part time (an average of 96.52 minutes per day). Work dyads in which the respondent and their partner both worked part time averaged 75.00 minutes per day on core housework tasks. Respondents who worked full time with a partner that also worked full time averaged 69.61 minutes per day on core housework tasks during the pre-recession. Work dyads in which the respondent worked full time with a partner that works part time performed the least amount of core housework (an average of 36.27 minutes per day).

A similar pattern was found for core housework tasks during the recession. Like the pre-recession, work dyads in which the respondent was unemployed and the partner worked full time performed the most core housework tasks (an average of 156.95 minutes per day). Respondents who work part time with a partner that works full time average 126.24 minutes per day on core housework while work dyads in which both partners work part time performed an average of 82.57 minutes per day. Respondents who were unemployed with a partner that worked part time performed an average of 75.70 minutes per day on core housework tasks during the recession. Work dyads in which the respondent and partner both work full time, an average of 67.37 minutes per day are spent on core housework tasks. The least amount of time spent on core housework was among those that worked full time with a partner that is employed part time (an average of 43.58 minutes per day).

During the recovery time period, the work dyad that performed the most core housework was again respondents who were unemployed with a partner that worked full time (an average of 153.91 minutes per day). Followed closely were those that were

unemployed with a partner that worked part time (an average of 153.43 minutes per day). Respondents who worked part time with a partner that worked full time averaged 125.41 minutes per day on core housework tasks. Work dyads in which both partners worked part time, the respondent averaged 111.71 minutes per day on core housework tasks. Work dyads in which both partners worked full time, the respondent averaged 69.25 minutes per day on core housework tasks. The work dyad that performed the least core housework tasks during the recovery time period was those in which the respondent worked full time with a partner that was employed part time (an average of 39.45 minutes per day).

Other housework tasks indicate different patterns across the time periods. During the pre-recession the most time spent performing other housework tasks were among those that worked part time with a partner that worked full time (an average of 16.86 minutes per day). This was followed by respondents who worked full time with a partner that worked part time (an average of 12.39 minutes per day). Work dyads in which both partners worked full time performed an average of 10.28 minutes per day on other housework tasks, followed by respondents who were unemployed with a partner that worked part time (an average of 9.93 minutes per day). Unemployed respondents with a partner that worked full time performed an average of 8.03 minutes per day on other housework tasks. The least amount of time spent on other housework tasks during the pre-recession was among respondents who worked part time with a partner that worked full time (an average of 6.44 minutes per day).

During the recession, the most time spent on other housework tasks was among respondents who were unemployed with a partner that worked part time (an average of

30.64 minutes per day). All other work dyads performed considerably less time on other housework tasks during the recession time period. Work dyads in which both partners worked full time, an average of 8.70 minutes were spent on other housework tasks per day. Respondents who were unemployed with a partner that worked full time averaged 8.64 minutes per day on other housework tasks, followed by respondents who worked full time with a partner that worked part time (an average of 8.63 minutes per day). Work dyads in which both partners worked part time spent an average of 6.30 minutes per day on other housework tasks. The work dyad that performed the least other housework tasks were those in which the respondent worked part time and had a partner that was employed full time, an average of 5.03 minutes per day.

Finally, during the recovery time period unemployed respondents with a partner that worked part time spent the most time on other housework tasks (an average of 26.11 minutes per day). Unemployed respondents with a partner that worked full time spent an average of 14.89 minutes per day, followed by respondents who worked full time with a partner that was employed part time (an average of 11.24 minutes per day). Work dyads in which both partners worked full time averaged 7.56 minutes per day on other housework tasks, followed by part time employed respondents with a partner that was employed full time (an average of 6.95 minutes per day). The least time spent performing other housework tasks were among work dyads in which both partners were employed part time, an average of 3.40 minutes per day.

These findings indicate that, overall, respondents who are unemployed or employed part time perform more housework than those employed full time. An interesting finding occurs during the recession and recovery time periods for other

housework tasks. There is a dramatic increase in this time spent among unemployed respondents whose partners work part time.

Analyses of income and time spent in core housework resulted in weak correlation for men (.018) and a very weak negative correlation for women (-.005). A correlation conducted on time spent performing other housework tasks and income also resulted in weak correlations. For men a very weak correlation was found (-.004) and for women a very weak positive correlation was found (.002). These correlations are significant at .000.

Table 5. Mean Minutes of Housework Across all Time Periods.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Core	Other	Core	Other	Core	Other
Gender							
	Women	115.81***	4.50***	116.24***	3.63***	116.60***	4.59***
	Men	38.38***	15.48***	39.49***	12.73***	44.19***	12.68***
Race							
	White	73.74***	10.96***	74.14***	9.15***	75.37***	9.49***
	Hispanic	95.40***	7.65***	96.35***	7.22***	104.03***	7.31***
	Black	71.00***	7.42***	64.11***	5.34***	64.27***	6.54***
	Asian	88.06***	5.89***	88.51***	1.58***	98.39***	4.43***
Respondent Labor Force Status							
	Full Time (FT)	62.89***	10.71***	62.62***	8.69***	62.87***	8.35***
	Part Time (PT)	120.45***	7.25***	121.24***	5.18***	123.53***	6.46***
	Unemployed (UE)	149.59***	8.28***	145.75***	11.68***	153.84***	16.58***
Work Dyad							
	FT + FT	69.61***	10.28***	67.37***	8.70***	69.25***	7.56***
	FT + PT	36.27***	12.39***	43.58***	8.63***	39.45***	11.24***
	PT + FT	124.27***	6.44***	126.24***	5.03***	125.41***	6.95***
	PT + PT	75.00***	16.86***	82.57***	6.30***	111.71***	3.40***
	UE + FT	157.59***	8.03***	156.95***	8.64***	153.91***	14.89***
	UE + PT	96.52***	9.93***	75.70***	30.64***	153.43***	26.11***

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

Results: Core and Other Housework by Employment Status

Analyzing gender by employment status across all time periods indicate, again, that women performed more core housework tasks. This observation holds strong no matter their employment status. See Table 6, all values are significant at .000. In this table I analyze mean minutes of core housework for men and women based on their employment status. These statuses include full time, part time, and unemployed. In addition to these analyses, I also calculated the differences in mean minutes of core housework for men and women to determine the breadth of gender gaps and to help determine changes across the time periods.

For women, the most time is spent on core housework tasks among the unemployed, followed by those employed part time, and those employed full time. During the pre-recession, unemployed women averaged 193.54 minutes of core housework per day, followed by 130.98 minutes on average among the part time employed, followed by an average of 101.16 minutes per day among the full time employed. During the recession, the pattern remains the same. Unemployed women spent an average of 193.68 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while part time employed women performed an average of 133.04 minutes per day, while those employed full time spent an average of 101.03 minutes per day on core housework tasks. During the recovery time period, again the unemployed women performed the most core housework tasks (an average of 187.72 minutes per day). Part time employed women performed an average of 138.25 minutes per day on core housework while full time employed women performed an average of 97.10 minutes per day.

For men, like women, the most time spent on core housework tasks was among the unemployed. Again, like the women in this sample, the part time employed performed more than the full time employed across the time periods. During the pre-recession time period, unemployed men averaged 75.99 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while those employed part time averaged 45.05 minutes per day. The least time spent on core housework tasks was among the full time employed men who averaged 36.68 minutes per day. During the recession, unemployed men spent an average of 87.34 minutes per day on core housework tasks. Part time employed men spent an average of 55.44 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while those employed full time spent an average of 35.99 minutes per day on these tasks. The recovery time period indicates the same pattern. Unemployed men spent an average of 110.65 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while part time employed men spent an average of 51.63 minutes per day on these tasks. Men who were employed full time spent the least amount of time on core housework tasks, an average of 38.62 minutes per day.

Overall, among men and women there were substantial differences in the time spent performing core housework. While they both displayed similar patterns based on employment statuses, women still contributed much more-regardless of their employment status. Data that illustrate this vast difference is between unemployed men and full time employed women during the recession. In this time period, unemployed men spent an average of 87.34 minutes per day on core housework, while a full time employed woman averaged 101.03 minutes per day on the same tasks. This means that these women worked full time and still contributed about an hour and a half of core housework tasks compared to unemployed men who contributed less.

When I calculated the differences between the mean minutes of core housework among men and women an interesting pattern emerged. The largest gender gap occurred during the pre-recession (a difference of 117.55), however this gap decreased during the recession (106.34) and decreased even more during the recovery time period (77.07). This indicates a narrowing of the gender gap as time progressed, which could indicate men and women were both responding to their unemployment.

Table 6. Gender and Core Housework Tasks by Employment Status Across all Time Periods.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Mean Minutes of Core Housework						
Full Time Employed	101.16***	101.03***	97.10***	36.68***	35.99***	38.62***
Part Time Employed	130.98***	133.04***	138.25***	45.05***	55.44***	51.63***
Unemployed	193.54***	193.68***	187.72***	75.99***	87.34***	110.65***

Difference between Women and Men

	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Full Time Employed	64.48	65.04	58.48
Part Time Employed	85.93	77.6	86.62
Unemployed	117.55	106.34	77.07

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

Like core housework tasks, I examined mean minutes of other housework tasks for men and women based on their employment statuses. See Table 7, all values are significant at .000. For other housework tasks, a different pattern is found. As discussed earlier, women contribute more core housework tasks than men regardless of employment status. For other housework tasks, men perform more than women regardless of their employment status.

For women, during the pre-recession those employed part time performed more other housework tasks than other employment statuses. On average women employed part time spent 5.68 minutes per day on other housework tasks, compared to unemployed women (an average of 4.33 minutes per day). The least time spent on other housework tasks was among the full time employed, an average of 3.92 minutes per day. During the recession, part time employed women spent an average of 4.51 minutes per day on other housework tasks while full time employed women performed an average of 3.36 minutes per day on these tasks. The least time on other housework tasks were performed by unemployed women, an average of 2.05 minutes per day. During the recovery, women employed part time again performed the most other housework tasks, an average of 6.86 minutes per day. Full time employed women performed an average of 3.75 minutes per day while unemployed women performed an average of 3.19 minutes per day on other housework tasks during the recovery time period.

For men, during the pre-recession, those employed part time contributed more other housework tasks, an average of 18.53 minutes per day. Full time employed men performed an average of 15.35 minutes per day, compared to unemployed men who spent an average of 14.89 minutes per day on these tasks. During the recession, unemployed

men contributed the most time on other housework tasks, an average of 23.41 minutes per day, followed by full time employed men who spent an average of 12.38 minutes per day on these tasks. The least time spent on other housework tasks was among the part time employed, an average of 8.89 minutes per day. During the recovery time period, unemployed men spent an average of 33.64 minutes per day on other housework tasks. Men employed part time spent an average of 11.60 minutes per day on other housework tasks, while full time employed men performed the least (an average of 4.49 minutes per day).

Overall, men spent more time on other housework tasks than women across time periods and regardless of employment status. For women, those employed part time contributed the most while for men, the largest contributions were among the unemployed during the recession and recovery time periods. While the time spent performing other housework tasks is considerably lower than core housework tasks it is still important to note that men are contributing more. In fact, during all time periods men who are employed full time contribute more time on other housework tasks than unemployed women.

After calculating the differences in mean minutes of other housework, the largest gender gap occurs during the recovery time period (a difference of 30.45 minutes). Unlike the gender gap in core housework tasks among unemployed men and women, the gap in other housework tasks actually increases as time progresses among unemployed men and women.

Table 7. Gender and Other Housework Tasks by Employment Status Across all Time Periods.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Mean Minutes of Other Housework						
Full Time Employed	3.92***	3.36***	3.75***	15.35***	12.38***	11.60***
Part Time Employed	5.68***	4.51***	6.86***	18.53***	8.89***	4.49***
Unemployed	4.33***	2.05***	3.19***	14.89***	23.41***	33.64***

Difference between Women and Men

	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Full Time Employed	11.43	9.02	7.85
Part Time Employed	12.85	4.38	2.37
Unemployed	10.56	21.36	30.45

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

Results: Core and Other Housework by Length of Unemployment

Based on the previous findings, unemployment clearly resulted in more time spent on housework tasks. However, unemployment may be analyzed further by determining to what extent the length of unemployment might impact time spent performing core and other housework tasks. In order to examine this, I created a new variable whereby length of unemployment is categorized. The respondents included in this analysis have reported they are unemployed and currently looking for work. I then conducted an analysis of variance based on mean minutes of core and other housework tasks. Respondents who were unemployed were asked who long they had been so (number of weeks). Based on Anderson (2010), duration of unemployment has been categorized as short, medium, and long term. Short term unemployment is defined as less than 5 weeks, medium term is defined as 5 to 14 weeks, while long term unemployment is defined as 15 or more weeks unemployed.

During the pre-recession unemployed for a short term men averaged 32.34 minutes per day performing core housework. Those unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 54.62 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while those unemployed for a long term averaged less (42.90 minutes per day). During the recession, men unemployed for a short term averaged 29.79 minutes per day on core housework, while those unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 27.62 minutes per day on these tasks. Long term unemployed men performed more than others, an average of 47.08 minutes per day. During the recovery, men unemployed short term spent an average of 59.64 minutes per day on core housework tasks while those unemployed for medium and

short term performed less, an average of 17.58 and 38.48 minutes per day, respectively. See Table 8, all values are significant at .000.

For women, during the pre-recession, an average of 96.22 minutes per day was spent on core housework tasks for the short term unemployed. Those unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 105.98 minutes per day on core housework while those unemployed for a long term performed an average of 119.34 minutes per day. During the recession, women unemployed for a short term spent an average of 145.02 minutes per day on core housework, while those unemployed for a medium term averaged 120.70 minutes per day on these tasks. Those unemployed long term spent an average of 92.42 minutes per day on core housework tasks. During the recovery time period, women unemployed short term spent an average of 118.46 minutes per day on core housework tasks, while those unemployed for a medium length of time spent an average of 134.94 minutes per day on these tasks. Women unemployed for a long term during the recovery period spent an average of 95.42 minutes per day on core housework tasks.

Analyzing core housework tasks by length of unemployment yielded similarities with earlier results: women performed significantly more than men no matter the time period. Length of unemployment, however, seems to matter for these respondents. For women during the pre-recession, long term unemployment resulted in more time spent on core housework tasks but did not continue during the recession. During the recession, the long term unemployed performed less core housework tasks than the short and medium term unemployed. During the recovery time period, the long term unemployed performed less core housework tasks than both medium and short term unemployed. For men, medium term unemployment resulted in more time spent on core housework tasks during

the pre-recession but not the recession or recovery time periods. In fact, for men, medium term unemployment seemed to lessen the time spent on these tasks across the time periods (an average of 54.62 minutes per day during the pre-recession, 27.62 minutes per day during the recession, and 17.58 minutes during the recovery). The recovery time period, for men, indicated a u-shaped pattern in time spent performing core housework tasks. Short term unemployment yielded an average of 59.64 minutes per day, while medium term yielded an average of 17.58, then an increase to an average of 38.48 minutes per day for the long term unemployed. These findings may suggest an impact of unemployment experienced by men but not necessarily by women.

Length of unemployment and other housework tasks resulted in very little useful results when analyzed by time periods. See Table 9, all values are significant at .000. Table 15 indicates differences based on time periods. For an analysis of gender differences in mean minutes of other housework tasks by length of unemployment not separated by time periods, see Appendix 2.

During the pre-recession men unemployed for a short term spent an average of 12.40 minutes per day on other housework tasks, while those unemployed for medium term performed an average of 18.41 minutes per day. Those unemployed for a long term performed an average of 8.32 minutes per day on these tasks. During the recession, men unemployed for a medium term averaged 21.59 minutes per day on other housework tasks, while men unemployed for a long term spent an average of just 1.18 minutes per day on these tasks. Men unemployed for a short term had no reportable time spent on other housework tasks. During the recovery time period, men unemployed for a short term spent an average of 9.58 minutes per day on other housework tasks. Men

unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 11.48 minutes per day on other housework, while men unemployed for a long term spent much less (an average of 5.77 minutes per day).

During the pre-recession women unemployed for a short term spent an average of 4.51 minutes per day on other housework tasks, while those unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 7.43 minutes per day on these tasks. Women unemployed for a long term spent an average of 5.14 minutes per day on other housework tasks. During the recovery time period, women unemployed for a medium term spent an average of 3.47 minutes per day on other housework tasks, while those unemployed for a long term spent an average of 6.74 minutes per day on these tasks. During the recovery, there were no reportable results for the short term unemployed. There were no reportable average minutes per day for women performing other housework tasks during the recession time period.

Like the previous findings presented, men performed much more time on other housework tasks than women, regardless of time period. Of the reportable results for women, they performed more other housework tasks during the pre-recession when unemployed for a medium term (7.43 minutes) and during the recovery time period when unemployed for a long term (6.74 minutes). For men, however, the medium term unemployed contributed more other housework tasks across time periods. The least amount of time spent on other housework tasks for men, occurred among the long term unemployed. Unlike the findings for core housework where a u-shaped pattern is experienced for men as length of unemployment increases, there is an increase of time spent on other housework tasks for the medium term unemployed men.

Table 8. Gender Differences in Mean Minutes of Core Housework by Length of Unemployment.

	Men			Women		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Short Term (>5 weeks)	32.34	29.79	59.64	96.22	145.02	118.46
Medium Term (5-14 weeks)	54.62	27.62	17.58	105.98	120.7	134.94
Long Term (15+ weeks)	42.9	47.08	38.48	119.34	92.42	95.42
Sig.	***	***	***	***	***	***

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

Table 9. Gender Differences in Mean Minutes of Other Housework by Length of Unemployment.

	Men			Women		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Short Term (>5 weeks)	12.4	0.0	9.58	4.51	0.0	0.0
Medium Term (5-14 weeks)	18.41	21.59	11.48	7.43	0.0	3.47
Long Term (15+ weeks)	8.32	1.18	5.77	5.14	0.0	6.74
Sig.	***	***	***	***		***

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

Regression Results

Ordinary least squares regression analyses were performed across all time periods for both core and other housework tasks (See Table 10 for core housework and Table 13 for other housework tasks). These regression analyses are separated into 3 models per time period, totaling 9 models in all. For each time period, the first model predicts time spent on housework tasks by sex, race, and weekly earnings (income). In the second model, the labor force status of the respondent is added. The final model, work dyads and the control variables are included. Labor force status is dropped from the final models because the labor force of the respondent is included in this variable. The control variables for these models include age of respondent, number of children present in the home, age of youngest child, number of household members, and the respondent's highest education. I will discuss findings based on the time periods. Models 1,2, and 3 are based on the pre-recession time period. Models 4,5, and 6 are based on the recession time period, and Models 7,8, and 9 include the recovery time period. All values are significant at .000. I will discuss the findings for the overall sample for core and other housework tasks separately. In addition to regression models conducted on the overall sample, I also conducted OLS on women and men only.

Core Housework Tasks

Core housework tasks include interior cleaning, laundry, food and drink preparation, kitchen and food cleanup, and grocery shopping. Across all time periods and models, men are predicted to perform less minutes of core housework than women. In Model 3, when all variables are included in the model, the predicted time spent on core

housework tasks for men is 69.08 less minutes, followed by 70.25 less minutes in Model 6, and 63.29 less minutes in Model 9. These values predict that men will spent a little more than an hour less on core housework tasks when compared to women.

Compared to Whites, Hispanics and Asians are predicted to spend more time on core housework tasks. Blacks, however, are predicted to spend less time on core housework beginning in Model 2. In fact, when all variables are included in these models, the predicted time spent on core housework increases. In Model 3, based on data from the pre-recession time period, Black respondents are predicted to perform 1.25 less minutes when compared to Whites. This value increases to 12.07 less minutes during the recession time period (Model 6) and increases even more to 14.61 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, two work dyads experience great variation across time periods. In work dyads in which both partners work part time, the predicted time spent on core housework increases dramatically across the time periods. During the pre-recession the predicted time is just 3.84 more minutes when compared to full time plus full time work dyads (Model 3). During the recession, this time increases to 10.91 more minutes (Model 6) and during the recovery this time increases to 37.89 more minutes (Model 9). In work dyads in which the respondent is unemployed and their spouse/partner works part time, a u-shaped pattern is found. During the pre-recession, the predicted time spent on core housework tasks is 42.28 more minutes when compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time (Model 3). This time decreases to only 14.99 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), but increases dramatically to 87.73 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 10. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Tasks Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Sex (female)									
Male	(-)77.35***	(-)68.85***	(-)69.08***	(-)76.76***	(-)68.76***	(-)70.25***	(-)71.88***	(-)62.35***	(-)63.29***
Race (White)									
Black	1.17***	(-).625***	(-)1.25***	(-)7.28***	(-)10.23***	(-)12.07***	(-)6.73***	(-)13.24***	(-)14.61***
Hispanic	21.65***	19.15***	17.78***	22.49***	17.87***	16.86***	28.26***	22.89***	20.51***
Asian	14.64***	13.23***	15.05***	8.87***	11.59***	16.74***	16.15***	17.51***	17.33***
Income (weekly earnings)	.001***	.001***	.001***	(-).003***	(-).002***	(-).003***	.000***	.000***	.000***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		25.43***			28.38***			34.57***	
Unemployed		69.02***			71.19***			80.49***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)7.39***			2.14***			(-)5.99***
Part Time + Full Time			25.45***			30.19***			33.28***
Part Time + Part Time			3.84***			10.91***			37.89***
Unemployed + Full Time			72.27***			81.24***			78.31***
Unemployed + Part Time			42.28***			14.99***			87.73***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			(-)1.21***			.835***			.617***
Number of Children in home			10.52***			6.68***			.98***
Age of Youngest Child			(-).59***			(-).24***			.31***
Number of Household Members			(-)2.06***			(-)2.79***			1.79***
Education (High School)									
College			(-)3.29***			(-)1.54***			(-)7.97***
Bachelor			(-)5.35***			(-)9.37***			(-)5.63***
Masters+			(-)12.08***			(-)12.00***			(-)7.36***
Constant	111.39	100.14	51.73	114.23	101.83	74.55	111.49	95.97	66.74
Adjusted R^2	0.15	0.175	0.188	0.155	0.187	0.196	0.133	0.181	0.187
N=22507									

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

Interested in how men and women may differ in core housework tasks, I conducted OLS regression based on data from men and women only. These models are conducted in the same manner as Tables 11 and 12, however the data presented is for the designated gender only. I will begin with the results for men, then discuss the results for women. Table 11 is based on men only, while Table 12 is based on women only. All values are significant at the .000 level.

Based on data from men only (Table 11), racial differences emerge during the recession time period and continue during the recovery time period. Compared to Whites, all racial groups are predicted to perform more minutes of core housework during the pre-recession. During the recession, however, these predictions reverse to less minutes when compared to Whites. In Model 6, when all variables are added to the model, Blacks are predicted to spend 1.94 less minutes, while Hispanics are predicted to spend 3.29 less minutes, and Asians are predicted to spend 6.66 less minutes compared to Whites. Compare these values to Model 3, in which Black men are predicted to spend 6.80 more, Hispanic men are predicted to spend 3.30 more, and Asian men are predicted to spend 2.85 more minutes on core housework. Model 9 indicates Black men are now predicted to spend 16.52 less minutes on core housework when compared to Whites, while Hispanics are predicted to spend 6.52 more minutes and Asians are predicted to spend 3.86 less minutes.

Based on employment status, men are predicted to increase their time spent on core housework across time periods. Compared to those employed full time, men employed part time are predicted to spend 7.85 more minutes in Model 2, 19.54 more minutes in Model 5, and 13.66 more minutes in Model 8. Unemployed men are predicted

to spend even more minutes on core housework and these predictions increase across time periods. During the pre-recession, they are predicted to spend 38.06 more minutes (Model 2), 51.97 more minutes in the recession time period (Model 5), and 74.12 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 8).

These patterns are similar when work dyads are analyzed. Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, men who are unemployed are predicted to increase their time spent on core housework across time periods. When unemployed men have a spouse/partner that is employed full time, they are predicted to spend 40.71 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3), 64.31 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 79.78 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). Men who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that works part time are predicted to spend 28.70 minutes on core housework when compared to men who work full time and have a spouse/partner that also works full time (Model 3). This prediction decreases slightly to 15.21 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), but increases dramatically to 46.39 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

One other interesting pattern emerges for work dyads in which men are employed part time with a spouse/partner that is also employed part time. Compared to work dyads in which both partner work full time, the part time plus part time work dyad is predicted to spend 2.72 less minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3). This prediction increases to 18.67 more minutes during the recession but drops down to only 1.89 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 11. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Tasks By Men Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	9.68***	7.37***	6.80***	9.21***	.54***	(-)1.94***	(-)1.19***	(-)13.08***	(-)16.52***
Hispanic	1.79***	1.09***	3.30***	(-)4.64***	(-)7.39***	(-)3.29***	9.80***	6.91***	6.52***
Asian	5.73***	4.69***	2.85***	(-)7.97***	(-)8.54***	(-)6.66***	1.98***	2.15***	(-)3.86***
Income (weekly earnings)	.002***	.001***	.001***	.001***	.001***	.001***	.003***	.003***	.002***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		7.85***			19.54***			13.66***	
Unemployed		38.06***			51.97***			74.12***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)9.05***			(-)4.51***			(-)9.69***
Part Time + Full Time			11.47***			18.43***			19.96***
Part Time + Part Time			(-)2.72***			18.67***			1.89***
Unemployed + Full Time			40.71***			64.31***			79.78***
Unemployed + Part Time			28.70***			15.21***			46.39***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.58***			.34***			.071***
Number of Children in home			5.36***			9.79***			(-).99***
Age of Youngest Child			(-)1.02***			(-).58***			(-).32***
Number of Household Members			(-)3.27***			(-)4.68***			5.98***
Education (High School)									
College			4.16***			10.08***			(-)1.79***
Bachelor			7.68***			13.59***			9.26***
Masters+			3.57***			4.22***			9.90***
Constant	36.31	35.23	22.72	39.39	36.87	22.72	41.26	37.21	14.21
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.012	0.025	0.003	0.036	0.059	0.003	0.065	0.081
N=10577									

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

For women only (Table 12), the predictions for core housework tasks provide evidence of racial and employment status differences. Compared to Whites, Hispanic and Asian women are predicted to perform more core housework tasks across the time periods and models. Black women, however, are predicted to perform less. During the pre-recession, Black women are predicted to perform 8.25 less minutes when compared to Whites (Model 3). This prediction increases to 16.51 more minutes during the recession (Model 6) and 12.68 less minutes during the recovery time period.

Compared to the racial differences found for men (Table 11), Black men and women are similar in that they are both predicted to perform less when compared to Whites. For women, Hispanic and Asian women are predicted to perform more core housework when compared to Whites no matter the model or time period. For men, however, Hispanics and Asians were predicted to perform less when compared to Whites during the recession time period.

Like men, those that are employed part time or unemployed are predicted to perform more core housework tasks (See Table 11). For women, compared to those employed full time, the part time employed and unemployed are predicted to perform more core housework tasks. These predictions increase across time periods. For those employed part time, it is predicted that they will spend 30.32 more minutes on core housework during the pre-recession (Model 2), followed by 31.61 more minutes during the recession (Model 5). During the recovery time periods, this predicted value increases to 41.46 more minutes than those employed full time (Model 8). Unemployed women are predicted to perform 85.88 more minutes on core housework during the pre-recession

(Model 2), followed by 80.92 more minutes during the recession (Model 5), and 83.96 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 8).

Compared to men (Table 11), women are predicted to perform much more minutes on core housework. In fact, based on employment status, the predictions are similar: the lower your employment status, the more minutes are predicted to spend on core housework tasks. In other words, those that are unemployed are predicted to perform more core housework tasks than those employed part time (when compared to respondents who work full time).

The same work dyads reveal interesting patterns for women as men. These work dyads include part time plus part time, unemployed plus full time, and unemployed plus par time. Compared to work dyads in which both partners are employed full time, work dyads in which both partners work part time, a dramatic increase was found between the recession and recovery time periods. During the recession time period, work dyads in which both partners work part time, their predicted time spent on core housework tasks is only 6.56 more minutes than work dyads in which both partners work full time (Model 6). This predicted value, increases dramatically to 71.71 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). Unemployed women with a spouse/partner that works full time are predicted to perform more core housework than women who work full time with a spouse/partner that also works full time (84.47 more minutes during the pre-recession, 84.92 more minutes during the recession, and 76.47 more minutes during the recovery time period). See Models 3, 6, and 9. Women who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that works part time reveal a u-shaped pattern, just like men in the same work dyad. For women, they are predicted to perform 90.92 more minutes during the

recession (see Model 3, Table 12), followed by a dramatic decrease to 19.43 more minutes during the recession time period (See Model 6, Table 12). This value then increases dramatically to 146.83 more minutes during the recovery time period (See Model 9, Table 12). Interestingly, while there are vast differences in men and women during the pre-recession and recovery time periods on this variable, the recession time period yields similar values for both men and women. For men, see Table 11 Model 6, their predicted time spent on core housework tasks is 15.21 more minutes while for women the predicted time is 19.43 more minutes.

Table 12. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Tasks By Women Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)9.52***	(-)7.88***	(-)8.25***	(-)26.79***	(-)18.46***	(-)16.51***	(-)14.65***	(-)10.96***	(-)12.68***
Hispanic	40.97***	36.44***	31.03***	50.96***	44.62***	40.33***	46.79***	39.60***	32.95***
Asian	23.42***	22.01***	27.91***	22.94***	29.52***	36.05***	26.87***	29.83***	33.32***
Income (weekly earnings)	.001***	.001***	.001***	(-).008***	(-).006***	(-).007***	(-).002***	(-).002***	(-).002***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		30.32***			31.61***			41.46***	
Unemployed		85.88***			80.92***			83.96***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)10.77***			15.90***			(-)16.60***
Part Time + Full Time			27.91***			33.29***			38.18***
Part Time + Part Time			7.44***			6.56***			71.71***
Unemployed + Full Time			84.47***			84.92***			76.47***
Unemployed + Part Time			90.92***			19.43***			146.83
Controls									
Age of Respondent			1.82***			1.34***			1.36***
Number of Children in home			15.25***			5.87***			3.53***
Age of Youngest Child			(-).20***			.20***			.71***
Number of Household Members			(-).76***			(-)2.94***			(-)3.59***
Education (High School)									
College			(-)11.36***			(-)15.48***			(-)15.32***
Bachelor			(-)18.07***			(-)31.57***			(-)19.87***
Masters+			(-)26.28***			(-)26.59***			(-)23.38***
Constant	109.09	95.22	15.24	112.41	97.57	62.21	109.68	91.27	57.19
Adjusted R^2	0.018	0.056	0.087	0.034	0.07	0.092	0.025	0.078	0.101
N=11930									

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

Other Housework Tasks

Other housework tasks include exterior cleaning; exterior repair; vehicle repair and maintenance; appliance and tool set-up and maintenance; and financial management. OLS was also performed analyzing other housework tasks (exterior cleaning, exterior repair, vehicle repair and maintenance, appliance and tool set-up and maintenance, and financial management) across all time periods. See Table 13, all values are significant at .000. Following the same method as core housework, each time period contains three models each, creating a total of 9 models. The first model contains findings for gender, race, and income. The second model in each time period adds labor force status of the respondent and the final model in each time period adds work dyads and control variables.

Men are predicted to perform more other housework tasks when compared to women across all models. However, their predicted time decreases across time periods. In Model 3 (pre-recession), when all variables are included in the model, men's predicted time spent on other housework tasks is 11.89 minutes. During Model 6 (recession), this time decreases to 9.61, and in Model 9 (recovery) this time decreases even more to 8.27 minutes. All racial groups, when compared to Whites, are predicted to perform less other housework tasks. When all variables are included in the models, the predicted time spent on other housework tasks decreases based on the pre-recession and recession time periods. During the recovery period, however, the predicted time increases as variables are included in the model for all racial groups except for Asians. Asian respondents are predicted to perform 4.28 minutes in Model 7, when labor force status is added to the model, this time decreases slightly to 4.18 minutes. In Model 9, however, when all

variables are included in the model, the predicted time spent on other housework tasks decreases to 3.37 minutes.

When compared to respondents who work full time, unemployed respondents are predicted to perform more other housework tasks, except for during the pre-recession. In fact, there is a large increase in the predicted time spent on other housework tasks for this group across time periods. During the pre-recession, compared to those employed full time, the unemployed are only predicted to spend .84 minutes on other housework tasks. This value increases to 4.85 minutes during the recession and increases to 10.12 minutes during the recovery time period.

Other substantial fluctuations in the predicted time spent on other housework tasks are found in the work dyad variable. When all variables are included in the model and compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, part time plus part time, unemployed plus full time and unemployed plus part time work dyads experience the greatest variation. In work dyads in which both partners work part time, the predicted time spent on other housework tasks is 6.93 minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3). This time decreases to 2.78 less minutes than full time plus full time work dyads during the recession time period (Model 6), and decreases even more to 3.78 during the recovery time period. Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, when the respondent is unemployed and has a spouse/partner that works full time, their predicted time increases dramatically during the recovery time period (Model 9) when compared to the pre-recession and recovery time periods. Another dramatic increase occurs among work dyads in which the respondent is unemployed and their spouse/partner is employed part time. This group is predicted to perform 2.52 less minutes when compared to the full

time plus full time work dyad during the pre-recession. This predicted time increases to 20.84 more minutes during the recession and 17.52 minutes during the recovery time period.

Table 13. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Tasks Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Sex (female)									
Male	11.047***	11.55***	11.89***	9.067***	9.2***	9.61***	8.07***	8.66***	8.27***
Race (White)									
Black	(-)4.10***	(-)4.04***	(-)4.24***	(-)4.110***	(-)4.46***	(-)4.64***	(-)3.46***	(-)4.39***	(-)4.27***
Hispanic	(-)3.30***	(-)3.28***	(-)3.00***	(-)1.96***	(-)2.33***	(-)2.57***	(-)2.14***	(-)2.87***	(-)4.13***
Asian	(-)5.11***	(-)5.07***	(-)4.74***	(-)7.11***	(-)7.01***	(-)5.65***	(-)4.28***	(-)4.18***	(-)3.37***
Income (weekly earnings)	0.0***	0.0***	0.0***	(-).001***	0.0***	0.0***	(-).001***	(-).001***	(-).001***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		1.78***			0.26***			1.63***	
Unemployed		0.84***			4.85***			10.12***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)2.89***			(-)3.80***			0.39***
Part Time + Full Time			1.11***			(-).10***			2.52***
Part Time + Part Time			6.93***			(-)2.78***			(-)3.78***
Unemployed + Full Time			1.28***			1.82***			8.28***
Unemployed + Part Time			(-)2.52***			20.84***			17.52***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			0.18***			0.084***			0.01***
Number of Children in home			(-).50***			1.98***			(-).47***
Age of Youngest Child			0.12***			0.29***			0.26***
Number of Household Members			0.37***			(-)1.07***			0.37***
Education (High School)									
College			1.87***			0.39***			(-)3.43***
Bachelor			(-).38***			(-)1.58***			(-)3.36***
Masters+			(-)2.93***			(-)3.77***			(-)5.06***
Constant	5.347	4.728	(-)3.49	4.78	4.46	1.04	5.68	4.51	4.21
Adjusted R^2	0.016	0.016	0.02	0.016	0.016	0.023	0.011	0.015	0.019
N=22507									

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

Like the core housework analyses, I also conducted OLS regression for men and women separately for other housework tasks. See Tables 14 and 15, all values for both tables are significant at the .000 level.

For men (See Table 14), all racial groups are predicted to spend less time on other housework tasks when compared to Whites. The racial group with the greatest difference is Asian men when compared to White men. During the pre-recession, Asian men are predicted to perform 7.48 less minutes on other housework than White men (Model 3), this value increases to 9.16 less minutes during the recession (Model 6), and decrease slightly to 8.81 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Compared to men who work full time, men who work part time are predicted to spend more minutes (3.74) during the pre-recession, but less minutes during the recession (2.94) and recovery time periods (6.45) (Models 2,5,8). Unemployed men, however, are predicted to spend more minutes on other housework tasks compared to men employed full time. This time increases across time periods from .49 during the pre-recession (Model 3), to 12.68 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 23.42 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Compared to men who are full time and have a spouse/partner that also works full time, part time plus part time work dyads predict a shift which occurs after the pre-recession. During the pre-recession, men who are employed part time with a spouse/partner that also works part time are predicted to perform 10.52 more minutes on other housework tasks (Model 3), this value decreases to 3.63 less minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 4.71 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). Men who are unemployed with a spouse/partner than works full time are predicted to

increase their time across time periods. These values are .35 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3), to 6.63 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 20.02 during the recovery time period (Model 9). Unemployed men with a spouse/partner that is employed part time are also predicted to increase their time spent on other housework tasks across time periods. During the pre-recession the predicted time is actually 2.98 less minutes (Model 3), while during the recession the value increases to 29.01 (Model 6), and 32.83 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 14. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Tasks By Men Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)4.94***	(-)5.09***	(-)5.93***	(-)4.71***	(-)6.50***	(-)7.24***	(-)3.79***	(-)7.10***	(-)6.83***
Hispanic	(-)3.43***	(-)3.48***	(-)3.86***	(-)1.90***	(-)2.49***	(-)3.40***	(-)2.80***	(-)3.51***	(-)5.91***
Asian	(-)8.56***	(-)8.53***	(-)7.48***	(-)11.74***	(-)11.84***	(-)9.16***	(-)10.50***	(-)10.29***	(-)8.81***
Income (weekly earnings)	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***	(-).001***	(-).001***	0.00***	(-).002***	(-).002***	(-).002***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		3.74***			(-)2.94***			(-)6.45***	
Unemployed		0.49***			12.68***			23.42***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)3.15***			(-)4.39***			1.24***
Part Time + Full Time			(-).94***			(-)5.57***			(-)7.34***
Part Time + Part Time			10.52***			(-)3.63***			(-)4.71***
Unemployed + Full Time			0.35***			6.63***			20.02***
Unemployed + Part Time			(-)2.98***			29.01***			32.83***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			0.08***			0.01***			0.06***
Number of Children in home			(-).01***			3.61***			(-)2.32***
Age of Youngest Child			0.085***			0.51***			0.29***
Number of Household Members			(-).12***			(-)2.13***			2.47***
Education (High School)									
College			1.12***			0.12***			(-)5.15***
Bachelor			(-)3.29***			(-)3.82***			(-)6.08***
Masters+			(-)7.89***			(-)6.68***			(-)8.16***
Constant	16.42	16.27	6.68	14.15	13.89	11.57	14.71	13.97	7.29
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.002	0.006	0.003	0.006	0.016	0.003	0.017	0.024
N=10577									

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

For women only (See Table 15), similar patterns emerge based on racial differences. Compared to White women, all racial groups are predicted to perform fewer minutes on other housework tasks, except during the recovery time period. Black and Hispanic women are predicted to perform less minutes of other housework tasks during all time periods. Asian women, on the other hand, are predicted to perform less minutes on other housework tasks in only the pre-recession and recession time periods. During the pre-recession, Asian women are predicted to perform 2.02 less minutes on other housework tasks when compared to White women (Model 3). This value increases slightly to 2.70 less minutes during the recession (Model 6) but during the recovery time period Asian women are predicted to spend 1.09 more minutes than White women (Model 9).

Compared to women who are employed full time, women who are employed part time or are unemployed are predicted to spend more time on other housework tasks during the pre-recession (Model 2). Unemployed women, however, are predicted to perform fewer minutes than full time employed women during the recession, 1.18 less minutes (Model 5), and .31 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 8).

Compared to work dyads in which women are employed full time with a spouse/partner that is also employed full time, women who are unemployed are not predicted to perform more minutes on other housework tasks. Women who are unemployed with a spouse/partner who works full time are predicted to perform 1.91 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3), but are predicted to perform .95 less minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 2.45 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). Women who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that works part

time are predicted to perform less minutes across all time periods. During the pre-recession, they are predicted to perform 1.62 less minutes (Model 3), .006 less minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 3.41 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 15. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Tasks By Women Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)3.16***	(-)2.95***	(-)2.67***	(-)3.47***	(-)3.28***	(-)3.19***	(-)3.18***	(-)2.74***	(-)2.70***
Hispanic	(-)3.19***	(-)3.16***	(-)2.20***	(-)2.05***	(-)1.85***	(-)1.54***	(-)1.49***	(-)1.27***	(-).73***
Asian	(-)1.71***	(-)1.65***	(-)2.02***	(-)3.13***	(-)3.09***	(-)2.70***	0.21***	0.385***	1.09***
Income (weekly earnings)	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.001***	0.001***	0.00***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		1.54***			0.81***			2.98***	
Unemployed		1.02***			(-)1.18***			(-).31***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-).30***			0.73***			(-)1.08***
Part Time + Full Time			1.7***			0.94***			3.54***
Part Time + Part Time			3.48***			(-)1.71***			(-)2.45***
Unemployed + Full Time			1.91***			(-).95***			(-).04***
Unemployed + Part Time			(-)1.62***			(-).006***			(-)3.41***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			0.204***			0.08***			(-).05***
Number of Children in home			1.19***			0.55***			.83***
Age of Youngest Child			2.97***			0.06***			.22***
Number of Household Members			1.2***			(-).11***			(-)1.28***
Education (High School)									
College			2.97***			1.24***			(-).90***
Bachelor			2.6***			0.85***			(-).31***
Masters+			2.33***			(-).69***			(-)1.45***
Constant	5.32	4.75	(-)2.88	4.42	4.21	(-).44	4.74	3.88	8.44
Adjusted R^2	0.003	0.004	0.01	0.003	0.003	0.006	0.001	0.004	0.008
N=11930									

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

For both men and women, when compared to Whites, all racial groups are predicted to perform less other housework tasks. During the recovery period, however Asian women are predicted to perform more when compared to White women, however these values are extremely small, only 1.09 minutes when all variables are included in the model (Table 15, Model 9). Employment status mattered much more for men than women. For men, when compared to those employed full time, the unemployed are predicted to perform more minutes of other housework (.49 minutes during the pre-recession, 12.68 minutes during the recession, and 23.42 during the recovery time period). See Table 14. For women, however, the unemployed are predicted to perform less minutes of other housework when compared to those employed full time (1.02 more minutes during the pre-recession, 1.18 less minutes during the recession, and .31 less minutes during the recovery time period). See Table 15. These patterns continue when the spouse/partner's work status is included. For example when men are unemployed and have a spouse/partner that works full time or part time, their predicted time on other housework increases. While for women, the predictions are less when they are in the same work dyads.

Regression Results: The Unemployed

Based on the previous results, employment status seems to matter for time spent on unpaid household labor. The time availability perspective, which explains that the partner with the most time available will perform the most unpaid household labor, may provide an explanation for these employment status differences. This would suggest that the partner who is unemployed will perform more than the partner that is employed, whether part time or full time. What is yet to be determined, however, is what predictions

can be made for the differences in the time spent on unpaid household labor for unemployed men and women? Also, what predictions can be made based on their length of unemployment?

In order to answer these questions, I conducted an OLS regression based on respondents who are unemployed and currently looking for work. These models do not include labor force status differences and work dyad differences. These models include sex, race, length of unemployment (measured in weeks), and the control variables (age of respondent, number of children in the home, age of youngest child, number of household members, and education). These regression models are categorized by time period and contain two models each. The first model in each time period includes sex, race, and length of unemployment. The second model for each time period includes these same variables but add the control variables. Table 16 shows the regression models for the entire sample of unemployed respondents who are currently looking for work for core housework. Table 17 shows models for other housework. All values are significant at the .000 level. Regression models were conducted on men and women separately and can be found in the Appendix (Appendix 3 for men and Appendix 4 for women).

For core housework, among the unemployed, men are predicted to perform increasingly less when compared to women across all time periods. When all variables are included in the model, men are predicted to perform 70.22 less minutes on core housework than women during the pre-recession, 91.43 les minutes during the recession, and 86.83 less minutes during the recovery time periods.

Compared to Whites, all racial groups are predicted to perform more core housework during the pre-recession. This pattern changes, however, during the recession

and recovery time periods. During the recession time period, when all variables are included in the model, Black respondents are predicted to spend 8.60 less minutes on core housework tasks. Hispanic respondents are predicted to spend 88.82 more minutes when compared to Whites while Asian respondents are predicted to spend drastically more, 271.24 more minutes. During the recovery time period, when all variables are included in the model, Black respondents are predicted to spend 66.13 less minutes when compared to Whites. While Hispanic respondents are predicted to spend 2.05 less minutes and Asian respondents are predicted to spend 5.62 more minutes. These are drastic differences when compared to values from the recession time period.

Length of unemployment does not seem to have a dramatic influence on time spent on core housework. When all variables are included in the model, all time periods indicate minor decrease in time spent on core housework. During the pre-recession, for every week increase in unemployment, it is predicted that .023 less minutes will be spent on these tasks. The recession time period indicates that for every week increase in unemployment, a .018 minutes decrease is predicted. Finally, during the recovery time period, for every week increase in unemployment, .199 less minutes is predicted to be spent on core housework. See Appendix 3 and 4 for regression for men and women only.

Table 16. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Tasks Across all Time Periods Among the Unemployed.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Sex (Female)							
	Male	(-)66.72***	(-)70.22***	(-)77.08***	(-)91.43***	(-)83.33***	(-)86.83***
Race (White)							
	Black	16.98***	15.79***	(-)13.74***	(-)8.60***	(-)55.32***	(-)66.13***
	Hispanic	2.46***	5.19***	74.37***	88.82***	20.92***	(-)2.05***
	Asian	29.29***	26.42***	274.58***	271.24***	(-)6.39***	5.62***
Weeks Unemployed		(-).031***	(-).023***	(-).033***	(-).018***	(-).325***	(-).199***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		1.14***		3.41***		(-).850***
	Number of Children in home		(-).913***		(-)26.07***		18.71***
	Age of Youngest Child		(-).624***		(-)2.86***		0.487***
	Number of Household Members		1.81***		14.16***		(-)17.92***
	Education (High School)						
	College		10.26***		10.44***		(-)37.29***
	Bachelor		0.347***		(-)4.17***		(-)65.73***
	Masters+		14.78***		(-)7.42***		(-)39.35***
Constant		106.16	58.45	105.48	(-)15.94	127.01	231.66
Adjusted R^2		0.112	0.122	0.289	0.347	0.175	0.248
N=1115							

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

OLS regression for other housework tasks can be found on Table 17. All values are significant at .000. Across all time periods, men are predicted to spend more time on other housework tasks when compared to women. A curvilinear pattern, however, is evident resulting in much more time being predicted during the recession time period. When all variables are included in the model, during the pre-recession the predicted time spent on other housework tasks for men is 6.68 more minutes when compared to women. During the recession time period, this predicted time increases to 10.02 more minutes then drops to just 1.22 more minutes during the recovery time period.

Interestingly, a curvilinear pattern also emerges for Black and Hispanic respondents. During the pre-recession, when compared to Whites, Blacks and Hispanics are predicted to spend fewer minutes on other housework; 9.63 and .238 less minutes, respectively. During the recession period, however, these values increase to 6.95 more minutes for Black respondents and 22.02 more minutes for Hispanics. During the recovery time period, these values drop to 7.11 less minutes for Blacks and 1.54 less minutes for Hispanics. An opposite pattern is seen for Asian respondents. During the pre-recession, compared to Whites, Asians are predicted to spend 14.26 more minutes on other housework. This value drops to .119 less minutes during the recession but increases dramatically to 20.98 more minutes during the recovery time period.

Like core housework, length of unemployment was not found to dramatically impact time spent on other housework. During the pre-recession, a one week increase in unemployment is predicted to result in .008 less minutes on other housework. During the recession, a one week increase in unemployment results in .028 more minutes of other housework. During the recovery time period, a one week increase in unemployment

results in a .101 minute increase in other housework. See Appendix 5 for unemployed men only and Appendix 6 for unemployed women only.

Table 17. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Tasks Across all Time Periods Among the Unemployed.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Sex (Female)							
	Male	6.32***	6.68***	10.92***	10.02***	4.28***	1.22***
Race (White)							
	Black	(-)8.29***	(-)9.63***	7.07***	6.95***	(-)7.60***	(-)7.11***
	Hispanic	(-)2.08***	(-).238***	19.18***	22.02***	(-)7.09***	(-)1.54***
	Asian	16.74***	14.26***	2.33***	(-).119***	10.48***	20.98***
Weeks Unemployed		0.007***	(-).008***	(-).065***	0.028***	0.056***	0.101***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		0.078***		(-).080***		(-).275***
	Number of Children in home		9.57***		(-)3.88***		5.09***
	Age of Youngest Child		0.623***		1.07***		0.818***
	Number of Household Members		(-)4.84***		3.54***		(-)7.05***
	Education (High School)						
	College		9.17***		(-)5.66***		13.86***
	Bachelor		7.15***		7.66***		(-)2.13***
	Masters+		0.076***		(-)2.90***		3.66***
Constant		5.23	(-)3.39	(-)2.20	(-)15.71	3.10	24.00
Adjusted R^2		0.023	0.055	0.091	0.153	0.032	0.116
N=1115							

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

Housework: Hypotheses Reflection

Based on the findings presented for this chapter, some hypotheses can be revisited. Figure 3 outlines the hypotheses originally presented in Chapter 3. The hypotheses for each type of unpaid household labor are listed along with their respective results. The results from this chapter focus on housework tasks only.

For core housework, support was found for Hypothesis 1, women will perform more housework than men across all time periods. This hypothesis was not supported for other housework, men actually performed more across the time periods. Hypothesis 2A, unemployed respondents will spend more time on housework than employed respondents, was supported for both core and other housework tasks. Hypothesis 2B, on the other hand was not supported. This hypothesis stated that the gender gap in time spent performing housework would be greatest during the recession, which was not supported with these findings.

Hypothesis 3, White respondents will perform less housework than other racial groups, was not supported overall for either core or other housework. Finally Hypothesis 5, higher incomes will result in less time spent on housework tasks, was not supported.

In summary, this chapter found that women performed more core housework than men regardless of time period or employment status. Overall, Hispanic respondents performed more core housework than other racial groups, while Black respondents performed the least. Unemployed respondents performed more core housework tasks, while respondents employed full time performed the least. In addition, unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner employed full time perform the most core housework tasks than other work dyads.

For both men and women, being unemployed resulted in more time spent on core housework tasks. In fact, unemployed respondents spent more time on core housework tasks than those employed part time and those employed part time performed more than those employed full time. This finding, that unemployment resulted in more time spent on core housework tasks for both men and women, suggests that with more time available more time will be spent on these tasks.

While both men and women responded to their unemployment by increasing their time on core housework tasks, a gender gap did exist. During the pre-recession, the gender gap in time spent on core housework tasks was greatest among unemployed men and women. This gap narrowed, however, across time periods. In other words, the gap was greatest during the pre-recession, narrowed during the recession, and narrowed even more during the recovery time period. This suggests that both men and women responded to their unemployment across time periods. The narrowing of the gender gap may also suggest a trajectory toward more egalitarian arrangements. On the other hand, it may suggest different reactions for men and women. As Berik and Kongar (2013) found, the narrowing of the gender gap may be because men increased their time on these tasks while women decreased their time.

Results of this chapter also covered other housework tasks and interestingly, the results seem to indicate opposite patterns than core housework. Overall, men perform more other housework tasks than women regardless of time period or employment status. While the gender gap in core housework tasks decreased across time periods for unemployed men and women, it increased across time periods for other housework tasks. This may suggest that unemployed men increased their time on other housework tasks

across time periods while unemployed women contributed less, probably because of their time spent on core housework tasks.

Figure 3. Hypothesis Table: Findings for Housework.

Hypotheses		Findings			
		Housework		**Child Care**	**Emotion Work**
		Core	**Other**		
1	Women will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods.	Supported	Not Supported	*Tested in Chapter 5*	*Tested in Chapter 6*
2	A: Respondents who are unemployed will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than respondents who are employed.	Supported	Supported	*Tested in Chapter 5*	*Tested in Chapter 6*
	B: The gender gap in time spent performing housework will be greatest during the recession.	Not Supported	Not Supported	*Tested in Chapter 5*	*Tested in Chapter 6*
3	There will be racial differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work. Specifically, White respondents will perform less than all other groups.	Not Supported	Not Supported	*Tested in Chapter 5*	*Tested in Chapter 6*
4	There will be a positive relationship between housework and child care for both men and women.			*Tested in Chapter 5*	
5	Income will influence time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work, especially for women. Specifically, women with higher incomes will perform less housework, child care, and emotion work than women earning less.	Not Supported	Not Supported	*Tested in Chapter 5*	*Tested in Chapter 6*

Chapter 5: Time Spent Performing Child Care

Previous research suggests that time spent performing child care has increased for both men and women since the 1960s (Sayer et al 2004), however women still contribute significantly more time overall (Sayer 2005). Research also suggests that when men contribute time to child care, they also contribute time to housework tasks (Coltrane 2000). This increase in men's time performing child care may be a reaction to women's increased labor force participation. This chapter will provide findings for time spent performing child care. This chapter will provide an opportunity to determine if gender differences still exist in child care tasks. These tasks include the following: physical care, reading, playing with, arts and crafts, playing sports, helping with homework, attending events, and looking after children as a primary activity. All of these tasks are with children living in the household.

The results will be presented based on the pre-recession, recession, and recovery time periods. The data across these times are cross-sectional and do not include the same respondents at each time period.

Results: Child Care by Gender and Race

Table 18 provides mean minutes per day spent on child care tasks. Means are provided based on gender, race, labor force status of the respondent, and work dyads. I will begin with a discussion of gender and racial differences and provide findings based on employment status in the next section. All values in this table are significant at the .000 level.

Findings suggest women perform more child care then men across all time periods. Women's time increased across these time periods, from 66.58 average minutes during the pre-recession to 71.08 average minutes during the recession. For men, their time increased slightly during the recession (an average of 50.32 minutes). Their time, however during the pre-recession (an average of 42.32 minutes) and during the recovery time period (an average of 44.42 minutes) remained lower than women's time.

Racial differences suggest White and Asian respondents spend more time on child care tasks than Black and Hispanic respondents. Each racial category experienced an increase in mean minutes of child care during the recession, suggesting a curvilinear pattern for all groups. The most extreme pattern occurred among Black respondents. During the pre-recession, their average time spent on child care tasks was 36.29 minutes while during the recession this average increased to 59.68 minutes. During the recovery period, however, this average dropped to 45.32 minutes. Another interesting pattern for these tasks occurred among Hispanic respondents. While all racial groups experienced an increase in average time spent on child care tasks during the recession, Hispanic respondents had the least variation across time periods. They contributed an average of 44.17 minutes during the pre-recession, a slight increase to 45.54 minutes during the recession, and a slight decrease to 44.04 average minutes during the recovery time period.

Correlations were conducted to determine the relationship between housework and child care. See Appendix 7. For men, there is a very weak positive correlation between core housework and child care (.080 at .01 sig.). A very weak negative correlation is found for men's other housework tasks and child care (-.044 at .01 sig.). For women, there is a very weak correlation between core housework and child care

(.030 at .01 sig.) and a very weak negative correlation between other housework and child care (-.004 at .01 sig.).

Table 18. Mean Minutes of Childcare Across Time Periods.

		Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Gender				
	Women	66.58***	73.31***	71.08***
	Men	42.32***	50.32***	44.42***
Race				
	White	58.61***	64.65***	60.98***
	Hispanic	44.17***	45.54***	44.04***
	Black	36.29***	59.68***	45.32***
	Asian	58.01***	75.85***	68.42***
Respondent Labor Force Status				
	Full Time (FT)	46.18***	52.25***	50.14***
	Part Time (PT)	82.73***	87.66***	78.32***
	Unemployed (UE)	83.43***	111.64***	85.85***
Work Dyad				
	FT + FT	46.30***	50.39***	51.13***
	FT + PT	45.69***	59.68***	46.49***
	PT + FT	84.51***	91.34***	79.28***
	PT + PT	61.59***	59.18***	72.33***
	UE + FT	86.22***	112.38***	86.92***
	UE + PT	64.94***	107.03***	79.78***

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

Results: Child Care Time by Employment Status

Based on Table 18, unemployed respondents spent more time on child care tasks than the employed. Like the findings for the racial groups, each employment status experienced an increase in mean minutes spent on child care during the recession time period. The most drastic increase occurred for the unemployed. During the pre-recession the unemployed averaged 83.43 minutes on child care, during the recession this average increased to 111.64 minutes and during the recovery time period this average decreased to 85.85 minutes.

Work dyads suggest that during the recession and recovery time periods, respondents who are unemployed spend more time on child care tasks whether their partner works part time or full time. During the recession, respondents who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that works full time spent an average of 112.38 minutes on child care and during the recovery time period this average was 86.92 minutes. Compare that to the average of 50.39 minutes during the recession and 51.13 minutes during the recovery for respondents who are employed full time with a spouse/partner that also works full time.

Interesting in employment status specifically, I conducted analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparing the means for the employment statuses of full time, part time, and unemployed. These ANOVAs are further categorized by gender. See Table 19. All values are significant at the .000 level.

Overall, these findings suggest the unemployed contribute more time performing child care tasks than those employed full time or part time. Women contribute more child

care tasks than men overall, however, unemployed men contributed more time on child care tasks than full time employed women during the pre-recession and the recession time periods. During the –pre-recession, unemployed men contributed 64.85 minutes on child care, compared to 53.70 minutes for full time employed women. During the recession, these differences are more pronounced. Unemployed men spent an average of 97.32 minutes on child care tasks compared to full time employed women who spent an average of 58.25 minutes on these tasks.

In order to gauge gender gaps in child care tasks, I calculated the differences in values for women and men across the time periods. The largest gap occurred between unemployed women and men during the recovery time period (a difference of 51.32 minutes). The smallest gap, on the other hand, occurred among full time employed women and men during the recession, a difference of just 10.16 minutes.

Table 19. Gender and Child Care by Employment Status Across all Time Periods.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Mean Minutes of Child Care						
Full Time Employed	53.70***	58.25***	60.28***	41.03***	48.09***	42.94***
Part Time Employed	87.03***	95.22***	83.71***	51.93***	45.47***	52.04***
Unemployed	94.53***	123.39***	108.41***	64.85***	97.32***	57.09***

Difference between Women and Men

	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Full Time Employed	10.67	10.16	17.34
Part Time Employed	35.10	49.75	31.67
Unemployed	29.68	26.07	51.32

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

Results: Child Care by Length of Unemployment

Based on the previous findings, the unemployed spend more time on child care than other employment statuses. Interesting in seeking further information on these patterns, I conducted an analysis of variance of the unemployed based on their length of unemployment. These lengths are categorized as short term (less than 5 weeks), medium term (5 to 14 weeks), and long term (15 weeks or more). This analysis is conducted on men and women separately and accounts for the three different time periods. These findings can be found on Table 20. All values are significant at the .000 level.

For women, short term unemployment results in more time spent on child care during the pre-recession (70.65 average minutes), while the long term unemployed spend more time on child care during the recession (81.47 minute) and recovery (66.56 minutes) time period. For men, the long term unemployed spent an average of 83.89 minutes on child care during the pre-recession, and 55.82 average minutes during the recovery time period. Medium and long term unemployed men had similar averages, 60.34 and 58.29 minutes, respectively. The most drastic change in these findings is for men during the recession time period. For these men, short term unemployment resulted in only 13.31 average minutes spent on child care, compared to 35.54 average minutes during the pre-recession and 40.85 average minutes during the recovery time period.

Table 20. Gender Differences in Mean Minutes of Child Care by Length of Unemployment.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Short Term (>5 weeks)	70.65	63.52	46.65	35.54	13.31	40.85
Medium Term (5-14 weeks)	63.69	51.59	56.89	20.28	60.34	41.88
Long Term (15+ weeks)	44.29	81.47	66.56	83.89	58.29	55.82
Sig.	***	***	***	***	***	***

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

Regression Results: Child Care

I conducted OLS regression for child care tasks across time periods. Within these time periods there are three models each. The first model includes the variables gender, race, and income. The second model in each time period adds labor force status of the respondent to the model. The third model in each time period adds work dyads and the control variables to the model. The control variables include: age of respondent, number of children in the home, age of youngest child, number of household members, and the education level of the respondent. See Table 21, all values are significant at the .000 level.

Compared to women, men are predicted to spend less time on child care across all time periods. The least amount of time (13.03 less minutes), however, is predicted during the recession time period, Model 6, when all variables are included in the model. During the pre-recession all racial groups are predicted to spend less time when compared to Whites. In the final model for this time period, Model 3, Black respondents are predicted to spend 21.93 less minutes than Whites, while Asians are predicted to spend just 7.45 less minutes. Blacks and Hispanics are predicted to spend less time when compared to Whites during the recession time period, however Asian respondents are predicted to spend more, although just .79 more minutes. During the recovery time period, all racial groups are again predicted to spend less time when compared to Whites (Model 9).

The unemployed and those employed part time are predicted to spend more time on child care when compared to respondents who work full time. For the unemployed, this time is greatest during the recession time period, 62.72 more minutes, compared to 37.14 more minutes during the pre-recession and 36.41 more minutes during the recovery

time period. Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, respondents who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that works full time are predicted to spend more time on child care. This predicted time is 34.45 during the pre-recession, then increases to 56.37 more minutes during the recession, then drops to 37.11 more minutes during the recovery time period. Respondents who are unemployed with a spouse/partner that is employed part time reveal similar predictions, 33.68 more minutes during the pre-recession, 59.27 more minutes during the recession, and 29.52 more minutes during the recovery time period.

Because this chapter focuses on child care, some control variables are of particular interest, particularly number of children in the home and age of youngest child. During the pre-recession, as the number of children in the home increases, the predicted time spent on child care increases to 3.68 minutes, this value decreases to .57 less minutes during the recession however. During the recovery time period, this predicted vale increases to 4.38 more minutes. This suggests a u-shaped pattern in time spent on child care tasks with the recession time period experiencing the decrease in time. Age of youngest child, a control variable that is directly related to this chapter follows a downward trajectory. During the pre-recession, as the age of the youngest child increases, it is predicted that 6.69 less minutes will be spent on child care. During the recession this value drops to 5.97 less minutes and during the recovery the value drops slightly to 5.86 minutes.

Table 21. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Sex (Female)									
Male	(-)24.07***	(-)15.46***	(-)15.09***	(-)22.77***	(-)14.86***	(-)13.03***	(-)26.31***	(-)21.23***	(-)18.02***
Race (White)									
Black	(-)21.06***	(-)21.22***	(-)21.93***	(-)4.22***	(-)6.50***	(-)8.89***	(-)14.13***	(-)16.93***	(-)17.39***
Hispanic	(-)14.48***	(-)15.34***	(-)16.82***	(-)19.05***	(-)22.99***	(-)25.78***	(-)17.14***	(-)19.49***	(-)14.18***
Asian	(-).51***	(-).72***	(-)7.45***	10.01***	12.58***	.79***	4.99***	5.69***	(-)2.00***
Income (weekly earnings)	(-).003***	(-).004***	(-).004***	.002***	.003***	(-).001***	(-).003***	(-).003***	(-).003***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		28.51***			28.49***			19.06***	
Unemployed		37.14***			62.72***			36.41***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)2.64***			8.36***			(-).44***
Part Time + Full Time			24.85***			33.02***			16.70***
Part Time + Part Time			9.40***			14.37***			16.01***
Unemployed + Full Time			34.45***			56.37***			37.11***
Unemployed + Part Time			33.68***			59.27***			29.52***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.12***			(-).81***			(-).45***
Number of Children in home			3.68***			(-).57***			4.38***
Age of Youngest Child			(-)6.69***			(-)5.97***			(-)5.86***
Number of Household Members			(-)4.65***			(-)1.02***			(-)3.92***
Education (High School)									
College			7.90***			7.65***			9.38***
Bachelor			21.33***			15.95***			19.68***
Masters+			19.91***			24.82***			25.52***
Constant	71.78	60.88	109.82	75.45	63.43	134.03	75.62	67.61	122.4
Adjusted R^2	0.03	0.05	0.22	0.021	0.051	0.2	0.03	0.046	0.21
N=22507									

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

In addition to OLS regression models for the entire sample, I conducted OLS regression for men and women separately. All models are the same as the previous table with one exception. Because these regression focus on women and men only, the gender variable has been removed. See Table 22 for women only and Table 23 for men only. All values are significant at the .000 level. I will begin with the findings for Table 22 (women) and follow with the findings from Table 23 (men).

For women, during the pre-recession time period, all racial groups are predicted to spend less time on child care when compared to Whites. Asian respondents are predicted to spend the least (10.46 less minutes, Model 3). During the recession time period (Model 6), however, Asian respondents are predicted to spend more time on child care tasks when compared to Whites (15.91 more minutes). The predicted time decreases, however, during the recovery time period to 3.92 less minutes when compared to Whites (Model 9). Income was included in these models but the values were too small to make a meaningful prediction.

Part time employed and unemployed women are predicted to perform more child care when compared to full time employed women. Both employment statuses experience an increase in predicted time during the recession but unemployed women indicate a more dramatic increase across time periods. For these unemployed women, when compared to full time employed women, are predicted to spend 43.97 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 2). During the recession, this predicted time increases to 73.32 more minutes (Model 5) and during the recovery time period the predicted time decreases to 52.63 more minutes (Model 8).

Overall, most work dyad variables follow a curvilinear pattern, with almost all dyads experiencing an increase in the predicted time spent on child care during the recession time period. Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, work dyads in which the respondent is unemployed with a spouse/partner works part time experienced the most drastic changes across time periods. During the pre-recession the predicted time is 34.08 more minutes (Model 3). During the recession, this predicted time increases to 96.40 more minutes (Model 6), but this predicted time decreases to only 52.20 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Based on the control variables, as the number of children in the home increases the predicted time spent on child care increases by 4.77 minutes. During the recession, however, as the number of children in the home increases, the time predicted to spend on child care drops to 6.35 less minutes. During the recovery time period, the time predicted to be spent on child care increases to 6.55 more minutes with every increase in the number of children in the home.

Table 22. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care By Women Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)23.14***	(-)19.72***	(-)21.05***	(-)3.64***	6.15***	(-)4.11***	(-)23.90***	(-)22.10***	(-)22.86***
Hispanic	(-)15.55***	(-)16.60***	(-)16.97***	(-)17.30***	(-)22.29***	(-)29.67***	(-)21.40***	(-)26.12***	(-)19.35***
Asian	(-)3.01***	(-)2.72***	(-)10.46***	22.99***	29.92***	15.91***	(-).06***	1.58***	(-)3.92***
Income (weekly earnings)	(-).006***	(-).006***	(-).003***	.006***	.007***	.005***	(-).006***	(-).005***	(-).005***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		32.07***			37.86***			22.49***	
Unemployed		43.97***			73.32***			52.63***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)9.40***			(-)3.61***			2.57***
Part Time + Full Time			25.92***			39.10***			18.10***
Part Time + Part Time			2.85***			16.71***			26.80***
Unemployed + Full Time			36.30***			60.22***			47.47***
Unemployed + Part Time			34.08***			96.40***			52.20***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.26***			(-)1.15***			(-).70***
Number of Children in home			4.77***			(-)6.35***			6.55***
Age of Youngest Child			(-)7.98***			(-)6.94***			(-)6.98***
Number of Household Members			(-)6.31***			0.49			(-)4.27***
Education (High School)									
College			9.61***			5.48***			8.83***
Bachelor			26.92***			15.97***			17.73***
Masters+			25.97***			27.08***			25.37***
Constant	73.14	60.36	116.15	72.85	56.26	154.15	78.31	67.81	138.78
Adjusted R^2	0.008	0.041	0.27	0.008	0.062	0.26	0.011	0.04	0.25
N=11930									

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

Table 23 displays regression results for predicted time spent on child care tasks for men only. Across all models, compared to Whites, Black and Hispanics are predicted to spend less time on child care. Asian respondents, however, are predicted to spend more time on child care in Model 9. This model, during the recovery time period, when all variables are included in the model the predicted time is only 1.86 more minutes when compared to Whites. Again, income is included in the model but does not produce meaningful predictions.

Compared to men who are employed full time, part time employed men are predicted to spend 12.81 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 2), but this prediction drops to 1.08 less minutes during the recession (Model 5). The predicted time spent on child care then increases to 10.15 more minutes during the recovery time period. Across all time periods, unemployed men are predicted to spend more time on child care when compared to full time employed men. During the pre-recession the predicted time is 27.23 more minutes, then increases to 54.67 more minutes during the recession. This predicted time then decreases to just 16.65 more minutes during the recovery time period. Compared to men who work full time and have a spouse/partner that also works full time, more time is predicted to be spent on child care among unemployed men with a spouse/partner that works either part time or full time. The predicted time spent on child care during the pre-recession are similar for these work dyads (29.68 more minutes and 29.75 more minutes, Model 3). During the recession time period, the predicted time for the work dyad in which unemployed men have a spouse/partner that works part time is 55.09 more minutes while unemployed men with a spouse/partner that works part time are predicted to spend 43.40 more minutes (Model 6). During the recession time period,

the predicted time spent on child care for unemployed men with a spouse/partner that works full time is 21.23 more minutes while unemployed men with a spouse/partner that works part time are predicted to spend only 10.81 more minutes when compared to men who work full time and have a spouse/partner that also works full time.

For men, as the number of children in the home increases they are predicted to spend 2.47 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3). During the recession, for every increase in the number of children in the home, a predicted 5.51 more minutes is spent on child care (Model 6). This time decreases to only 2.05 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 23. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care By Men Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)19.31***	(-)21.19***	(-)22.22***	(-)5.11***	(-)13.31***	(-)11.60***	(-)6.21***	(-)9.17***	(-)10.23***
Hispanic	(-)13.42***	(-)14.01***	(-)16.54***	(-)21.18***	(-)23.84***	(-)22.98***	(-)12.88***	(-)13.68***	(-)10.11***
Asian	1.99***	1.34***	(-)3.87***	(-)4.41***	(-)4.90***	(-)13.13***	11.41***	11.34***	1.86***
Income (weekly earnings)	(-).001***	(-).001***	(-).003***	(-).002***	(-).002***	(-).007***	0.00***	(-).001***	0.0***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		12.81***			(-)1.08***			10.15***	
Unemployed		27.23***			54.67***			16.65***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-)1.09***			8.55***			(-)1.08***
Part Time + Full Time			8.81***			2.24***			12.82***
Part Time + Part Time			15.29***			12.16***			.99***
Unemployed + Full Time			29.68***			55.09***			21.23***
Unemployed + Part Time			29.75***			43.40***			10.81***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.05***			(-).49***			(-).18***
Number of Children in home			2.47***			5.51***			2.05***
Age of Youngest Child			(-)5.41***			(-)5.02***			(-)4.75***
Number of Household Members			(-)3.17***			(-)3.44***			(-)3.55***
Education (High School)									
College			6.79***			11.72***			9.29***
Bachelor			14.11***			15.68***			19.98***
Masters+			12.57***			21.39***			23.62***
Constant	46.33	45.24	86.79	55.23	53.56	102.96	46.57	45.3	87.91
Adjusted R^2	0.007	0.012	0.141	0.007	0.023	0.14	0.005	0.008	0.14
N=10577									

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

Regression Results: The Unemployed

Previous results suggest the unemployed are predicted to spend more time on child care. Thus, I have conducted an OLS regression examining the unemployed only. See Table 24, all values are significant at the .000 level. In this regression table, I hope to determine differences among the unemployed and how length of unemployment may impact time spent on child care tasks. This table is separated by time period, however, contains fewer models than previous regression tables and has fewer variables. Because I am only interested in the unemployed, labor force of the respondent and work dyads have been removed from the models. A new variable, length of unemployment has been added to the models. Table 24 contains data for the overall sample. Please see Appendix 8 for regression models among unemployed men only and Appendix 9 for regression models among unemployed women only.

Among the unemployed (Table 24), men are predicted to perform less child care when compared to women across all time periods. During the pre-recession, when all variables are included in the model (Model 2), men are predicted to perform 10.93 less minutes on child care when compared to women. This value decreases to 4.55 less minutes during the recession time period (Model 4) and decreases to 7.73 less minutes during the recovery time period (Model 6). Overall, unemployed Hispanic and Asian respondents are predicted to perform less child care when compared to Whites. During the pre-recession, Black respondents are predicted to perform 13.34 less minutes (Model 2) when compared to Whites but these values increase for the recession and recovery time periods. During the recession, they are predicted to perform 29.20 more minutes

(Model 4) and during the recovery they are predicted to perform 16.15 more minutes (Model 6).

The new variable in this regression table, weeks unemployed, did not seem to have much impact on predicted time spent on child care. During the pre-recession, a one week increase in unemployment results in a .319 minute increase in time spent performing child care (Model 2). The recession time period indicates that for every one week increase in unemployment, a decrease of .604 minutes is predicted to be spent on child care tasks (Model 4). During the recovery time period, for every one week increase in unemployment, a predicted .037 decrease in minutes is predicted.

An interesting finding occurs within the control variable, number of children in the home. During the pre-recession, for every increase in the number of children in the home, a predicted 4.74 minutes increase is predicted. However, during the recession, for every increase in the number of children in home a decrease of 10.19 minutes is predicted. The recovery period, then predicts that for every increase in the number of children in the home an increase of 26.70 minutes is predicted.

Table 24. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care Across all Time Periods Among the Unemployed.

	Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Sex (female)						
Male	(-).213***	(-)10.93***	(-)14.66***	(-)4.55***	(-)5.36***	(-)7.73***
Race (White)						
Black	(-)3.36***	(-)13.34***	26.91***	29.20***	41.35***	16.15***
Hispanic	(-)17.67***	(-)21.93***	(-)41.87***	(-)40.58***	(-)6.52***	(-)1.32***
Asian	(-)34.51***	(-)22.26***	43.64***	(-)11.33***	(-).834***	(-)12.37***
Weeks Unemployed	0.368***	0.319***	(-).152***	(-).604***	(-).077***	(-).037***
Controls						
Age of Respondent		.496***		(-)2.48***		(-).349***
Number of Children in home		4.74***		(-)10.19***		26.70***
Age of Youngest Child		(-)8.05***		(-)9.54***		(-)3.05***
Number of Household Members		(-)10.19***		4.15		(-)23.54***
Education (High School)						
College		37.54***		(-)1.82***		(-)11.20***
Bachelor		34.38***		16.54***		(-)11.51***
Masters+		20.58***		14.40***		(-)3.94***
Constant	54.28	114.31	71.65	243.65	55.62	147.72
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.182	0.053	0.517	0.019	0.134
N=1115						

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

Child Care: Hypotheses Reflection

The following table lists the five hypotheses originally introduced in Chapter 3. Based on the findings for this chapter, some conclusions can be made regarding child care. This table includes findings presented for housework (Chapter 4) and adds the findings presented in this chapter.

Based on the findings from this chapter, two hypotheses gain support and one hypothesis gains partial support. Hypothesis 1, which states women will perform more child care than men across all time periods, was supported. The prediction that unemployed respondents would perform more child care than employed respondents, Hypothesis 2A, was also supported based on these findings. Hypothesis 3, which predicted Whites would perform less child care than other racial groups, was not supported.

Partial support was found for Hypothesis 4, which states a positive relationship will exist between housework and child care. For both men and women, weak support was found but only for the relationship between core housework and child care. Income was not found to influence time spent providing child care (Hypothesis 5).

In summary, this chapter found women perform more child care regardless of time period. The difference between men and women's time on child care was much less, however, than the findings for core housework. In other words, men and women were more similar in their time spent on child care tasks than core and other housework tasks. This may be explained by the necessity of child care. For instance, caring for children and their needs cannot be ignored the same way the laundry or other tasks may be.

As with core housework tasks, the unemployed perform more child care tasks than those employed part time and those employed part time perform more than those employed full time. Unlike core housework tasks, however, differences in employment status and time on child care were not as profound. Regarding core housework tasks, unemployed men performed fewer tasks than full time employed women. For child care tasks, however, unemployed men performed more of these tasks than full time employed women (during the pre-recession and recession time periods).

The gender gap in time spent on child care tasks is also different from core housework tasks. Rather than the gender gap among unemployed men and women narrowing across time periods as was seen with core housework tasks, the gender gap actually was the largest among unemployed men and women during the recovery time period. This finding may be explained by men spending more time on other activities, such as core or other housework tasks, or even spending more time on leisure activities as Berik and Kongar (2013) found in their research.

This chapter also highlighted the recessionary impact on families and households much more than housework tasks (chapter 4). Almost all measures in this chapter experienced a curvilinear pattern across time periods, suggesting that more time was spent on child care tasks during the recession than the pre-recession and recovery time periods. These findings again suggest that the necessity of child care may be responsible for this increase. It may also suggest that the recession itself had a profound impact. It may not be simply that children needed to be cared for much more than housework tasks, rather it may also suggest that employment disruptions were to blame. As families and

households experienced employment disruptions, financial strains may have impacted their institutional child care options, leading to children being home more and having to be cared for by parents.

Figure 4. Hypothesis Table: Findings for Housework and Child Care.

Hypotheses		Findings				
		Housework		**Child Care**		**Emotion Work**
		Core	**Other**			
1	Women will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods.	Supported	Not Supported	Supported		*Tested In Chapter 6*
2	A: Respondents who are unemployed will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than respondents who are employed.	Supported	Supported	Supported		*Tested In Chapter 6*
	B: The gender gap in time spent performing housework will be greatest during the recession.	Not Supported	Not Supported			*Tested In Chapter 6*
3	There will be racial differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work. Specifically, White respondents will perform less than all other groups.	Not Supported	Not Supported	Not Supported		*Tested In Chapter 6*
4	There will be a positive relationship between housework and child care for both men and women.			Men: Weak Support	Women: Weak Support	
5	Income will influence time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work, especially for women. Specifically, women with higher incomes will perform less housework, child care, and emotion work than women earning less.	Not Supported	Not Supported	Not Supported		*Tested In Chapter 6*

Chapter 6: Time Spent Performing Emotion Work

Emotion work is a component of unpaid household labor that has a short history of research. This work performed within families include tasks which concern others' emotional and well-being enhancement (Erickson 2005). Previous work on emotion work within families has found that women are more likely to perform this work (Erickson 2005). Women have been found to perform more emotion work when their husbands become unemployed (Legerski and Cornwall 2010), making the division of unpaid household labor even more pronounced.

For this chapter, I will analyze emotion work based on the following tasks: talking with and listening to household children, household planning, managing household mail, managing household emails, household organization, and managing phone calls within the home. I will begin with results for gender, race, and employment status. I will then analyze results based on length of unemployment and provide regression results.

The results will be presented based on the pre-recession, recession, and recovery time periods. The data across these times are cross-sectional and do not include the same respondents at each time period.

Results: Emotion Work by Gender and Race

Table 25 provides the mean minutes of emotion work performed by gender, race, employment status of the respondent, and by work dyads. In this section, I will discuss the gender and race results. Across all time periods, women perform more emotion work than men. It is notable however, that across the time periods, women's time on emotion work slightly decreases while men's time spent on emotion work increases. During the

pre-recession, women spent an average of 16.31 minutes on emotion work, compared to 8.07 for men. During the recession time period, women performed an average of 15.98 minutes on emotion work while men spent an average of 8.60 minutes. During the recovery time period, women's average time on emotion work dropped to 14.88 minutes, while men's time increased to 10.38 minutes.

During the pre-recession, White respondents performed slightly more than other racial groups (an average of 13.23 per day), while Hispanic respondents performed the least (an average of 7.61 minutes per day). Asian respondents performed the most emotion work (14.25 average minutes), while Hispanic respondents again performed the least (7.82 minutes). White respondents performed slightly more emotion work during the recovery time period (13.79 average minutes per day), while Hispanic respondents performed the least (7.57 average minutes). See Table 25, all values are significant at the .000 level.

Table 25. Mean Minutes of Emotion Work Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Gender			
Women	16.31***	15.98***	14.88***
Men	8.07***	8.60***	10.38***
Race			
White	13.23***	13.37***	13.79***
Hispanic	7.61***	7.82***	7.57***
Black	12.35***	9.84***	11.07***
Asian	10.19***	14.25***	13.28***
Respondent Labor Force Status			
Full Time (FT)	10.19***	10.15***	11.39***
Part Time (PT)	19.14***	18.71***	16.68***
Unemployed (UE)	18.59***	21.09***	15.75***
Work Dyad			
FT + FT	10.59***	10.36***	11.74***
FT + PT	8.64***	9.29***	10.10***
PT + FT	19.69***	19.59***	17.89***
PT + PT	12.59***	11.86***	9.05***
UE + FT	19.92***	16.87***	16.01***
UE + PT	9.81***	47.57***	14.28***

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

Results: Emotion work by Employment Status

Based on the findings from Table 25, respondents who were employed full time, part time, and the unemployed performed similar amounts of time on emotion work. Those employed full time, however, performed the least amount of emotion work across the time periods. During the pre-recession, those employed part time contributed an average of 19.14 minutes per day, compared to those employed full time (10.19 minutes) who performed the least. During the recession time period, the unemployed performed an average of 21.09 minutes per day on emotion work while those employed full time performed 10.15 average minutes on emotion work. Those employed part time performed the most emotion work (16.68 average minutes), compared to 11.39 average minutes performed by those employed full time.

During the pre-recession time period, unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner that worked full time performed slightly more emotion work (an average of 19.92 minutes). Unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner employed part time contributed much more time on emotion work than other work dyads (an average of 47.57 minutes). Respondents employed part time with a full time employed spouse/partner performed the most emotion work during the recovery time period (an average of 17.89 minutes per day).

An interesting pattern is found here among the unemployed with a spouse/partner that is employed part time, they experience a drastic increase in their average minutes per day performing emotion work during the recession time period. During the recovery time period, the average was only 9.81 minutes per day, during the recession this average

increased dramatically to 47.57 average minutes. This average then dropped drastically to only 14.28 average minutes during the recovery time period. See Table 25.

In Table 26, I conducted analysis of variance to compare the average minutes per day of emotion work by gender and employment status (all values are significant at the .000 level). According to this table, women spent more time performing emotion work than men overall. Unemployed women performed more emotion work than women employed full or part time during the pre-recession and recession time periods. There was only a slight difference between part time employed women (17.99 average minutes) and unemployed women (17.18 average minutes) during the recovery time period. Women employed full time contributed the least amount of emotion work across time periods.

For men, those employed full time performed the least emotion work and unemployed men performed the most. Interestingly, unemployed men contributed similar averages of emotion work as full time employed women. For example, during the pre-recession, full time employed women contributed an average of 13.59 minutes of emotion work, compared to 11.29 average minutes of emotion work contributed by unemployed men. During the recession, full time employed women contributed an average of 12.99 minutes of emotion work, while unemployed men contributed slightly more (an average of 13.30 minutes). Full time employed women performed an average of 13.17 minutes of emotion work during the recovery time period, while unemployed men only contributed an average of 13.93 minutes.

In order to gauge the extent of the gender gap in emotion work during these time periods; I calculated the difference between women's averages and men's averages. These calculations determined that the gender gap was the smallest among full time

employed men and women during the recovery time period (a difference of only 3.05 minutes). The largest gender gap, however, was found among unemployed men and women during the recession time period (a difference of 14.19 minutes). See Table 26.

Table 26. Gender and Emotion Work by Employment Status Across all Time Periods.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Mean Minutes of Emotion Work						
Full Time Employed	13.59***	12.99***	13.17***	7.87***	8.17***	10.12***
Part Time Employed	20.47***	20.00***	17.99***	9.61***	11.52***	10.23***
Unemployed	22.96***	27.49***	17.18***	11.29***	13.30***	13.93***

Difference between Women and Men

	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Full Time Employed	5.72	4.82	3.05
Part Time Employed	10.86	8.48	7.76
Unemployed	11.67	14.19	3.25

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

Results: Emotion Work by Length of Unemployment

I conducted analysis of variance to compare the average minutes of emotion work by length of unemployment. Length of unemployment is categorized as short term (less than 5 weeks), medium term (5-14 weeks), and long term (15 weeks or more). This analysis also provides findings for women and men separately. See Table 27, all values are significant at the .000 level.

For women, the short term unemployed contributed the most time on emotion work during the pre-recession (24.17 average minutes), while the medium term unemployed contributed the least (7.33 average minutes). During the recession, all lengths of unemployment contributed about 13 minutes of emotion work. The medium term unemployed, however, contributed the most emotion work during the recovery time period (30.29 average minutes), while the short term unemployed contributed only 7.48 average minutes.

For men, the long term unemployed contributed the most emotion work during the pre-recession (7.61 average minutes). During the recession, all lengths of unemployment contributed very little emotion work, less than 4 minutes each. The medium term unemployed contributed the most emotion work during the recovery time period, an average of 16.87 minutes, while the short term unemployed contributed the least (an average of only .64 minutes).

Table 27. Gender Differences in Mean Minutes of Emotion Work by Length of Unemployment.

	Women			Men		
	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery	Pre-Recession	Recession	Recovery
Short Term (>5 weeks)	24.17	13.45	7.48	2.69	3.53	0.64
Medium Term (5-14 weeks)	7.33	13.37	30.29	6.62	2.81	16.87
Long Term (15+ weeks)	18.48	13.32	20.87	7.61	1.64	5.29
Sig.	***	***	***	***	***	***

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

Regression Results: Emotion Work

OLS regression analyses were conducted measuring predicted minutes of emotion work. These models have been conducted based on the three time periods (pre-recession, recession, and recovery) and include three models each. The first model in each time period includes analyses based on gender, race, and income. The second model in each time period adds labor force status of the respondent to the variables included in the first model. The third model in each time period adds work dyads and control variables to the analysis. The control variables include age of respondent, number of children in the home, age of youngest child, number of household members, and education level of the respondent. See Table 28, all values are significant at the .000 level.

For each time period, men are predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to women. When all variables are included in the models, men are predicted to spend 6.59 less minutes on emotion work when compared to women in the pre-recession time period (Model 3). Model 6, the recession time period, reveals men are predicted to spend 6.16 less minutes on emotion work when compared to women. The recovery time period predicts men will spend only 3.18 less minutes on emotion work when compared to women.

During the pre-recession, compared to White respondents, Hispanic and Asian respondents are predicted to spend less time on emotion work (4.01 and 3.54 minutes, respectively), while Black respondents are predicted to spend slightly more time (.22 more minutes, Model 3). The recession time period, predicts all racial groups will perform less emotion work when compared to Whites, although Asian respondents are predicted to spend only .23 less minutes (Model 6). The recovery time period, predicts all

racial groups will spend less time on emotion work when compared to Whites (Model 9). Income, measured as weekly earnings, was included in these models but revealed values too small to make meaningful predictions.

Respondents who are unemployed or employed part time are predicted to spend more time on emotion work when compared to respondents working full time. The unemployed, in particular, are predicted to spend more time on emotion work and experienced a curvilinear pattern across time periods. During the pre-recession, the unemployed are predicted to spend 7.76 more minutes on emotion work when compared to those employed full time (Model 2). During the recession, however, this value increases to 11.67 more minutes (Model 5), but decreases to only 4.85 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 8).

A similar pattern is found among unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner that is employed part time. Compared to work dyads in which both partners work full time, these respondents are predicted to spend only 2.33 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3). However, this predicted value dramatically increases to 43.21 more minutes during the recession time period (Model 6). The predicted value then decrease to only 5.51 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). See Table 28.

Table 28. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Sex (Female)									
Male	(-)8.24***	(-)6.49***	(-)6.59***	(-)7.33***	(-)5.72***	(-)6.16***	(-)4.51***	(-)3.57***	(-)3.18***
Race (White)									
Black	(-).47***	(-).51***	.22***	(-)3.27***	(-)3.65***	(-)1.93***	(-)2.42***	(-)2.74***	(-)2.62***
Hispanic	(-)5.62***	(-)5.81***	(-)4.01***	(-)5.52***	(-)6.23***	(-)3.38***	(-)6.22***	(-)6.51***	(-)4.19***
Asian	(-)3.00***	(-)3.05***	(-)3.54***	.53***	1.04***	(-).23***	(-).97***	(-).84***	(-)1.05***
Income (weekly earnings)	0.0***	0.0***	0.0***	0.0***	0.0***	.001***	.002***	.001***	.001***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		5.77***			5.85***			3.72***	
Unemployed		7.76***			11.67***			4.85***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			.21***			.92***			(-).98***
Part Time + Full Time			6.33***			6.49***			4.71***
Part Time + Part Time			2.95***			2.10***			(-).01***
Unemployed + Full Time			9.75***			9.04***			6.09***
Unemployed + Part Time			2.33***			43.21***			5.51***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.20***			.22***			.18***
Number of Children in home			1.80***			1.46***			3.15***
Age of Youngest Child			.22***			.27***			.19***
Number of Household Members			(-).84***			(-).93***			(-)1.48***
Education (High School)									
College			.64***			2.88***			1.51***
Bachelor			3.70***			8.19***			5.80***
Masters+			2.65***			6.75***			3.45***
Constant	17.16	14.94	3.98	17.06	14.65	0.615	15.42	14.01	2.86
Adjusted R^2	0.021	0.027	0.035	0.019	0.029	0.056	0.009	0.012	0.023
N=22507									

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

Regression analyses were also conducted for women and men separately. Table 29 provides results for time spent performing emotion work for women only, while Table 30 provides results for time spent performing emotion work for men only (all values are significant at the .000 level). These models are slightly different from the previous table (Table 28), as they do not include the gender variable. Each time period contains three models. This first model analyzes race and income, the second model analyzes labor force status of the respondent, and the final model in each time period adds work dyads and control variables. I will begin by discussing the results for women.

Compared to White women in Model 3, Hispanic and Asian women are predicted to spend less time on emotion work during the pre-recession time period. Black women are predicted to spend 1.86 more minutes on emotion work when compared to White women. During the recession time period in Model 6, Black and Hispanic women are predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to White women. Asian women, however, are predicted to spend slightly more minutes (.77). In Model 9, during the recovery time period, all racial groups are predicted to spend fewer minutes on emotion work when compared to White women. Black women, however, are predicted to spend the least (6.93 minutes). The analysis on weekly earnings did not produce meaningful predicted values.

Compared to full time employed women, unemployed women and women employed part time are predicted to spend more time on emotion work across all time periods. In Model 8, both unemployed and part time employed women experience a drop in predicted time during the recovery time period (4.39 more minutes and 5.46 more minutes, respectively).

The work dyad variable compares all work dyads to full time employed women with a spouse/partner that also works full time. Every work dyad experiences a decrease in predicted time spent on emotion work during the recovery time period (Model 9). The most drastic changes occur among unemployed women with a spouse/partner that is employed part time. During the pre-recession, these women are predicted to spend only 2.98 more minutes on emotion work (Model 3). However, during the recession time period (Model 6), this predicted time dramatically increases to 133.07 more minutes. The recovery time period (Model 9) reveals a drastic drop in predicted minutes of emotion work, just .47 more minutes than women who work full time with a spouse/partner that also works full time.

Table 29. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work By Women Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	.38***	1.03***	1.86***	(-)6.51***	(-)4.79***	(-)3.46***	(-)7.69***	(-)7.21***	(-)6.93***
Hispanic	(-)9.03***	(-)9.40***	(-)7.07***	(-)4.93***	(-)6.13***	(-)2.86***	(-)7.61***	(-)7.97***	(-)4.74***
Asian	(-)3.53***	(-)3.54***	(-)4.17***	(-).43***	.89***	.77***	(-)2.12***	(-)1.83***	(-)1.63***
Income (weekly earnings)	0.0***	0.0***	0.0***	(-).002***	(-).001***	(-).001***	.002***	.002***	.002***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		6.71***			6.55***			4.39***	
Unemployed		11.03***			15.78***			5.46***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			.94***			1.85***			(-)4.79***
Part Time + Full Time			6.72***			6.91***			4.72***
Part Time + Part Time			7.65***			4.02***			1.75***
Unemployed + Full Time			12.92***			10.02***			7.97***
Unemployed + Part Time			2.98***			133.07***			.47***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.34***			.34***			.32***
Number of Children in home			3.61***			3.98***			4.98***
Age of Youngest Child			.23***			.59***			.22***
Number of Household Members			(-)2.64***			(-)1.92***			(-)2.37***
Education (High School)									
College			(-).48***			3.37***			.03***
Bachelor			4.09***			10.97***			7.68***
Masters+			1.26***			7.25***			4.08***
Constant	17.91	15.16	3.28	17.92	14.89	(-)7.67	15.86	14.16	(-)2.29
Adjusted R^2	0.007	0.017	0.029	0.005	0.019	0.095	0.008	0.012	0.033
N=11930									

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

For men, Table 30, different patterns are found. Compared to White men, all racial groups are predicted to spend less time on emotion work during the pre-recession time period (Model 3), with Asian men predicted to spend the least (3.58 less minutes). During the recession, all racial groups are again predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to White men; however, Hispanic men are now predicted to spend the least (3.83 less minutes, Model 6). During the recovery time period, only Hispanic men are predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to White men (3.71 less minutes, Model 9). Income, again, revealed no meaningful predictions for time spent on emotion work.

Men who are unemployed or employed part time are predicted to spend more time on emotion work across all time periods when compared to men who are employed full time. Both work statuses experienced a slight increase in predicted time on emotion work during the recession time period. During the pre-recession, part time employed men are predicted to spend 1.82 more minutes, while unemployed men are predicted to spend 3.66 more minutes on emotion work when compared to full time employed men (Model 2). During the recession, the predicted time for part time employed men increases to 3.55 more minutes, while the predicted value for unemployed men increases to 6.25 more minutes (Model 5). The recovery time period reveals a decrease to only .21 more minutes on emotion work for part time employed men and 3.79 more minutes for unemployed men (Model 8).

Compared to full time employed men with a spouse/partner that also works full time, unemployed men are predicted to spend more time on emotion work. Unemployed men with a spouse/partner that is employed full time are predicted to spend 5.18 more

minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3), 7.36 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 3.04 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9). Unemployed men with a spouse/partner that is employed part time are predicted to spend 1.71 more minutes during the pre-recession (Model 3), 8.12 more minutes during the recession (Model 6), and 10.12 more minutes during the recovery time period (Model 9).

Table 30. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work By Men Across all Time Periods.

	Pre-Recession			Recession			Recovery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Race (White)									
Black	(-)1.11***	(-)1.37***	(-).96***	(-).37***	(-)1.47***	(-).23***	1.75***	1.16***	1.42***
Hispanic	(-)2.13***	(-)2.21***	(-)1.14***	(-)5.91***	(-)6.25***	(-)3.83***	(-)4.86***	(-)4.99***	(-)3.71***
Asian	(-)2.46***	(-)2.55***	(-)3.58***	1.28***	1.21***	(-)1.31***	.41***	.43***	.44***
Income (weekly earnings)	.001***	.001***	.001***	.002***	.002***	.002***	.001***	.001***	.001***
R's Labor Force Status (Full Time)									
Part Time		1.82***			3.55***			.21***	
Unemployed		3.66***			6.25***			3.79***	
Work Dyad (Full Time + Full Time)									
Full Time + Part Time			(-).08***			.63***			(-).04***
Part Time + Full Time			4.04***			5.70***			1.99***
Part Time + Part Time			(-)1.29***			.42***			(-)1.53***
Unemployed + Full Time			5.18***			7.36***			3.04***
Unemployed + Part Time			1.71***			8.12***			10.12***
Controls									
Age of Respondent			.08***			.13***			.06***
Number of Children in home			.08***			(-).88***			.92***
Age of Youngest Child			.19***			(-).02***			.16***
Number of Household Members			.79***			.04***			(-).35***
Education (High School)									
College			1.82***			2.45***			2.94***
Bachelor			3.02***			5.83***			3.59***
Masters+			3.99***			7.56***			2.39***
Constant	8.16	8.01	(-)1.93	8.84	8.49	1.11	10.47	10.29	4.15
Adjusted R^2	0.002	0.003	0.012	0.01	0.013	0.031	0.004	0.005	0.01
N=10577									

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

Regression Results: The Unemployed

I conducted OLS regression for only the unemployed in the sample. While these regression models are still categorized by time period, the models are different than in previous regression models. Each time period includes two models, rather than three and includes different variables. The first model includes gender, race, and weeks of unemployment. The second model adds the control variables to the model. Because I am only interested in the unemployed, labor force status of the respondent and work dyads have been removed from the analysis. Table 31 provides results for the entire unemployed sample. All values are significant at the .000 level. See Appendix 10 for unemployed women only and Appendix 11 for unemployed men only.

Among the unemployed, men are predicted to perform less emotion work across all time periods when compared to women. When all variables are included in the model during the pre-recession, Model 2, men are predicted to spend 10.91 less minutes when compared to women. During the recession, Model 4, men are predicted to spend 13.44 less minutes and during the recovery time period, men are predicted to spend 14.93 less minutes on emotion work when compared to women (Model 6).

In the final model during the pre-recession, Model 2, unemployed Hispanic and Asian respondents are predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to unemployed Whites. Unemployed Black respondents, however, are predicted to spend 9.63 more minutes on emotion work. In Model 4, during the recession, only unemployed Asians are predicted to spend less time on emotion work when compared to unemployed Whites (27.67 less minutes). During the recovery time period, Model 6, however,

unemployed Hispanic respondents are the only racial group predicted to spend more time on emotion work when compared to unemployed Whites (4.78 more minutes).

During the pre-recession, Model 2, for every week increase in unemployment, an increase of only .061 minutes of emotion work are predicted. In Model 4, the final model in the recession time period, for every week increase in unemployment, an increase of only .066 minutes in emotion work is predicted. Finally, in Model 6, the final model in the recovery time period, a decrease is predicted. For every week increase in unemployment, .032 less minutes are predicted to be spent on emotion work. See Appendix 8 for an analysis of unemployed women only and Appendix 9 for an analysis of unemployed men only.

Table 31. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work Across all Time Periods Among the Unemployed.

	Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Sex (Female)						
Male	(-)11.78***	(-)10.91***	(-)11.07***	(-)13.44***	(-)12.78***	(-)14.93***
Race (White)						
Black	8.11***	9.63***	(-).138***	1.86***	(-)9.80***	(-)14.05***
Hispanic	(-)7.77***	(-)8.60***	.032***	2.12***	(-).311***	4.78***
Asian	(-)5.78***	(-)6.58***	(-)12.64***	(-)27.64***	(-)3.39***	(-).929***
Weeks Unemployed	.053***	.061***	.060***	.066***	(-).054***	(-).032***
Controls						
Age of Respondent		(-).171***		.196***		(-).137***
Number of Children in home		(-)3.20***		3.49***		(-)2.67***
Age of Youngest Child		.532***		(-).417***		(-).868***
Number of Household Members		3.84***		(-).711***		.688***
Education (High School)						
College		(-)8.60***		(-).286***		26.94***
Bachelor		(-)3.80***		8.75***		2.96***
Masters+		(-)2.37***		.360***		.840***
Constant	16.91	12.68	12.52	2.60	22.36	30.11
Adjusted R^2	0.06	0.091	0.139	0.233	0.03	0.109
N=1115						

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

Emotion Work: Hypotheses Reflection

The following figure provides the hypotheses originally presented in Chapter 3. Now that all dependent variables (housework, child care, and emotion work) have been analyzed all hypotheses can be either supported or not supported. Two hypotheses found support, while all other hypothesis found none.

Support was found for Hypothesis 1, women will perform more emotion work than men across all time periods. Support was also found for Hypothesis 2A, which predicted that unemployed respondents would perform more emotion work than employed respondents. Support was not found for Whites performing less emotion work than other racial groups, Hypothesis 3. Finally, no support was found for Hypothesis 5, which states that income will influence time spent providing emotion work.

In summary, this chapter found that women perform more emotion work than men across all time periods, although the time spent on emotion work was very small for both. The differences between men and women, however, were less than time spent in both housework and child care tasks. This slight difference between men and women in time spent performing emotion work may be due to overall relationship maintenance. In other words, providing emotional support to family members, even at less than 20 minutes a day on average, may create a more caring household.

Unemployed women perform more emotion work than part time and full time employed women and all employment statuses of men. In fact, full time employed women and unemployed men are similar in their time spent providing emotion work tasks. This result supports other findings that women perform more emotion work than

men and may be result of men spending more time on other tasks (such as housework or child care). It may also be that men are devoting more time to leisure activities (Berik and Kongar 2013).

The smallest gender gap was found among unemployed men and women during the recovery time period. This may be a result of men and women both responding to the emotional needs of the household. Because the recession did not officially end, respondents in the recovery time period where still experiencing employment disruptions. In essence, these disruptions may have warranted continued emotional support and men and women both responded.

This chapter's findings also lend support for the impact the recession had on families and households. Unemployed respondents with a partner that was employed part time experienced a dramatic increase in time spent performing emotion work during the recession. Much like child care, a curvilinear pattern was experienced, however on a much larger scale. Regression results indicate that this increase is experienced on the part of unemployed women with a spouse or partner that is employed part time. This finding suggests that women contribute more emotion work but their task is much more demanding during the recession when their partner is employed part time. This dramatic increase could be explained in several ways. First, unemployed respondents perform more emotion work anyway, so they are expected to perform more, however, this does not account for the dramatic increase during the recession. Second, the financial strain of a work dyad in which one partner is unemployed and the spouse is only employed part time may have contributed to the need to maintain emotional support during this difficult time. Third, the recession time period was characterized by employment disruptions

which impacted men more than women. This may mean women performed more emotion work when their spouse was employed part time because this part time work was underemployment. In other words, the spouse worked part time as a result of the recession and this was an undesirable employment situation which required emotional management on the part of wives. This explanation is similar to previous research suggesting women increase their emotion work when men become unemployed (Legerski and Cornwall 2010).

This chapter focused on certain activities which I categorized as emotion work. These activities included talking with and listening to children, household planning, household mail, household email, household organization and planning, and telephone calls. There is an important distinction between these activities, talking with and listening to children is very different from the other household tasks within this chapter. Therefore, the results may be indicative of spending more time with children rather than contributions to the other tasks included in the operationalization of this dependent variable. Future research will require further analyses of the activity codes included in this dependent variable to determine how time use might differ based on child-centered activity versus household management activities.

Figure 5. Hypothesis Table: Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work.

Hypotheses		Findings				
		Housework		**Child Care**		**Emotion Work**
		Core	**Other**			
1	Women will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods.	Supported	Not Supported	Supported		Supported
2	A: Respondents who are unemployed will perform more housework, child care, and emotion work than respondents who are employed.	Supported	Supported	Supported		Supported
	B: The gender gap in time spent performing housework will be greatest during the recession.	Not Supported	Not Supported			
3	There will be racial differences in time spent performing housework, child care, and emotion work. Specifically, White respondents will perform less than all other groups.	Not Supported	Not Supported	Not Supported		Not Supported
4	There will be a positive relationship between housework and child care for both men and women.			Men: Weak Support	Women: Supported	
5	Income will influence time spent on housework, child care, and emotion work, especially for women. Specifically, women with higher incomes will perform less housework, child care, and emotion work than women earning less.	Not Supported	Not Supported	Not Supported		Not Supported

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

The goal of this dissertation is to test the time availability perspective on unpaid household labor during a time period of significant household employment disruptions. I use The American Time Use Survey (2003-2011) to examine core housework, other housework, child care, and emotion work. The time availability perspective is one of three major theories used to explain the division of unpaid household labor. These three perspectives include time availability, relative resources, and gender theories. Time availability explains that the partner with the most time available will perform more housework; while the relative resources perspective explains that the partner contributing the most resources (for example, money) is able to bargain out of housework. Gender theories, which include gender socialization and performing gender, states that men and women perform different tasks because they are socialized to do so and performing them is an expression of their gender. During the economic recession, major employment disruptions were experienced causing more available time to spend on unpaid household labor, creating an important opportunity to test the time availability perspective. It is especially important to study gender differences during this time as men experienced more employment disruptions than women and have historically performed less of these tasks.

My dissertation was influenced by a study conducted by Berik and Kongar (2013) which also used The American Time Use Survey. Their study was important in distinguishing gender differences in time allocation and provided the inspiration to seek

more insight into how the economic recession may have impacted unpaid household labor. My study is different from Berik and Kongar as I include data through 2011, operationalize tasks slightly differently, and include more variables such as race, other housework tasks, and emotion work.

In 2007, the United States entered an economic recession leading to high rates of unemployment and household disruptions caused by job loss, housing foreclosures, and poor economic stability. Whether the economic recession impacted families and household divisions of labor is less clear. This study provides a unique opportunity to analyze unpaid household labor tasks before, during, and after this event. Because the economic recession caused major employment disruptions, the time availability perspective offers the strongest explanations for changes in unpaid household labor, suggesting unemployed individuals will spend more time on unpaid household labor because they will have more time available to perform these tasks.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the overall findings based on chapters 4, 5, and 6. It will end with a discussion of the hypotheses with conclusions and study limitations.

Overall Results: Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work by Gender and Race

Results for core housework, child care, and emotion work indicate women spent more time than men in all these tasks. Men, on the other hand, spend much more time on other housework tasks than women. The greatest gender differences are found among core housework, followed by child care, and the least gender differences are found for emotion work tasks. The gender differences for core and other housework, child care, and

emotion work were found across all time periods, indicating a gender gap prior to the economic recession, during the recession, and in recovery years. These patterns are found in descriptive, multivariate, and regression analyses. There may be several explanations for these gender differences. First, core housework tasks, which had the greatest difference between men and women, may be considered the most gender specific and more women contribute to those tasks because they have historically done so. Second, there may be less gender differences between men and women with regard to child care because these tasks cannot be avoided like core housework tasks (for example laundry). Third, while neither men nor women contributed enormous amounts of emotion work, their differences are the least when compared to housework and child care. This smaller difference may be due to an importance placed on providing emotional support to family members. These tasks, much like child care, may also hard to avoid, causing less differences between men and women.

For both men and women, time spent on core housework tasks increased across the time periods. For women, performance in housework tasks and child care increased over time. However, for men, performance on other housework tasks decreased across these time periods. Thus, while men saw an increase in their time spent performing core housework tasks, they were reducing their time spent performing other housework tasks – essentially maintaining equilibrium in their time spent performing housework. Time spent on child care tasks increased slightly during the recession time period for both men and women. Women and men's time spent performing emotion work have different patterns. For women, time spent performing emotion work decreases slightly across the time periods, while for men the time increased slightly across the three time periods.

Perhaps the economic recession and the significant family and household disruptions caused by economic instability forced households to pull together and be more aware of emotional work taking place.

Based on previous literature is it not surprising that women performed more of these tasks than men. Historically, they have spent more time in these tasks and the results from my study support this historical pattern. Surprisingly, the gender gap in time spent performing child care is smaller than expected and worth noting. While women still perform more child care tasks than men, men have made substantial gains in closing the gender gap. My results support those found by others showing that changing attitudes toward fatherhood might be the stronghold behind the closing gender gap (Sayer et al 2004, Sayer 2005; Sullivan 2010).

Results for racial differences indicate Hispanics perform more core housework across all time periods than all other racial groups. My findings support the work of others showing that Hispanics perform more core housework tasks than other racial and ethnic groups (Hondageu-Sotelo 2007, Pinto and Coltrane 2008). Blacks performed the least core housework tasks across the time periods, while Asians performed the least other housework tasks across these time periods (See Table 5). Research has suggested that Black families are more egalitarian in their divisions of housework (Orbuch and Eyster 1997, Kamo and Cohen 1998), which may explain why Black respondents performed the least amount of core housework. Therefore, their individual performance in core housework tasks is lower because their core housework tasks are more likely to be divided among family members.

White respondents performed more other housework tasks across time periods. This finding may simply be the result of opportunity. According to Turner et al (2008), non-Hispanic Whites and those with higher incomes are more likely to own homes, while Black, Hispanic, and households with low-incomes are less likely to do so. This homeownership provides more opportunity for other housework tasks such as exterior cleaning, exterior repair, and appliance maintenance, thus creating the racial differences found in my study.

During the pre-recession, Whites performed more child care tasks than other racial groups. However, Asians performed more during the recession and recovery time periods (See Table 18). Black respondents provided the least amount of child care during the pre-recession, while Hispanics provided the least amount of child care during the recession and recovery time periods (See Table 18). As other studies have shown, my results confirm a racial and ethnic pattern of child care that may be a reflection of these families having extended family members in the home, or nearby, that are able to provide childcare assistance (Pebley and Rudkin 1999; Cox et al 2000).

Whites performed more emotion work during the pre-recession and recovery time periods, while Asians performed the most emotion work during the recession (See Table 25), although these differences are within minutes of each other Hispanics, on the other hand, performed the least amount of emotion work across all time periods, a difference of less than 10 minutes when compared to other racial groups. (See Table 25). These results for Hispanics may be due to spending more time on core housework tasks, thus having less time to devote to emotion work. These results may also suggest Hispanics perform

less emotion work because they may rely on other family members to share in these tasks as has been shown in previous research on housework (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007).

Overall Results: Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work by Employment Status

A strength of my study was the ability to examine the effect of unemployment status on unpaid household labor across a period of time that included a national economic recession. Prior studies have shown that during times of economic stress, men do not increase their time on unpaid labor tasks when they are employed part time or not employed (Sayer et al 2009). They have been found to increase their contributions, however, after multiple job losses (Gough and Killewald 2010). During the 2007 economic recession specifically, men were shown to increase their time on child care slightly but spent most extra time on leisure activities even when a loss in paid work hours was experienced (Berik and Kongar 2013). Overall Berik and Kongar found a narrowing of the gender gap in housework and child care but attributed their findings to a decrease in unpaid work hours for women and a slight increase by men.

In my study, unemployed respondents performed more core housework, other housework, child care, and emotion work than the part time and full time employed, with two exceptions. During the pre-recession, those employed full time performed more other housework tasks than the unemployed (by about 2 minutes). See Table 5. The other exception is for the pre-recession and recovery time periods for emotion work tasks. Those employed part time performed more emotion work during the pre-recession and recovery time periods. The unemployed, however, performed more emotion work during the recession time period. See Table 25. These results support the time availability

perspective as unemployed respondents were able to perform more household tasks because they had more time to do so.

Unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner that worked full time performed more core housework and child care tasks across time periods than other work dyad combinations (See Tables 5 and 18). Specifically, during the recession period, this work dyad showed an increase on child care tasks. This increase could be a result of many factors including a lack of financial resources to afford institutional child care facilities, or simply having more time available for children when unemployed. This is particularly significant because it indicates a direct relationship between the recession and an increase in time spent on child care tasks. More other housework tasks were performed by unemployed respondents with a spouse/partner that worked part time, however, only during the recession and recovery time periods. During the pre-recession time period, more other housework tasks were performed by work dyads in which both partners worked part time (See Table 5).

In the pre-recession and recession time periods, unemployed respondents performed more emotion work than their spouse/partner. These results suggest spouses/partners who are not restricted to work schedules have more time and availability to perform emotion work tasks such as household organization and planning, organization and planning for household children, handling household mail and email, and telephone calls to/from family members.

During the recovery time period, more emotion work was performed by work dyads in which the respondent worked part time and their spouse/partner worked full time (See Table 25). An interesting pattern of time spent on emotion work is found for

work dyads in which the respondent is unemployed and their spouse/partner works part time. For these work dyads, during the pre-recession period they spent an average of only 9.81 minutes per day on emotion work. However, this time increased dramatically to an average of 47.57 minutes per day during the recession period and then declined to 14.28 minutes per day during the recovery time period (See Table 25). These results are a clear reflection of the unemployed having more time available to perform such tasks.

While the majority of the public discourse about the economic recession focused on unemployment rates and a resulting housing crisis, I contend that times of economic stress also manifest in other non-economic ways through families. Not only do families spend more time managing their own financial burdens (decisions about paying bills, etc.) but they may be also often tasked with helping friends and family members do the same. Familial support structures are relied upon more heavily during stressful times, thus increasing emotional work for those with the most time available. Regression results indicate that this increase is experienced on the part of unemployed women with a spouse or partner that is employed part time. This finding suggests that women contribute more emotion work but their task is much more demanding during the recession when their partner is employed part time. This dramatic increase could be a result of more emotion work demands because of increased strain due to diminished financial resources. Women may also contribute more emotion work because their spouse/partner is employed part time. This part time employment may be considered underemployment which may result in emotional strain on men, thus creating more demand on their wives. This explanation is similar to previous research suggesting women increase their emotion work when men become unemployed (Legerski and Cornwall 2010).

When men and women are analyzed separately, regardless of their similar employment status, women perform more core housework, child care, and emotion work than men. In fact, full time employed women spent more time on core housework tasks than unemployed men during the pre-recession and recession time periods (See Table 6), signaling a gender gap that cannot be wholly explained by the time availability perspective. When full-time working women are performing more core housework tasks than unemployed men, the explanations must extend beyond time availability into gender socialization. This is a significant contribution as it suggests men's unwillingness to restructure their available time to contribute to household demands. These men may be spending time on other tasks, such as leisure (Berik and Kongar 2013), or they may feel a threat toward their masculine ideals (Legerski and Cornwall 2010). Beyond these explanations, this finding may also suggest the significant impact the recession had on families and households. This economic recession may have impacted men's employment status and lack of employment opportunities and extended unemployment may have placed men in unfamiliar situations which manifested in a reluctance to perform tasks generally reserved for women.

With regard to other housework tasks, men are more likely to contribute to this work than women. As expected, unemployed men spend more time in these tasks than part time or full time employed men. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to spend time on these tasks when they are employed part time. While these tasks are often labeled as "men's work" (i.e. yard work, car repairs, etc.), my results support both a time availability model and gender socialization. While unemployed women may spend less time on these types of other housework tasks than unemployed men, they are also

performing more core tasks than their counterparts and are unable to devote time to them both equally.

Overall Results: Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work by Length of Unemployment

In addition to unemployment status, I was able to examine how the length of unemployment is related to unpaid household labor. Surprisingly, my data revealed a unique and unexpected pattern. Intuitively, the longer one is unemployed the more time they have available to perform household tasks. Thus, I expected to find that time spent performing unpaid household labor increases as length of unemployment increases. My results, however, did not follow this pattern. For core housework, long term unemployed women contributed more of these tasks than men across all time periods. They contributed more child care during the recession and recovery time periods, and more emotion work during the pre-recession than other unemployed women. This finding suggests length of unemployment may not be a predictor for time use on these tasks for women. Instead, simply being unemployed increases the likelihood of performing more tasks.

For the long term unemployed men, more time was spent on core housework tasks during the recession only. They also only performed more emotion work during the pre-recession than other unemployed men. Interestingly, however, the long-term unemployed men spent more time on child care than other unemployed men, regardless of time period (See Table 20). These findings may suggest length of unemployment matters more for men than for women and could support the necessity of child care tasks and changing ideas of fatherhood as suggested by previous findings.

Another pattern occurred for men during the recovery time period regarding core housework tasks, their time spent performing these tasks dropped dramatically for the medium term unemployed (See Table 8). Clearly, medium term unemployed men and women experience a changed in their allocations of these tasks. There is one explanation for this medium term unemployment experience, at least with regard to men's core housework. The masculine ideal of the household breadwinner has been challenged when men face unemployment and contributing to "women's work" (i.e., cleaning, laundry, etc.) may be an even larger threat to this masculinity (Legerski and Cornwall 2010). Emotion work revealed interesting patterns for both men and women. For the medium term unemployed, men's and women's time spent performing emotion work increased dramatically during the recovery time period, see Table 27.

Overall Hypotheses Reflection

Of the five hypotheses for this study, only two found support. These two hypotheses were that women would contribute more housework, child care, and emotion work than men across all time periods (Hypothesis 1). The other hypothesis that found support was that unemployed respondents would perform more unpaid household labor than employed respondents (Hypothesis 2A). Hypothesis 2B, the gender gap for housework tasks would be largest during the recession did not find support. Whites were not found to perform less unpaid household labor than other racial groups (Hypothesis 3). The positive relationship expected between housework and child care found minimal support for core housework only (Hypothesis 4). Finally, the prediction that income would influence time spent on unpaid household labor was not fully supported. These hypotheses were created based on findings from previous literature, however, few found

support. This discrepancy can be attributed to the magnitude of the economic recession on families and households.

Contrary to previous literature, men actually contributed more time to housework than expected, Whites performed more than expected when compared to other races, and income was not a noteworthy predictor of time spent on housework. Results of this study indicate that women performed more core housework, no matter their employment status which does not support the time availability or relative resource perspective but rather gender socialization. However, unemployed women contributed more housework than employed women, therefore the time availability perspective may actually find partial support. Men performed more other housework tasks than women regardless of their employment status. These results may indicate support for gender socialization rather than relative resources or time availability. Their time in these tasks increased, however, when unemployed which may indicate support for the time availability perspective. In other words, women performed more core housework tasks and men performed more other housework tasks because they have been socialized into these gender roles within the home. These gender roles, however, may not be set in stone as partial support was found for the time availability perspective for men. Results showed no support for the relative resources perspective. While results were significant, the values were too small to attribute a meaningful monetary amount to an increase or decrease in time spent on housework tasks.

Compared to core and other housework tasks, time spent performing child care was actually the most similar for men and women. While women still contributed more, men's contributions were not that different. Unemployed respondents contributed more

child care than other employment statuses, as with the results for housework. This suggests support for the time availability perspective, when more time is available more time will be spent on child care. Child care is certainly unlike housework and emotion work and these values may be a reflection of that. For example, the needs of children cannot be ignored like the laundry (housework) or telephone calls (emotion work). Therefore, unlike housework, I conclude that time availability has more support for time spent providing child care than the relative resource or gender socialization perspectives.

The findings for emotion work suggest that women contribute more time to these tasks. Being unemployed resulted in more time on these tasks, suggesting support for the time availability perspective. Unlike housework and child care results, emotion work showed the most drastic reactions to the recession. Many results for emotion work followed a curvilinear pattern, resulting in dramatic increases in time spent on these tasks during the recession. This was particularly profound for women, who expectedly perform more of these tasks. These results again suggest support for both the time availability and gender socialization perspectives.

Overall, I find support for both time availability and gender socialization perspectives. In other words, the unemployed responded to their employment status by contributing more time in unpaid household labor. While I do not specifically test gender socialization in this study I find it to be a useful explanation for the gender differences that existed, particularly for housework and emotion work tasks.

The 2007 economic recession certainly impacted families and their allocations of unpaid household labor, however, not as profound as expected on all tasks. The recession was a factor for men and women for housework and child care, however men's

contributions were much more than previous literature expected. Further research is needed to determine other factors that may predict time spent on unpaid labor tasks, particularly for those that are unemployed. It may be that even though individuals are unemployed this does not equate to more available time. It may be that searching for work takes time away from contributing to unpaid household labor. It may also be that more psychological factors are at play such as depression which could prevent contributing to everyday tasks such as housework.

The Mancession/Momcession

The recent economic recession began in December 2007 and lasted through June 2009. During this time men experienced more unemployment and underemployment than women, leading to the term "mancession" to describe this phenomenon (Rampell 2009). As Williams and Tait (2011) point out, however, there is a flip side- a "momcession." This term, momcession, suggests that while men were experiencing more unemployment and underemployment during the recession, an unfair burden was placed on women who were working more hours in the paid labor market and still contributing to family responsibilities at home. This lack of unpaid household work contributions by unemployed men, in other words, created a momcession for women.

The lack of paid work by men while women maintained their jobs, created shifting workforce patterns and redefinitions of gender roles which threatened the breadwinner ideal held by men (Baxter 2009; Williams and Tait 2011). These threats, in turn, led to resistance to unpaid household labor tasks by men.

Based on the findings of my study, the discourse surrounding the mancession/momcession can be applied. Women certainly contributed more core

housework, child care, and emotion work than men despite working in the paid labor market. For instance, unemployed men performed less core housework tasks than full time employed women. Men's lack of time in these tasks may be attributed to the impact of the mancession; however, there is a silver lining. Men did, in fact, contribute more time on housework, child care, and emotion work when unemployed (compared to employed men), therefore there was a response which is an important contribution, however small that contribution may have been.

Policy Implications

The findings of this study speak to larger gender role expectations that have historically expected women to bear the weight of unpaid household labor. These gender roles are imbedded in our socialization, which filter into workplace policies that favor paid work over unpaid work. In fact, gender discrimination in the workplace is an ongoing social problem characterized by the gender wage gap, motherhood penalties, lack of parental leave, and a lack of other family friendly workplace policies. As long as these problems persist, unpaid household labor will continue to be devalued in lieu of paid market work.

Aside from policies that pertain to paid work, perhaps the United States should make steps to recognize the value of unpaid household labor given its relation to out GDP (26 percent by one estimate; Bridgman et al 2012). Care work within the home has been called "invisible" work (Folbre 2001), and those that perform this work (mostly women) are penalized because this work is not recognized in our market economy. These penalties can be seen in programs such as social security in which only paid market

contributions are valued, therefore making work contributed within the home invalid. Recognizing unpaid household labor could provide needed assistance to families with children and attach a monetary value to work done within the home for the purposes of retirement. This recognition, in turn, may validate unpaid household labor and provide additional income during times of employment disruptions.

The findings presented in this study highlight consequences in families and households because of larger economic conditions. By understanding these consequences families and households can be better prepared in the future, whether it be another economic recession or simply unemployment.

Study Limitations

While this study offers a new perspective on how an economic recession can alter unpaid household labor, it is not without limitations. First, the study is limited by the available data. My data in this study rely on the activities of a single day in the life of the respondent only. The American Time Use Survey contends that daily activities represent a snapshot of an average day. Unfortunately, I do not have access to data for longer than a one-day period. I also do not have data on the activities of others in the household, such as spouses and partners, children, or other adults in the household. Ideally, more than one day and the time use of other household members would be useful.

Another limitation of this dataset is the lack of activity codes that could have strengthened this study. I would have appreciated activity codes that indicated multi-tasking. For example, a respondent may talk with their child (emotion work) while playing with them (child care) or doing the laundry (core housework). Because these activities are coded separately, I do not know if respondents are multi-tasking.

In addition, I would have appreciated a stronger representation of emotion work tasks. Talking with and listening to children was included in the dataset, however, I would have appreciated an inclusion of talking with and listening to spouse/partner. Further, having a spouse/partner listen and talk with the respondent would also be useful. These tasks would have strengthened the discussion of emotion work and highlighted an aspect of unpaid household labor that is often overlooked. These tasks are of particular importance during times of stress, such as an economic recession or disruptions to employment.

While the ATUS data is longitudinal in nature, the cross-sectional surveys mean that different respondents participate each year. This results in findings that can be discussed across time periods; however, causal inferences cannot be made. In other words, because these are not the same respondents each time, I do not know how the same households may have responded to the recession and disruptions in employment. Although this data is cross-sectional, the findings can be compared by time period as the same types of households are analyzed at each series. This is especially useful when determining the impact of an economic force like the recession as the same types of families are examined before and after this event. Panel study data following the same respondents over time would provide a more in-depth analysis of these relationships and their allocations of unpaid household labor; however, this is not possible with the current data.

Additionally, my data selection and respondent inclusions have limited the study in several ways. To assess recessionary effects of employment status on unpaid household labor, it was necessary for me to examine respondents in the labor force, not

those who are retired, out of the workforce due to inability to work, or intentionally not in the labor force (i.e. stay at home parents). My data exclusively examines individuals in the labor force, including those unemployed (but still looking for work and remaining in the labor force) at each time period. Therefore, the results from my study cannot speak to the division of unpaid household labor in homes where a partner is intentionally staying home to care for children or the home.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Activities Included in Dependent Variables.	
Housework	
Core	Interior Cleaning
	Laundry
	Food and Drink Preparation
	Kitchen and Food Clean Up
	Grocery Shopping
Other	Exterior Cleaning
	Exterior Repair
	Vehicle Repair and Maintenance
	Appliance and Tool Set Up and Maintenance
	Financial Management
Child Care	Physical Care of Household Children
	Reading to Household Children
	Playing with Household Children
	Arts and Crafts with Household Children
	Playing Sports with Household Children
	Helping Household Children with Homework
	Looking after Household Children as Primary Activity
	Attending Events for Household Children
Emotion Work	Talking with and Listening to Household Children
	Household Planning
	Managing Household Mail
	Managing Household Email
	Household Management
	Managing Household Telephone Calls

Appendix 2. Gender Differences in Mean Minutes of Other Housework by Length of Unemployment.

	Women	Men
	All Time Periods	All Time Periods
Short Term (>5 weeks)	55.93	83.89
Medium Term (5-14 weeks)	70.07	116.2
Long Term (15+ weeks)	56.43	72.72
Sig.	***	***

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

Appendix 3. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Men.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)							
	Black	35.01***	35.64***	(-)13.81***	(-)5.67***	(-)5.80***	5.96***
	Hispanic	(-)17.01***	(-)4.31***	39.87***	39.63***	41.63***	25.40***
	Asian	(-)5.91***	(-)10.57***	X	X	61.71***	48.11***
Weeks Unemployed		(-).304***	(-).341***	(-).152***	(-).419***	(-).101***	(-).227***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		1.79***		0.687***		(-)2.46***
	Number of Children in home		(-)20.22***		19.79***		(-)12.48***
	Age of Youngest Child		(-)2.82***		(-)1.68***		0.896***
	Number of Household Members		9.17***		(-)16.88***		17.34***
	Education (High School)						
	College		33.66***		19.28***		(-)23.92***
	Bachelor		21.12***		0.291***		(-)27.07***
	Masters+		54.67***		0.98***		(-)12.92***
Constant		49.07	(-)23.63	34.51	51.67	27.15	90.73
Adjusted R^2		0.039	0.123	0.055	0.129	0.118	0.194
N=414							

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

X indicates no data because of lack of respondents meeting criteria

Appendix 4. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Core Housework Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Women.

	Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)						
Black	(-)17.08***	(-)15.41***	(-)15.76***	33.84***	(-)63.65***	(-)64.44***
Hispanic	20.16***	23.62***	115.25***	144.03***	8.94***	17.41***
Asian	62.74***	63.12***	284.54***	223.59***	(-)100.17***	(-)41.95***
Weeks Unemployed	0.367***	0.296***	0.273***	0.115***	(-).752***	(-).577***
Controls						
Age of Respondent		(-).310***		1.90***		0.333***
Number of Children in home		23.89***		(-)136.26***		14.74***
Age of Youngest Child		2.25***		(-)1.67***		0.221***
Number of Household Members		(-)8.72***		115.64***		(-)30.84***
Education (High School)						
College		0.443***		32.41***		(-)44.26***
Bachelor		(-)1.51***		13.27***		(-)71.27***
Masters+		(-)22.31***		(-)20.78***		(-)59.87***
Constant	96.22	86.98	94.91	(-)196.12	143.81	266.54
Adjusted R^2	0.036	0.054	0.194	0.477	0.103	0.183
N=701						

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

Appendix 5. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Men.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)							
	Black	(-)7.65***	(-)13.07***	12.16***	11.75***	(-)12.90***	(-)38.01***
	Hispanic	3.21***	4.68***	37.17***	44.05***	(-)6.74***	(-)1.22***
	Asian	38.2***	30.05***	X	X	22.10***	29.58***
Weeks Unemployed		(-).078***	(-).125***	(-).150***	0.089***	0.058***	0.224***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		0.176***		0.265***		(-).367***
	Number of Children in home		13.98***		(-)6.92***		10.30***
	Age of Youngest Child		0.584***		1.19***		1.14***
	Number of Household Members		(-)6.01***		7.73***		(-)13.40***
	Education (High School)						
	College		20.52***		(-)11.03***		20.48***
	Bachelor		11.71***		17.8***		0.739***
	Masters+		(-)2.57***		(-).045***		10.75***
Constant		11.81	(-)5.15	7.63	(-)39.86	6.41	36.38
Adjusted R^2		0.041	0.108	0.111	0.214	0.05	0.163
N=414							

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

X indicates no data because of lack of respondents meeting criteria

Appendix 6. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Other Housework Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Women.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)							
	Black	(-)7.91***	(-)3.38***	X	X	(-)5.53***	(-)1.45***
	Hispanic	(-)8.74***	(-)7.99***	X	X	(-)5.51***	0.032***
	Asian	(-)3.52***	(-)5.20***	X	X	(-)4.52***	4.03***
Weeks Unemployed		0.126***	0.122***	X	X	0.021***	0.039***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		0.513***		X		(-).206***
	Number of Children in home		5.22***		X		2.80***
	Age of Youngest Child		(-).235***		X		0.644***
	Number of Household Members		(-)5.03***		X		(-)3.63***
	Education (High School)						
	College		(-)6.13***		X		11.22***
	Bachelor		1.06***		X		(-)1.23***
	Masters+		0.733***		X		(-)2.30***
Constant		4.85	(-).666	X	X	4.40	14.99
Adjusted R^2		0.027	0.054	X	X	0.016	0.104
N=701							

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

X indicates no data because of lack of respondents meeting criteria

Appendix 7. Correlations Table for Dependent Variables for Men and Women.

Men	Core Housework	Other Housework	Child Care	Emotion Work
Core Housework	1	.029***	.080***	.036***
Other Housework	.029***	1	(-).044***	.010***
Child Care	.080***	(-).044***	1	(-).007***
Emotion Work	.036***	.010***	(-).007***	1
Women				
Core Housework	1	.022***	.030***	.013***
Other Housework	.022***	1	(-).004***	.017***
Child Care	.030***	(-).004***	1	(-).006***
Emotion Work	.013***	.017***	(-).006***	1

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

Appendix 8. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Men.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)							
	Black	(-)4.47***	(-)11.44***	(-)50.72***	6.77***	(-)2.32***	16.50***
	Hispanic	(-)55.53***	(-)47.55***	(-)54.80***	(-)27.74***	(-)16.41***	(-)10.67***
	Asian	(-)30.89***	(-)14.81***	X	(-)1.07***	1.64***	(-)25.65***
Weeks Unemployed		0.943***	.655***	(-).120***	(-)1.07***	.523**	.286***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		.072***		(-).968***		..812***
	Number of Children in home		3.20***		(-)3.40***		34.67***
	Age of Youngest Child		(-)7.66***		(-)9.99***		(-)2.89***
	Number of Household Members		(-)6.34***		2.83***		(-)30.11***
	Education (High School)						
	College		49.13***		31.95***		(-)16.81**
	Bachelor		35.25***		25.37***		7.18***
	Masters+		10.05***		31.11***		7.22***
Constant		43.57	96.22	65.00	165.14	38.72	94.27
Adjusted R^2		0.054	0.169	0.073	0.515	0.038	0.175
N=414							

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

X indicates no data because of lack of respondents meeting criteria

Appendix 9. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Child Care Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Women.

	Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)						
Black	(-)3.96***	(-)13.14***	113.39***	62.57***	50.63***	26.55***
Hispanic	32.70***	13.94***	(-)27.18***	(-)41.92***	16.58***	40.34***
Asian	(-)37.38***	(-)30.74***	50.71***	5.21***	(-)28.32***	(-).542***
Weeks Unemployed	(-).540***	(-).307***	(-).429***	(-).132***	(-).445***	(-).285***
Controls						
Age of Respondent		1.74***		(-)3.31***		(-)1.33***
Number of Children in home		15.19***		(-)18.11***		21.38***
Age of Youngest Child		(-)8.40***		(-)9.17***		(-)2.18***
Number of Household Members		(-)26.16***		8.30***		(-)26.91***
Education (High School)						
College		12.59***		(-)25.34***		1.21***
Bachelor		18.44***		5.50***		(-)14.04***
Masters+		29.19***		(-)23.50***		(-)17.30***
Constant	66.94	133.07	65.14	272.95	63.09	207.89
Adjusted R-squared	0.054	0.332	0.194	0.607	0.035	0.154
N=701						

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

Appendix 10. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Men.

		Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race							
	Black	3.85***	3.40***	(-)2.89***	(-).444***	1.08***	(-)39.16***
	Hispanic	(-)4.61***	(-)3.68***	1.58***	2.64***	(-).814***	3.99***
	Asian	.090***	(-)1.88***	X	X	1.54***	(-)1.37***
Weeks Unemployed		(-).038**	(-).017***	(-).049***	(-).061***	(-).098**	.065***
Controls							
	Age of Respondent		.022***		(-).115***		.194***
	Number of Children in home		(-)10.18***		1.37***		3.61***
	Age of Youngest Child		.218***		(-).035***		(-)1.46***
	Number of Household Members		10.14***		(-)1.11***		(-)6.14***
	Education (High School)						
	College		(-).634***		(-).380***		28.76***
	Bachelor		.053***		4.73***		(-)8.06***
	Masters+		7.03***		.320***		2.22***
Constant		7.37	(-)18.60	3.43	9.54	9.94	23.08
Adjusted R^2		0.021	0.157	0.029	0.113	0.009	0.321
N=414							

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

X indicates no data because of lack of respondents meeting criteria

Appendix 11. Regression Models Indicating Time Spent on Emotion Work Across all Time Periods Among Unemployed Women.

	Pre-Recession		Recession		Recovery	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race (White)						
Black	15.62***	20.41***	1.02***	(-)7.13***	(-)10.99***	(-)9.98***
Hispanic	(-)12.55***	(-)15.38***	(-).114***	(-)5.43***	2.33***	2.04***
Asian	(-)11.35***	(-)13.73***	(-)10.43***	(-)49.14***	(-)8.24***	(-)15.01***
Weeks Unemployed	.189***	.149***	.197***	.307***	(-).072***	(-).087***
Controls						
Age of Respondent		(-).003***		.277***		(-).351***
Number of Children in home		6.08***		7.33***		(-)8.67***
Age of Youngest Child		.246***		(-)1.00***		(-).791***
Number of Household Members		(-)4.30***		1.71***		5.20***
Education (High School)						
College		(-)20.89***		(-)1.52***		28.05***
Bachelor		(-)8.06***		12.01***		9.20***
Masters+		(-)19.43***		(-)4.83***		(-)3.45***
Constant	14.49	28.95	10.03	(-)14.15	22.98	30.85
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.105	0.054	0.300	0.009	0.065
N=701						

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

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Dissertation: Gender, Employment Status, and Unpaid Household Labor: A Test of the Time Availability Perspective on Housework, Child Care, and Emotion Work Before, During, and After the 2007 U.S. Economic Recession

M.A. in Sociology (2009)
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Thesis Title: Race and Religion in the Bible Belt: Parental Attitudes toward Interfaith Relationships

B.S. in Sociology (2006)
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RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Family, Work, Time Use, Gender, Aging and the Life Course, Quantitative Methods

PUBLICATIONS

Sahl, Allison Heard and Christie Batson. 2011. "Race and Religion in the Bible Belt: Parental Attitudes toward Interfaith Relationships." *Sociological Spectrum* 31:4,444-465.

PAPERS IN PROGRESS

Sahl, Allison. (Working Paper). The 2007 U.S. Economic Recession and Allocations of Housework within Two-Parent Families.

Sahl, Allison. (Working Paper). Allocations of Time Spent Caring for Household Children Before, During, and After the 2007 U.S. Economic Recession within Two-Parent Families.

Sahl, Allison. (Working Paper). Providing Emotional Support to Household Members Before, During, and After the 2007 U.S. Economic Recession within Two-Parent Families.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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- Sociology of Marriage and Family (online)
  Spring 2015; Fall 2014; Spring 2014; Fall 2013; Spring 2013; Fall 2012; Spring 2012
- Introduction to Sociology (online)
  Spring 2015; Fall 2014; Spring 2013; Fall 2012; Spring 2012
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Part-Time Instructor, *Nevada State College*

- Sociology of Marriage and the Family (online)
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- Statistical Methods in the Social Sciences
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Undergraduate Teaching Assistant, *Georgia Southwestern State University*

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Federal Judicial Center

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"Immigrant Health, Health Care, and Health Insurance"

Summer 2008
Telephone Interviewer, Canon Survey Center, Las Vegas, NV

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Interviewer, De-stigmatizing and Understanding Street Kids

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2006-2008
Undergraduate Research Assistant, Administrative Assistant, Question Contributor, Interviewer
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AWARDS

2007-2015 Graduate Assistantship, UNLV Department of Sociology
2015 2nd Place: UNLV Graduate and Professional Student Association Research Forum
2014 Outstanding Graduate Paper Award, UNLV Department of Sociology
2014 UNLV Graduate and Professional Student Association Research Funding Award
2009 USA Funds Access to Education Scholarship Award
2008 USA Funds Access to Education Scholarship Award
2008 Summer Research Grant, UNLV Department of Sociology
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CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Pacific Sociological Association. Social Forces and the Family Formal Research Session. 2015. Caring for Children during Hard Times: How Employment Status Impacted Men's and Women's Contributions to Child Care, 2003-2011.

American Sociological Association. Sociology of Time Use Regular Session. 2014. Housework and Employment: Trends Before, During, and After the 2007 U.S. Economic Recession.

Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction. 2009. Las Vegas Themed Weddings: An Ethnography of the Viva Las Vegas Wedding Chapel.

Southwestern Sociological Association. 2008. Parental Attitudes toward Interfaith Relationships in the Bible Belt.

Pacific Sociological Association. 2008. Race and Religion in the Bible Belt: Parental Attitudes toward Interfaith Relationships.

Southern Sociological Society. 2007. Ethnic Differences in Anger Management.

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SERVICE

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Master Course Construction for Introduction to Sociology

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Discipline

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