

**HOUSEHOLD DIVISION OF LABOR AND PAY INEQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND
WOMEN**

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The following faculty have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Sociology

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DEDICATION

To my parents, my love, my sister, and my dear friends

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I would like to thank my parents for all of their emotional and financial support during this journey. Without their guidance through life I would not be the person I proudly am today. I would like to give a special thanks to my love, Chris, whose never ending support, encouragement and understanding keep me going throughout this entire process.

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ABSTRACT

The household division of labor and pay inequality between men and women is examined using the 2006 American Time Use Survey. There are three main theoretical perspectives to examine when discussing household division of labor and pay inequality between men and women. The individual model argues that an individual makes rational choices when investing in Human Capital, which directly affects their income. Structural theory states that the position that an individual occupies determines the income and reward that one receives. Gender theory states that gender is a process of devaluation and sorting that determines the type of jobs that one occupies and the income they receive. It is expected that an increase in household labor will result in a decrease in income. It is also expected that women will have lower income than men.

An OLS regression analysis is performed. Women earn \$60.40 less per week than men, net of other factors. Increased participation in household labor food preparation results in a slight decrease in income. However, this is only significant for women who receive a decrease in income of \$26.62 per week. Policy implications are discussed, these include things such as encouraging women to further their education, reduce the inequality between jobs for men and women, enforcement of anti-discrimination laws based on marital status and an increase in family-friendly policies in the workplace.

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INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to find a level of equality in today's society, women are more prominent in the labor force and higher education than they have ever been in previous years. Despite these new demands outside of the home, women still do a majority of the housework (Sayer 2005) and make around 25% less income than men. Regardless of the women's liberation movement, this inequality takes place both on an economic and social level. Because of this, it is important that we explore this inequality in relation to household labor and work.

There are three main theoretical perspectives to examine when discussing household division of labor and pay inequality between men and women. The individual model argues that an individual makes rational choices when investing in Human Capital, which directly affects their income. Structural theory states that the position that an individual occupies determines the income and reward that one receives. Gender theory states that gender is a process of devaluation and sorting that determines the type of jobs that one occupies and the income they receive. All three theoretical perspectives are used in an alternative model (Wright, 1992) in order to obtain a more holistic explanation of the pay gap. Data from the 2006 American Time Use Survey will be used to test this alternative model to explain how the household division of labor affects the pay gap between men and women.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INDIVIDUAL MODEL

Rational Choice Theory assumes humans are rational actors that are guided by personal choices. Individuals choose what they believe to be the best means to achieve their given ends, in other words to maximize their utility. Valued resources are used by individuals to strike the best deal based on their personal self-interests (Zalokar 1988).

One particular school of thought in regards to the individual model is Human Capital Theory. Human Capital Theory states that individuals make investments to increase their capital in society. Specifically, increasing ones productivity makes them more valuable in the workplace. Employers look for those who can provide the greatest amount of production for the least amount of cost (Becker 1995). Business conditions set requirements for training and specific skills in order to maintain production. When investments such as on the job training, skills and education are present, this exhibits the individual as more desirable to employees because they can produce more, which in turn increases the employer profit margin (Marini 1989). The value of some investments can be limited by certain market constraints; individual actions and motivations determine the amount of return an individual obtains for their investment (Becker 1995).

In contrast to Human Capital Theory, Comparative Advantage Theory aims to explain why each individual makes certain investments in human capital. Comparative Advantage Theory states that individual's specific attributes play a

role in determining the investment in human capital that one makes. Different people make rational choices based upon their individual abilities. (Paglin and Rufolo 1990). In terms of domestic labor, the maternal role that women exhibit plays a part in making females the appropriate one to take on the task of child caregiver. In turn, women make fewer investments in the workforce, which decreases their economic return, in order to be able to maximize their utility at home (Becker, 1995). Mothers are able to connect with their children on a different level because of their ability to provide food with the production of breast milk, which in turn makes the child dependent on the mother. This makes the role of the nurturing mother more important than that of the father and because of this, the role of the financial provider is put on the father (Parsons and Bales 1955). With all of the responsibilities that the mother takes on in the home, she limits her exposure to the economic area of society.

The industrial revolution played an important role in the division of family and work. Before this time, work was completed within the home and the family would work and remain together (Becker, 1995). After the industrial revolution, work was moved from the home to factories, which forced many workers to split time between home and work. Because of women's biological connections with children, she was a better fit to stay home with the children and tend to the house. Women receive a greater benefit from the investment in domestic capital (Parsons 2001).

2.2 STRUCTURAL MODEL

The Structural Model states that society is organized into different economic positions that form a hierarchical structure. Within this structure, it is the positions that are held that determine the amount of economic compensation, not the qualities of the individuals who occupy these positions. Specific positions, such as a lawyer or a doctor, will yield higher income and are higher up on the hierarchical structure than those who hold the position of a bus driver or fast food worker. Positions within the structure hold pre-determined economic return regardless of the individual qualities, such as education or work experience. A bus driver with a Ph.D. will earn the same amount of money as a bus driver with only a high school education. Income is first and foremost determined by the position one occupies. In addition, the structure determines the level of economic return that is rewarded to individuals with different qualities. A manager at a fast food restaurant will receive a greater income for investing in higher education than a cook at a fast food restaurant. This is unlike the individual model, which first and foremost takes the individuals qualities to determine income, in that the structural model states that income is determined by the structural characteristics of positions.

Dual Economy Theory maintains that the economy is divided into two sectors, the monopoly, or core economy sector and the competitive sector (Beck, Horan, and Tolbert 1978). The monopoly sector is dominated by large corporate enterprises, both in size and influence that consist of high productivity, high profits and unionization. They are capital and technology intensive, operate in

national and international markets and generate higher profits. This leads to higher wage structures. Many characteristics of the monopoly sector include benefits, training, job security and better working conditions (Beck, Horan, and Tolbert 1978).

The competitive sector consists of firms that are small in size, lower productivity, less unionized, labor intensive with high risk, and with little use of technology. The competitive sector makes up for a small percentage of the economy. Jobs in the competitive sector carry low wages, poor benefits, high job uncertainty, little to no training, unfavorable working conditions and a slight, if any, chance of advancement (Beck, Horan, and Tolbert 1978, Reid and Rubin 2003).

Women are often directed towards jobs in the competitive sector, which results in lower income and less advancement opportunities. Women are often unable to find work within the monopoly sector because of industrial barriers (Coverdill 1988). Moreover, women are likely to do the majority of the housework and raise the children. Women either choose or are forced into these jobs so they can have the flexible hours to meet the demands of home life.

Segmented Labor Market Theory divides the labor market into two sectors, the primary sector and the secondary sector. The primary is similar to that of the monopoly sector and the secondary is comparable to the competitive sector. The primary sector consists of jobs that require skills, training and education and are represented by high wages, stable employment, bureaucratic management, opportunities for advancement and union protection (Gordon, Edwards, and

Reich 1982, Reid and Rubin 2003). The secondary sector requires fewer skills, training and education, which equals minimal job security, low wages and provides limited mobility (Gordon et al. 1982).

Women are less likely to meet the demands of the primary market, so they are moved down into the secondary labor market. The demand for unskilled labor during the service industry boom was characteristic of the secondary labor market (Gordon et al. 1982). Jobs within the service sector offered more flexible hours without the demand for high skills, training and education. This met the needs of many women workers. Some of the jobs within the secondary labor market included education, healthcare and retail. This appealed to women because of the experience they already possessed through childcare and domestic labor.

Included in the primary labor market are two more segments, the independent and subordinate sectors. The independent sector consists of management, professional and technical positions. The subordinate sector is composed of lower level work such as routine, repetitive labor that requires less skill (Gordon et al. 1982). When women do acquire a position in the primary labor market they are often directed toward the subordinate sector obtaining jobs in areas such as the clerical field. This continued division within the labor market obstructs job advancement, career opportunities, and income growth.

2.3 GENDER MODEL

The individual and structural models view gender as a static variable that can be overcome or changed, instead of a process. The gender model views gender

not as an attributed variable that can be controlled for, but as a process of devaluation and sorting. Within the process of doing gender, household labor is divided unevenly according to an individual's gender. This division of household or unpaid labor in turn affects paid labor, which is also unevenly divided by gender. Labor power is devalued and sorted into inferior economic positions. Traditionally, men are seen as the ones responsible for the economic side and women take control of the domestic side. Due to this division of household labor and work it causes an inequality between men and women, where men obtain more economic return than women based on their gender.

The gendered process affects both the work side and the family side, and determines how labor is divided and rewarded. The household division of labor remains on an unequal level with women completing approximately 70% of the household labor (Kroska 2004). There are three main theoretical perspectives on the division of household labor, Time Availability Theory, Power Theory, and Sex Role Ideology Theory (Blair and Lichter 1991, Kroska 2004, Presser 1994).

Time Availability Theory states that the person with the most time available outside of work will presumably assume the greatest share of the household labor (Blair and Lichter 1991, Coverman 1985). Coverman describes this as the demand/response process in which the response increases with higher levels of demand and capability. The fewer amount of hours that are worked, the more flexible work schedule, and the more children present in the home increase the amount of household labor the spouse will accomplish (Coverman 1985). Because of the fact that women often work fewer hours, they are able to

complete the majority of the household labor. Certain female orientated chores such as making dinner, doing laundry, and washing dishes are routine tasks with little flexibility that need to be done often and on a schedule. Because the husbands' job is seen as being inflexible, he is unable to keep up with the demands of these female-oriented chores.

In addition to Time Availability Theory, the amount of resources that each spouse brings into the home affects the amount of household labor they will complete. There are different perspectives of Power Theory but the main idea suggests that an increased level of resources increases power. This allows the spouse that has the power to be less involved in the household labor (Coverman 1985, Kroska 2004). The spouse with greater socioeconomic resources uses this as a bargaining tool, or leverage, as a way out of doing the housework.

Sex Role Ideology states that gender roles and norms affect how household labor is divided. The concept of "doing" gender is done through a series of processes and interactions, such as household labor (West and Zimmerman 1987). Regardless if the couple believes that chores around the house are done equally, they are still divided up in favor of men through gendered-typed chores. Women often do female-orientated chores such as laundry, cooking and child-care, where as men do yard work, and home and car repairs (Blair and Lichter 1991). The chores that women complete often require more time and structure than that of the chores that men complete. While the division of household labor shows an advantage for men, inequalities may be covered up through different methods of comparing performance of household labor (Thompson 1991).

Instead of comparing the amount of household labor to that of their husbands, Thompson (1991) found that husbands and wives compare the amount of household labor within-gender rather than between-gender. Even men who are financially dependent on a woman still do less housework than their spouse. If men cannot prove their masculinity through 'paid work' then they prove it through not completing domestic or 'women's work' (Brines 1994).

An increase in domestic labor has been shown to decrease income (Berardo, Shehan, and Gerald 1987) especially for women who do female-typed chores (Noonan 2001). The gendered process that affects the household division of labor also affects the economic labor process. Gendered theories on income inequality allow for effects of social customs that infuse business; a system of inequality is created through these social customs, which gives men an advantage over women. A process of sex segregation is created and men are given the preferred and well-paid jobs, while women are pushed into the lower paying jobs. The three main theoretical perspectives on gendered economic inequality are Crowding Theory, Revolving Door Theory, and Job and Gender Queues Theory.

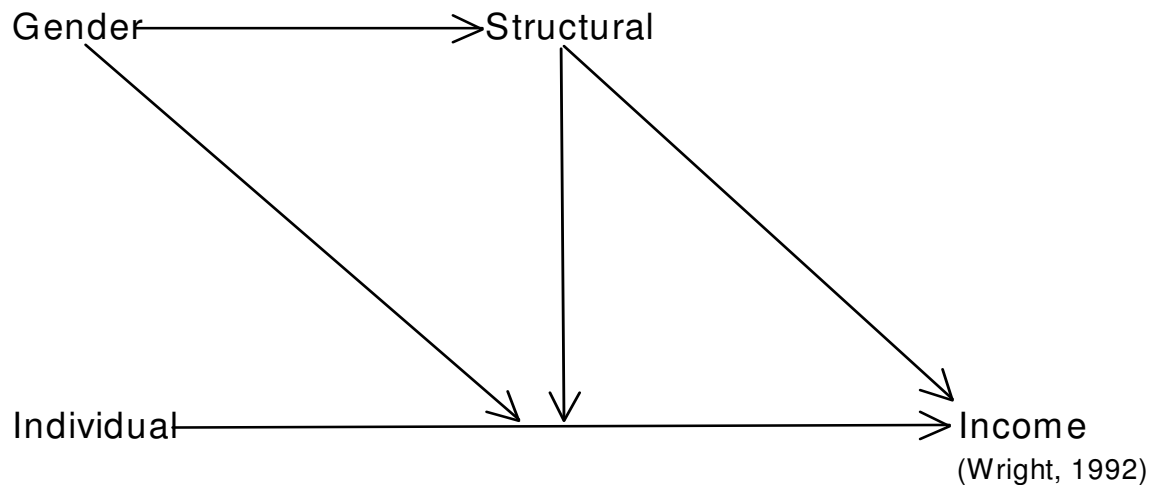
Crowding Theory states that women are 'crowded' into traditionally 'female' jobs. This sex segregation creates an oversupply of labor, which allows employers to squeeze women out of the competition for men's jobs, which in turn creates two separate labor markets. Women are then forced to share a tiny proportion of the 'labor market turf'; instead of competing with men for competitive wages and jobs, they are forced to compete with women for low-

income jobs (Bergmann 1986). Men's jobs consist of increased productivity, wages and prestige while women's jobs are characterized by low productivity, wages, and prestige. When one also considers the amount of women in unpaid labor (housewives and stay at home moms), sex segregation increases. (Cohen 2004).

Even though high levels of sex segregation exist today, some women are able to get positions in male-dominated professions. Revolving Door Theory explains how women are pushed out of men's jobs and into female-orientated jobs (Jacobs 1989). The theories on an individual level look at sex segregation in terms of individual motives, while Revolving Door Theory examines an individual's life course and how the total process of "doing gender" holds back women's involvement in male-orientated jobs. Women are often met with hostility and obstacles in advancement when entering male-dominated jobs. Women are more likely to leave male-dominated professions than female-dominated professions (Jacobs 1989). Men resent taking orders from women and feel more comfortable working with other men, which in turn decreases a woman's ability to get promotions, job training, and assignments of which would ultimately lead to promotions thus creating a 'glass ceiling' effect (Maume 1999). In female-oriented professions, men's under representation creates an advantage making it easier to bond with their male supervisors. Due to this they are more likely to obtain promotions and managerial positions than their female counterparts, creating a 'glass escalator' effect (Maume 1999).

Job Queues and Gender Queues Theory examines the process of queues, which segregate men and women into different occupations (Reskin and Roos 1990). Labor queues rank prospective employees in terms of attractiveness to employers. Job queues rank jobs in terms of their attractiveness to prospective employees (Reskin and Roos 1990). Employers hire employees with high labor queues and employees accept the jobs with high job queues that are available to them. Employers often see women as less reliable and productive due to their domestic responsibilities. It is only when there is a shortage of men to fill male-typed jobs that women are offered positions. Job queues remain the same for both men and women, in that they both desire high wages, flexible hours and benefits, but men are offered these positions over women, which force women into positions with lower job queues.

2.4 ALTERNATIVE MODEL



In the individual model, an individual's choices and motivations directly affect their income. As a person's investment in human capital increases, their income will also increase. When investments in education and job experience are made,

increases in income will follow. The structural model explains income in terms of the position an individual occupies. For example, a person who is a manager at a fast food restaurant will make more money than a cook at a fast food restaurant, regardless if the cook has more education than the manager. It is the positions that individuals occupy that determine the income and rewards that one receives, the higher the position's occupational prestige, the greater the reward. In the gender model, gender is a process that affects paid and unpaid labor. Women are pushed into female-type positions, such as retail, which has less economic return than other professions that are male-dominated. Gender determines the type of jobs women have, how much they are rewarded for individual accomplishments and how much household labor they will complete, which in turn results in less income that they ultimately receive in comparison to men.

Hypothesis:

Individual Model:

1. Net of other factors, as age increases so will income.
2. Net of other factors, as education increases so will income.

Structural Model:

3. Net of other factors, those with higher occupational skill position will have higher levels of economic return.
4. Net of other factors, positions in the goods producing sector will have higher rates of economic return due to educational investments than those positions in the service sector.

Gender Model:

5. Net of other factors, women will have a lower income than men.
6. Net of other factors, the increased amount of household labor will result in a decrease in income.
7. Women will be concentrated into lower paying jobs.

3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 DATA

The influence of household division of labor and pay inequality between men and women is examined using the 2006 American Time Use Survey (ATUS). The ATUS was part of the 2006 Current Population Survey (CPS) and was developed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the United States Census Bureau. The ATUS is a nationally representative sample targeting all residents living in the United States that are at least 15 years of age. This excludes active military personnel and those who reside in institutions such as nursing homes and prisons. A sample size of 26,328 households were contacted by telephone, or by mail if the respondent did not have a telephone. The overall response rate averaged 55.1 percent.

Those respondents who were not in the age range of 18 to 64, not currently working, who were self-employed and made less than \$10 dollars a week and more than \$3,000 a week were removed from the sample. The unweighted sample size was 6,507. Within the ATUS are sample weights that must be used so the sample will reflect the population universe. Weights create a large sample size, which generates bias and can increase the probability of a

type one error, assuming something is significant when it is not. A relative weight is created to minimize this bias by dividing the ATUS weight by its mean. The result is a sample distribution that reflects the population universe and a sample size that reflects the unweighted data.

3.2 VARIABLES

3.21 DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The dependent variable is weekly wages, which is in a range from \$10 to \$3,000 dollars. Many scholars log income to adjust for its skewed distribution however, due to sample restrictions in this study, skewness has been minimized so raw dollars are used.

3.22 INDIVIDUAL LEVEL FACTORS

Individual level factors include age, education, immigrant status, rural status and geographic region. Age is measured by the number of years that the individual has been living. Age was used as a proxy variable because there is no variable to measure work experience. It is expected that as age increases, income will also increase.

Degrees of education were coded in 5 binaries consisting of less than high school degree, high school degree, some college, college degree, and graduate degree with each having a value of 1. It is expected that as the level of education increases so will income.

The binary for immigrant status was created giving immigrants a value of 1. It is expected that those who are immigrants will have a lower income than those who are not immigrants. Rural and non-rural geographic locations were

assigned giving the rural areas a value of 1. It is expected that individuals who live in rural areas will have lower income than those who live in non-rural areas. A region variable was created with four geographic locations, Midwest, Northeast, South, and West. It was determined that the Midwest and South have lower incomes than the Northeast and West regions. With these four regions a binary was formed giving the Midwest and the South a value of 1.

3.23 STRUCTURAL LEVEL FACTORS

Structural level factors include part time status, government worker, union status, industry and occupational status. Respondents who work more than 35 hours a week are considered full time workers, and those who work less than 35 hours a week are considered part time workers. The binary for part time status gives part time workers a value of 1. It is expected that as the hours per week increases, weekly income will also increase.

The binary for worker class gives a value of 1 to government workers. A binary is used to represent unionization among respondents. Those who belong to a union are assigned a value of 1. It is expected that respondents who belong to a union will have higher income than those who do not belong to a union. A binary for the industry in which a respondent is employed was created using service and good producing industry. Service industries are assigned a value of 0 and include fast food workers and customer service. Goods producing industries are given a value of 1 and include construction and manufacturing. It is expected that those who work in the goods producing industry will have higher rates of economic return than those in the service industry.

Occupational categories include white-collar high skill (executives, professionals, educators, and health professionals), white-collar low skill (clerical and sales positions), blue-collar high skill (transportation, law enforcement and construction workers), and blue-collar low skill (machine operators, laborers, and service jobs). A binary measure was created for each category. It is expected that respondents in the white-collar high skill sector will have the highest income and those in the blue-collar low skill sector will have the lowest income.

3.24 GENDER LEVEL FACTORS

For Gender level factors, sex, occupational sex segregation, marital status, race/ethnicity, number of children, spouse worker status and family type is used. Occupational sex segregation includes the degree to which a job category is dominated by men or women. The percent of women in a particular job is divided by the total number of women in the workforce to create a measure of occupational sex segregation. This is expressed as a value, where 1 represents a job where both men and women are equally represented, greater than 1 represents a job where women are over represented and less than 1 represents a job where women are under represented.

Marital status includes three groups, married, ever married and never married. Married couples include those who are married and those who are cohabitating. Ever married includes those respondents that have been divorced, separated, and/or married. Never married consists of respondents who have never been divorced, separated, and/or married. Binaries are created for each of these three categories, with a value of 1 given to the represented group.

Values for race/ethnicity are taken from two ordinal variables. The five racial-ethnic groups in the study include white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, Asian, and other non-Hispanic. A binary of 1 is assigned to each racial-ethnic group. The binary for minority status is taken from the five racial-ethnic groups, with white non-Hispanics having a value of 0 to represent non-minority groups.

The binary for families with children assigns families that have children under 6 years old, a value of 1. A binary was created giving those who have a spouse that work full time a value of 1. Family type includes three groups, family with husband/wife present, family with single parent and family living alone. Binaries are created for each of these three categories, with a value of 1 given to the represented group.

3.25 TIME FACTORS

Time factors include household chores and leisure time. Household chores are interval level factors measured in hours per week spent on a specific chore. Household cleaning, laundry, food preparation, childcare and travel associated with childcare are included in the measure of direct intensive household labor. Household repairs, maintenance, and appliance repairs are included in household labor along with exterior repairs and maintenance, vehicle repair and lawn and garden care. Social and leisure and sports and exercise are both used to measure leisure/recreational time. It is expected that respondents with higher rates of household division of labor will also have lower income.

3.3 METHODOLOGY

Bivariate statistical analysis is used in order to determine differences between groups. The differences between men and women for household division of labor and income are tested through statistical analysis such as T-tests, with significant relationships having a significance level under .05.

Multivariate regression analysis is used to determine the relationship between household division of labor and income.

4. RESULTS

4.1 UNIVARIATE AND BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

4.1.1 TABLE 1A AND 1B: VALUES FOR FULL SAMPLE BY SEX

Table 1A consists of univariate and bivariate analysis for individual and structural level factors for men and women. There are significant differences in the dependent variable among men and women. Men are earning \$984 a week and women are earning only \$674 a week, which results in a pay gap of 68.5%. When looking at the median value rather than the mean, a pay gap is still present. Men are earning \$810 a week and women are earning \$540, which is a pay gap of 66.7%.

For individual level factors when discussing age, women are more likely to be older, at 41 years of age than men, at 40.7 years of age. Attending some college has a statistically significant difference between men and women. Women are more likely to attend some college, at 31.7%, than men at 29.1%. For other educational level factors, there were no statistically significant differences. Men are more likely to be an immigrant, at 15.5%, than women at

12.6%. There were no statistically significant differences between men and women in regards to living in a rural area or living in the Midwest or Southern region of the United States.

All structural level factors show statistically significant differences between men and women. Men on average work more hours per week at 44.23, than women who work 37.76 hours per week. When looking at the median however, men and women both work 40 hours per week. Women are more likely to work part time, at 22.9%, than men at 7.2%. Women are also more likely to be employed by the government at 22.3% compared to men at 16.2%. Men are more likely to be members of a union at 12.9% compared to women at 10.6%. Men are more likely to work in the goods producing industry at 31.5% than that of women at 9.5%. Women are more likely to work in white-collar high skill jobs at 44.6% and white-collar low skill jobs at 33.1%. Only 33.2% of men are employed in white-collar high skill jobs and 17.2% are employed in white-collar low skill jobs. Men are more likely to work in blue-collar high skill jobs at 26.3% compared to that of women at 2.8% and in blue-collar low skill jobs at 23.3% compared to women at 19.6%.

Table 1B shows that there are several statistically significant differences between men and women among the gender level factors. Women are more likely to have higher levels of occupational sex segregation, at 145.4% compared to men at 64.8%. Men are more likely to be married at 62.1% than women at 51.9%. While women are more likely to be ever married at 23.8% compared to men at 14%, being never married showed no statistically significant differences.

A higher percentage of women are black non-Hispanic, at 13.6% compared to 10.4% of men. There were no statistically significant differences for those who are white non-Hispanic, Hispanic, and other non-Hispanic. Men are more likely to have a child under the age of 6, at 29.5% than women at, 26.2%. Women are more likely to have a spouse working full time, at 44.5% than men at 31.6%. Men are more likely to have a family with a husband and wife present, at 64.5% than women at, 53.8%. Women are more likely to head a family as a single parent at, 23.7% compared to men at 10.4%. Men are more likely to be living alone at 25.1% than women at 22.5%.

4.1.2 TABLE 2: TIME USE BY MALES AND FEMALES

Table 2 demonstrates time use by males and females. Differences in all activities, including household labor are examined. For direct household labor, marital status is examined and for those respondents who are married, spouse work status, age, earning quintiles, education, job status and work hours are also examined.

For household labor, 82% of males participate compared to 93% of females. Males put in 19.7 hours per week in household labor compared to females who put in 26.7 hours per week. The weekly difference of females from males in weekly hours is 6.9. The yearly difference of females from males in days is 15.0 and the yearly difference in weeks it is 2.1. For household labor intensive, which includes cooking, cleaning, childcare and travel associated with childcare, 54% of males participate compared to 76.7% of females. Weekly hours in household labor intensive for males is 10.0, compared to that of females

at 16.0 weekly hours. The difference of females from males in weekly hours is 6.0. The yearly difference of females from males in days is 13.0 and the yearly difference in weeks is 1.9. For leisure/recreational related labor, the percentage of males who participate is 99.7% and the percentage for females is 99.3%. Weekly hours spent in leisure/recreational related labor for males is 39.6 compared to females at 34.3. The difference of females from males in weekly hours is -5.3. The yearly difference of females from males in days is -11.4 and the yearly difference in weeks is -1.6.

When examining household direct labor, respondents who are married have a higher participation rate for females 85.4% compared to males at 59.3%. When examining weekly hours in household direct labor, females participate 17.6 hours compared to males at 11.2 hours. For those who are ever married, female participation rate is 80.4% compared to males at 56.7%. In weekly participation hours, females are at 14.5 hours in comparison to males at 8.4 hours. The percentage of females who participate in household direct labor decreases for never married respondents to 58.4% compared to males at 43.8%. For weekly hours, females participate 13.0 hours compared to males at 7.8 hours.

When controlling for marital status, Table 2 shows that male's participation in household direct labor, at 59.3%, does not change relative to their spouses work hours, meaning that when their spouses work full time, males do not increase their involvement. Females in all age groups have higher participation rates than males in the same age group. For female respondents in the age group 18 to 24, participation rates are 83.8% compared to males at

58.8%. For respondent's age 60 and older, this gap increases at a 90.7% participation rate for females compared to a 54.9% participation rate for males.

In examining household direct labor by earnings quintiles, Table 2 shows that male's participation is not affected by earning class whereas females are impacted. For female respondents in the lowest 20th percent, household participation rate is 90.4% compared to females in the highest 20th percent, who have a participation rate of 77.2%.

For all education levels, females have higher participation rates than males. For respondents with less than a High School diploma, female household participation rate is 86.8% compared to male's participation rate at 51.3%. For respondents with a graduate or professional degree, female participation rate is 81.7% compared to males at 66.8%. For all occupational/skill levels, females have a higher participation rate than males. This is especially true for females in blue-collar high skill jobs who have a participation rate of 97.2% compared to males in blue-collar high skill jobs who have a participation rate of 60.2%. For blue-collar low-skill workers, male's participation rate drops to 49.8% compared to females who have a participation rate of 83.2%. Male's participation is not affected by work status whereas females are impacted. For female respondents who work full time, household participation rate is 82.9% compared to females who work part time, who have a participation rate of 93.0%.

4.1.3 TABLE 3: OLS REGRESSION ANALYSIS FOR THE INCOME

DETERMINATION MODEL

Ordinary least square regression analysis is used to determine the value effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Individual, structural and gender level factors were examined to determine their relationship on income for men and women. The full sample consists of an adjusted R-square of .590, which predicts 59% of the variance. Net of other factors, women have a negative effect on weekly wages and earn \$60.40 less per week than men.

Individual level factors include age and education level. As hypothesized, for each additional year in age, respondents earn \$4.66 more per week. Each additional year in age for men earns an extra \$5.43 compared to women at \$3.79. Using the full sample and those with less than a high school diploma as a reference group, respondents with a high school diploma earn \$58.84 more per week, those with some college earn \$122.90 more per week, those who are college graduates earn \$254.84 more per week and those with post graduate degrees earn \$450.83 more per week. This supports hypothesis 2, which states as education increases so will income. Men have a higher level of economic return for having a post graduate degree than women by earning \$505.47 more per week compared to women who earn \$393.71 more per week.

Structural level factors include goods producing industry and occupational skill level. As hypothesized, those who work in the goods producing industry earn \$22.07 more per week than those who do not work in the goods producing

industry. Using the full sample and those with blue-collar low skill jobs as a reference group, blue-collar high skill workers earn \$86.40 more per week, white-collar low skill workers earn \$117.19 more per week and white-collar high skill workers earn \$252.89 more per week. Men have a higher level of economic return for being employed in a white-collar high skill position, earning \$297.10 more per week compared to women who earn \$216.56 more per week. As hypotheses 3 states, those respondents with higher occupational skill position will have higher levels of economic return.

Gender level factors include sex, occupational sex segregation and participation in household labor. For the full sample, having a higher level of occupational sex segregation results in an income loss of \$98.62 per week. Using the full sample, those who participate in household labor food preparation earn \$15.58 less per week than those who do not participate. As hypothesized, an increases amount of time in household labor will result in a decrease in income.

4.1.4 TABLE 4: COST OF UNPAID LABOR FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Table 4 demonstrates the cost of unpaid labor for males and females. Males work 46.1 hours in paid labor compared to females who work 36.3 hours. Males spend 9.4 hours in unpaid labor compared to females who spend 22.4 hours in unpaid labor. Combining paid and unpaid labor, males work 55.4 hours in total labor compared to females who work 58.7 hours. The hourly paid labor rate for males is \$18.43 compared to females at \$14.57. Males have \$172.84 in lost wages from unpaid labor compared to females who have \$326.34 in lost

wages from unpaid labor. If females had the same leisure hours as males, the dollar number in lost wages from unpaid labor would fall to \$231.66 for females.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 DISCUSSION

All hypotheses from the alternative model are supported. As expected, hypothesis 1 is supported in that an increase in education results in an increase in income, net of other factors. Hypothesis 2 is supported, since an increase in age results in an increase in income, net of other factors. As predicted, an increase in occupational skill position results in an increase in income, net of other factors, therefore hypothesis 3 is supported. Hypothesis 4 is also supported, since those who hold positions in the goods producing sector have higher economic returns due to educational investments than those individuals in the service sector, net of other factors. Women earn \$60.40 less per week than men, net of other factors, supporting hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 6 is supported because an increase in the amount of household labor results in a decrease in income net of other factors. Women are sorted into lower paying jobs, which supports hypothesis 7.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

There are some limitations to the current study. Due to the fact that the data from the CPS is cross-sectional, analysis was not available on some items such as recent changes in living conditions, marital status, children, and length of time since receiving a degree. Changes in employment conditions such as length of time in the labor force, labor force interruptions, promotions, job loss,

and number and types of jobs would not have time to take effect or show up on earnings. Age was used as a proxy variable for work experience, which could underestimate the relationship between work experience and income. Also, measures of household division of labor are self-reported so inconsistency could exist.

5.3 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Regardless of these limitations, there are several important findings that contribute to the previous literature and provide important policy implications. For the individual segment, women are increasing their education and now have higher rates of college education than men. It is important to encourage women to attend college and further their education, but women are not receiving the same benefits as men by obtaining a higher education. Further research is needed to investigate why men are receiving a higher rate of return for investing in higher education than women, so the proper policies can be passed. On the structural level, to reduce the income gap between men and women, the inequality between jobs needs to be reduced. Men earn more money in their position of white-collar jobs than women, which is a prime example of the glass-ceiling effect. Efforts should be made by employers to hire women and also promote women within the company into these upper-level management positions.

On the gender level, increased levels of occupational sex segregation results in a decrease in pay. Jobs that are primarily occupied by women should receive more value and pay. This will reduce inequality that exists between jobs

with different levels of occupational sex segregation. Additionally, efforts should be made so that women are not sorted into lower paying positions. Women are also seeing less of an advantage in the workplace for being married. This is an example of how marriage as an institution oppresses women and benefits men. Married women make \$32.00 more per week compared to that of married men who make \$88.93 more per week, which is a difference of \$56.93. Efforts need to be made so that women are not being penalized for being married through enforcement of anti-discrimination laws based on marital status.

Marriage, childcare, and domestic labor are all factors that have greater negative economic impacts on women than men. Societal views on gender must change so that the burden of household labor and childcare does not rest solely on women. Until this change is made, the government could subsidize childcare services, as almost every other industrial nation does, and increase wages for childcare workers. Employers can also offer family friendly policies such as on-site day care, which few employers provide, flexible work hours to accommodate employees with children and paid family medical leave. This would be especially important for women who complete more of the childcare and structured household labor tasks than men. Structured household labor is more likely to create conflict with work outside the home because of the structured, time sensitive nature of the chores. Many European countries offer government mandated paid parental leave from employment so that fathers and mothers can take time off from work to care for young children without jeopardizing their positions in the labor market. For example, in Sweden all working parents are

entitled to 18 months paid leave per child, the cost being shared between the employer and the state. To encourage a greater paternal involvement a minimum of 3 months out of the 18 months is required to be used by the 'minority' parent, most often the father, for child rearing.

Media advertising and entertainment content, that so often depicts women completing the household labor, can be changed. A campaign can be launched to encourage men to engage in household labor. Finally, changes can be made to the current laws against pregnancy discrimination, which only protects those women working in companies with 50 or more employees, meaning that many women can be legally fired for becoming pregnant.

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APPENDICES

Table 1A
Values for Full Sample by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample	Men ¹ ²	Women	Pay Gap %
Weekly Earnings(mean):	\$821	\$984 *** ^	\$674	68.5%
Weekly Earnings(median):	\$660	\$810	\$540	66.7%
(stddev)	(607)	(660)	(512)	
Individual-level factors:				
Age (years)	40.9 (11.23)	40.7 *** (11.01)	41.0 (11.43)	
% Less than High School (0,1)	8.8% (0.28)	9.2% (0.29)	8.4% (0.28)	
% High School Degree (0,1)	24.8% (0.43)	25.7% (0.44)	24.0% (0.43)	
% Some College (0,1)	30.5% (0.46)	29.1% *** (0.45)	31.7% (0.47)	
% Graduate Degree (0,1)	13.5% (0.34)	14.0% (0.35)	13.1% (0.34)	
% Immigrant (0,1)	14.0% (0.35)	15.5% *** (0.36)	12.6% (0.33)	
% Rural (0,1)	16.4% (0.37)	16.4% (0.37)	16.3% (0.37)	
% South/Midwest Region (0,1)	60.9% (0.49)	60.5% (0.49)	61.2% (0.49)	
Structural-level factors:				
Hours worked per week (mean)	41.17	44.23 *** ^	37.76	
(median)	40	40	40	
(stddev)	(12.28)	(12.18)	(11.46)	
% Part Time (0,1)	15.5% (0.36)	7.2% *** ^ (0.26)	22.9% (0.42)	
% Government (0,1)	19.4% (0.40)	16.2% *** (0.37)	22.3% (0.42)	
% Union Workers (0,1)	11.8% (0.32)	12.9% ** (0.34)	10.6% (0.31)	
% Goods Producing Industry (0,1)	21.1% (0.41)	31.5% *** ^ (0.46)	9.5% (0.29)	
% White-Collar High Skill (0,1)	38.6% (0.49)	33.2% *** ^ (0.47)	44.6% (0.50)	
% White-Collar Low Skill (0,1)	24.7% (0.43)	17.2% *** ^ (0.38)	33.1% (0.47)	
% Blue-Collar High Skill (0,1)	15.2% (0.36)	26.3% *** ^ (0.44)	2.8% (0.16)	
% Blue-Collar Low Skill (0,1)	21.6% (0.41)	23.3% *** (0.42)	19.6% (0.40)	
Sample n (weighted):	6,507	3,071	3,436	
	100.0%	47.2%	52.8%	

¹ = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

² = effect size greater = > .20

Table 1B
Values for Full Sample by Sex

Variables:	Full Sample	Men ^{1 2}	Women
Gender:			
Occupational Sex Segregation	1.04 (0.65)	0.65 *** ^ (0.53)	1.45 (0.05)
% Married (0,1)	56.7% (0.50)	62.1% *** ^ (0.49)	51.9% (0.50)
% Ever Married (0,1)	19.2% (0.39)	14.0% *** ^ (0.35)	23.8% (0.43)
% Never Married (0,1)	24.1% (0.43)	23.9% (0.43)	24.3% (0.43)
% White Non-Hispanic (0,1)	68.6% (0.46)	69.3% (0.46)	68.0% (0.47)
% Black Non-Hispanic (0,1)	12.1% (0.33)	10.4% *** (0.31)	13.6% (0.34)
% Hispanic (0,1)	14.0% (0.35)	15.0% (0.36)	14.0% (0.34)
% Other Non-Hispanic (0,1)	5.1% (0.22)	5.4% (0.23)	4.9% (0.22)
% with children under 6 (0,1)	27.8% (0.45)	29.5% *** (0.46)	26.2% (0.44)
% Spouse Full Time (0,1)	38.4% (0.49)	31.6% *** ^ (0.46)	44.5% (0.50)
% Family with Husband/Wife (0,1)	58.8% (0.49)	64.5% *** ^ (0.48)	53.8% (0.50)
% Family with Single Parent (0,1)	17.4% (0.38)	10.4% *** ^ (0.31)	23.7% (0.43)
% Family Living Alone (0,1)	23.7% (0.43)	25.1% *** (0.43)	22.5% (0.42)
Sample n (weighted):	6,507 100.0%	3,071 47.2%	3,436 52.8%

¹ = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

² = effect size greater = > .20

TABLE 2
Time Use by Males & Females

	% who participate		weekly hours		Difference of females from males		
	male	female	male	female	wkly diff in hours	yearly diff in days	yearly diff in weeks
All activities including household labor:							
employment related labor	75.6%	71.8%	63.4	55.9	-7.4	-16.1	-2.3
household labor	82.0%	93.0%	19.7	26.7	6.9	15.0	2.1
household labor intensive ¹	54.0%	76.7%	10.0	16.0	6.0	13.0	1.9
civic related labor	10.9%	11.8%	15.8	13.4	-2.5	-5.3	-0.8
personal related labor	99.9%	#####	61.8	66.2	4.4	9.6	1.4
leisure/recreational related labor	99.7%	99.3%	39.6	34.3	-5.3	-11.4	-1.6
Household labor direct ¹							
Marital Status:							
married	59.3%	85.4%	11.2	17.6	6.4	13.8	2.0
ever married	56.7%	80.4%	8.4	14.5	6.1	13.2	1.9
never married	43.8%	58.4%	7.8	13.0	5.2	11.2	1.6
Married Only:							
Spouse work status:							
no work	59.3%	87.8%	11.2	15.5	4.3	9.4	1.3
works FT	59.3%	84.7%	11.3	18.2	6.9	15.0	2.1
Age-cohorts:							
18 to 24	58.8%	83.8%	16.3	16.2	-0.1	-0.2	0.0
25 to 29	58.2%	72.8%	11.8	23.4	11.5	25.0	3.6
30 to 59	59.7%	86.7%	11.4	17.7	6.3	13.7	2.0
60 & older	54.9%	90.7%	6.3	9.6	3.3	7.2	1.0
Earnings quintiles:							
lowest 20th pct	60.2%	90.4%	11.0	20.9	9.9	21.5	3.1
second 20th pct	56.1%	88.2%	10.6	18.0	7.5	16.2	2.3
third 20th pct	59.2%	86.1%	11.4	16.2	4.8	10.4	1.5
fourth 20th pct	60.2%	80.9%	10.5	15.4	4.9	10.5	1.5
highest 20th pct	59.7%	77.2%	12.3	16.5	4.1	9.0	1.3
Education:							
less than H.S. dipl.	51.3%	86.8%	10.8	20.7	9.9	21.5	3.1
H.S. diploma	54.8%	86.9%	10.1	16.3	6.1	13.3	1.9
some college	58.4%	85.9%	10.7	17.1	6.4	13.8	2.0
College deg (BA/BS)	67.8%	84.7%	12.8	19.1	6.3	13.6	1.9
Graduate or professional	66.8%	81.7%	12.4	17.6	5.1	11.1	1.6
Job status:							
white-collar high-skill	64.3%	84.6%	12.2	18.3	6.1	13.2	1.9
white-collar low-skill	58.8%	86.9%	11.3	16.4	5.1	11.0	1.6
blue-collar high-skill	60.2%	97.2%	11.0	15.7	4.7	10.2	1.5
blue-collar low-skill	49.8%	83.2%	9.5	18.4	8.9	19.2	2.7
Work hours:							
full-time	59.6%	82.9%	11.3	16.2	4.9	10.6	1.5
part-time	52.7%	93.0%	9.6	21.3	11.7	25.3	3.6

Household direct intensive ¹ = cooking, cleaning, laundry, childcare & travel associated with childcare

TABLE 3
 OLS Regression Analysis for the Income Determination Model
 (Dependent variable = weekly earnings)

Variables:	Full sample		Men		Women	
	unstd.	std.	unstd.	std.	unstd.	std.
<i>Individual-level factors:</i>						
Age (years)	\$4.66 ***	0.135	\$5.43 ***	0.147 <>	\$3.79 ***	0.127
Age squared	-\$0.18 ***	-0.061	-\$0.19 ***	-0.062	-\$0.16 ***	-0.065
Post Graduate (0,1)	\$450.83 ***	0.309	\$505.47 ***	0.318 <>	\$393.71 ***	0.316
College Graduate (0,1)	\$254.84 ***	0.234	\$279.28 ***	0.239	\$222.47 ***	0.237
Some College (0,1)	\$122.90 ***	0.131	\$142.00 ***	0.142	\$94.22 ***	0.115
High Sch. Dipl. (0,1)	\$58.84 ***	0.063	\$72.19 ***	0.075	\$39.34 ***	0.047
Less H.S. (0,1)	ref. grp.		ref. grp.		ref. grp.	
Rural (0,1)	-\$102.07 ***	-0.089	-\$99.33 ***	-0.084	-\$100.36 ***	-0.098
South & Midwest region (0,1)	-\$39.96 ***	-0.046	-\$43.86 ***	-0.048	-\$35.76 ***	-0.046
Immigrant (0,1)	-\$34.49 **	-0.028	-\$57.75 ***	-0.048	\$5.23	0.005
<i>Structural-level factors:</i>						
Work hours per week	\$13.72 ***	0.383	\$13.94 ***	0.370	\$13.26 ***	0.390
Union member (0,1)	\$68.35 ***	0.051	\$72.07 ***	0.054	\$65.69 ***	0.052
Government (0,1)	-\$24.77 *	-0.022	-\$38.28 *	-0.030	-\$10.62	-0.011
Goods-producing (0,1)	\$22.07 *	0.021	\$19.86	0.021	\$26.13	0.020
White-Collar High Skill (0,1)	\$252.89 ***	0.282	\$297.10 ***	0.301 <>	\$216.56 ***	0.282
White-Collar Low Skill (0,1)	\$117.19 ***	0.118	\$119.82 ***	0.099	\$106.62 ***	0.133
Blue-Collar High Skill (0,1)	\$86.40 ***	0.073	\$90.96 ***	0.090	\$99.80	0.043
Blue-Collar Low Skill (0,1)	ref. grp.		ref. grp.		ref. grp.	
<i>Gender:</i>						
Female (0,1)	-\$60.40 ***	-0.070				
Occ.Sex-Seg.Index	-\$98.26 ***	-0.150	-\$103.44 ***	-0.121	-\$97.89 ***	-0.130
Married (0,1)	\$69.35 ***	0.080	\$88.93 ***	0.097 <>	\$32.00 *	0.042
Spouse full time (0,1)	-\$21.18 *	-0.024	-\$28.75 *	-0.030	\$0.76	0.001
With child under age 6 (0,1)	\$29.19 **	0.028	\$40.71 **	0.038	\$4.00	0.004
Household Labor Cleaning	\$2.33	0.002	\$15.30	0.011	-\$8.26	-0.010
Household Labor Laundry	-\$8.42	-0.007	\$2.56	0.001	-\$2.76	-0.003
Household Labor Food Preparation	-\$15.58 *	-0.018	-\$8.81	-0.009	-\$26.62 ***	-0.034
Minority (exc asian) (0,1)	-\$30.64 **	-0.031	-\$22.58	-0.022	-\$37.46 **	-0.043
(Constant):	-\$789.15 ***		-\$938.29 ***		-\$670.25 ***	
Adjusted R-sq.	0.590 ***		0.582 ***		0.559 ***	
n=	6,071		3,132		2,939	

¹ = *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05; ns non-significant

² significant difference between men and women at the .05 level or higher

TABLE 4
Cost of Unpaid Labor for Men and Women

Groups:	hours in paid labor	hours in unpaid labor*	total labor hours	hourly paid labor rate	lost wages from unpaid labor	if women had same leisure hours as men
Male	46.1	9.4	55.4	\$18.43	\$172.84	\$172.84
Female	36.3	22.4	58.7	\$14.57	\$326.34	\$231.66

(median values shown)

* Direct Household Labor = cooking, cleaning, laundry, childcare & travel associated with childcare