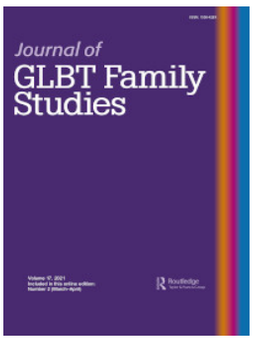

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of GLBT Family Studies

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/wgfs20

Same-Sex Couples' Division of Labor from a Cross-National Perspective

Maaike van der Vleuten, Eva Jaspers & Tanja van der Lippe

To cite this article: Maaike van der Vleuten, Eva Jaspers & Tanja van der Lippe (2021) Same-Sex Couples' Division of Labor from a Cross-National Perspective, Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 17:2, 150-167, DOI: 10.1080/1550428X.2020.1862012

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2020.1862012

JOURNAL OF GLBT FAMILY STUDIES
2021, VOL. 17, NO. 2, 150–167
https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2020.1862012

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group

Same-Sex Couples' Division of Labor from a Cross-National Perspective

Maaike van der Vleuten[a], Eva Jaspers[b], and Tanja van der Lippe[b]

[a]Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden; [b]Department of Sociology/ICS, Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This study concerns how male and female same-sex couples across countries organize their paid and household labor. Using unique data compiled from multiple national surveys in 7 western countries (N = 723), we examined same-sex couples' paid and household task allocation and evaluate descriptively how this is associated with countries' gender egalitarianism. For paid labor, results indicate that female same-sex couples spend less time in total on paid employment than male same-sex couples, but both male and female same-sex couples divide their hours of paid employment equally. For household labor, we find that female couples divide their household tasks more equally than male couples. Moreover, more gender egalitarian countries appear to be correlated to increasing differences between male and female same-sex couples' total time spent on the labor market and to decreasing differences in how equal they divide their household labor. These findings suggest that larger, society-wide, gender regimes might be an important avenue for future research when studying same-sex couples paid and unpaid labor.

KEYWORDS

Same-sex couples; paid and household labor; gender norms; cross-national; gender egalitarianism

Introduction

A common stereotype is that same-sex couples adopt husband-wife roles in their intimate relationships, although the general conclusion is that same-sex partners do not divide their chores in such a way that one partner is the 'husband' and the other is the 'wife' (Kurdek, 2005). Research has consistently shown that same-sex couples divide their tasks more equally than different-sex couples (Evertsson & Boye, 2018; Fulcher et al., 2008; Perlesz et al., 2010; Solomon et al., 2005; Tornello et al., 2015). But research suggests that male and female couples do differ in how they divide tasks (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013). This implies that regardless of a person's sexual orientation, gender roles may play a role in household and labor-market decision processes of same-sex couples. Partners in same-sex relationships have also been raised in mostly heterosexual households in heteronormative societies, exposing them to the same normative forces as heterosexuals (Brewster, 2017), potentially affecting their work-family behaviors. So, in order to understand persistent gendered patterns of work-family behavior, we compare male and female same-sex couples and test to what extent traditional gender expectations are reflected in their division of labor empirically.

CONTACT Maaike van der Vleuten Maaike.vanderVleuten@sofi.su.se Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden.

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed at https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2020.1862012.

Previous research on same-sex couples' labor allocation has focused mainly on lesbian couples with children (Brewster, 2017; Ciano-Boyce & Shelley-Sireci, 2003; Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2007), whereas only a few focused on gay male couples and on comparing gay male to lesbian couples (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013; Perlesz et al., 2010; Solomon et al., 2005). Often these studies are based on small sample sizes and examine household tasks (e.g., Kurdek, 2007) or paid labor (e.g., Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013). This study contributes by comparing male and female couples in a relatively large sample ($N = 723$) and looks at how couples organize paid as well as household labor. We will study the division of paid and household labor through the relative contribution of each of the partners. For paid labor we are also able to study the number of hours spent by both partners, since the data include absolute time spent on the labor market. For household labor this information is not available.

Additionally, this study is one of the first to explore how same-sex couples' allocation of paid and household labor might differ across countries. So far, studies have looked at single countries only. We study same-sex couples in Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and the United Kingdom. We use unique data compiled by merging information on same-sex couples from multiple surveys and explore descriptively how societal gender egalitarianism affects same-sex couples´ allocation of paid labor and household labor. As research on couples in a heterosexual relationship indicates, the pressure to conform to normative gender expectations might differ depending on a society's gender egalitarianism (Ruppanner, 2010; Fuwa, 2004; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). If this also applies to same-sex couples, we should see differences between same-sex male and female couples' paid an unpaid labor allocation across countries. This paper therefore explores the question whether same-sex couples allocate their paid and unpaid labor differently depending on the countries they live in, and whether this associates with the gender egalitarianism of a nation?

Theory

Socio-economic models and adherence to equity

Common explanations for the division of labor between same-sex partners focus on both socio-economic resources and equity norms. First, socio-economic models of household specialization argue that the partner with the most resources (e.g., income, education, occupational prestige) specializes in paid labor to optimize household output (Becker, 1981) or uses these resources to negotiate their way out of doing household tasks (Brines, 1993). Empirical outcomes indicate however that being in a same-sex relationship is a more important predictor of an equal division of labor than having similar incomes (Shechory & Ziv, 2007; Solomon et al., 2005). Moreover, even though same-sex couples are generally less homogenous with respect to education and age than different-sex couples (Schwartz & Graf, 2009), specialization is rare. Socio-economic models thus do not fully capture their paid and unpaid tasks, and more importantly do not give insight in why male and female same-sex couples allocate paid and unpaid labor differently (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2007).

The second explanation often applied to same-sex couples in the literature is that they have a greater adherence to equity norms and are therefore more committed to dividing tasks equally (Ciano-Boyce & Shelley-Sireci, 2003; Downing & Goldberg, 2011; Kurdek, 2007). When comparing male and female same-sex couples, this explanation also falls short, in two respects. First, it does not give a rationale on how these enhanced egalitarian attitudes arise among those in same-sex relationships. The observed equity could just as well be a result of having been socialized with the same gender role expectations, that individuals apply not only to themselves, but to their same-sex partner as well. Households comprising of two partners with the same norms regarding what is proper behavior for themselves (and their partner) may unintentionally end up as a

household with a very equal division. Partners in same-sex couples may also have a more similar skillset compared to partners in different sex couples, leading to more equity in task division (Giddings, 2003). Second, and more importantly, stronger equity norms among same-sex couples does not explain why there might be differences *between* male and female couples in labor market and household behavior. Theories of gender socialization have therefore gained popularity in explaining the division of labor (e.g., Downing & Goldberg, 2011; Goldberg, 2013; Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2007), since they are able to take differences between female and male couples into account.

Gender theory

Gender theory focuses on how behaviors are gendered and how social structures carry gender value and give gender advantages (Connell, 1987). In a heteronormative society, this social construction of gender as "masculinity" and "femininity" are expressions of deeply inscribed stereotypes concerning male dominance and female subordinance. In this construction, paid work, which is more often considered to be men's responsibility, is regarded as more 'valuable' than unpaid labor or domestic tasks, which are more often considered to be women's responsibility (Downing & Goldberg, 2011). More specifically, women are socialized to take on a caring role and household tasks, whereas men are socialized to take on the breadwinner role and to be financially independent (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983). Pressures to conform to these normative gender expectations are pervasive. Individuals internalize such expectations from their environment (i.e., parents, media, and peers), and come to believe that acting in accordance with their prescribed gender roles is natural and good, whereas cross-gendered behaviors are unnatural and pathological (Gerdes & Levant, 2018). Although these pressures are present for both men and women, research has revealed that men face heavier social pressure to conform to conventional gender-role behaviors than women, as gender nonconformity in men is generally less accepted (Keiller, 2010). The persuasiveness of traditional gender-role expectations is visible in current research on different-sex couples, which shows that women still perform most of the household tasks, whereas men perform more paid labor (Van der Lippe et al., 2011). Although we are not able in our contribution to measure gender role expectations directly, we study empirically how these roles are reflected in same-sex couples' labor market allocation.

Paid labor and gender theory

Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) and Carrington (1999) concluded that paid labor is an essential part of the 'male' identity. Gay men in their studies preferred that both partners performed paid labor because otherwise one partner might feel he is relinquishing some of his masculinity. Jaspers and Verbakel (2013) found that same-sex male couples work more hours in total than same-sex female couples and attributed this finding to male and female gender-role socialization. Moreover, although studied in a context where the labor market is characterized by the availability of part-time jobs, they also found support for the expectation that female couples opt more for dual part-time arrangements and male couples opt more for dual full-time arrangements. Note that the number of hours that a couple in total spends on the labor market is not (necessarily) related to how they divide these hours. As the performance of paid labor is part of male gender-role expectations and not part of female gender-role expectations, female same-sex couples are likely to spend fewer hours in total on paid labor than male same-sex couples.

Following the literature, we assume that paid labor is more valued than unpaid labor, and that modern gender roles also require paid labor to be performed by women (Van Bavel et al., 2018). Both men and women in same-sex couples in Western societies thus face expectations that they perform paid labor. Gender theory predicts that because two partners of the same sex are the

products of the same gender-role socialization, their behavioral choices with respect to hours spent on the labor market will be alike. This means that both partners will work similar hours. Consequently, although male couples might work more hours than female couples, male and female couples do not differ in terms of how equally they divide their paid employment (e.g., both partners in a couple have similar working hours). In other words, female partners in a same-sex relationship divide their tasks as equal as male partners in a same-sex relationship.

Household labor and gender theory

Household chores are generally considered to be tedious, subordinate and boring tasks that are however necessary to perform (Brewster, 2017; Coltrane, 2000). Because normative gender expectations traditionally require women to focus on taking care of the household, women feel pressure to perform household tasks. Although men might feel strongly pressured to perform paid labor, gender role expectations dictate to a much lesser extent that they perform domestic work. Furthermore, women may have been taught domestic skills in their upbringing, leveling their abilities in performing domestic work, whereas men may not. Consequently, men experience few normative constraints in deciding who is responsible for household labor, whereas women, regardless of the gender of their partner may experience normative pressure to perform household tasks. The relative freedom for men in the allocation of domestic labor might lead to a task division based on other reasons. For example, as household labor is often considered less valuable and male partners prefer to perform paid labor, male partners may try to negotiate their way out of doing domestic chores (Brines, 1993), leaving those with less earning capabilities with performing household labor. Women might experience pressure to perform household tasks, regardless of their relative earning capacities (cf. women in mixed-sex couples) and they might expect their female partner to display similar domestic behaviors. If we then compare same-sex male couples to same-sex female couples, we expect that, on average, female couples will divide their domestic tasks more equally than male couples. A small number of studies based on small sample sizes have supported this expectation (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Johnson & O'Connor, 2002; Kurdek, 2007).

In summary, derived from gender theory, this study will test the following hypotheses on how male and female same-sex couples allocate their paid and unpaid labor:

H1: Female same-sex couples spend fewer hours in total on *paid* labor than male same-sex couples.

H2: Female same-sex couples divide their *paid* work as equally as male same-sex couples.

H3: Female same-sex couples have a more equal division of *household* labor than male same-sex couples.

Countries' gender egalitarianism

Research has documented the importance of understanding how gender equity shape different-sex couples' labor allocation (Fuwa, 2004, Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010, Ruppanner, 2010). Although not completely consistent (Fuwa, 2004), research on different-sex couples reveals that couples in gender-egalitarian countries (e.g. Norway) divide their tasks more equally than couples in less gender-egalitarian societies (e.g. United Kingdom), net of individual characteristics (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). In more gender-egalitarian societies, gender-normative expectations to conform to traditional male or female gender-role behavior are less compelling. Men and women in gender-egalitarian societies generally have more freedom in deciding on their work hours and household labor. Consequently, partners in male and female same-sex couples should feel less pressure to take on the role of breadwinner or homemaker, respectively. By comparing same-sex male and same-sex female couples across countries, we shed light on the question whether same-sex couples allocate their tasks differently depending on the countries they live

in, and whether this associates with the gender egalitarianism of a nation? With respect to paid labor, we expected to find that female couples perform fewer hours of paid labor than male couples (H1) a difference that might be smaller in more gender-egalitarian societies than in less gender-egalitarian ones.

For the division of household tasks, we argued that female same-sex couples divide tasks more equally than male same-sex couples because partners in female couples experience more pressure to perform household tasks than partners in male couples (H3). As there is more pressure to conform to normative gender expectations in less gender-egalitarian societies, we thus might observe the equality in task-division between male and female couples to be smaller in less gender-egalitarian societies than in more gender-egalitarian societies.

Method

Data

The data used were compiled by merging information on same-sex couples from multiple data sets collected in national surveys. The resulting cross-sectional, cross-national data set contains data on 358 same-sex male and 365 same-sex female couples (total $N = 723$) nested in multiple countries. Overall, data on 7 countries were accumulated from the following surveys: wave 1 and 2 of the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP; United Nations, 2005–2013; $n = 348$), European Social Survey (ESS; ESS Round, 2006; $n = 62$), wave 16, 17 and 18 of the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS, 2006 – 2009; Bardasi, Jenkins, Sutherland, Levy, & Zantino, 2012; $n = 29$), wave 5 of the UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS, 2014; $n = 77$), Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP; Kraaykamp et al., 2009; $n = 18$), Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS; De Graaf et al., 2010; $n = 33$); 6 waves of the German Family Panel (pairfam, release 3.1; Nauck et al., 2012; $n = 69$); and 16 waves of The German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP; Goebel, Grabka, Liebig, & Kroh, 2019; SOEP, 2018; $n = 87$). Although these datasets were collected for different reasons and do not focus specifically on same-sex couples, they were chosen because they all contain information necessary for identifying same-sex couples, as well as information on paid employment and division of household labor. Moreover, previous studies on different-sex couples show important differences between the countries included in our study (France, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, Australia, Germany and Norway) with respect to their gender egalitarianism as well as in how couples arrange their paid and unpaid labor (Fuwa, 2004; Ruppanner, 2010). Table 1 in the supplemental material summarizes the most important characteristics of the data sets used, provides more sampling information of each survey and shows a detailed overview of how many couples were selected from which survey, country and year. We grouped together all years within a country (for example, couples from Germany in 2008 and 2014 were grouped together). This way, we have only countries in our data that contain 40 or more same-sex couples. Table 2 in the supplementary material provides an overview of the number of same-sex couples per country. The number of respondents differs slightly for household and paid labor because the UHKLS does not contain information on the division of household labor (see supplementary material for more information). This would leave us with 29 couples from the United Kingdom (from the BHPS) in our analyses on household labor. As this number is too low to draw any conclusions, we decided to delete the UK from our analyses on household labor.

Selection of Same-Sex Couples

For most datasets, multiple measures could be used to determine if couples were of the same sex. We used sex of the respondent as reported by the respondents themselves *and* sex of partner

provided by the partner themselves to create a measure of same-sex couples (BHPS, UKHLS, FSDP, Pairfam, SOEP). If this information was not available, we relied only on the information provided by respondents about their partner's sex (NELLS, GGP). If both measures were available, both measures were used to determine a same-sex relationship (pairfam waves). Furthermore, if information on the household grid was available (BHPS, UKHLS, GGP), we constructed an additional measure indicating same-sex households. For the ESS, same-sex couples were identified only by using household grid information provided by the respondent. For the FSDP, an additional measure was employed in which respondents and their partners indicated whether they lived in a 'male-male' or 'female-female' household. We only selected couples if all available measures in each of the original datasets indicated that respondents were in a same-sex relationship. All couples selected live together, are between the ages of 18 and 60, and are not retired.

For all data sets, the percentage of same-sex couples who cohabit or are married, who are between 18 and 60 years of age, and who are not retired was never higher than approximately 2,6% of the total number of couples in the data set with the same background characteristics. Depending on the definition of homosexuality used, the percentage of same-sex couples observed in other studies is usually higher (Black et al., 2000). This indicates that our selection criteria were rather strict, and we may have excluded some same-sex couples by applying these criteria, but as Black et al. (2000) show, misclassification of heterosexual respondents as homosexual can result in considerable bias. More information on the selection of respondents or other data characteristics is available upon request.

Measures

To make the variables consistent across different datasets, we used all information regarding the *dependent* variables as provided by the respondents themselves and not their partners. However, for FSDP, UKHLS and the SOEP, the variable on work hours of the partner was not reported by the respondent, and therefore the number of work hours reported by the partner was used. For information regarding the *independent* variables we also relied mostly on the information provided by the respondents themselves and not their partners. However, for FSDP, BHPS, UKHLS and SOEP, information on the partner was only asked to the partner and, therefore, we relied on their information when constructing variables for these datasets.

Dependent variables

More details on the precise construction of the dependent variables per survey can be found in the online supplementary material.

Total work hours. This is the combined number of hours actually worked by respondent and partner in an average week (including overtime). This measure is top-coded at 60 for partner ($n = 18$) and respondent ($n = 11$). The couple's total work hours per week can therefore not exceed 120 hours.

Work hours ratio. This ratio indicates the division of paid labor and is calculated as the smallest number of work hours in the couple divided by the largest number. A ratio of 1 indicates perfect equity, whereas 0 indicates a couple in which one partner works full time or part time and the other is unemployed.

Division of household labor. The division of household labor was constructed in two steps. The first step involved creating a mean scale based on items asking the respondent which partner performs certain household tasks (for example: "Who does the household tasks?", followed by a list of household tasks: "Preparing daily meals,"; for specific questions per survey, see supplementary material). Routine household tasks were selected in each data set that are among the most time-

consuming household chores (Coltrane, 2000). Except for the BHPS, the ESS and the SOEP, the response categories in all data sets ranged from 1 = *always respondent* to 5 = *always partner*. For BHPS, the question only had three answer categories instead of five, namely 1.5 = *mostly self*, 4.5 = *mostly partner* and 3 = *shared*. The mean of the items was taken also when respondents did not answer all household items.

For the ESS and the SOEP, this first step was different (see supplementary material for more information on how we calculated this for the ESS and the SOEP). The ESS contains information on how much of the total time spent on household tasks is accounted for by the respondent on a typical weekday and how much of the total time spent on household tasks is accounted for by the partner on a typical weekday. Similar questions concerned weekends. The response categories ranged from 1 = *none* to 6 = *all or nearly all of the time*. This measure was recoded into a 5-point scale by first recoding all four items with a 6-point scale into six cutoff points between 0 and 1. Second, two variables were created, one for week days and one for the weekend, representing the total sum of household work performed by respondent and partner combined. Third, respondents' proportion of household work was computed by dividing the respondents' value by the total amount of household work done, again for week and weekend days separately. Finally, we calculated respondents' proportion of household tasks for one full week. This resulted in a measure between 0 and 1, which was recoded into the necessary 5-point scale using the cutoff points 0.2, 0.4, 0.6, and 0.8.

In all waves of the SOEP, respondents and their partners were asked about the total number of hours they spend during a typical weekday on household labor. They had to provide the number of hours, with a max of 20 a day. In most waves (2015, 2013, 2012, 2009, 2007, 2005, 2003 and 2001), respondents also reported the total number of hours spent on household labor on a typical Saturday and Sunday. We subsequently calculated two variables: the total number of household labor that is done in a typical week (Monday–Friday) and the total number of household labor done in a typical weekend (if available) by respondent and partner combined. Respondents' proportion of household work was computed by dividing respondents' hours on household labor by the total sum of household work done in a typical week and the weekend, respectively. Finally, we calculated respondents' proportion of household tasks for one full week. This resulted in a measure between 0 and 1, which was recoded into the necessary 5-point scale using the cutoff points 0.2, 0.4, 0.6, and 0.8.

The second step involved (for all datasets) recoding this mean score scale that ranges from 1 "*always respondent*" to 5 "*always partner*" into a categorical variable with categories 0 = *unequal or somewhat unequal household task division*, 1 = *equal household task division*. Mean scores lower than 1.5 and higher than 4.5 can be grouped together because both indicate an unequal task division within a household. Similarly, mean scores higher or equal to 1.5 and lower than 2.5, and higher than 3.5 and lower or equal to 4.5 indicate a somewhat (un)equal task division. We grouped together the unequal and the somewhat (un)equal group (0 = *unequal or somewhat unequal household task division*) because too few couples had a very unequal task division to take this into account as a separate category ($n = 57$).[1] Mean scores higher or equal to 2.5 and lower or equal to 3.5 indicate an equal task division (1 = *equal household task division*).

Household-level independent variables

Female same-sex couple indicates whether the couple is *female (1)* or *male (0)*. To identify the sex of the couple, we used self-reported sex of respondent and partner (BHPS, UKHLS, FSDP, SOEP, pairfam), relied on information provided by respondents about their partner's sex (NELLS, GGP) and/or used information on the household grid (BHPS, UKHLS, GGP, ESS). For the FSDP, we additionally used whether partners lived in a 'male-male' or 'female-female' household, as indicated by the partners themselves.

Household-level control variables

Education. We control for educational differences in models about the division of paid and unpaid labor and for mean education in models about hours spent on the labor market.[2] Educational level is measured by an internationally comparable measure of education: the International Standard Classification of Education Scale (ISCED97; UNESCO, 2006). This scale ranges from 1 = *pre-primary education* to 6 = *second stage of tertiary education*. The measure was available for the GGP, pairfam, BHPS, UKHLS and the SOEP. In the case of NELLS, ESS and FSDP, the available educational variables were recoded into this measure. The variable *educational difference* was constructed by taking the absolute difference between respondent's and partner's education. *Mean education* was constructed by taking the mean value of respondent's and partner's education.

Age. Similarly, we control for age difference between partners when studying the division of household and paid labor, and for a couple's mean age when studying hours spent on paid employment. *Age difference* between respondent and partner was measured as the absolute difference in age between partner and respondent. *Mean age* of couples was constructed by taking the mean value of respondents' and partners' age.

Age youngest child living in household.[3] This measure is coded as 0 = *no child*, 1 = *youngest child is under the age of 6* and 2 = *youngest child is age 6 or older* and will be included in the analyses as dummy variables with couples with no children as reference category.

Household income. We control for household income when testing our hypotheses on household labor.[4] This measure was constructed by ranking all respondents (including respondents in a different-sex relation) per country according to household income after which deciles were calculated. This resulted in a measure that ranges from 1 = *lowest incomes* to 10 = *highest incomes*.

Country-level independent variable

The *Gender Empowerment Measure* (GEM; United Nations Development Program, 2002–2010) is used to evaluate macro-level gender equality. Although the GEM measure has been criticized (Ruppanner, 2010), we chose to measure societal gender equality with the GEM because it has been used extensively in prior research on different-sex couples (Dotti Sani, 2014; Fuwa, 2004; Ruppanner, 2010). This measure is an indicator of women's economic power, participation in politics and their access to professional opportunities. The GEM is constructed using three indicators: percentage of seats held by women in national parliaments; percentage of women in economic decision making positions (including administrative, managerial, professional and technical occupations); and women's share of income, in comparison with that of men. The measure ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values representing greater gender equality. We used the GEM dating from one year before the survey was administered to prevent the effect of gender equality being measured after the dependent variable, i.e. the time lag between the influence (or potential influence) of the context and the appropriation of individuals' behavior (Blossfeld et al., 1999). This measure was not available for France; instead, we used the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which is comparable to the GEM, to construct a gender equity score for that country. We took a list of countries ranked by GII score and identified which countries ranked just above and just below France the year before the survey was administered (see the supplementary material for more information on how this was done). The mean GEM scores of these two countries were used to estimate the GEM for France. This measure of GEM is for country-years (e.g., France, 2008). We averaged country-year GEM scores to obtain one GEM score per country. The correlations between GEM score of the country-year combination and the average GEM score were high ($r = 0.84$).

Table 1 provides the descriptive statistics of all variables. We provide more information on how our dependent variables are distributed across countries in supplementary material (Figures 1–3).

Table 1. Household level and country level characteristics: descriptive statistics ($N = 723$). Household incomeb

	M (SD)				
	Total	Male couples	Female couples	Min	Max
Household level dependent variables					
Paid labor[a]					
Total work hours	67.39	69.60	65.22	0	120
	(24.50)	(24.89)	(23.94)		
Work hours ratio	0.64	0.65	0.62	0	1
	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.36)		
Division of household tasks[b]					
Household tasks					
Unequal/Somewhat equal	.52	.56	.48		
Equal	.48	. 44	.52		
Household level independent variables					
Lesbian couple	.50			0	1
Household level controls					
Educational difference[b]	0.91	0.97	0.85	0	6
	(1.02)	(1.04)	(1.00)		
Mean education[a]	3.85	3.86	3.83	0	6
	(1.13)	(1.08)	(1.18)		
Age difference[b]	4.62	5.06	4.18	0	32
	(4.78)	(5.07)	(4.45)		
Mean age[a]	39.83	40.79	38.90	18	60
	(9.35)	(8.84)	(9.75)		
Age youngest child					
No children	.72	.78	.66	0	1
Youngest child under the age of 6	.12	.08	.17	0	1
Youngest child 6 or above	.16	.14	.18	0	1
	6.73	6.84	6.62	1	10
	(2.51)	(2.55)	(2.47)		
Country level independent variables					
GEM					
United Kingdom	.82				
Germany	.85				
France	.61				
The Netherlands	.82				
Norway	.92				
Belgium	.82				
Australia	.84				

Source: Generations and Gender Programme (GGP); European Social Survey (ESS); British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS); Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP); Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS); German Family Panel (pairfam); German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Note: Proportions are given for categorical variables. *SD* not presented for categorical variables.

[a] $n = 723$, for models involving paid labor, of which 358 male couples and 365 female couples in 7 countries.

[b] $n = 612$, for models involving household tasks, of which 303 male couples and 309 female couples in 6 countries.

Analytical Strategy

To retain as many couples as possible, multiple imputation in stata was applied to impute the missing values.[5] Because the sample differs for items on household labor or paid labor, we performed multiple imputation separately for each sample (see appendix A for more information on the imputed data).[6] In all analyses we controlled for period (years) and survey type (ESS, GGP etc.), but there were no significant differences between periods (years) or survey type for male or female couples' paid or household labor. Therefore, we excluded these variables from our final analyses.

To assess our hypotheses on the household-level (H1, H2 & H3), we employ country-level fixed-effects models because of its ability to effectively remove unobserved country-level heterogeneity (Allison, 2009). That is, they allow to test differences between couples paid and unpaid labor controlled for differences across countries. For the analyses on paid labor this will be a linear regression analysis as our dependent variables total work hours and work ratio are

Table 2. Fixed-effects models for household level determinants for same-sex couples' total weekly hours of paid labor, division of paid labor and division of household labor.

	Model 1 Total work hours ($N = 723$)		Model 2 Division of paid labor ($N = 723$)		Model 3 Division of household labor ($N = 612$)	
Predictors	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Lesbian couple	–3.73*	(1.79)	–0.02	(0.03)	0.44*	(0.18)
Educational difference			0.00	(0.01)	0.19*	(0.09)
Mean education	4.92***	(0.81)				
Age difference			–0.01**	(0.00)	0.01	(0.02)
Mean age	–0.05	(0.10)				
Youngest child under 6	–5.18	(2.84)	–0.13**	(0.04)	–0.75**	(0.28)
Youngest child 6 or above	0.31	(2.60)	–0.10**	(0.04)	–0.90**	(0.27)
Income	—		—		0.00	(0.04)
Intercept	52.83***	(5.96)	0.72***	(0.03)	—	

Source: Generations and Gender Programme (GGP); European Social Survey (ESS); British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), UK Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS); Family Survey Dutch Population (FSDP); Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS); German Family Panel (pairfam); German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Note: *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$. Models 1 and 2 are fixed-effects linear regression analyses, whereas model 3 is based on fixed-effects logistic analyses.

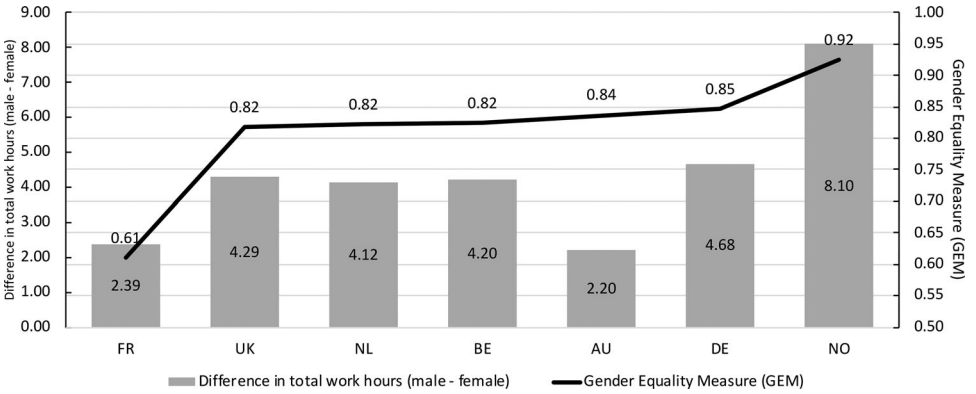

Figure 1. Difference in the number of hours male and female same-sex couples spend on paid employment per week in different countries, ordered according to the gender egalitarianism of that country (GEM). Predictions based on model 1, Table 2.
Note: Couples' total work hours differed significantly in the Netherlands. Differences between male and female couples across countries were not significant. This is most likely due to the low number of male and female couples per country.

continuous. For the analyses on household labor this will be a logit analysis as the dependent variable is dichotomous.

To test the hypotheses on paid and household labor, we estimated three models. Model 1 tests for differences between male and female couples with respect to the performance of paid labor (H1); model 2 tests for differences between male and female couples with respect to the division of paid labor (H2); model 3 tests for differences between male and female couples with respect to the division of household labor (H3). These models also include all control variables.

We use plots to visualize how gender egalitarianism is associated with differences between same-sex male and same-sex female couples task allocation. For total hours spent on the labor market and division of paid employment, we plot linear predictions based on model 1 and model 2. For the division of household labor, we based our predictions on model 3. Because this variable is dichotomous, we pooled the completed-data estimates of the linear predictor and then applied an inverse-logit transformation to obtain the probability of a positive outcome.

Results

In support of hypothesis 1, model 1 in Table 2 shows that female same-sex couples spend fewer hours on paid labor than male same-sex couples ($b = -3.73$, $p < .05$). More specifically, female

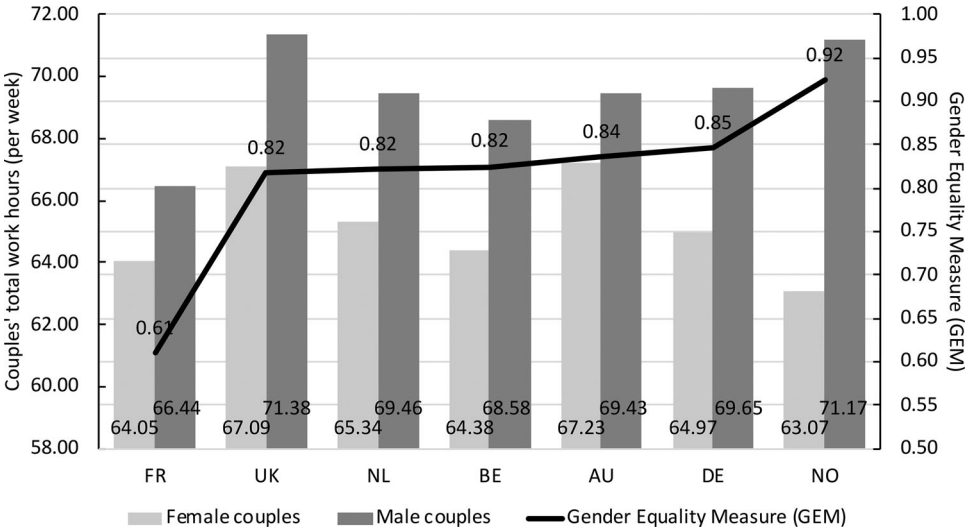

Figure 2. The total number of hours male and female same-sex couples spend on paid labor per week in different countries, ordered according to the gender equality of that country (GEM). Predictions based on model 1, Table 2.
Note: Couples' total work hours differed significantly in the Netherlands. Differences between male and female couples across countries were not significant. This is most likely due to the low number of male and female couples per country.

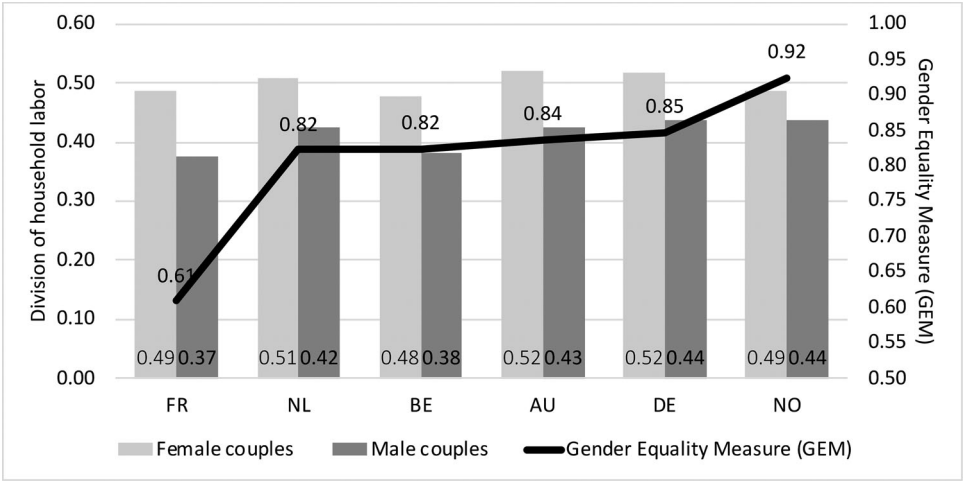

Figure 3. Division of household labor of male and female same-sex couples in different countries, ordered according to the gender egalitarianism of that country (GEM). Predictions based on model 3, Table 2.
Note: Differences between male and female couples across countries were not significant. This is most likely due to the low number of male and female couples per country.

couples' average work week is almost 4 hours shorter than male couples' average work week. To test hypothesis 2, we estimated a model with work ratio as the dependent variable. In support of hypothesis 2, model 2 in Table 2 shows no significant differences between male and female couples' work hours ratios ($b = -0.02$, $p = .31$). Model 3 in Table 2 test differences between male and female couples' division of household labor. This model shows that female couples divide their household tasks more equally than male couples ($b = 0.44$, $p < .05$), corroborating hypothesis 3.

Table 2 also shows that higher educated couples work more hours (model 1). Moreover, when partners in couples differ more in age, they divide their paid labor more unequal (model 2; $b = -0.01$, $p < .01$). Similarly, having a child under the age of 6 ($b = -0.13$, $p < .01$) or 6 years or

older ($b = -0.10$, $p < .01$) reduces how equal same-sex couples divide their paid labor (model 2). Additionally, having a child under the age of 6 ($b = -0.75$, $p < .01$) or 6 years or older ($b = -0.90$, $p < .01$) reduces how equal same-sex couples divide their household labor (model 3). There are no significant differences between having younger children in the household (under the age of 6) and older children in the household (age 6 or older).

The presence of children can dramatically shift patterns of paid and unpaid work. We therefore ran all analyses in Table 2 separately for couples with and without children. We find that the difference between male and female couples' total work hours is larger for couples without children ($n = 517$; $b = -4.73$; $p < 0.05$) and not present for couples with children ($n = 204$; $b = 1.11$; $p = 0.75$), which seems to be because male couples work less when they have children. For the division of paid labor, the results did not differ from those reported in this paper. For the division of household labor, the difference between male and female same-sex couples became insignificant for couples without children ($n = 421$; $b = 0.34$; $p = 0.11$) as well as with children ($n = 191$; $b = 0.63$; $p = 0.08$). The loss of significance could be due to the smaller number of observations in these separate analyses. An interaction between the sex of the couple and the age of their youngest child indicates that the effect of the age of the youngest child on the hours spend on the labor market as well as the division of household labor does not differ between male and female couples. Overall, differences between male and female couples' total work hours is driven by the couples who do not have children. Although having (young) children decreases how equal same-sex couples divide their paid and household labor (model 2 and 3, Table 2), we find no evidence that having (young) children affects male and female couples' *division* of paid or unpaid work differently.

Exploratory country differences

This section discusses whether same-sex couples allocate their paid and unpaid labor differently across the countries they live in, and whether this associates with the gender egalitarianism of a nation. For paid labor, we argued that female couples perform fewer hours of paid labor than male couples (H1), but that the difference between the two couples might be smaller in more gender-egalitarian societies than in less gender-egalitarian ones. Figures 1–2 show the results for expectation. Figure 1 shows the *difference* between male and female couples' hours spend on paid employment per week in 7 countries ordered according to gender egalitarianism (GEM). A higher score means that male couples are more likely to work more hours than female couples. In all countries, female couples work less hours than male couples as predicted by hypothesis 1. Of the 7 countries, France scores the lowest in gender equality (0.61) and Norway the highest (0.92). Although all countries in our study score quite high on the GEM, we unexpectedly observe that in the least gender egalitarian country in our data (France), same-sex male couples spend around 2 hours more on paid employment than same-sex female couples, whereas this difference between couples is around 8 hours in the most gender egalitarian country (Norway).

Figure 2 shows the *total* number of hours spend on paid labor for male and female couples separately in 7 countries that differ in gender equality. Visual inspection does not indicate any clear association between male and female couples' weekly work hours and gender egalitarianism of a country. It does show that the larger difference in total workhours between male and female couples in higher gender egalitarian countries (Figure 1) is because both couples' total work hours changed. Male couples work more *and* female couples work less.

For household tasks, we argued that female-same sex couples divide their household tasks more equal than male couples (H3) and that this difference in household task-division equality between male and female couples could be more pronounced in less gender-egalitarian societies than in more gender-egalitarian societies. Figure 3 shows how equal male and female couples divide their household labor in 6 countries that differ in gender equity (UK excluded). Conform our

expected pattern, this figure shows that in all countries female couples are more likely to divide their household tasks more equally than male couples (H3), and that this difference in equality is smaller in the country with the lowest GEM (France, difference in household tasks equality between male and female couples: 0.12) compared to the country with the highest GEM (Norway, difference in household tasks equality between male and female couples: 0.05). This indicates that there might be a tendency for male and female same-sex couples to differ more in household tasks-division equality when they live in less gender egalitarian countries. Interestingly, even though we find that the difference between male and female couples becomes larger in less gender egalitarian societies, we do not find that within male or female couples household tasks are divided more equal in more gender egalitarian societies, like research on different-sex couples have found (Fuwa, 2004; Ruppanner, 2010).

Conclusion & Discussion

This study is one of the first to compare same-sex male and female couples across countries with respect to how they organize their paid and household labor. Using unique data compiled from multiple national surveys, we evaluated how male couples and female same-sex couples differ in hours spent on the labor market and division of household labor. Moreover, we evaluated descriptively how these differences associate with a country's gender egalitarianism. Gender theory was used as a theoretical starting point, which states that couples' task division reflects their beliefs concerning how men and women should behave (DeVault, 1991). Comparing male and female couples allowed us to explore whether same-sex couples' labor allocation coincides with these traditional gender-role expectations.

Our results indicate that female same-sex couples spend less time on the labor market than male same-sex couples, but that female couples divide their paid work as equally as male couples. These results are in line with previous research concluding that male couples divide their paid employment as equally as female couples (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013; Solomon et al., 2005). These task allocations are however also in line with traditional gender role expectations, as male couples work more hours in paid employment than do female couples.

Male and female couples differ in their division of household labor. It was hypothesized that because the performance of household labor is a feminine gender-role expectation, and not a masculine gender-role expectation, female couples feel more pressure to perform these tasks than male couples. Female partners will therefore both perform household labor and divide their household tasks equally, while male couples have more freedom in allocating household labor based on other preferences or restrictions, leading to more variance and inequality in household task division. In line with previous findings (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Johnson & O'Connor, 2002; Kurdek, 2007), we found support for this hypothesis. Overall, we thus find evidence of gendered behavior for men and women in same-sex couples when we compare between same-sex male and same-sex female couples. Even though they challenge traditional gender norms by definition *within the couple*, they still display behavior appropriate for their sex roles *as a couple*. This indicates that gender role socialization thus not only matters for men and women in cross-sex relationships, but for those in same-sex relationships as well.

We formulated the question whether same-sex couples allocate their paid and unpaid labor differently depending on the countries they live in, and whether this associates with the gender egalitarianism of a nation. When we look at our results for time spent in paid work for different countries, our descriptive findings are unclear. Our findings suggest that male and female couples differ more in their total time spent on the labor market when they live in more gender egalitarian countries. If we assume that gender normative expectations are less influential in an egalitarian context, this result might indicate that female same-sex couples really prefer to spend fewer hours on paid employment than male same-sex couples in these countries, for some other reason.

For household labor, we argued that the differences in the division of household labor between male and female couples would be larger in less gender-egalitarian societies, since the pressure to conform to male or female gender expectations is larger in these societies. Consistent with this expectation, we find that female same-sex couples divide tasks more equally than male same-sex couples and that there is a tendency that this difference is larger in less gender egalitarian societies than in more gender egalitarian ones. We find no evidence that same-sex couples divide their household tasks more equally in more gender egalitarian countries, like found in research on different-sex couples (Fuwa, 2004; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Ruppanner, 2010). However, our results—as well as those on different-sex couples—suggest that in less gender egalitarian countries, there is more pressure to conform to traditional gender role behavior when it comes to household task division. Our research therefore indicates that the gender culture in a country might be important for couples, irrespective of being in a same-sex or mixed-sex relationship.

We found that having children increases inequality in the division of paid and household labor. These results are similar as findings for different-sex couples (Van der Lippe et al., 2006; Van der Lippe & van Dijk, 2002). Children in the household increase the time that has to be spent at tasks in the home, which opens the possibility of further specialization within a couple. Interestingly, we find no evidence that especially young children lead to a more unequal task allocation, like research on different-sex couples across a diverse range of countries have found (Andringa et al., 2015; Bianchi, 2000; Van der Lippe et al., 2006; Van der Lippe & van Dijk, 2002). Results additionally show that that the difference between male and female couples total work hours disappears with the presence of children, which seems to be because male couples reduce their work hours. Lastly, we do not find that having children influences male and female same-sex couples differently. Although these results provide us with important insights in how same-sex couples with children allocate their paid and unpaid labor, we encourage future research to replicate these results with analyses that include more same-sex couples with (young) children. Future research could address how same-sex couples decide on childcare tasks, as this was beyond the scope of our paper.

In summary, studying same-sex couples across countries reveals that female same-sex couples spend less time on the labor market than male same-sex couples, but divide their work hours as equally. Moreover, even though same-sex couples divide their paid labor equally, male couples, more than female couples, struggle to keep the household task division equal. This indicates that gender norms surrounding what is 'appropriate' male or female gender role behavior (male breadwinner—female caregiver role) influence same-sex couples' allocation of paid and unpaid labor. Variations in how male and female same-sex couples allocate their labor across the countries included in our research are not large. Nevertheless, in line with research on heterosexual couples, they seem to be associated with societies' gender egalitarianism. There is a tendency that in more gender egalitarian countries there are less differences between male and female same-sex couples' household task division equality, but more differences in the number of hours same-sex couples spend om paid employment. It is important for future research to replicate and test differences between couples and countries on a larger sample with more variety of countries.

The findings of this study should be viewed within the context of its limitations. First, no claims can be made that the sample of male and female couples studied here is representative of the larger population of same-sex male and female couples. It might well be that couples in our analyses are selective on some characteristics, for example due to differences in sampling frames or the way we identified same-sex couples (Steinmetz & Fischer, 2019). Even though the number of same-sex couples in our data is much larger than in most other studies, we are unable to test for such selectivity bias. We have however little reason to assume that selectivity would differ across countries and find no differences in task allocations across survey type. Second, as variables needed to be comparable across surveys, detailed information on many variables was lost.

We were able to use only crude measures. It would have been more informative if household labor had been measured as the number of hours both partners spent on household tasks. Our dependent variables also rely on self-reported data. Part of the difference in work hours between male and female couples could therefore be due to men overreporting their work hours and women underreporting their work hours. This is most likely a result from norms dictating that men should be breadwinners and women should be homemakers. This implies that even if this bias is present, gender norms might play a role in how same-sex couples' think about their labor market behavior. Also, although we control for the presence of (young) children, we were unable to also investigate childcare tasks. Childcare tasks are time-consuming tasks that couples with children need to allocate and that can influence how other tasks (e.g., paid or household labor) are allocated (Goldberg et al., 2012). However, because childcare tasks are often considered more enjoyable than household tasks, inequalities in task allocation is more likely to arise in the division of household tasks. Third, although we conclude that same-sex couples' task allocation is conform traditional gender role behavior, we did not measure couples' gender norms. Studying same-sex couples' gender norms could shed more light on the mechanisms resulting in the observed task divisions. Finally, our data did not allow us to fully control for alternative explanations of the division of labor as well as other factors influencing paid and household labor such as for instance outsourcing of domestic tasks, or gendered sorting into occupations. Regardless, we would argue that whatever the exact mechanism via which gender roles operate (such as for instance via field of study choices, Van der Vleuten et al., 2016), our findings support gender roles' continued importance in shaping men's and women's lives.

However, this research provides a first insight in how same-sex couples allocate their tasks across countries, and this emerging field would greatly benefit from further attempts to collect large-scale, cross-national or longitudinal data sets on same-sex couples. That way, we will gain further insight in how societal characteristics affect both same-sex couples' and mixed-sex couples' work-family behavior and increase our understanding of how all couples continue to be influenced by ancient gendered patterns or not.

Notes

1. In order to validate grouping together a somewhat (un)equal task division and an unequal task division we performed a robustness check in which we ran all analyses again without the 57 couples with an unequal task division. Deleting these couples did not alter our main conclusions.
2. Socioeconomic models state that the partner who has the most resources can negotiate his or her way out of doing certain tasks or has a relative advantage in expected labor market returns (e.g., Brines, 1993). We therefore take the educational difference between respondent and partner into account when testing hypotheses on the division of paid and household labor. Conversely, we do not expect that these educational differences lead to couples performing more paid employment (e.g., more hours spent on the labor market). We do expect differences in work hours for lower and higher educated couples, because jobs associated with very long work hours tend to be concentrated in higher status occupations (Drago et al., 2005). We therefore control for a couple's average educational level when testing hypotheses on hours spent on the labor market. The same argument holds for age differences and mean age.
3. Young children increase the time spent on household tasks and thus decrease the time spent on paid labor. Given the relatively low number of same-sex couples with (more than 1) child(ren), controlling for the number of children in the household yielded highly similar results.
4. Scholars have argued that male same-sex couples earn more than female same-sex couples, partly because they work more hours. It is therefore easier for them to outsource household tasks (Jaspers & Verbakel, 2013).
5. The results without multiple imputation were highly similar to the results reported in this article.
6. For paid labor, we performed a sensitivity analyses that excluded the UK and thus contains the same couples as the analyses on household labor ($N = 612$). These results showed no substantive differences from those reported in this paper.

Funding

This research has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme awarded to Marie Evertsson (grant agreement No 771770).

ORCID

Maaike van der Vleuten http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1108-2446
Eva Jaspers http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8589-5899
Tanja van der Lippe http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5245-4659

References

Allison, P. D. (2009). *Fixed Effects Regression Models*. Los Angelos: Sage.

Andringa, W., Nieuwenhuis, R., & Van Gerven, M. (2015). Women's working hours: The interplay between gender role attitudes, motherhood, and public childcare support in 23 European countries. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, *35*(9/10), 582–599. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-10-2014-0073

Becker, G. S. (1981). *A treatise on the family*. Harvard University Press.

Bardasi, E., Jenkins, S. P., Sutherland, H., Levy, H., & Zantino, F. (2012). *British Household Panel Survey Derived Current and Annual Net Household Income Variables, Waves 1-18, 1991-2009 [computer file]*. 9th Edition. University of Essex. Institute for Social and Economic Research, [original data producer(s)]. UK Data Archive.

Bianchi, S. M. (2000). Maternal employment and time with children: Dramatic change or surprising continuity? *Demography*, *37*(4), 401–414. https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.2000.0001

Black, D., Gates, G., Sanders, S., & Taylor, L. (2000). Demographics of the gay and lesbian population in the United Stated: Evidence from available systematic data sources. *Demography*, *37*(2), 139–154. https://doi.org/10.2307/2648117

Blossfeld, H.-P., Klijzing, E., Pohl, K., & Rohwer, G. (1999). Why do cohabiting couples marry? An example of a causal event history approach to interdependent systems. *Quality & Quantity*, *33*(3), 229–242. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1004644703306

Blumstein, P., & Schwartz, P. (1983). *American couples: Money, work, sex*. Morrow.

Brewster, M. E. (2017). Lesbian women and household labor division: A systematic review of scholarly research from 2000 to 2015. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, *21*(1), 47–69. https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2016.1142350

Brines, J. (1993). The exchange value of housework. *Rationality and Society*, *5*(3), 302–340. https://doi.org/10.1177/1043463193005003003

Carrington, C. (1999). *No place like home: Relationships and family life among lesbians and gay men*. University of Chicago Press.

Ciano-Boyce, C., & Shelley-Sireci, L. (2003). Who is mommy tonight? Lesbian parenting issues. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *43*(2), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v43n02_01

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power*. Haworth Press.

Coltrane, S. (2000). Research on household labor: Modeling and measuring the social embeddedness of routine family work. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *62*(4), 1208–1233. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.01208.x

De Graaf, P. M., Kalmijn, M., Kraaykamp, G., & Monden, C. W. S. (2010). *The Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS Wave 1)*. Dataset. Tilburg University and Radboud University Nijmegen.

DeVault, M. L. (1991). *Feeding the family: The social organization of caring as gendered work*. University Press.

Dotti Sani, G. M. (2014). Men's employment hours and time on domestic chores in European countries. *Journal of Family Issues*, *35*(8), 1023–1047. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X14522245

Downing, J. B., & Goldberg, A. E. (2011). Lesbian mothers' constructions of the division of paid and unpaid labor. *Feminism & Psychology*, *21*(1), 100–120. https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353510375869

Drago, R., Black, D., & Wooden, M. (2005). *The existence and persistence of long work hours*. (IZADiscussion PaperNo. 1720). Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).

ESS Round 2 (2004). *European Social Survey Round 2. Data file edition 3.3*. Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Norway - Data Archive and distributor of ESS data.

Evertsson, M., & Boye, K. (2018). The transition to parenthood and the division of parental leave in different-sex and female same-sex couples in Sweden. *European Sociological Review*, *34*(5), 471–485. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcy027

Fulcher, M., Sutfin, E. L., & Patterson, C. J. (2008). Individual differences in gender development: Associations with parental sexual orientation, attitudes, and division of labor. *Sex Roles*, *58*(5-6), 330–341. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9348-4

Fuwa, M. (2004). Macro-level gender inequality and the division of household labor in 22 countries. *American Sociological Review*, *69*(6), 751–767. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240406900601

Gerdes, Z. T., & Levant, R. F. (2018). Complex relationships among masculine norms and health/well-being outcomes: Correlation patterns of the conformity to masculine norms inventory subscales. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *12*(2), 229–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988317745910

Giddings, L. (2003). But … who mows the lawn?: The division of labor in same-sex households. *Women, Family, and Work: Writings on the Economics of Gender*. Oxford: Blackwell, 85 - 102.

Goebel, J., Grabka, M. M., Liebig, S., Kroh, M., Richter, D., Schröder, C., & Schupp, J. (2019). The German socio-economic panel study (SOEP). *Jahrbücher Für Nationalökonomie Und Statistik*, *239*(2), 345–360. https://doi.org/10.1515/jbnst-2018-0022

Goldberg, A. E. (2013). "Doing" and "Undoing" Gender: The meaning and division of housework in same-sex couples. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *5*(2), 85–104.

Goldberg, A. E., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2007). The division of labor and perceptions of parental roles: Lesbian couples across the transition to parenthood. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *24*(2), 297–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407507075415

Goldberg, A. E., Smith, J. Z., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2012). The division of labor in lesbian, gay, and heterosexual new adoptive parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *74*(4), 812–828. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00992.x

Huinink, J., Brüderl, J., Nauck, B., Walper, S., Castiglioni, L., & Feldhaus, F. (2011). Panel analysis of intimate relationships and family dynamics (pairfam): Conceptual framework and design. *Journal of Family Research*, *23*, 77–101.

Jaspers, E., & Verbakel, E. (2013). The division of paid labor in same-sex couples in the Netherlands. *Sex Roles*, *68*(5-6), 335–348. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-012-0235-2

Johnson, S. M., & O'Connor, E. (2002). *The gay baby boom: The psychology of gay parenthood*. New York University Press.

Keiller, S. W. K. (2010). Masculine norms as correlates of heterosexual men's attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *11*(1), 38–52. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017540

Kraaykamp, G., Wolbers, M., & Ruiter, S. (2009). *Family Survey of the Dutch Population 2009 [data file]*. Department of Sociology, Radboud University Nijmegen.

Kurdek, L. A. (2005). What do we know about gay and lesbian couples? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *14*(5), 251–254. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-7214.2005.00375.x

Kurdek, L. A. (2007). The allocation of household labor by partners in gay and lesbian couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, *28*(1), 132–148. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X06292019

Lachance-Grzela, M., & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion's share of housework? A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, *63*(11-12), 767–780. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9797-z

Nauck, B., Brüderl, J., Huinink, J., & Walper, S. (2012). *The German Family Panel (pairfam)*. GESIS Data Archive. ZA5678 Data file Version 3.1.0.

Perlesz, A., Power, J., Brown, R., McNair, R., Schofield, M., Pitts, M., Barrett, A., & Bickerdike, A. (2010). Organizing work and home in same-sex parented families: Findings from the work love play study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy (Anzjft)*, *31*(4), 374–391. https://doi.org/10.1375/anft.31.4.374

Ruppanner, L. E. (2010). Cross-national reports of housework: An investigation of the gender empowerment measure. *Social Science Research*, *39*(6), 963–975. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.04.002

Shechory, M., & Ziv, R. (2007). Relationships between gender role attitudes, role division, and perception of equity among heterosexual, gay and lesbian couples. *Sex Roles*, *56*(9-10), 629–638. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9207-3

Solomon, S. E., Rothblum, E. D., & Balsam, K. F. (2005). Money, housework, sex, and conflict: Same-sex couples in civil unions, those not in civil unions, and heterosexual married siblings. *Sex Roles*, *52*(9-10), 561–575. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-005-3725-7

Schwartz, C. R., & Graf, N. L. (2009). Assortative matching among same-sex and different-sex couples in the United States, 1990-2000. *Demographic Research*, *21*, 843–878. https://doi.org/10.4054/demres.2009.21.28

Steinmetz, S., & Fischer, M. (2019). Surveying Persons in Same-Sex Relationships in a Probabilistic Way – An Example from the Netherlands. *Journal of Official Statistics, 35*(4), 753–776. https://doi.org/10.2478/jos-2019-0032

Tornello, S. L., Kruczkowski, S. M., & Patterson, C. J. (2015). Division of labor and relationship quality among male same-sex couples who became fathers via surrogacy. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *11*(4), 375–394. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2015.1018471

Van Bavel, J., Schwartz, C. R., & Esteve, A. (2018). The reversal of the gender gap in education and its consequences for family life. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *44*(1), 341–360. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041215

Van der Lippe, T., de Ruijter, E., de Ruijter, J., & Raub, W. (2011). Persistent inequalities in time use between men and women: A detailed look at the influence of economic circumstances, policies, and culture. *European Sociological Review*, *27*(2), 164–179. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcp066

Van der Lippe, T., Jager, A., & Kops, Y. (2006). Combination Pressure: The Paid Work-Family Balance of Men and Women in European Countries. *Acta Sociologica*, *49*(3), 303–319. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699306067711

Van der Lippe, T., & van Dijk, L. (2002). Comparative research on women's employment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *28*(1), 221–241. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.140833

Van der Vleuten, M., Jaspers, E., Maas, I., & van der Lippe, T. (2016). Boys' and girls' educational choices in secondary education. The role of gender ideology. *Educational Studies*, *42*(2), 181–200. https://doi.org/10.1080/03055698.2016.1160821

UNESCO (2006). *International Standard Classification of Education: ISCED 1997*. Retrieved from http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/isced97-en.pdf

United Nations (2005). *Generations & Gender Programme: Survey Instruments*. New York & Geneva.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (2002–2010). *Human Development Report*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

SOEP (2018). The German Socio-Economic Panel data for years 1984–2016, version 33.1, https://doi.org/10.5684/soep.v33.1

Appendix A.

Number of missing values imputed

For respondents in the analyses on paid labor we predicted 29 missing values for respondent's work hours (4.01%), and 52 for partner's (7.19%), a total of 11 missing values for respondent's education (1.52%) and 73 for partner's (10.10%); 2 missing values for partner's age (0.28%) and 2 missing values for age youngest child (0.28%). The variables used to predict these variables were *income, partner's* and *respondent's education, partner's* and *respondent's work hours, partner's* and *respondent's age, sex of the couple, age of the youngest child, year of the survey, country* and *which survey* they were from. For the respondents in the analyses on the division on household tasks, we predicted 40 missing values for the division of household tasks (6.54%), 75 (12.25%) missing values for income, a total of 8 missing values for respondent's education (1.31%) and 63 for partner's (10.29%); 2 missing values for partner's age (0.32%) and 2 missing values for age youngest child (0.33%). The variables used to predict these variables were *division of household labor*, *income*, *p*artner's and *respondent's education*, *partner's* and *respondent's work hours*, *partner*'s and *respondent's age*, *sex of the couple*, *age of the youngest child*, *year of the survey*, *country* and *which survey* they were from. This generated 5 imputed data sets for paid labor and 5 imputed data sets for the division of household labor, which were analyzed in stata using the *mi estimate* command.