The Apron Strings of Working Mothers?

Socialization, Institutionalization, and the Allocation of Household Labor in Cross-National Perspective

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Abstract

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The increase in married women's paid employment has prompted considerable research on the effects of maternal employment on the children of working mothers. Because women's paid employment challenges "traditional" gender roles, research has focused on childhood socialization and the intergenerational transmission of gender attitudes and behavior. This paper considers a key indicator of gender inequality, the division of household labor. We employ multi-level HLM models with cross-national ISSP survey data from 33 countries. Two hypotheses are evaluated: 1) the micro-level socialization hypothesis that having had a working mother is associated with a more egalitarian division of household labor between husbands and wives, and 2) the macro-level institutionalization hypothesis that a society where many people had working mothers is associated with egalitarian practices, reflecting lagged structural accommodation to maternal employment. We find at least modest support for both hypotheses, implying that childhood socialization by itself may understate the far-ranging implications of maternal employment for gender relations.

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The rise in women's paid employment outside the home ranks among the most consequential demographic developments of the 20th Century (Davis, 1984; Spain & Bianchi, 1996; van der Lippe & van Dijk, 2002). Separate spheres—the market for men, the household for women—were once a widely cherished ideal. Today, married women's labor force participation is broadly accepted in advanced industrial societies, extending to mothers with school-age children and even pre-schoolers--at least if employment is only part-time (Treas & Widmer, 2000). Because of women's traditional responsibility for household and children, the impact of maternal employment on their offspring has been studied closely (Cooksey, Menaghan, & Jekielek, 1997; Lois W. Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999). Consistent with parental socialization, an individual's early experience with maternal employment have proven significant for gender-related attitudes and behavior, even in adulthood (Cunningham, 2001a, , 2001b; Ex & Janssens, 1998; Gupta, 2006; Kiecolt, 1988; Sjoberg, 2004).

Despite evidence of micro-level socialization, little or no attention has been paid to the macro-level implications of maternal employment. In societies with an established tradition of working mothers, lagged accommodations to women's labor force participation may shape the gender-related attitudes and behavior of individuals, regardless of their own mother's employment history. This paper utilizes data on 29 countries from the 2002 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) to investigate both individual-level socialization and country-level institutionalization mechanisms by which maternal employment impacts the gender equality in the household division of labor. We find support for both mechanisms. The evidence suggests that a societal history of maternal employment is associated with more egalitarian household arrangements, regardless of whether one's own mother worked for pay during one's childhood.

Background

As more middle-class mothers entered the labor force in the 1960s and 1970s (Oppenheimer, 1970), concern with the development and well-being of children prompted scholarly interest in the effects of maternal employment, a research tradition that continues today (Lois Wladis Hoffman, 1989; Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000; Spitze, 1988). If maternal employment challenged "traditional" gender norms, one question was whether working mothers also influenced their children's gender-related

attitudes and behaviors, either by modeling nontraditional gender roles or by actively teaching gender egalitarian values and behavior.

Socialization Studies: Although not all research agrees that maternal employment corresponds to more liberal gender attitudes in offspring (P. Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997; Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983), a number of studies have reached the conclusion that children with working mothers hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than those whose mothers do not work for pay (Wright & Young, 1998). Compared to those from single-earner families, male and female adolescents from dual-career families were more likely to aspire to dual-career marriages and to expect to share childrearing responsibilities with a spouse (Stephan & Corder, 1985). Women, if not men, whose mothers worked voiced more liberal gender attitudes (Kiecolt, 1988). Such findings were not limited to the U.S. In the Netherlands, young women whose mothers worked also had more liberal attitudes regarding gender (Ex & Janssens, 1998). Cross-national survey research on 13 industrialized countries confirms that the adult children of working mothers are more approving of women's labor force participation than those with mothers who did not work for pay (Sjoberg, 2004).

Working women have less conventional views about gender roles (Thornton, Alwin, & Camburn, 1983)—a product of their selection into employment (Cunningham, Beutel, Barber, & Thornton, 2005) or possibly their socialization in the workplace (Banaszak & Plutzer, 1993; Cassidy & Warren, 1996; Rhodebeck, 1996). Although parent-child congruence on gender role attitudes may be lower than for other domains like religion or politics (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986), there is ample evidence for the intergenerational transmission of attitudes and values. Mothers and their children, ages 11-16, agree regarding the impact of maternal employment on children's well-being (Starrels, 1992). Teenagers' beliefs about the ideal allocation of household labor reflect both their mother's gender role attitudes when they were younger and their father's participation in housework when they were adolescents (Cunningham, 2001a). College students with employed mothers anticipate having a more egalitarian division of household labor in their own marriages (Riggio & Desrochers, 2006).

If employed mothers do not conform to "traditional" values relegating women to the home, neither do their husbands adhere to strict gender-typing; their time in housework increases with their wife's hours of paid work (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Cooke, 2004; Presser, 1994). Of course, only full-time female employment is apt to require the man's participation in household chores (Stier & Lewin-Epstein, 2000). When their fathers were highly involved in housework, grown sons, but not daughters, embrace more egalitarian gender ideologies (Myers & Booth, 2002). Because attitudes are imperfectly associated with practices, a behavioral outcome, such as the division of household labor in the grown child's household, is a preferred indicator of maternal employment's long-run implications for gender relations.

Children with working mothers have generally been found to do more housework, but this responsibility falls disproportionately to girls (Benin & Edwards, 1990; Blair, 1992; Evertsson, 2004; Lois W. Hoffman & Youngblade, 1999; White & Brinkerhoff,

1981), raising the possibility that daughters of working mothers are socialized more intensively to domesticity than their mother's own time allocations would suggest (Glen H. Elder, 1974). American parents perpetuate gender-typing of household tasks, but those with gender egalitarian attitudes engage sons in more housework than do other parents and are less inclined to sex-typing when assigning chores (Blair, 1992; Duncan & Duncan, 1978; White & Brinkerhoff, 1981). Swedish children also perform gender-typed chores, but their parents' egalitarian attitudes do not affect how many tasks they do (Evertsson, 2004). In one of the few studies to considered how maternal employment affects grown children's division of housework, Cunningham (Cunningham, 2001b) finds a significant positive association between egalitarian task-sharing by young women and how many hours their mothers worked when they were very young. While not directly influenced by maternal employment, sons' domestic arrangements do reflect their early childhood experience with their parents' division of household labor. Gupta (Gupta, 2006) reports that maternal employment increases the amount of housework that men do, but only if they grew up in a father-present family.

Cross-National Insights on Institutionalization: To date, research linking maternal employment and adult children's gender relations has considered whether one's own mother worked. This literature has not investigated the implications of growing up in a society where many children had working mothers.

On the one hand, a society with historically high rates of paid employment for mothers is typically one with unique conditions of labor demand. In the 20th Century, the labor force entry of wives and mothers was associated with an expansion in the number of lower-level, white collar jobs (e.g., clerical occupations)(Charles & Grusky, 2004; Oppenheimer, 1970). Given this entry of large numbers of married women into paid employment, the stage was set for a widely observed vertical gender desegregation of an upgraded occupational structure (Charles & Grusky, 2004). This development permitted a subsequent generation of working women to move into higher status occupations and professions and to achieve earnings more comparable to men's. In this account, maternal employment has a societal legacy, because it reflects an historical moment in the evolution of the occupational structure as more egalitarian and meritocratic ideologies are taking hold.

Higher rates of female labor force participation rates *per se* have not been found to be associated cross-nationally with more liberal gender role attitudes (Sjoberg, 2004) nor with a more egalitarian division of household labor (Fuwa, 2004), but a good case can be made for the influence of the degree of women's incorporation in the labor force. Greater opportunities for women in the workplace raise the economic costs to both partners of not arriving at household arrangements that permit women to engage fully in the labor force. By raising the relative resources of women, their improved occupational status and higher income enhance their bargaining power in domestic negotiations over housework. Decreased economic dependence on a husband permits women to avoid or exit a marriage that does not offer an egalitarian division of household labor (Breen & Buchmann, 2002).

On the other hand, societies with a legacy of maternal employment are apt to have adapted in various ways to the needs of working mothers. Although societal institutions do not adjust instantaneously to behavioral changes, a mismatch between social roles and social structure (i.e., norms, values, practices, regulations) exerts pressures for institutional change (Ogburn; Riley & Riley, 1994). This is consistent with a "lagged adaptation," whereby "adjustment of work roles takes place, not through a short-term redistribution of responsibilities, but through an extended process of household negotiation (and perhaps reconstitution), extending over of period of many years, and indeed across generations" (Gershuny, Godwin, & Jones, 1994).

Public opinion supporting married women's labor force participation is known to have lagged their entry into the labor force (Oppenheimer, 1970; Rindfuss, Brewster, & Kavee, 1996). So did public policies prohibiting sex discrimination in employment and providing job protections during maternity leaves (Lewis, 1993; Phyllis Moen, 1994). The longer the history of significant maternal employment, the more likely is the societal adaptation to working mothers. For example, the long tradition of married women's urban employment is invoked by (Knudsen & Wærness, 2001) to explain why British public opinion is more favorable toward maternal employment than Norwegians whose public policies actively support working mothers and promote gender equality.

There is evidence that the institution of the family has slowly accommodated to the rise in working wives. Increasingly in the U.S., women are positively selected into marriage based on their wages, suggesting that husbands now presume their continued employment (Sweeney, 2002). Men may even be selected into marriage based, in part, on their willingness to do household work (Press, 2004). Married women are doing less housework, and men are doing more (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Gershuny, 2000; Sayer, 2005). These developments have been gradual, and men have not yet increased their household labor sufficiently to offset the decrease in women's household efforts.

The accommodations made by dual-career families have diffused through the society. Regardless of their wives' labor force status, husbands have become increasingly likely to do housework (Gershuny, Godwin, & Jones, 1994). Similarly, even controlling for work status, women in all cohorts have reduced their share of housework (Artis & Pavalko, 2003). In another telling institutionalization of new domestic practices, attitudes toward women's work and family responsibilities have come to depend less on education (Brewster & Padavic, 2000). And, whether one's gender role attitudes are liberal or conservative has become a markedly less important (and sometimes insignificant) determinant of how one divides the housework in Britain, Norway, and the Czech Republic--three countries where dual-earner families are now the norm (Crompton, Brockmann, & Lyonette, 2005). Drobnic and Treas (Drobnic & Treas, 2006) reach similar conclusions for the U.S. and Finland, finding that gender ideology affects women's evaluation of the fairness of their division of household labor only for West Germans--who still embrace the breadwinner-homemaker model. This seeming reversal from a slightly earlier period--when single-earner norms in conservative states

like West Germany left little room for personal preferences to influence domestic arrangements (Geist, 2005)--itself speaks to gradual accommodations.

Like the family, other institutions have accommodated to married women's sustained labor force participation. Institutional arrangements not only reflect labor force patterns, but they also sustain them with a host of taken-for-granted customs and practices that determine how easily work and motherhood can be reconciled. For instance, married women's labor force rates are low in the conservative Swiss state, consistent with an educational institution that presumes a stay-at-home mother with its practices (such as sending children home at midday); by contrast, American schools with their campus lunch and after-school programs presume that mothers will work for pay, and they do (Charles, Buchmann, Halebsky, Powers, & Smith, 2001). Certain policies, such as public child care, have been shown to facilitate the labor force participation of mothers (Gornick, Meyers, & Ross, 1998; Stier, Lewin-Epstein, & Braun, 2001). Sjoberg (Sjoberg, 2004) observes that family policy institutions (supporting the dual-earner or single-earner family) not only alter the costs and benefits of working or staying home, but shape preferences, that is, the goals that women choose to pursue.

Several excellent cross-national studies that have linked an egalitarian allocation of housework to macro-level indicators of societal gender parity (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Fuwa, 2004), capitalist welfare regime type (Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005), and the deinstitutionalization of marriage (Batalova & Cohen, 2002; Yodanis, 2005). No doubt all these factors are significantly correlated with maternal employment in a grand nexus of post-materialism (Inglehart, 1977), individualism (Lesthaeghe, 1983), and the second demographic transition (Lesthaeghe, 1995). This confounds efforts to assign primacy to a particular institution or variable. Previous cross-national efforts to incorporate women's labor force participation rates into the study of household gender inequality have met with little success. Although Sjoberg (Sjoberg, 2004) finds that gender role attitudes are significantly associated with country-level indicators of family support policies, he does not find a relationship with female labor force participation rates. Neither does Fuwa (Fuwa, 2004) find a more egalitarian division of labor where female labor force participation is high. Both analyses measure contemporary employment levels rather than historical aspects of maternal employment. Despite a degree of path dependency in women's labor force participation rates, the institutional influences of working mothers must be sought in the past, not the present. Thus, the analysis that follows considers levels of maternal employment experienced by children in previous generations.

Data and Methods

Data come from the 2002 Family and Gender module of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). Collected by independent research organizations, the data are representative of 33 populations: Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Flanders, France, Germany (East and West), Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Israel, Latvia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden,

Switzerland, Taiwan, and the United States. Analysis focuses on respondents, 18-65, who were married or, according to the conventions of some countries, living as married. Effective sample sizes range from 139 for East Germany to 804 in Spain.

To measure the dependent variable, the degree of parity in the couple's allocation of household labor, we consider two indicators. The husband's housework share is a percent based on his total weekly housework hours divided by the sum of the husband's and wife's hours. Because household tasks are gender-typed (Blair & Lichter, 1991; Twiggs, McQuillan, & Ferree, 1999), we examine a task-based measure of the husband's participation averaged over five "female" chores, including cleaning, laundry, grocery shopping, meal preparation, and caring for sick family members. Responses for items were recoded to range from one (always the woman) to five (always the man) (with the small numbers stating a "third party" excluded from analysis) (alpha=.76 for the married women and .77 for the married men). We rely on respondent's reports of own and spouse's housework contributions, because only one partner was interviewed. We analyze data separately for men and women in light of gender-specific biases in wives' and husbands' reports of how much they and their partners do in the household (Kamo, 2000; Lee, 2005; Lee & Waite, 2005).

The key independent variable, maternal employment, is a dummy variable (1=mother employed, else=not employed) and derives from the question, "Did your mother ever work for pay for as long as a year, after you were born and before you were 14?" Besides offering a micro-level indicator of childhood experience, the item is also used to determine the country-level prevalence of maternal employment in earlier generations. Consistent with the notion of lagged accommodation, we calculate for each country the percent of respondents, 45-65, who report that their mothers were employed when they were children. Focusing on these middle-aged adults, we measure one aspect of maternal employment between 1937 and 1971, that is, in an historical era predating the more recent increase in the labor force participation of women with young children. The measure is not equivalent to maternal employment rates for this period, if only because it focuses on the children's experience, not the mothers'. To the extent that mothers with more children are more likely to be represented by the sample and less likely to have worked, the percent of respondent's with working mothers is a downwardly biased measure of maternal employment rates.

Other individual-level independent variables are suggested by prior research (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996). The weekly hours of employment for respondent and partner are included as measures of the time available to perform domestic work. Tapping the demand for and supply of household labor, household composition is measured by the numbers of adults and children less than 18 years of age as well as by the total (husband's and wife's) weekly hours of housework. The measure of liberal gender attitudes (alpha=.74 for married women, .77 for married men) comes from a factor analysis of Likert items that assess agreement or disagreement with five statements: 1) A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work; 2) A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works; 3) Family life suffers when the woman has a

full-time job; 4) A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children; 5) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay. The relative resources of the partners are argued to determine the outcome of bargaining over the division of housework. Dummy variables indicate whether the husband earns more, the same, or less than the wife. The control variables are the respondent's age and education. Descriptive statistics for individual-level and country-level variables appear in Table 1.

--Table 1 About Here—

This analysis uses HLM (hierarchical linear models) (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992) to evaluate whether having had a working mother and other individual-level factors affect the household division of labor and whether the country-specific historical experience with maternal employment explains differences between countries in the organization of domestic work. For the degree of parity in the household division of labor, we first consider the weighted results for the individual-level independent variables, including maternal employment, across the 33 countries. Then, we test whether the household division of labor varies as a function of the country-specific percentage of persons, 45-65, who had a working mother.

The individual-level model is:

$$Y_{1ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{kj}X_{kij} + R_{ij}$$

where Y_1ij is, say, the man's share of housework hours of couple i in country j. β_{0j} is the individual-level intercept. $\beta_{kj}X_{kij}$ are individual-level predictors, including whether respondent's mother worked when he or she was 14; the respondent's age, highest degree, weekly work hours, and gender attitudes; spouse's weekly work hours; total housework hours, spouses' relative incomes; and the numbers of children and adults in household. R_{ij} is the error term, which is assumed to be normally distributed with mean zero and variance σ^2.

The country-level model is:

$$\boldsymbol{\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{0k}W_{kj} + U_{0j}}$$

where γ_{00} is the country-level intercept. $\gamma_{0k}W_{kj}$ is the country-level predictor, (the percent, 45-65, with a working mother) on the model intercept. U_{0j} is the random effect at the country level. Except for individual-level maternal employment and relative income, independent variables are centered at their grand means. In general, the intercept can be interpreted as the man's predicted share of housework hours for a respondent in a couple with average characteristics in a country characterized by an average percent, 45-65, having had a working mother.

Findings

Figure 1 previews the relationship between maternal employment and the household division of labor for the 33 national populations. According to the married women, the man's share of the total housework hours ranges from an average of 15% in

--Figure 1 About Here—

Portugal to 34% in the Poland. On the five-point scale of task-sharing, where a higher score equates to higher male involvement and a score of 3.0 indicates gender parity, country averages range from 1.69 in Portugal to 2.33 in Finland, according to female respondents. Married men report performing a greater share of the hours and doing more of the female tasks, on average, than women attribute to their husbands. The percent of a country's population, 45-65, which had a mother who worked for pay ranges from 17% for the Irish up to 88% for Russians.

Results for Housework Hours

HLM results for the male share of total housework hours are shown in Table 2. The result for individual-level variable is consistent with the socialization hypothesis for men, but not for women. All things considered, men who had a mother who worked for pay report a significantly ($p<.05\%$) greater contribution to household labor. All married men average 27.5% of housework hours, but men with working mothers do an additional 1.3 percentage points.

--Table 2 About Here--

At the country-level, there is evidence for the institutionalization of maternal employment. Whatever one's personal family history, living in a country where a higher percentage of middle aged adults had working mothers is significantly associated with the husband performing a larger share of housework hours—a finding that holds for both men ($p<.05$) and women ($p<.001$). Female respondents report 24% of total housework hours from their husbands, on average, but living in a country where 10% more middle-aged adults report having had a working mother results in an addition 1.1 percentage points contribution by the husband. While still statistically significant, the comparable figure for male respondents is a more modest .6 percentage points. In sum, maternal employment matters for the household division of labor, but any effects at the individual- or country-level are modest.

Considering female respondents, the results for other individual-level variables are consistent with expectations. The husband's share of housework hours is positively associated with her weekly work hours ($p<.001$), the total housework hours of the couple ($p<.001$), her relative share of income ($p<.001$), her liberal gender attitudes ($p<.001$), and her education ($p<.001$). On the other hand, the husband contributes significantly more of the total housework hours when the wife works more hours of paid employment ($p<.001$). His share is also negatively related to the number of children ($p<.001$), the number of other adults ($p<.05$) in the household, and her age ($p<.05$).

As for men, neither total housework hours nor the number of adults are statistically significant at the .05 level, but other individual-level variables perform as anticipated. The wife's work hours ($p<.001$) and her relative income ($p<.001$) are positively associated with the husband's share of housework hours. So are the liberalness of his gender attitudes ($p<.001$) and his education ($p<.01$). As with women, a partner's hours of employment ($p<.001$), the number of children ($p<.01$), and his age ($p<.01$) are negatively associated with his contributions to housework hours.

Results for Task-Sharing

Even if the husband's contributions to household labor are considerable, this may not indicate egalitarian gender relations if he concentrates exclusively on masculine gender-typed tasks like home maintenance to the exclusion of "women's work" such as cleaning and laundry. Above and beyond reducing the wife's household burden, participation in female tasks has symbolic value, being interpreted by wives favorably as an indicator of caring and consideration (Baxter & Western, 1998; Blair & Johnson, 1992; Thompson, 1991). Thus, it is useful to consider whether working mothers socialize daughters to expect this help or equip sons to engage in stereotypically female chores. HLM results for husband's sharing of female tasks appear in Table 3.

--Table 3 About Here--

At the individual-level, maternal employment relates positively and significantly to egalitarian task-sharing for both women ($p<.01$) and men ($p<.05$). If the mother had worked for pay continuously before the respondent was age 14, the respondent reported a higher level of male participation in the household's "women's work." Any effect is small, boosting male task participation only .04 points on the five-point scale. Despite evidence consistent with a socialization effect, there is no indication that an historical tradition of maternal employment institutionalizes egalitarian task-sharing. At the country-level, the percent of middle-aged adults who had a working mother is not statistically significant at the .05 level for either men or women.

At the individual-level, the results for task-sharing are largely congruent with those found for the male share of housework hours. For men, the number of adults is statistically significant ($p<.05$), being negatively associated with male participation in female household tasks, but this variable fails to achieve statistical significance at the .05 level for women. In contrast to the male share of housework hours, men's participation in household tasks is not significantly associated with total housework hours, a finding consistent with the notion that task-sharing may represent a dimension of gender accommodation that is distinct from the volume of work done.

Conclusion

If the results for 33 ISSP countries are any indication, working mothers have long, apron strings. A number of studies, including this one, indicate that the children of employed women grow up to embrace more gender egalitarian attitudes and behavior.

Consistent with a maternal socialization effect, having had a working mother is linked to greater gender parity in the performance of household tasks for men and for women. For men, it is also linked to contributing relatively more hours to the weekly volume of household labor as well. Controlling for other factors, the magnitude of these associations, while statistically significant, is modest.

A significant result is, nonetheless, striking. Our rough measure—continuous employment for one year before the child was 14--does not specify the factors that have been shown to condition any effect of maternal employment on adult children's domestic arrangements (Cunningham, 2001a, , 2001b; Gupta, 2006). It distinguishes neither part-time from full-time work, nor mothers who worked continuously for one year from those who worked for the entire first 14 years of a child's life. It does not tell us the child's age when the employment occurred, and the reliability of reports is undoubtedly affected by problems with recall. The data do not permit us to know whether both parents were present in the home to model egalitarian roles. We do not have information about other factors of importance for maternal employment effects, such as the parental division of household labor (Gupta, 2006; Myers & Booth, 2002) and child rearing values (Ex & Janssens, 1998).

Given the passage of time and the intervening experiences for the younger generation, even a shadow of the experience maternal employment into adulthood is remarkable. Since more children in each subsequent generation have had mothers who work for pay, intergenerational transmission of values and behavior via childhood socialization would constitute one mechanism by which change in gender relations occurs. The childhood socialization of more individuals in each successive cohort to egalitarian values and practices is compatible with the finding that cohort turnover accounts, in part, for the decline over time in the hours that women spend doing housework (Artis & Pavalko, 2003). To the extent that maternal employment is changing—becoming more full-time and continuous, conforming more often to a "male" career model--, the liberalizing influence of working mothers may increase in importance.

Above and beyond any socialization effects of maternal employment, we find that a national legacy of maternal employment is also linked to greater parity in household labor. In countries with a high percentage of middle-aged adults who had working mothers decades earlier, both women and men report that the husband does a larger share of the weekly hours of household labor, if not necessarily female tasks. Where widespread participation of mothers in the labor force is a relatively new phenomenon, structural and cultural characteristics of social institutions are apt to constitute a force field of taken-for-granted norms and practices that make it difficult to reconcile motherhood and paid employment. Deeply embedded in the fabric of society, cultural ideals of what it means to be a good mother, a good worker, a good citizen, persist even as they cut against the lived experience of growing numbers of individual women and men. This is the essence of structural lags, including the "unfinished revolution" where men's incorporation into the household fails to keep pace with women's integration into the labor force (Hochschild, 1989). Where maternal employment is widespread and

sustained, however, institutions will surely evidence "lagged accommodations" to the needs of working mothers and their families (Gershuny, Godwin, & Jones, 1994). Likely these accommodations are captured, in part, by a country's historical record of maternal employment.

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Figure 1: Husband's Share (%) of Housework Hours: Married Women, 18-65, in 33 Countries

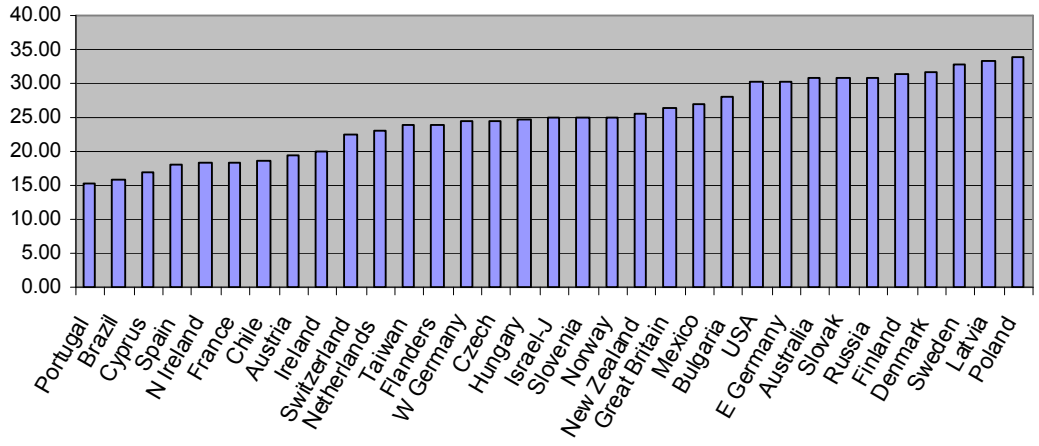

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics by Sex: Married Persons, 18-65, in 33 Countries

Variables	N	Mean	S. D.	Min	Max
Men					
Man's Percent of Housework Hours	6661	30.16	19.88	0.00	100.00
Division of Tasks	6661	2.23	0.69	1.00	5.00
Respondent's Age	6661	45.49	10.81	18	65
Respondent's Highest Degree	6661	2.83	1.45	0	5
Respondent's Work Hours	6661	36.82	18.75	0	60
Spouse's Work Hours	6661	23.53	19.21	0	60
Total Housework Hours	6661	29.96	19.00	0	120
Relative Income					
Man Earns More	6661	0.74	0.44	0	1
Same Income	6661	0.14	0.34	0	1
Woman Earns More	6661	0.12	0.33	0	1
Number of Children	6661	1.04	1.19	0	12
Number of Adults	6661	2.53	0.95	1	13
Liberal Attitudes	6661	0.00	1.00	-2.23	2.48
Mother Worked When R Was 14	6661	0.51	0.50	0	1
Women					
Man's Percent of Housework Hours	7992	24.79	18.33	0.00	100.00
Division of Tasks	7992	1.93	0.66	1.00	5.00
Respondent's Age	7992	43.01	11.20	18	65
Respondent's Highest Degree	7992	2.76	1.41	0	5
Respondent's Work Hours	7992	22.15	19.45	0	60
Spouse's Work Hours	7992	37.05	18.14	0	60
Total Housework Hours	7992	28.16	19.15	0	120
Relative Income					
Man Earns More	7992	0.69	0.46	0	1
Same Income	7992	0.15	0.35	0	1
Woman Earns More	7992	0.17	0.37	0	1
Number of Children	7992	1.07	1.18	0	10
Number of Adults	7992	2.53	0.95	1	13
Liberal Attitudes	7992	0.00	1.00	-2.29	2.18
Mother Worked When R Was 14	7992	0.53	0.50	0	1
Country-level Variable					
Percent, 45-65, with Working Mother	33	44.61	20.57	16.51	88.27

Notes: Data are weighted. Work hours and housework hours are top-coded at 60.

Table 2: Husband's Share (%) of Housework Hours: Married Persons, 18-65, in 33 Countries

	Respondent's Sex			
Variables	**Men**		**Women**	
Intercept	27.457	***	24.002	***
Individual-level				
Mother Worked When R Was 14	1.279	*	0.587	
Respondent's Work Hours	-0.185	***	0.193	***
Spouse's Work Hours	0.182	***	-0.153	***
Total Housework Hours	0.008		0.196	***
Relative Income				
Same Income	6.146	***	2.102	***
Woman Earns More	8.718	***	3.146	***
Man Earns More (Reference)				
Number of Children	-0.574	**	-1.077	***
Number of Adults	-0.448		-0.716	*
Liberal Attitudes	1.686	***	1.955	***
Respondent's Highest Degree	0.622	**	1.712	***
Respondent's Age	-0.104	**	-0.068	*
Country-level				
Percent, 45-65, with Mother Working	0.064	*	0.107	***

Significance Levels: * <0.05, ** <0.01, *** <0.001

Table 3: Gender Parity in Household Tasks: Married Persons, 18-65, in 33 Countries

	Respondent's Sex			
Variables	**Men**		**Women**	
Intercept	2.140	***	1.885	***
Individual-level				
Mother Worked When R Was 14	0.036	*	0.041	**
Respondent's Work Hours	-0.004	***	0.005	***
Spouse's Work Hours	0.005	***	-0.005	***
Total Housework Hours	-0.002	**	0.000	
Relative Income				
Same Income	0.169	***	0.052	*
Woman Earns More	0.312	***	0.094	***
Man Earns More (Reference)				
Number of Children	-0.022	*	-0.041	***
Number of Adults	-0.025	*	-0.017	
Liberal Attitudes	0.065	***	0.093	***
Respondent's Highest Degree	0.044	***	0.055	***
Respondent's Age	-0.006	***	-0.006	***
Country-level				
Percent, 45-65, with Mother Working	-0.002		0.000	

Significance Levels: * <0.05, ** <0.01, *** <0.001