

Assessing Change in the Distribution of Domestic Labour over the Lifecourse: Pathways  
out of Relationships

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## Abstract

It is well-known that pathways through the lifecourse have changed in recent years. People are marrying later, having fewer children, living together in cohabiting relationships, separating and divorcing more frequently. These changes have consequences for understanding the organisation of domestic work. Although much previous work on domestic labour has focused on married couples, it is becoming increasingly clear that we need to consider how housework patterns vary at different stages of the lifecourse and in different kinds of households. This is important not just because we need to acknowledge household diversity, but because research has shown that previous relationship experiences will affect the ways in which individuals and couples organise domestic labour in their current households. In this paper we build on our earlier work in which we examined the effect of different pathways into marriage on housework patterns during marriage. We extend this earlier work in two main ways. First we consider pathways out of marriage and cohabitation and the effect of these pathways on housework hours across different household types for both men and women. Second we use 5 waves of HILDA data enabling a wide range of lifecourse transitions to be examined.

It is well-known that pathways through the lifecourse have changed in recent years. People are marrying later, having fewer children, living together in cohabiting relationships, separating and divorcing more frequently. These changes have consequences for understanding the organisation of domestic work. Although much previous work on domestic labour has focused on married couples, it is becoming increasingly clear that we need to consider how housework patterns vary at different stages of the lifecourse and in different kinds of households. This is important not just because we need to acknowledge household diversity, but because research has shown that previous relationship experiences will affect the ways in which individuals and couples organise domestic labour in their current households.

One of the most significant changes that has taken place in recent years is the rate of relationship breakdown. Estimates of the divorce rate vary, but according to De Vaus (2004) between 32 and 46 per cent of marriages will end in divorce. These figures mask the real rate of relationship breakdown since they do not take into account marriages that end in separation, but where there has been no legal divorce. They also do not take into account cohabiting relationships that end in separation. The rate of relationship breakdown is thus likely to be considerably higher than indicated by the official divorce rate. This implies that many people will experience the dissolution of a union that is not recorded in official statistics.

Earlier research has indicated that the experience of previous relationships will impact on arrangements in subsequent relationships. This is evidenced in a number of ways. For example, research has found that the experience of cohabitation may change people's attitudes to relationships in ways that make them more likely to divorce (Axinn

and Thornton 1992). There is a substantial body of work showing that premarital cohabitation is associated with lower levels of marital quality, cohesion and stability (Smock 2000). On a more positive note, research on remarried couples has found that the experience gained from a relationship breakdown leads to the negotiation of more equal domestic arrangements in subsequent marriages (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992; Sullivan 1997). Our research has also shown that the experience of cohabitation enables the development of egalitarian domestic labour arrangements that are maintained after marriage (Baxter, Haynes and Hewitt, 2005). These studies point to the importance of considering prior relationship patterns in order to fully understand arrangements adopted in current relationships.

In this paper we build on our earlier work in which we examined the effect of lifecourse transitions on housework hours (Baxter, Haynes and Hewitt, 2005; Baxter, Hewitt and Haynes 2007). In these earlier papers we focused on pathways into marriage and parenthood including the effect of a period of cohabitation on housework patterns after marriage. We found that these transitions tend to significantly increase the gender gap in housework hours, but primarily because they increase the amount of hours women spend on housework. But there was evidence that the pathway women took to marriage could lead to variations in the amount of housework they performed after marriage. Specifically, women who transitioned to marriage via cohabitation did less housework after marriage compared to those who married directly without a period of cohabitation. For men, however, the pathway to marriage was insignificant. Men's housework hours showed a strong tendency to remain low and stable despite transitions into coresidential unions and parenthood.

In the current paper we focus on pathways out of marriage and cohabitation into separation or divorce. We examine variations in time spent on housework for men and women who have transitioned out of cohabitation or marriage. In particular we focus on whether there are differences in housework time for those who transition out of marriage to separation compared to those who transition out of cohabitation.

## **Background**

Understanding the amount of time men and women spend on housework has been an important research area for sociologists for at least the last two decades (for a review of over 200 articles and books on the topic see Coltrane 2000). Most of this research has focused on explaining the division of labour between husbands and wives with most showing that wives perform, on average, about two or three times as much housework compared to husbands (Coltrane 2000). Although there is evidence from cross-sectional studies over time that men have increased their time on domestic labour while women's time on domestic labour has decreased, there is still a significant gap in the time that men and women spend doing core household duties (Bianchi et. al. 2000; Sayer 2005).

Increasingly researchers are examining housework patterns in non-marital households. As patterns of family formation and dissolution become more varied and complex we need to understand how men and women organise housework in a range of different household types. Most of this research has been done on cross-sectional data comparing housework hours across different household types (South and Spitz 1994), but there is also some research beginning to appear that uses longitudinal data to examine

how housework hours vary in relation to lifecourse transitions (Gupta 1999; Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Baxter, Hewitt and Haynes, 2007; Baxter, Haynes and Hewitt, 2005).

Gupta (1999) examined the impact of marital status transitions on changes in men's and women's time on housework using two waves of the National Survey of Families and Households (1987-1988 and 1992-1993). This study was the first to use national longitudinal data to examine changes in housework hours in relation to marital status transitions. His main finding is that men substantially reduce their time on housework when they enter a coresidential union, while women increase theirs when they form a union (1999: 709). Moreover the form of the union is not important. Never married men decrease their time on housework when they enter a cohabiting or married relationship by about the same amount, while women increase their time on housework by the same amount regardless of whether they are cohabiting or marrying. Interestingly exit from a cohabiting relationship did not affect either men or women's housework hours, but exit from marriage did have a significant effect with separated or divorced men increasing their housework hours by about 5 hours per week and separated and divorced women increasing their housework hours by about 3 hours per week. Gupta concludes that the formation of households with adult partners of the opposite sex is of significant advantage to men and disadvantage to women with respect to housework hours (1999: 711).

In our earlier work using data from the first two waves of the Negotiating the Lifecourse Project (1996/97 and 2000) we investigated the effect of marital and parenthood transitions on the time men and women spend on core housework tasks (Baxter, Hewitt and Haynes 2007). We found considerable gender differences with

women reporting significantly more hours than men regardless of marital or parenthood status. Moreover we found that the birth of a first child or a higher order birth resulted in a significant increase in women's housework hours. The transition from cohabitation to marriage on the other hand resulted in only a slight increase in women's time on housework. For men the patterns were virtually the opposite. Men's time on housework showed considerable stability across both life course transitions, but we did find evidence that men's housework hours declined slightly as more children were born. This finding in conjunction with the results for women showed that the gender gap in housework time widens just at the point in the lifecourse when the demand for time on domestic work increases.

The only transition that led to a significant increase in men's time on housework was the transition from married to separated. Like Gupta (1999) we found that separation from a marital union almost doubled men's time on routine housework from approximately 7 hours per week to approximately 13 hours per week on average. This implies that the absence of a female partner forces men to take on chores that they otherwise would not do. In contrast, the transition from married to separated resulted in less time on housework for women, although the result for women was not statistically significant.

In an additional paper using data from the first 3 waves of the HILDA project (2001, 2002 and 2003) we focused specifically on the transition from single to married, comparing those who married directly without a period of cohabitation and those who married indirectly via a period of cohabitation (Baxter, Haynes and Hewitt 2005). Our aim in this paper was to investigate how a period of time spent in cohabitation might

impact on time on housework after marriage. Once again we found clear gender differences in the amount of time that men and women spend on housework, and also in the effect of lifecourse transitions on men's and women's housework time. For men spending time in a cohabiting relationship was irrelevant in terms of the amount of time they spent on housework after marriage. For women on the other hand, spending time in a cohabiting relationship was associated with fewer hours of housework after marriage compared to women who married directly. We concluded that cohabitation provides a period of "incomplete institutionalisation" that allows couples the space to develop more egalitarian domestic labour arrangements than is possible within the complete institution of marriage.

In the current paper we build on this earlier work by examining lifecourse transitions out of relationships into separation or divorce. As noted above, earlier work indicates that this transition leads to a significant increase in men's time on housework and a significant decrease in women's time on housework. This suggests that separation from a relationship is a significant point at which the gender gap in housework time narrows, in contrast to most other lifecourse transitions. But does the gender gap narrow at this point because women do significantly less housework after separation or because men do significantly more, or both? And are the patterns the same regardless of whether the separation is from a cohabiting or a marital relationship? Or are there differences in housework outcomes for men and women depending on whether they are separating from a cohabiting or a marital relationship? All of our previous work suggests that cohabitation provides a period of "incomplete institutionalisation" that promotes different gendered divisions of labour both during cohabitation and afterwards compared to the more

complete institution of marriage. This paper examines this issue once more, but this time focuses on pathways out of cohabitation and marriage.

## **Data**

The data come from the first five waves of The Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. Wave 1 was collected in 2001 and comprises 7,682 households and 13,969 individuals. Households were selected using a multi-stage sampling approach, and a 66 percent response rate was achieved (Watson & Wooden, 2002). Within households, data were collected from each person aged over 15 years (where available) using face-to-face interviews and self-completed questionnaires, and a 92 percent response rate was achieved (Watson & Wooden, 2002). Wave 2 was collected in 2002 with a response rate of 86.8 for individuals from wave 1, and wave 3 was collected in 2003 with a response rate of 90.4 percent for individuals from wave 2. Wave 4 was collected in 2004 with a response rate of 91.6 percent of wave 3 respondents, and wave 5 was collected in 2005 with a response rate of 94.4 percent of wave 4 respondents. Overall, retention rates for separated, divorced and widowed people tended to be average or better than other marital status groups across the 5 waves (Melbourne Institute for Social and Economic Research, 2007).

### *Analytic Sample*

Our analytic sample includes all wave 1 respondents aged over 18, irrespective of marital status. We then apply further restrictions such that only individuals who had complete data in each wave on the dependent and explanatory variables specified for the regression analyses were included in the analysis. Respondents who did not participate in all 5

waves are included for the waves in which they did respond given that they had complete data on the variables selected. It is not necessary to have responses at all waves for the methodology used in this study.

#### *Dependent Variable*

The outcome measure is derived from a question asking respondents how many hours they would spend in a typical week on housework (including preparing meals, washing dishes, cleaning house, washing clothes). The question is identical across waves. These are the household tasks that are necessary in all households on a regular basis, unlike other activities such as outdoor tasks that may be more intermittent, or dependent on the season or type of household dwelling. The question covers the same tasks, with the exception of shopping, as Gupta's (1999) recent longitudinal study of marital transitions on housework time. He notes that these female-typed tasks are the backbone of family life and are also the tasks most sensitive to transitions in marital status (1999: 710). As housework hours had a highly skewed distribution we take the natural logarithm to produce a more symmetric distribution.

#### *Primary independent variable*

Our primary independent variable is a measure of marital status coded in the following way: 1 = *Married*, 2 = *Separated*, 3 = *Divorced*, 4 = *Widowed*, 5 = *Cohabiting (never married and living with someone)* 6 = *Never married - Lone person*, 7 = *Never married - Adult child living at home with parents*. Married is the reference group. We broke the Never Married population into two groups, lone persons and adult children living at home because analysis indicated that there were large discrepancies in housework hours

between these two groups. To capture the effect of a marital transition on housework hours we also include a variable that represents marital status lagged by one wave (or year). Because we hypothesize that women who have been in a consistent relationship over a period of time do more housework than those who are in the process of separation we create two extra categories for this lagged marital status variable. The married category is separated into those who have remained married over all of the 5 waves, and those who undergo a marital transition sometime during the 5 waves of data collection. The reference group for this variable is those who remain married. A variable representing marital status with the two additional categories and lagged by two waves, is also included to better identify the changing effect, over several years, of a pathway out of marriage. Further, even though we are primarily interested in what happens to housework hours when a relationship dissolves we include all relationship pathways in the model for completeness and to allow comparison among a range of different pathways. The probability of transition between marital states across the waves is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 about here

This table shows the probability, in each given year, of a transition from one marital status into another by the next year. Most people remain in the same marital status groups from one year to the next: 98% of married respondents remain married, 74% of separated respondents remain separated, 95% of divorced people were in the same state the following year, 98% of widowed people were still widowed, 80% of cohabiting people were cohabiting the next year, 87% of lone persons remained lone and 79% of adult children living at home remained at home. The majority of transitions were

experienced by those who were separated (18% became divorced), cohabiting (11% married and 8% became lone persons) and adult children living at home (2% became married, 6% moved into cohabiting relationships and 13% became lone persons). The married and the widowed were the most stable groups, with lone persons somewhere in the middle. The main transitions of interest for this current study are (i) married to separated, where each year 1.39% of married people became separated by the following year, a much smaller number of people divorced (0.02%), and 0.60% of married persons became widowed by the following year; (ii) cohabiting to lone persons, where each year 8.2% of cohabiting persons separated and moved into lone households. Across all 5 waves 286 transitions from married to separated occurred, and 214 transitions from a cohabiting relationship to a lone person household occurred.

### *Controls*

We include several controls for factors known to be strongly associated with time spent on housework hours. Previous research indicates that the amount of housework to be performed is greater when there are children in the household (Sanchez and Thomson 1997). A measure for a child aged under 18 years of age in the household coded 1 = Yes, 0 = No, is included in the models. Consistent with previous research showing a strong relationship between egalitarian attitudes and more egalitarian divisions of labor in the home (Greenstein 1996; Coltrane 2000), we include a continuous measure for gender role attitudes in response to the statement ‘it is much better for everyone involved if the man earns the money and the woman takes care of the home and children’. Responses ranged from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*. This question was asked in Wave 1

and Wave 5. We include it as a constant for all waves 1 to 4 and then allow it to vary in wave 5.

Research has also shown that education is a strong predictor of time on housework with more educated men spending more time on housework and more educated women spending less time (Pittman and Blanchard 1996). Education is included as a dummy variable measuring whether respondents have completed a Bachelors degree (1 = yes, 0 = no). Finally a measure of employment status comprising 1 = *full time* (defined as 35 hours or more of paid work per week) 2 = *part time* (defined as 34 hours of paid work or less per week), 3 = *not in the labour force* was included, with employed full time as the reference group. Research has shown that spending time in paid work reduces women's time on housework but there is less evidence of a relationship between men's paid work time and time on housework (Kalleberg and Rosenfeld 1990). Even though we suspect that women in full-time work do less housework than women in part-time work, it is not clear that women in part-time work do less housework than women who are not participating in the labour force. This is assessed by including employment status as a nominal variable with three categories and with the full-time group as the reference category.

Two additional control variables are included: age measured in years and a scaled measure of household income calculated by dividing household income by \$10,000. Summary statistics on the pooled data set for all model variables can be found in Table 2.

Table 2 About Here

### *Analytic Strategy*

Given that our dependent variable is continuous and with the log transformation has an approximately normal distribution we use a linear model to examine the association between the independent variables and the logarithm of housework hours at each time point. However, because we have repeated measures on the same individuals, observations for respondents are not independent between each wave. Rather, the responses are correlated since factors, apart from those in our statistical models, which predispose individuals to self-report their housework hours in a particular way in wave one are likely to encourage similar responses over time. Because of this temporal dependence, a standard least squares regression model, which assumes independent observations, is not appropriate. Therefore we use a mixed model with a random intercept to model and control for between individual variation.

In addition to the marital status variable we include two variables representing marital status at the previous wave and marital status at two waves prior, respectively. These lagged marital status variables allow us to estimate marital transition effects for various pathways, that is, the effects of previous marital status up to two waves prior on current housework hours. The two lagged variables have two categories for each of the married and cohabiting states. The married group is split into those who remain married over the whole five waves and those who undergo a transition at least once over the five waves. Similarly, the cohabiting group is split into those who remain cohabiting and those who experience a transition. Finally, because we are also interested in gender differences in housework, we arrived at a model where all explanatory variables were interacted with gender.

## Results

Table 2 shows that women spend approximately 3 times the number of hours on routine housework compared to men. Women report an average of 18 hours per week on these tasks compared to men's average of 6 hours per week. In contrast 58% of women are in paid work (30% in full-time work and 28% in part-time work) compared to 73% of men (63% in full-time work and 10% in part-time work). Similar percentages of men (21%) and women (23%) have an education to at least the level of bachelor degree.

The results of the regression models with random intercept for predicting housework hours are shown in Table 3. Because the dependent variable in the model is the logarithm of housework hours the coefficients, denoted  $b$ , must be exponentiated to obtain the estimated multiplicative effect,  $\exp(b)$ , of a variable on housework hours. In a random intercept model the variation in the data is separated into two components: between- and within-individual. The Rho statistic at the bottom of Table 3 indicates that unobserved differences between individuals account for 52% of the total unexplained variation in housework hours. The remaining 48% of unexplained variance is due to within-individual residual variation. In this analysis the overall estimate of R-squared is 0.40 and the estimated within-individual R-squared is 0.02 indicating that the time-variant explanatory variables and interactions included in the model provide a weak explanation for within-individual change over time.. Although the variance explained is lower than we would have liked, there is nevertheless evidence of significant associations between housework hours and some of the explanatory variables and interaction terms included in the model. Moreover the low variance may be due to sample size limitations

associated with the various transitions as well as the omission of unmeasured variables from the model.

Table 3 about here

For ease of interpretation we report the predicted means for time on housework at each wave in graph form. The predictions are computed for fixed values of the control variables in the regression model using the mean value for continuous variables i.e. age = 45.7 years, household income = \$70,700, no child under 18, attained a bachelor degree, full-time employment status and a gender role attitude value of 3.0. The graphs in Figure 1 plot changes in the predicted mean hours spent per week on housework for men and women who experienced a marital transition from married to separated while controlling for all other variables in the model. Figure 2 shows changes for men and women who experienced a transition from a cohabiting relationship to a lone person household.

As expected there is no change in housework hours if there is no marital status transition. Table 3 and Figure 1 show that on average, housework hours (11.9) are significantly greater for women who remain married across all five waves than for married women who experience a transition (10.2 hours) (the multiplicative effect of experiencing a transition from marriage ( $\exp[0.02+0.24+0.07-0.48] = 0.86$ ) relative to those who remain married is  $0.86/1.00 = 0.86$ ). Also, married women who remain married do considerably more housework than cohabiting women (8.9 hours) who remain cohabiting across waves (the multiplicative effect of cohabiting ( $\exp[-0.03+0.32-0.05-0.53] = 0.75$ ) relative to those who remain married is  $0.75/1.00 = 0.75$ ). Conversely, men in a cohabiting relationship do significantly more housework (4.8 hours) than men who remain married (3.5 hours, multiplicative effect of 1.37).

### Figure 1 about here

The transition from marriage to separation resulted in a significant increase in housework hours for men. While holding the values of other variables in the model constant the multiplicative effect of men moving from married at one wave ( $\exp[0.24] = 1.27$ ) to separated at the next ( $\exp[0.31+0.24] = 1.73$ ) is  $1.73/1.27 = 1.36$  i.e. from 4.8 to 6.5 hours. In contrast, women who separated from their marital partner experienced a decline in housework hours from 10.2 to 9.5, with a multiplicative effect of 0.93 after one year. In the second year of separation, the decline since marriage is a multiplicative effect of 0.84 to 8.6 hours. In the third year of separation the decline since marriage is a multiplicative effect of 0.80 to 8.2 hours. So it appears that for women there is a gradual decline in housework hours for about three years following separation. The finding that predicted housework hours for women who remain married are higher than for those who are married but in the process of separation, suggests two possible scenarios: (i) that for long term marriages the decline in housework hours begins some time before the marriage dissolves into physical separation, and/or (ii) that for recent marriages which end in separation, the short union means that the higher amount of household labour typical of women in longer term marriages is never realised. This will need to be tested further as more data becomes available.

This model also allows us to assess changes in housework hours when an individual leaves a cohabiting relationship to become a lone person. We have already seen that married women do more housework than cohabiting women and that married men do less housework than cohabiting men. The transition from cohabiting to lone person did not result in a significant increase in housework hours for men. In contrast,

women who separated from their cohabiting partner to become a lone person did experience a decline in housework hours with a multiplicative effect of 0.87 ( $=0.614/0.705$ ) after one year. From Figure 2, with control variables held fixed as specified, cohabiting women undergoing a transition do approximately 8.4 hours of housework on average. This reduces to approximately  $(8.4 \times 0.87) = 7.3$  hours following separation. For these women, housework hours did not appear to fall further in subsequent years. So it appears that for cohabiting women there is an immediate decline in housework hours during the first year of separation. Furthermore, on average, those women who leave a cohabiting relationship to become a lone person do less housework than a woman who is separated for three years following marriage

#### Figure 2 about here

The various controls in the model show consistent results with earlier research findings. There is no association between housework hours and household income. Both men and women spend more time on housework if they are in part-time work or not in the labour force. However, women spend the same time on housework whether they are not in the labour force or in part-time work. There is evidence that men with a Bachelors degree or higher spend more time on housework than less well educated men, while for women, holding a Bachelors degree or higher is significantly associated with fewer hours on housework. Similarly there is a very strong and consistent relationship between gender attitudes and housework hours and a very clear gender difference in this relationship. Model coefficients show that for men, while holding the values of other variables in the model constant, the multiplicative change in housework hours with each one unit increase

in attitude score is ( $\exp[-0.01] =$ ) 0.99. That is, housework hours are lower for men with more traditional attitudes compared to men with liberal attitudes. The reverse is true for women, with housework hours 1.02 ( $=\exp[-0.01+0.03]$ ) times greater with each one unit increase in attitude score .

## **Discussion**

In this paper we investigate the effect of a transition out of a coresidential union on men's and women's housework hours. We find that men who separate from a marital partner significantly increase their hours of housework while the reverse is the case for women. Separation from marriage results in a significant decline in women's housework hours. This result supports the earlier work of Gupta and our previous research using data from the Negotiating the Lifecourse project. Like Gupta we also find no significant increase in men's hours of housework following separation from a cohabiting union. However unlike Gupta we find that separation from a cohabiting union significantly reduces women's time on housework.

These results suggest two main conclusions. First the only lifecourse transition that significantly reduces the gender gap in men's and women's housework hours is separation from a coresidential union, including both separation from a marriage and a cohabiting union. In the former we find that the gap reduces because men do more and women do less housework following separation. In the case of cohabitation we find that the gap narrows only because women do significantly fewer housework hours.

Moreover our results indicate that for women who separate from a cohabiting union the drop in housework hours is immediate and results in fewer housework hours

than women who have been separated three years from marriage. On the other hand, women separating from marriage continue to reduce their housework hours over a period of time rather than immediately following separation. This result suggests that cohabiting women may find it easier to move back into pre-relationship housework patterns than married women. Alternatively it may be that cohabiting women have fewer adjustments to make following separation compared to married women simply because they have never attained the housework hours typical of married women. Our results show that cohabiting women spend less time on housework than married women. On the other hand we also find that cohabiting men do more hours of housework than married men. This lends further support to our argument in an earlier paper that cohabitation provides a period of incomplete institutionalisation within which couples are able to negotiate more equal divisions of labour than is possible within the more complete institution of marriage. The results in the current paper indicate that the incompleteness of cohabitation may also make it easier for women to shed the additional unpaid work that comes with long-term relationships.

Overall our results show that both men and women make adjustments in their housework hours depending on their marital status. Marriage benefits men significantly in terms of time spent on housework, while the opposite is the case for women. In contrast, separation provides significant advantages to women and disadvantages to men in housework time. It appears that men only increase their housework hours when forced to by the absence of a female coresidential partner. The situation in relation to cohabiting relationships is a little more egalitarian, but even here women do significantly more housework than men. Despite recent claims by Cherlin (2004) and others (Coontz 2004)

that marriage is being deinstitutionalised or transformed, it appears that marriage provides considerable advantages to men in terms of housework hours. Marriage may be in the process of being transformed in terms of some of the legal and social rules that once governed its existence, and the pathways into and out of marriage may be more complex and flexible than in the past, but there is very little evidence of a transformation in gender patterns within marriage once men and women decide to enter a marital union.

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**Table 1: Change in marital status over the 5 waves in pooled sample (row N and %).**

		Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Cohabiting	Lone Person	Adult child
<b>Married</b>	N	20,184	286	6	124	4	1	1
	%	97.95	1.39	0.03	0.60	0.02	0.00	0.00
<b>Separated</b>	N	52	882	214	18	5	15	0
	%	4.38	74.37	18.04	1.52	0.42	1.26	0.00
<b>Divorced</b>	N	46	14	2,110	29	8	16	0
	%	2.07	0.63	94.92	1.30	0.36	0.72	0.00
<b>Widowed</b>	N	3	1	22	2,009	0	2	0
	%	0.15	0.05	1.08	98.63	0.00	0.10	0.00
<b>Cohabiting</b>	N	287	8	2	0	2,075	214	24
	%	11.00	0.31	0.08	0.00	79.50	8.20	0.92
<b>Lone</b>	N	54	10	2	0	370	3,741	105
<b>Person</b>	%	1.26	0.23	0.05	0.00	8.64	87.37	2.45
<b>Adult child</b>	N	43	2	1	0	119	261	1,559
	%	2.17	0.10	0.05	0.00	5.99	13.15	78.54
<b>Total %</b>	N	20,669	1,203	2,357	2,180	2,581	4,250	1,689
<b>Sample</b>	%	59.17	3.44	6.75	6.24	7.39	12.17	4.84

**Table 2: Means, proportions and standard deviations <sup>a</sup> for model variables, pooled sample, by sex**

	Men		Women	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
<b>Dependent Variable:</b>				
Housework hours (unlogged)	6.16	7.2	17.96	14.5
Housework hours (logged)	1.58	0.9	2.63	0.9
<b>Independent Variable:</b>				
Marital Status:				
Married	0.62		0.59	
Separated	0.03		0.04	
Divorced	0.05		0.07	
Widowed	0.02		0.08	
Cohabiting	0.08		0.07	
Never married - Lone person	0.13		0.11	
Never married - Adult child living with parents	0.07		0.04	
<b>Controls:</b>				
Age	45.84	16.1	45.82	16.5
Household Income (\$10,000)	7.15	5.9	6.72	5.9
Child < 18	0.33		0.39	
Gender role attitudes	3.98	2.0	3.60	2.1
Bachelor Degree (1=yes)	0.21		0.23	
Employment Status:				
Full time	0.63		0.30	
Part time	0.10		0.28	
Not in Labour Force	0.27		0.42	

**a Standard Deviations only reported for continuous measures.**

**Table 3: Mixed effects model of marital pathways and housework hours 5 wave**

	$\beta$	SE $\beta$
Marital Status:		
Married	-	
Separated	0.31***	.07
Divorced	0.21**	.08
Widowed	0.39*	.16
Cohabiting	-0.03	.07
Lone person	0.07	.07
Adult child living with parents	-0.51***	.09
Lagged Marital Status (1 lag):		
Continuously married	-	
Married	0.02	.09
Separated	0.02	.10
Divorced	-0.03	.12
Widowed	0.02	.21
Cohabiting	-0.008	.07
Lone person	-0.004	.06
Adult child living with parents	Dropped	
Continuously cohabiting	0.32***	.09
Lagged Marital Status (2 lags)		
Married	0.24*	.10
Separated	0.27*	.11
Divorced	0.37**	.12
Widowed	0.32	.18
Cohabiting	0.28**	.09
Lone person	0.31***	.09
Adult child living with parents	0.20*	.09
Continuously cohabiting	Dropped	
Controls		
Age	-0.004**	.001
Female	0.89***	.08
Household Income (scaled)	-0.001	.001
Child < 18	0.15***	.02
Gender role attitudes	-0.01***	.004
Bachelor Degree (1=yes)	0.17***	.02
Employment Status:		
Full time	-	
Part time	0.14***	.03
Not in Labour Force	0.30***	.03
Gender Interactions		
Marital Status:		
Separated x female	-0.38***	.09
Divorced x female	-0.27*	.11
Widowed x female	-0.62**	.20
Cohabiting x female	-0.05	.09
Lone person x female	-0.29**	.09
Adult child living with parents x female	-0.25*	.12
Lagged Marital Status (1 lag):		
Married x female	0.07	.12
Separated x female	-0.04	.15

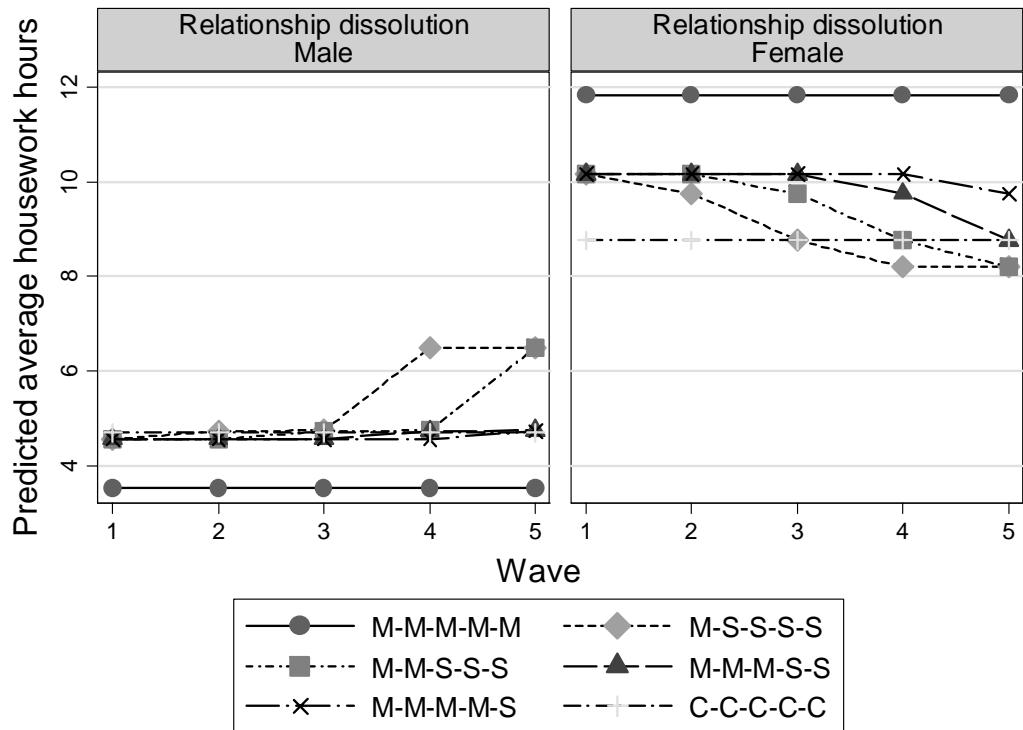
Divorced x female	0.08	.18
Widowed x female	-0.10	.26
Cohabiting x female	0.01	.07
Lone person x female	Dropped	
Adult child living with parents x female	0.03	.10
Continuously cohabiting x female	-0.53***	.11
Lagged Marital Status (2 lags):		
Married x female	-0.48***	.14
Separated x female	-0.55***	.16
Divorced x female	-0.68***	.18
Widowed x female	-0.56*	.23
Cohabiting x female	-0.55***	.11
Lone person x female	-0.59***	.10
Adult child living with parents x female	-0.56***	.12
Continuously cohabiting x female	Dropped	
Age x female	0.005**	.001
Household Income (\$10,000) x female	0.002	.002
Child < 18 x female	0.15***	.03
Gender role attitudes x female	0.03***	.005
Bachelor Degree (1=yes) x female	-0.21***	.03
Employment Status:		
Part time x female	0.10**	.03
Not in Labour Force x female	0.09**	.03

Person-years

N

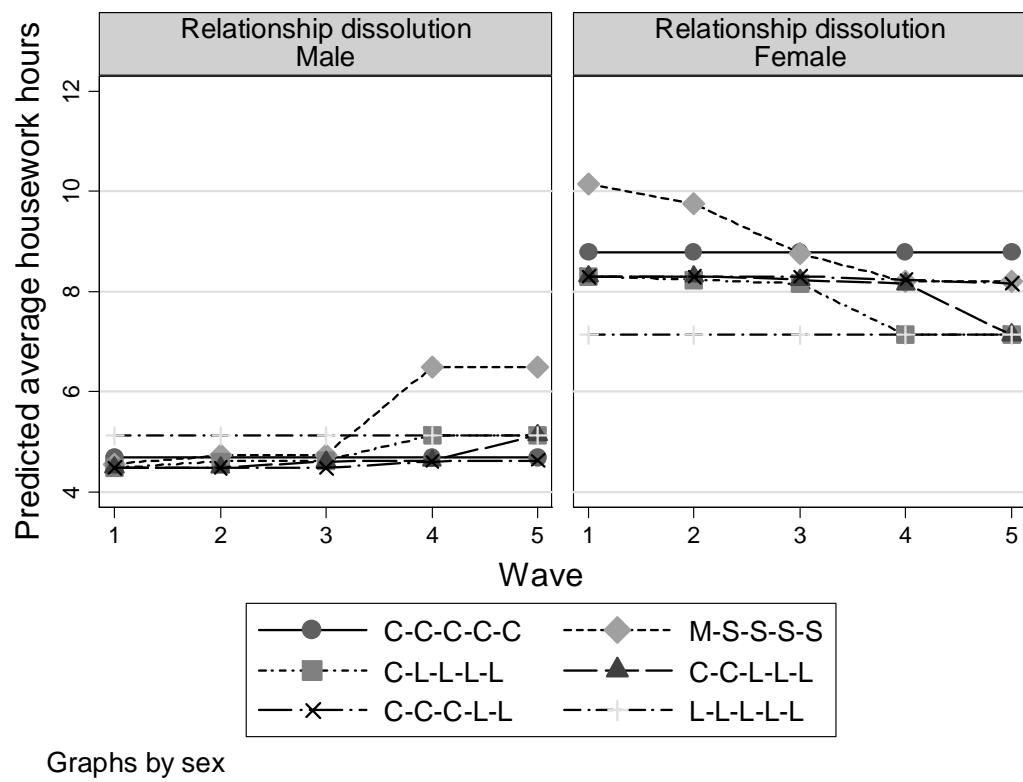
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\*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001



Graphs by sex

**Figure 1:** Predictions of average housework hours per week with transition out of marriage into separation, with one and two lag transition effects, by sex.



**Figure 2:** Predictions of average housework hours per week with transition out of cohabitation into lone person household, with one and two lag transition effects, by sex.