

Pathways into Marriage: Life Course Patterns and the Domestic

Division of Labour

Janeen Baxter*
School of Social Science
The University of Queensland

Michele Haynes
The University of Queensland Social Research Centre and the School of
Social Science
The University of Queensland

Belinda Hewitt
School of Social Science
The University of Queensland

* Corresponding author: j.baxter@uq.edu.au

The data used for this research come from the Household Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey, which is funded by the Commonwealth Department of Family and Community Services (FaCS) and conducted by the Melbourne Institute for Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne. The research findings are the product of the researchers and the views expressed should not be attributed to FaCS or the Melbourne Institute.

Paper prepared for the HILDA Survey Research Conference, University of Melbourne, 29-30 September, 2005.

Abstract

This paper uses three waves of data from the HILDA surveys to examine changes in the domestic division of labour over the lifecycle. Earlier research by Baxter (2005) has suggested that the pathway taken to establish a marital relationship affects the level of gender equality within marriage. Specifically couples that cohabit prior to marriage were found to adopt more equal divisions of labour than those who married without a prior period of cohabitation. This paper extends this research by using longitudinal data that enables examination of the effect of differing pathways into marriage on domestic labour patterns over the lifecycle. Hours per week devoted to household labour are analysed using a linear mixed model that contains a random term to account for correlation among responses for individuals over time. A lagged variable that combines marital status with household composition is included in the model to investigate the affect of a change in status on household labour. The results show that women spend far longer on housework than men at all stages of the lifecycle and experience much greater variation in housework hours as they transition through different marital states. There is also evidence that time spent in a cohabiting relationship prior to marriage leads to fewer hours on housework after marriage, but only for women. The paper concludes that differing pathways into marriage lead to different outcomes for women after marriage.

Australia, like many other western nations, has seen an enormous growth in the percentage of marriages preceded by a period of de facto cohabitation. The figures range from 16 percent of couples cohabiting prior to marriage in 1975 to 72 percent in 2001 (ABS 1995, 2003). Similarly the percentage of couples in Australia who are cohabiting at any one point in time has doubled between 1986 and 2001 from just below 6 percent to over 12 percent (ABS 1995, 2003). These changes in patterns of couple formation raise important questions about the characteristics, nature and implications of non-traditional unions on family relations. A large body of research has been generated over recent years comparing married and cohabiting couples in terms of relationship quality (Brown and Booth 1996; Brown 2003), attitudes and values (Clarkberg, Stolzenberg and Waite 1995), health outcomes (Wu, Penning, Pollard and Hart, 2003), housework patterns (Ciabattari, 2004, Baxter 2005) and relationship stability (DeMaris and Rao 1992; Bumpass, Sweet and Cherlin 1991).

In this paper we focus specifically on housework patterns. We build on a number of earlier findings. First evidence indicates that women in cohabiting relationships spend less time on housework than married women (Shelton and John 1993; Bianchi et. al. 2000; Baxter 2005). Second there is evidence that women in cohabiting unions are spending more time on housework than men in cohabiting unions (Shelton and John 1993; South and Spitze 1994; Gupta 1999; Baxter 2005). Third there is evidence that women in indirect marriages (marriages that are preceded by a period of cohabitation) spend less time on housework than women in direct marriages (marriages without a preceding period of cohabitation) (Baxter 2005).

The current paper uses three waves of the Households, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey to examine the effect of differing pathways into marriage on housework time. The paper builds on earlier research that

has used cross-sectional data to show that women's time on housework varies between direct and indirect marriages (Baxter 2005). We extend this research by using three waves of longitudinal data that enables examination of time spent on housework at each stage in the pathway to marriage. With two exceptions using US data, no research has used longitudinal data to examine the impact of transitions in marital status on time spent on housework (Gupta 1999; Artis and Pavalko 2003).

Cohabitation, Marriage and Housework

Research on the domestic division of labour has focused primarily on examining patterns within married couples. This stems from two main factors: First married couples comprise the dominant family unit in most western countries. Despite increases in cohabitation rates and greater recognition and reporting of households comprising same sex couples, married heterosexuals are still the dominant type of couple unit (De Vaus 2004). Second, feminist research has focused on the traditional nuclear family as a key basis for understanding the perpetuation of gender inequality more broadly (Oakley, 1974; Summers 1994). Much research has argued that women's responsibility for childcare and housework is critical for understanding women's lack of access to well-paid, high status positions outside the home. Although there is clear evidence that married women have moved into paid work in increasing numbers, women dominate the part-time, low-paid sector and are still under-represented on most senior management boards (ABS 2005).

Increasingly however research is emerging that is specifically designed to compare housework patterns across differing family types (Ishii Kuntz and Coltrane 1992; Shelton and John 1993; South and Spitze 1994; Sullivan 1997; Gupta 1999; Baxter 2005). As South and Spitze (1994) point out this is due to two main reasons.

First individuals are spending increasing amounts of time over the lifecourse in non-marital relationships as a result of increased rates of cohabitation, increased divorce rates and later ages at first marriage (1994: 327). Second understanding the arrangements within non-marital households is important in helping to understand the patterns that develop in subsequent relationships (1994: 328). Some research has found for example that men who remarry after divorce spend more time on housework than men in first marriages (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992; Sullivan 1997). This suggests that prior relationship experiences contribute to different outcomes in subsequent relationships.

Two main theoretical perspectives underlie this research. The first is the idea that couples compare their current situation to a previous relationship as a means of justifying current arrangements, or alternatively negotiating for a different kind of relationship. Hence individuals who have spent time in a previous relationship will draw on these earlier experiences to negotiate for a different, and presumably more satisfactory arrangement, in subsequent relationships. For example, South and Spitze (1994) suggest that “spouses may compare themselves to their own past or projected experiences in another marital status, or even to others who are not currently married ...” (South and Spitze 1994: 344).

Second, quite a deal of research draws on Cherlin’s concept of “incomplete institutionalization” (Cherlin 1978). Cherlin suggests that remarried and step-families may be under greater stress than other families because “they lack normative prescriptions for role performance, institutionalized procedures to handle problems, and easily accessible social support” (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992:217). On the other hand, incomplete institutionalization also leaves open the possibility of negotiating more equal relationships precisely because of the lack of rules prescribing

the conduct of behaviour in remarriages (Ishii-Kuntz and Coltrane 1992; Sullivan 1997). A similar explanation has been applied to cohabiting relationships (Clarkberg, Stolzenberg and Waite 1995; Brines and Joyner 1999). Cohabiting relationships are subject to some, but not all of the institutional rules surrounding legal marriages. The “incompleteness” of these rules may well leave space for de facto couples to negotiate more egalitarian relationships than is the case in conventional marriages.

A growing body of research has focused on housework arrangements within cohabiting unions (Smock 2000). The consistent finding is that women do the bulk of domestic labour regardless of union type. But there are inconsistencies in findings concerning the effect of marital status on housework time. Shelton and John (1993) find that cohabitation affects women’s time on housework but not men’s. They report that cohabiting women spend an average of 6.3 fewer hours per week on household labour compared to married women, but find no differences for men. Similarly, Baxter (2005) finds that after controlling for possible compositional effects cohabiting women spend about 3 hours less per week on housework, but like Shelton and John finds no significant difference in cohabiting and married men’s housework. Additionally Baxter finds that a previous period of cohabitation makes a significant difference to women’s level of involvement in indoor and outdoor housework activities, but no difference to the amount of time they spend on housework. This suggests that indirect marriages may provide an important means of establishing less traditional arrangements through a period of incomplete institutionalization that may then carry over into the marital relationship. On the other hand, direct marriages do not provide a period of incomplete institutionalization and hence no opportunity to negotiate alternative patterns.

But Gupta's results are different. He finds that never married women increase their time on female-typed housework significantly when they enter both cohabiting and marital unions, and conversely never married men reduce their time on female-typed housework tasks significantly when they enter either a cohabiting or a marital union. Moreover he argues that the transition from cohabitation to marriage has no impact on either men's or women's housework time (1999: 710) Gupta concludes "that the fact of entry into a coresidential union is of greater consequence for housework time than the form of that union" (710). One clear strength of Gupta's research over other studies to date, and one that may explain the inconsistencies in findings across studies, is that he uses longitudinal rather than cross-sectional data and is thus able to directly examine the causal link between marital status and housework time.

Our research builds on these earlier studies to examine the impact of transitions across marital statuses on housework time. We use three waves of data from a recent household panel study in Australia to examine housework time for men and women who transition across three possible marital states: never married, cohabiting and married.

Data

The data come from the first three waves of The Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA) survey. Wave 1 was collected in 2001 and comprises 7682 households and 13969 individuals. Households were selected using a multi-stage sampling approach, and a 66 percent response rate was achieved (Watson & Wooden, 2002a). 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, 2002a). 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. Retention rates for single and cohabiting people tended to be lower than other marital status groups, but the discrepancies are unlikely to be large enough to compromise the quality of the data (Watson 2005).

Analytic Sample

Respondents who were separated, divorced or widowed were excluded from our sample. Our analyses are based on respondents with complete data on all variables in either wave 1, waves 1 and 2 or waves 1, 2 and 3. The final sample comprises 2539 person-years.

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). These are 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 type of household dwelling. As housework hours had a highly skewed distribution we take the natural logarithm to produce a more symmetric distribution.

Primary independent variable

We are interested in the housework hours of people who marry indirectly, following a period of cohabitation, compared to those who marry directly. Preliminary analysis demonstrated that ‘unmarried’ (cohabiting or single) people are a very diverse group, particularly in relation to their housework hours. Therefore, in addition to marital

status we took account of household structure, such as whether single respondents were living with their parents or alone, or whether cohabiting or single respondents had children. Our final measure consisted of 7 categories, including: 1 = *married with children*, 2 = *Cohabiting with children*, 3 = *Married without children*, 4 = *Cohabiting without children*, 5 = *Lone parent with children*, 6 = *Adult child living at home with parents*, 7 = *Lone person with no children*. Married with children is the reference group.

Controls

We include several controls for factors known to be strongly associated with housework hours. A measure for a child aged under 5 years of age in the household coded 1 = Yes, 2 = No is included in the models. We also 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 only asked in Wave 1, and is constant for all 3 waves. A scaled measure for household income is also included, calculated by dividing household income by \$10,000. Finally a measure of employment status comprising 1 = *full time*, 2 = *part time*, 3 = *not in the labour force* was included with employed full time as the reference group. Summary statistics on the pooled data set for all model variables can be found in Table 1.

Table 1 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 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 time 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 we include a lag for marital status that allows us to estimate the effects of previous marital status on current housework hours. Finally, because we are also interested in gender differences in housework, we arrived at a model where all explanatory variables were interacted with sex.

Results

The results of the full model are presented in Table 2. Our results suggest that several of the control variables were significantly associated with housework hours as expected. The results for sex indicate that housework hours are significantly greater for women compared to men. Men with more traditional gender role attitudes do less housework hours and women with traditional gender role attitudes do more housework hours. Having a child under the age of 5 increases the number of housework hours for both men and women. Compared to working full time those employed part time or not in the labour force do more housework hours and women not employed full time do more housework hours than men. None of these results are surprising and they support the findings of many earlier studies.

Table 2 About Here

Our primary interest, however, was to investigate how different pathways into marriage affect housework hours in marriage. The main effects and lag effects for the marital pathways measure need to be interpreted jointly with the effects of their gender interactions to capture the total effect of transitions between marital states on housework hours. The results show that any changes in marital status have a greater effect on women's housework hours than men's. For women, housework hours are similar if they are married with or without children or cohabiting with children and remain in these states from one time period to the next. Housework hours are significantly lower for women if they are a lone parent with a child ($\beta = 0.40 - 0.57 = -0.17$), cohabiting with no children ($\beta = 0.10 - 0.43 = -0.33$) a person living alone ($\beta = 0.21 - 0.73 = -0.52$) or an adult child living with parents ($\beta = -0.44 - 0.51 = -0.95$). According to the lagged effects, housework hours are even lower if, during the previous wave of data collection, the respondent was cohabiting without children (-0.39), a person living alone (-0.39) or an adult child living at home (-0.49).

We illustrate these trends in Figure 1 and Figure 2, holding the control measures constant. In Figure 1 we present the predicted housework hours at each time point for respondents who were single (lone person or adult child living with parents) at Wave 1 separately for men and women. This graph illustrates that while single men only do marginally less housework hours than single women, they experience much less change in their housework hours with a transition into marriage (or cohabiting relationship) than women. Men's housework hours tend to remain the same or even to decline slightly as they transition into cohabitation and marriage, whereas women's tend to increase quite dramatically. For both men and women adult children living with their parents do very little housework, this increases if they marry, but much more so for women than for men. Both male and female

respondents living alone do more housework than adult children living with parents, but when they marry men's housework hours tend to drop whereas women's housework hours increase. Women who move through a cohabiting state prior to marriage do less housework hours than those who marry directly after living alone, but this is not statistically significant. However, after a full year of marriage, the increase in housework hours is greater for those who marry directly.

For example the two wave transition from single in one year to married in the next, results in similar housework hours as the transition from cohabiting in one year to married in the next, regardless of which wave this occurs in. But when a woman marries after living alone she is likely to do significantly more housework in the first year than if she had moved into a cohabiting relationship. If she moves from single to married and remains married in wave 3 then she is doing significantly more housework hours in the third year than if she moved from single to cohabiting to married.

Figure 1 About Here

In Figure 2 we present the predicted housework hours at each time point for respondents who were in cohabiting unions at Wave 1 for both men and women. Again men experience much less change in their housework hours with a transition into marriage with men's housework hours staying the same or decreasing slightly as they move into cohabitation or marriage. Women who were cohabiting without children tend to do less housework when they marry than married women with or without children and cohabiting women with children.

Figure 2 about here

Overall our results suggest that different pathways into marriage affect housework hours in marriage, but primarily for women. It appears that women

moving from a single state without children (lone person or adult child) into marriage do less housework hours than those who go from a cohabiting state into marriage. Although this varies for cohabiting women depending on whether or not they have children, where cohabiting women with no children tend to do less housework than cohabiting women with children when they marry. Further, those moving from a single state come from a lower base than cohabiting but the increase in their housework hours when they marry, after one full year of marriage, is larger than the increase in housework hours for those who go from cohabiting to married, particularly for adult children living with parents.

Conclusions

Our results suggest a number of conclusions. First like many previous studies, we find that women devote many more hours to housework than men. Interestingly this pattern holds even when men and women are living alone or living at home with their parents. This suggests that gender divisions of labour develop early in the lifecourse and are produced and maintained outside of couple relationships.

Second there is much greater variation in women's housework hours than men's housework hours as a result of transitions in marital status. Men's housework hours are highest when they are living alone and tend to decline when they cohabit or marry. In contrast, women housework hours are lowest when they are living alone, or with their parents, and rise dramatically when they move into a relationship.

Third there is some evidence, although it is inconclusive, that the varying pathways that women take into marriage leads to variations in time spent on housework after marriage. Women who spend time in a cohabiting relationship spend less time on housework after marriage than those who marry directly without a prior

period of cohabitation. Our results show that if a woman moves from being single in wave 1 to married in wave 2 and remains married in wave 3 she is doing significantly more hours than if she moved from single in wave 1 to cohabiting in wave 2 and to married in wave 3. But in the second scenario she has only been married for one year at wave 3, while in the first scenario she has been married for 2 years. We do not know if the difference in housework hours for the two groups of women is due to differences in pathways into marriage or differences in length of time married. This will need to be examined further after additional waves of HILDA become available. Earlier research however suggests that length of marriage has little impact on the domestic division of labour once other factors are controlled such as age of children, number of children and labour force status of wives (Baxter 1993). If this is the case, then it suggests that pathways into marriage are more consequential for housework hours after marriage than length of marriage. As argued in earlier work, it may be that the “incompleteness” of the cohabitation period enables more egalitarian housework arrangements to be negotiated that are then carried over into the marital relationship (Baxter 2005).

Our results need to be interpreted with some caution. One limitation of our data is that we only have three waves of data which limits the number of cases experiencing transitions in marital status over time. Further waves of data will lead to more robust findings, as well as enabling consideration of how housework hours change over time within individuals. For example, as suggested above a prior experience of cohabitation may lead to reduced housework hours after marriage compared to those who marry directly, but this difference may decline or disappear over time. Second our measure of housework hours is limited to time spent on activities. While this is an important measure, previous research has also indicated

variations across couples in the relative proportion of housework done by each partner as they transition across marital states (Baxter 2005). A more complete measure of housework responsibilities would thus include both the number of hours allocated to housework by each individual in the relationship, as well as the proportion of housework undertaken by each individual.

Table 1: Means and standard deviations ^a for model variables, pooled sample

	Mean	SD
Log housework hours (unlogged)	2.08 (8.00)	1.05
Sex:		
Males	.50	
Females	.50	
Household Income (\$10,000)	7.08	5.97
Child < 5	.26	
Gender role attitudes	3.78	2.10
Employment Status:		
Full time	.42	
Part time	.17	
Not in labour force	.41	
Marital Status:		
Married with children	.23	
Cohabiting with children	.04	
Married no children	.28	
Cohabiting no children	.05	
Lone person with children	.02	
Adult child living with parents	.08	
Lone person no children	.12	

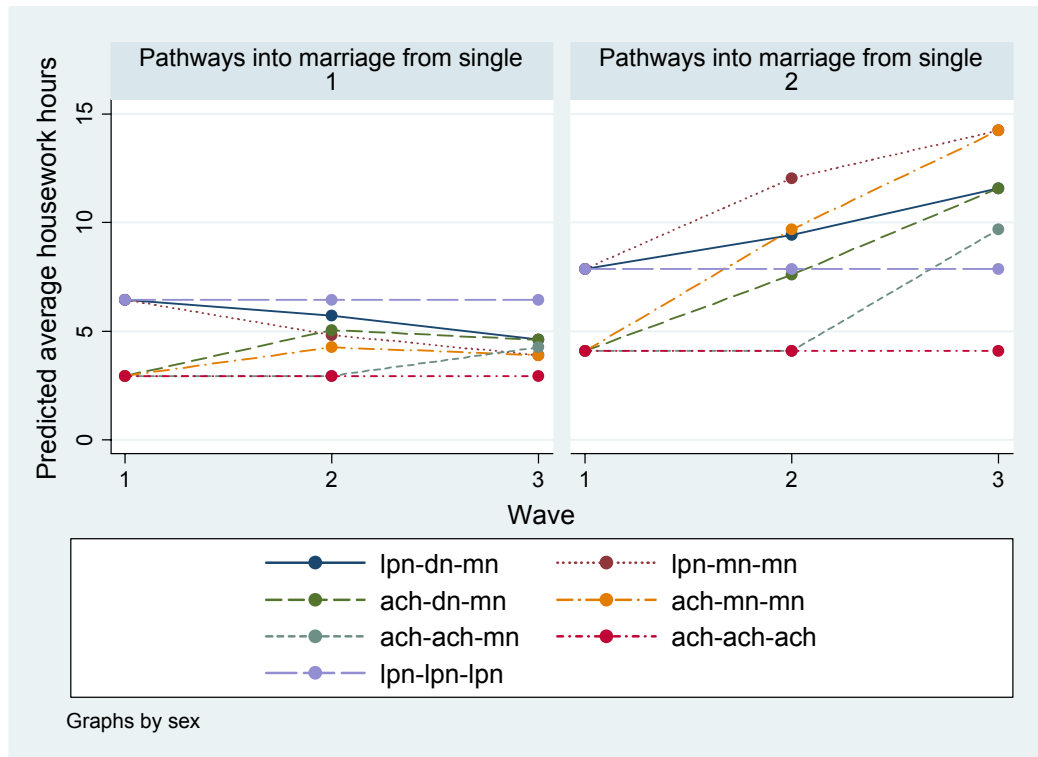
a Standard Deviations only reported for continuous measures.

Table 2: Mixed effects model of marital pathways and housework hours

	β	SE β
Marital Status:		
Married with children	-	
Cohabiting with children	.08	.10
Married no children	-.07	.05
Cohabiting no children	.10	.09
Lone person with children	.40	.24
Adult child living with parents	-.44**	.10
Lone person no children	.21*	.09
Lagged Marital Status:		
Married with children	-	
Cohabiting with children	.10	.10
Married no children	-.08	.05
Cohabiting no children	.09	.08
Lone person with children	.08	.20
Adult child living with parents	.009	.10
Lone person no children	.14	.09
Female	.87**	.05
Household Income (scaled)	.0001	.002
Child < 5	.11**	.04
Gender role attitudes	-.08**	.006
Employment Status		
Full time	-	
Part time	.14**	.03
Not in Labour Force	.27**	.03
<i>Gender Interactions</i>		
Marital Status:		
Cohabiting with children x female	-.12	.15
Married no children x female	-.01	.07
Cohabiting no children x female	-.43**	.13
Lone person with children x female	-.57*	.27
Adult child living with parents x female	-.51**	.15
Lone person no children x female	-.73**	.13
Lagged Marital Status:		
Cohabiting with children x female	-.23	.15
Married no children x female	-.01	.07
Cohabiting no children x female	-.39**	.12
Lone person with children x female	-.21	.23
Adult child living with parents x female	-.49**	.14
Lone person no children x female	-.39**	.13
Household Income (\$10,000) x female	-.0005	.002
Child < 5 x female	.05	.05
Gender role attitudes x female	.11**	.008
Employment Status		
Part time x female	.09*	.04
Not in Labour Force x female	.15**	.04

*p<.05, **p<.01

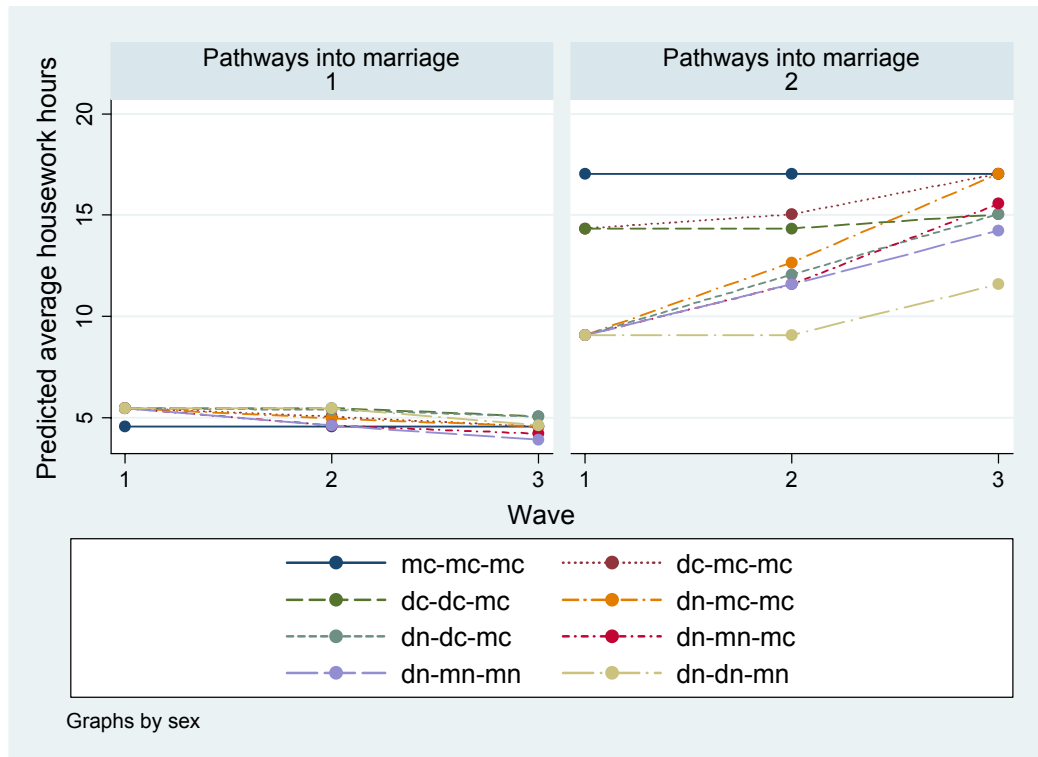
Figure 1: Predicted housework hours over three waves by pathways from never married into marriage



Note: Plots are for respondents with median gender role attitudes (3), median household income (6.0138), who are employed full time with a child aged under 5. Predicted values at Wave 1 assume that the respondent was in the same category prior to entry into the survey.

lpn = *Lone person no children*; ach = *Adult child living with parents*; dn = *Defacto no children*; mn = *Married no children*.

Figure 2: Predicted housework hours over three waves by pathways from cohabiting into marriage



Note: Plots are for respondents with median gender role attitudes (3), median household income (6.0138), who are employed full time with a child aged under 5. Predicted values at Wave 1 assume that the respondent was in the same category prior to entry into the survey.

dc = *Defacto with children*; dn = *Defacto no children*; mn = *Married no children*; mc = *Married with children*;

References

- Artis, Julie E. and Eliza K. Pavalko. 2003. "Explaining the Decline in Women's Household Labor: Individual Change and Cohort Differences." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 65: 746-761.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (1999). *Australian Social Trends 1999*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No.4102.0.
- Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2005). *Australian Social Trends 2005*. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics. Catalogue No 4102.0
- Baxter, Janeen. 1993. *Work at Home: The Domestic Division of Labour*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Baxter, Janeen. (2005). "To Marry or Not to Marry. Marital Status and the Household Division of Labor" *Journal of Family Issues* 26(3) April: 300-321.
- Bianchi, Suzanne M., Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer and John P. Robinson. (2000). Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor. *Social Forces*, 79(1), 191-228.
- Brines, Julie and Kara Joyner. (1999). The Ties that Bind: Principles of Cohesion in Cohabitation and Marriage. *American Sociological Review*, 64(3), 333-355.
- Brown, Susan L. (2003). "Relationship Quality Dynamics of Cohabiting Unions." *Journal of Family Issues* 24(5) July: 583-601.
- Brown, Susan L., and Alan Booth. (1996). "Cohabitation versus Marriage: A Comparison of Relationship Quality." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 58 August:668-678.
- Bumpass, Larry, James Sweet and Andrew Cherlin. (1991). "The Role of Cohabitation in Declining Rates of Marriage." *Demography* 53:913-927.

- Cherlin, Andrew. (1978). Remarriage as an Incomplete Institution. *American Journal of Sociology*, 84, 634-650.
- Ciabattari, Teresa. (2004). "Cohabitation and Housework: The Effects of Marital Intentions." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 66 (February):118-125.
- Clarkberg, Marin, Ross M. Stolzenberg, and Linda J. Waite. (1995). Attitudes, Values, and Entrance into Cohabitation versus Marital Unions. *Social Forces*, 74(2), 609-634.
- DeMaris, A., and V.K. Rao. (1992). "Premarital Cohabitation and Subsequent Marital Stability: A Test of the Unconventionality Hypothesis." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 54: 178-190.
- De Vaus, David. (2004). *Diversity and Change in Australian Families. Statistical Profiles*. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Gupta, Sanjiv. (1999). The Effects of Transitions in Marital Status on men's Performance of Housework. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61, 700-711.
- Ishii-Kuntz, Masako and Scott Coltrane. (1992). Remarriage, Stepparenting, and Household Labor. *Journal of Family Issues*, 13(2), 215-233.
- Oakley, Ann. (1974). *The Sociology of Housework*. New York: Pantheon.
- Shelton, Beth Anne and Daphne John. (1993). "Does Marital Status Make a Difference? Housework among Married and Cohabiting Men and Women." *Journal of Family Issues*, 14(3), 401-420.
- Smock, Pamela J. (2000). "Cohabitation in the United States: An Appraisal of Research themes, Findings and Implications." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 1-20.

- South, Scott J. and Glenna Spitze. (1994). Housework in Marital and Nonmarital Households. *American Sociological Review*, 59(3), 327-347.
- Sullivan, Oriel. (1997). The Division of Housework among 'Remarried' Couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, 18(2), 205-224.
- Summers, Anne. (1994). *Dammed Whores and God's Police*. Melbourne: Penguin.
- Thompson, Linda. (1991). Family Work. Women's Sense of Fairness. *Journal of Family Issues*, 12(2), 181-196.
- Watson, N. (ed) (2005) HILDA User Manual – Release 3.0, Melbourne Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne.
- Wu, Zheng, Margaret J. Penning, Michael Pollard and Randy Hart. 92003). "In Sickness and in Health. Does Cohabitation Count?" *Journal of Family Issues* 24(6) September:811-838.