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# Relationships in a constant trial: is cohabitation the best choice for achieving gender equality?

Authors:

Ma. José González<sup>1</sup>, Pau Miret<sup>2</sup>, Rocío Treviño<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*

Department of Political & Social Sciences

Ramon Trias Fargas, 25-27 E-08005 Barcelona - Spain

E-mail: [mjose.gonzalez@upf.edu](mailto:mjose.gonzalez@upf.edu)

<sup>2</sup> *Geography Department & Centre for Demographic Studies*

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona) – Spain

E-mail: [Pau.Miret@uab.es](mailto:Pau.Miret@uab.es)

<sup>3</sup> *Centre for Demographic Studies*

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona - Edifici E2

08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona) – Spain

E-mail: [rtrevino@ced.uab.es](mailto:rtrevino@ced.uab.es)

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## Introduction

Recent demographic trends show a steady increase in consensual unions in most Western European countries (Smock and Manning, 1997, Rindfuss and Vandenheuevel, 1990, Bracher, 1998; Murphy 2000; Bumpass, 2000; Raley 2001). The widespread of consensual unions seems to indicate that these unions are becoming a real alternative to marriage and, eventually, a commonly accepted way of living. Certainly, cohabiting simplifies the proceedings for getting together and even for splitting apart. However, this is not exactly the case in many countries for two main reasons. On the one hand, some legislative frameworks make living in a marital union more advantageous than cohabiting due to their different legal status and rights. On the other hand, recent research indicates that there are distinct features which make cohabitating couples essentially different from married couples insofar as they last for shorter time (Murphy, 2001), face higher risk of dissolution (Murphy, 2000), entail higher proportion of childlessness (Bachrach, 1987; Rindfuss and Vanfeheuevel, 1990; Raley 2001), higher educational homogamy (Schoen and Weinick, 1993) and even higher proportion of rented dwelling (Rindfuss and Vandenheuevel, 1990; Raley, 2001; Murphy, 2000). All in all, the option of cohabiting seems to be neither equal to marriage nor appropriate for all periods of life. Therefore, we infer that cohabiting still represents a distinct alternative to marriage in many Western societies.

The increase in cohabitation has many implications from the gender perspective. One could hypothesize that individuals who ‘commit for life’ through the marital union are different from those who ‘commit for as long as the relationship last’ insofar as the bargaining power between partners is concerned. For instance, individuals within the ‘marriage for life’ union may be more ready to accept different degrees of (economic) dependency within the partnership than individuals in consensual unions which are, at least apparently, far more fragile (i.e. higher risk of dissolution). By the same token, time allocation of caring and household chores may be differently negotiated in each type of partnerships. This argument, however, would only work in those countries in which cohabitation is still a rare phenomenon and clearly represents a distinct option from a marital union. Once cohabitation becomes a popular partnership arrangement among young people, differences between one and another may be barely discernible. This is the reason why a comparative analysis is particularly suitable in this research. The analysis of cohabitation conducted in this study is based on six waves (1996-2001) of the European Community Household Panel (ECHP).

The aim of this chapter is also to ascertain whether cohabiting or consensual unions foster more egalitarian gender relationships than marital unions. In order to explore gender equality in both cohabiting and marital partnerships, we analyse the likelihood that coupled men with small children (at least one child is aged 0-10 years old) regularly engage in caring activities. The analysis is conducted with cross-sectional data for a selected group of European countries. The data stems from the 7<sup>th</sup> wave (2000) of ECHP which asked the number of hours that parents spent in caring activities. This research intent to be a

contribution to the existing literature insofar time spent in caring activities by men in married and cohabiting couples have been seldom analysed, while most of the studies focus on single case studies and look at gender differences in the allocation of household work in married couples.

The paper is structured in three main parts. In the first part, we introduce the literature review on living arrangements and time allocation on domestic and caring activities between partners. In the second part, we report the main features of cohabitation across countries in order to illustrate the above-mentioned singularity of cohabitation as compared to marital unions. In the third part, we explore the factors that associated with men's higher engagement in caring activities. This analysis is made for all countries together (pooled data) and for a cluster of countries. Next, the theoretical background is presented.

### **1. Theoretical background: more egalitarian living arrangements and the share of family responsibilities**

There are two main sources of literature which will shed light on this research. On the one hand, we discuss the extent to which cohabitation or consensual union represents a distinctive living arrangement and the different meaning attached to this type of living arrangement across countries. On the other hand, we review recent findings concerning the factors influencing different gender division of housework and caring activities in Western societies.

#### *The different meanings of cohabitation*

As many authors suggest, there is not a unique model of cohabitation across the European countries, while cohabitation usually represents a distinct option from marriage (Rindfuss and Vandeheuvél, 1990 and Raley, 2001). For some authors, cohabiting couples share more characteristics with single individuals who are dating and living apart than with married couples (Rindfuss and Vandeneuvél 1990). In some countries cohabitation is simply a "marriage without papers", whereas in other countries represents a real alternative to marriage. Sweden, for instance, is the typical example of the former case. There are not specific treats to make a distinction between both types of unions. Swedish cohabiting couples last on average the same time than like married couples and they even have similar fertility patterns. Another contrasting model emerges in the USA where the idea of living together without being married is only meant to take place at last stage in the courtship process before the union is legalised by a proper contract. Obviously, both examples represent extreme cases, but reality is even more complex and the meaning of cohabitation varies enormously across time and regions (Bracher, 1998).

The different meanings and characteristics of cohabiting couples across countries lead us to explore more in depth the situation in Western European countries. This analysis is necessary before we make further inferences about the relationship between cohabitation and gender egalitarian relationships. We need to grasp whether the fact of living in consensual union affect men's propensity to

be a “fully involve caring father” only because of a composition effect (i.e. they live in households with very particular characteristics such age, education or economic activity) or because they simply stand for a distinct group as far as gender values and type of negotiation processes by partners are concerned.

### *Couples' domestic and caring division of labour*

The analysis of gender division of childcare has often been conducted on married couples, while the literature on gender differences in caring time and particularly on men's caring time is very limited. Childcare is often included within the broad notion of family responsibilities such as cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry and so forth (Parker, 1966; Lopata, 1971). These family responsibilities have often been blamed for being the main responsible of women's curtailed opportunities in the labour market and for reproducing gender differences.

Recent studies, however, do distinguish between caring and housework activities (South and Spitze, 1994; Gupta, 1999; Bianchi 2000) particularly after the emerging interest in the ‘new fathering’ and new images of masculinity than were associated with men's higher concern on caring duties (Doherty, 1998; Thomson, 1997). In general, this literature portrays a rather more positive scenario concerning gender share of family responsibilities than the situation revealed by current statistics. Hass (1981) also forecast the emergence of a more egalitarian share of family responsibilities as a result of new demographic patterns: fertility decline and women's increase life expectancy. This combination of factors implies that the negative effect of children on women's employment will gradually diminish and last for shorter periods in women's life. The role of men in this process is, however, not mentioned.

In any case, a great advance is made in current research by distinguishing between caring and housework activities. Deing and Lausten (2004), for instance, argue that both spheres of unpaid activities are conceptually very different, while the study of both aspects together may lead to very misleading results. These authors show that there is not clear relationship between the partners' time allocated to caring activities and the partners' time allocated to housework. The bargaining process to allocate time into these activities seems to work differently. A pioneering comparative work on men's involvement in childcare has been conducted by Stancanelli (2003). The author shows that men's engagement in childcare is mainly explained by the hours spent in paid work in as much as the hours their female partner spent in paid work. It also emerges that men's engagement in childcare time increases significantly among employees in the public sector, those coupled with highly-educated women and those in large households with more with three children.

Gender differences in the division of caring time and housework are often interpreted from the economic and rational choice perspective (see, for instance, the New Home Economics approach to the family behaviour formulated by authors such as Becker 1981). From this perspective, time allocation to

housework and paid work is jointly determined according to the relative efficiency of husbands and wives in the market and household sector. Other perspectives explain gender differences in the division of housework by bargaining processes or relative resources theories (Stancanelli, 2003; Geist, 2005). In these theories the domestic division of labour is also viewed as a negotiation between partners, where the partner with the better bargaining position (i.e. earning capacity) reduce his or her time in housework. In this negotiations childcare and domestic work are differently valued by gender being domestic work usually associated with low rewarding task for men (Benin & Agostinelli 1988). The economic theory is generally gender blind and does not take in board gender differences on socialisation and role attitudes (South and Spitze, 1994), whereby gender division of housework and caring activities does not occur out of a rational arrangement but as a result of the performance of female and male gender roles (Geist, 2005). If gender roles are substantially different within more flexible types of living arrangement, as it may be the case of consensual unions, we expect that cohabiting couples also favour more egalitarian share of family responsibilities than married couples.

Taking into consideration the main findings on caring and domestic time allocation between partners and the particular treats of consensual unions which may favour more egalitarian relationships, we pose four main hypotheses to be validated in this research. These hypotheses shall be tested within a comparative framework. They have been summarised as follows:

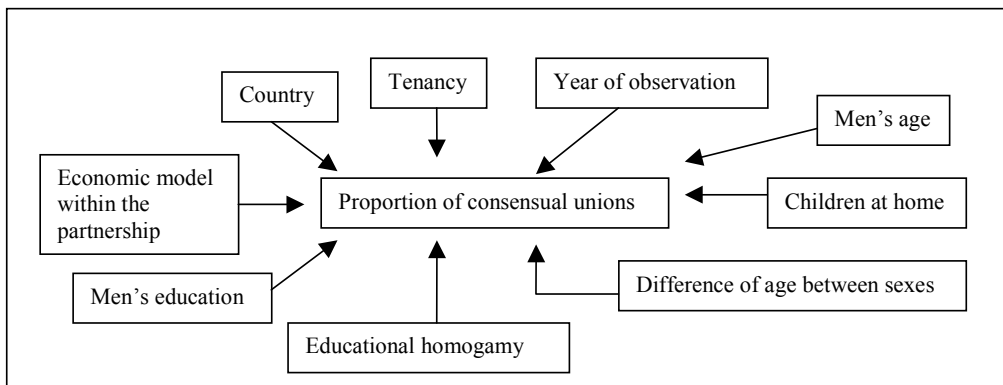
1. **The selection effect hypothesis:** in countries with low prevalence of cohabiting unions there will be a higher selection effect whereby individuals more committed to gender equality are more prone to form consensual unions; therefore, we expect higher caring time among cohabiting men particularly in countries where the widespread of cohabitation is still rather low;
2. **The “marriage with the-loan” hypothesis:** individuals living in consensual unions who have made the transition to homeownership are very similar to marital unions as far as gender roles are concerned, since they have both acquired long-term bonds. We expect this hypothesis to be particularly relevant in Southern European countries where there are very high rates of home ownership;
3. **The couples’ homogamy hypothesis:** it is not the fact of living in a consensual union what explains more egalitarian gender roles, but forming a union between equals (educational homogamy); and, lastly,
4. **The alternative hypothesis:** none of the above statements are true since cohabitation is simply a matter of fashion among young adults and does not necessarily entails more egalitarian relationships.

The next we explore the extent to which consensual unions have increased across time and across countries in Western Europe and explore its main features as compared with married couples.

## 2. Recent trends in cohabitation in Western European countries

The aim of this section is to test statistically whether cohabitation is a real alternative to marriage or whether cohabiting couples share many characteristics with marital unions. The proportion of cohabiting couples is estimated for a sample of fourteen Western European countries. The analysis, however, has been conducted individually by a cluster of countries according to their level of cohabitation: a) countries with low levels of cohabitation which represent a baseline of 1.24% (see table 1 in appendix); b) countries with medium levels of cohabitation with a baseline of 7.88% (see table 2 in appendix), and; c) countries with high level of cohabitation, with 21.01% (see table 3 in appendix). Dependent variable consists of a binary variable which indicates whether individuals are in a cohabiting couple instead of in a married couple. The nature of the outcome variable entails the use of a logistic regression analysis. The likelihood to cohabit as oppose to being in a married couple is analysed by nine explanatory variables which are described in Figure 1.

**Figure 1. Explanatory variables to explain the prevalence of consensual unions**

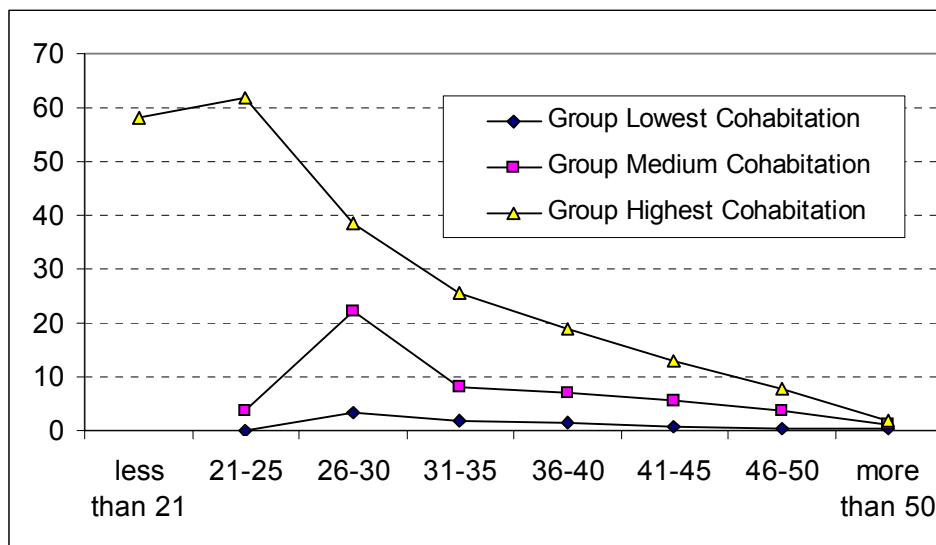


It is worth noting that the cluster of countries analysed are not fully homogeneous, and cohabitation, since individual countries reveal to be significantly different to one another even after controlling for several socio-economic variables. In the group of countries with low levels of cohabitation (see Table 1 in appendix), the percentage varies from a very low level in countries such as Greece (with a meagre percentage of 0.20% consensual unions), Italy (0.69%), Spain (0.91%), Ireland (1.24%) to the higher level in Portugal (1.64%). These are standardised percentages holding other variables constant. This cluster of countries with low levels of cohabitation coincides within regions with Catholic tradition, Greece being the only exception where the Orthodox Church has prevailed. These very low levels of cohabitation impose many constraints for the statistical analysis (small samples). In the cluster of countries with medium level of cohabitation (see Table 2 in appendix), the percentages range from 6.74% in Germany, 7.61% in the United Kingdom, 7.51% in Austria, 8.62% in Luxembourg to 9.13% in Belgium. This cluster, instead, mainly coincides with countries of traditionally Protestant tradition.

Finally, the cluster of countries with high proportion of cohabitation is found in the Netherlands (17.65%), France (18.03%), Finland (25.20%) and Denmark (23.98%). Denmark is actually the country with the highest proportion of cohabitation in the sample. Next, we intent to explain the main characteristic of these cohabiting couples across the clusters previously defined.

In all three clusters of countries, age is the more important variable to explain cohabitation. Cohabitation is certainly far more common at younger ages and among young adults (see Figure 2). This variable has been computed by the age of the male member of the partnership<sup>1</sup>. The general rule is that the older is the person, the lower his or her probabilities of being cohabiting as oppose to being married. The only exception is the relation between the two younger groups of age, for which cohabitation increases. In fact, the highest level of cohabitation is reached in the second group considered in the analysis, that is to say, individual in the age group 26-30 in the cluster of countries with low and medium levels of cohabitation (with respectively 3.44% and 22.05% of consensual unions in relation to all partnerships) and in the age group 21-25 for the cluster of countries with high levels of cohabitation, with 61.76% of cohabiting couples. From this age group onwards, cohabitation becomes less and less common type of living arrangement for couples. Therefore, cohabitation is a predominantly popular living arrangement for young men aged 21-25 years living in France and the Scandinavian Countries, but quite unusual among young people in Southern Europe and Ireland.

Figure 2. Percentage of cohabiting partnerships by male age (lines correspond to the three clusters of countries)

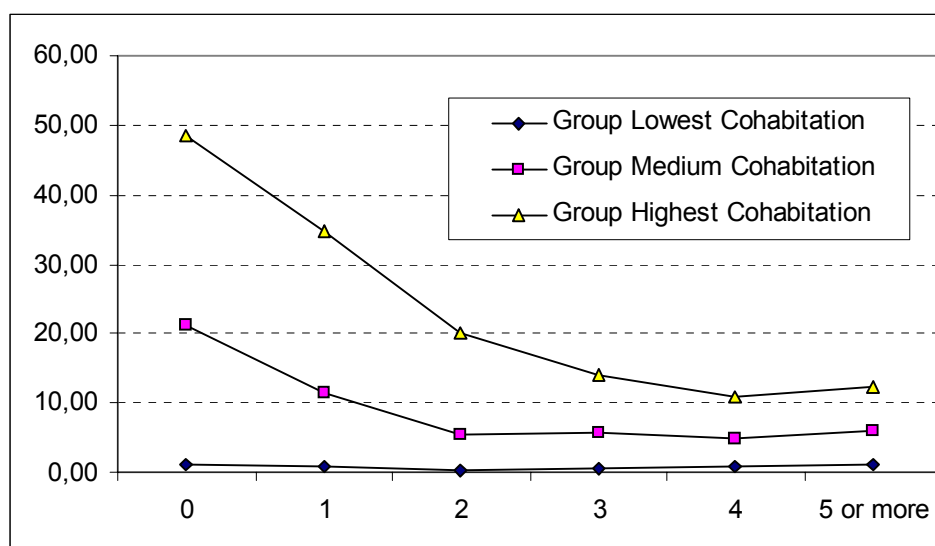


Source: tables 1, 2 and 3.

<sup>1</sup> Same sex couples have been excluded of the analysis (3.8% of the sample).

The analysis also shows that cohabiting also entails lower probability of having children at home (see Figure 3). The effect of this variable shows an inverted “J” curve. Couples without children at home are cohabitants in a 50% of the cases in countries with high level of cohabitation, 20% in countries with medium level of cohabitation and 1% in the countries with low level of cohabitation. In sum, at the age of maximum proportion of cohabitation (26-30 years in the countries with low and medium level of cohabitation and 21-25 years in the other cluster of countries), 4.5% of partnered men were living in a consensual union and were childless in Southern Europe and Ireland, whereas this percentage was of 47% in central Europe and 85% in Nordic countries.

Figure 3. Percentage of cohabiting partnerships according to the number of children present at home (lines correspond to the three clusters of countries)



Source: tables 1, 2 and 3.

Cohabitation is also much more frequent living arrangement when women are substantially younger or substantially older than men. In other words, it is more likely to be in a cohabiting couple when the age gap between partners is very high. Consequently, the effect of the age-gap has a “U” form. For instance, in the cluster of countries with low cohabitation the percentage of consensual unions was substantially higher if the women were five or more years younger than men (2.39%) or five or more years older than men (1.73%). The same happened in the others groups of countries. Likewise, lower proportions of cohabiting were found among couples in which women were between one year younger and two years older in the cluster or countries with medium level of cohabitation, and from three years younger to three years older in the cluster of countries with high level of cohabitation. It is then obvious that large age-gap appear to be more common in consensual couples than in married couples.



Housing tenancy is another variable analysed. The proportions for housing “provided” are not statistically significant, but comparisons can be made between homeownership and renting. However, the results concerning housing tenancy are not clear-cut. Housing tenancy has the same effect in the lowest and highest group, but it is specific for the medium one (Tables 1 to 3 in appendix). So, in groups 1 and 3, homeownership appears to be associated with a lower probability of being cohabiting, while being in a rented dwelling was associated with a high probability of being in a consensual union as oppose to married. In group 2 is the other way round, as cohabiters are owners more than renters.

Partners’ relationship with the labour market is the next variable analysed. We have defined five categories for this variable:

1. Man in full-time and woman inactive: male breadwinner and female housewife.
2. Dual earner partnership, both members in full-time.
3. Man in full-time and woman in part-time employment.
4. Man out of work and woman employed: female earner.
5. Others

The analysis of different combination of partner’s relationship with the labour market reveals quite clear results. Lowest probabilities of being in a consensual union were for those partnership were men was the breadwinner and, on the contrary, higher probabilities were for those with the more equalitarian model, that is, for those partnerships were both members were in full-time employment. However, in groups with medium and high cohabitation, the probability of being in a consensual union was even higher for those couples were just the woman was working.

As far as men’s education is concerned, we have not found any clear significant effect particularly in the cluster of countries with low levels of cohabitation. In the cluster of countries with medium level of cohabitation, it appears that cohabitation was lower for men with secondary school and more common among men with higher education. In countries with high levels of cohabitation, more education meant lower propensity to be in consensual unions as oppose to being in a married couple.

Another dimension explored is the couples’ educational homogamy. In Southern Europe and Ireland, consensual unions were much common in partnership in which woman had much higher educational level than man (2.02%). Interestingly enough, consensual unions were less common if women’s education was only relatively higher than men’s education (0.94%), and consensual union was much lower if he had much higher educational attainment (see Table 1). In the cluster of countries with medium level of cohabitation, educational homogamy did not have any significant effect (table 2). In contrast, in countries with high level of cohabitation, homogamous partnerships showed

the lowest proportions of consensual unions, while the more asymmetrical was a couple in relation to the educational attainment of both partners, the higher their probably of being in cohabitation.

Finally, there has not been a large variation in the prevalence of cohabitation across the time period analysed (waves 1996-2001) for the cluster of countries with low level of cohabitation. Coefficients capturing the effect of time (6 year period) on the likelihood of being cohabiting as oppose to married were not statistically significant (Table 1 in appendix). In contrast, we detect a slight declining trend in cohabiting couples in the cluster of countries with medium and high levels of cohabitation. Thus, in 2001, with respect of the baseline, there was a significantly fall in 1.06 percentage points in the cluster of countries with medium level of cohabitation and of 8.05 percentage points in the cluster of countries with high level of cohabitation.

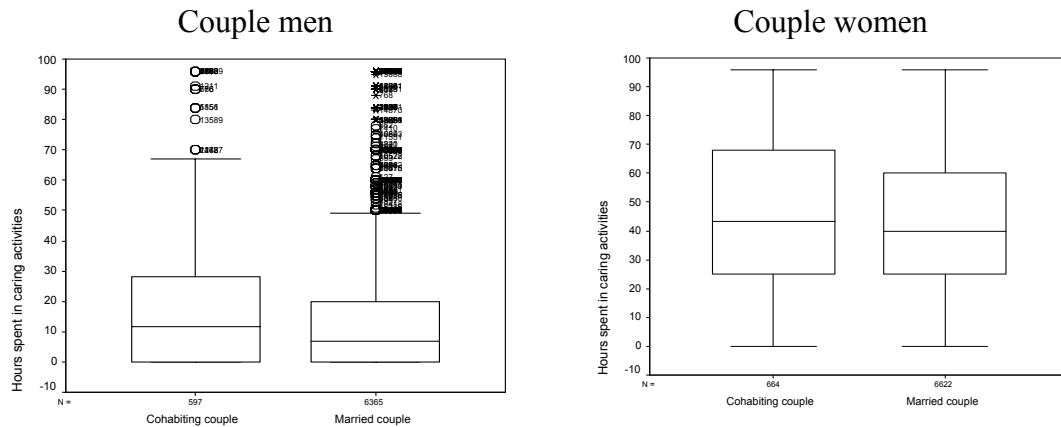
This section has analysed the main characteristics of cohabiting and married couples. We conclude that they uphold many different features concerning age but also concerning couples' age-gap and educational homogamy. Therefore, we use the variable of marital status to test its influence on men's involvement in caring activities which constitutes the proxy used for more gender egalitarian relationships.

### **3. Does really cohabitation entails higher male involvement in caring activities?**

Previous sections have described main trends in partnerships across-countries and have discussed the main implication of the widespread of cohabitation on the allocation of care activities. In this section we explore the extent to which living in marital or cohabiting partnerships determines men's engagement in childcare activities. Figure 4 shows a couple of box plots that provides an excellent visual summary of many important aspects of the distribution of caring time by marital status in both fathers and mothers. At first glance marital status seems to matter particularly for men as the average number of hours spent per week by cohabiting men (17 hours) is above the number of hours spent by married men (12 hours). Differences in the median are even higher: 14 hours per week for cohabiting fathers as compared with 7 hours per week for married fathers. There are also several unusual observations (outliers) in the sample of married men suggesting that there are still some exceptional husbands around showing an extreme of behaviour (highly involve in caring activities). This may be the case of men out of employment who are fully involved in child care or, another feasible explanation; they result out of a measurement error. Mothers' differences in caring time by marital status are, on the contrary, rather similar. That is to say, there are not obvious differences between married and cohabiting women on childcare time. Cohabiting mothers spent a median of 44 hours per week and married mothers a median of 40 hours per week. The main difference

lies on the fact that there is more variability around the median for cohabiting women than for married women. In other words, there are more differences in cohabiting rather than married mothers insofar as childcare is concerned.

Figure 4. Box-plot of mothers and fathers' (aged 18-45 and at least one child aged 0-10 years old) caring time according to their marital status: European countries, 2000



Source: ECHP, 7<sup>th</sup> wave, 2000.

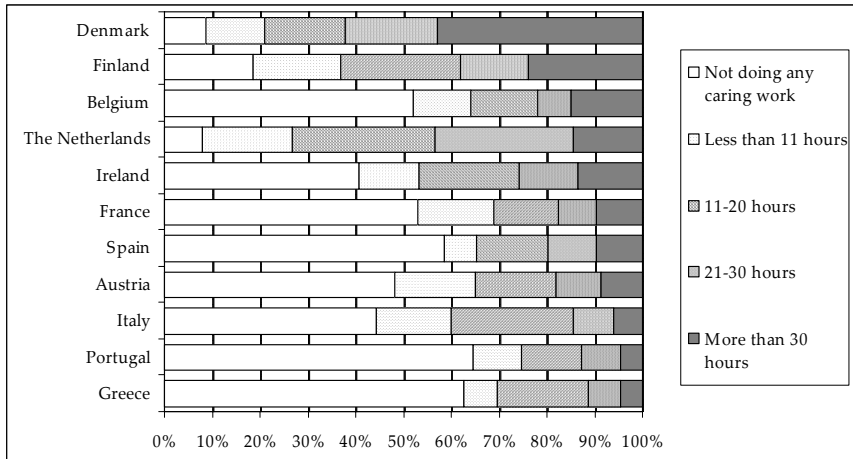
Note: there are 11 countries included in these figures as they appear in figure x.

Care time is measured in the ECHP in a very broad sense, because interviewed parents are only asked the number of hours devoted to caring without specifying the type of activities undertaken. Figures 5 and 6 illustrate fathers' and mothers' caring time across countries. Figure 5, which focuses on the fathers, clearly illustrates huge country differences in care time. Nordic countries, Denmark and Finland, are outstanding: as many as 62% of fathers regularly devote more than 20 hours per week to caring activities in Denmark and as many as 38 in Finland. Countries such as Belgium, France and Ireland are somewhere in the middle and countries such as Greece, Portugal and Italy are in the bottom concerning male engagement in childcare activities. These are not very surprising results because country difference in male care time may be highly associated with difference in women's labour force participation. The empirical analysis that will follow should control for women's labour force participation which may definitely influence men's involvement in child care.

Figure 6 looks at the other side of the coin: the mothers. This figure, however, has only selected women in full-time employment. Otherwise country difference may be simply explained by differences in the prevalence of full-time homemakers. Country differences in caring time of employed women are more difficult to explain at first glance given that a very heterogeneous group of countries appear with similar caring time. For instance, a large proportion of mothers of small children (aged 0-10 years old) in Ireland (81%), Denmark (73%) and Spain (67%) devote more than 30 hours per week to caring activities. In contrast, countries such as Greece, France and Portugal appear to be at the

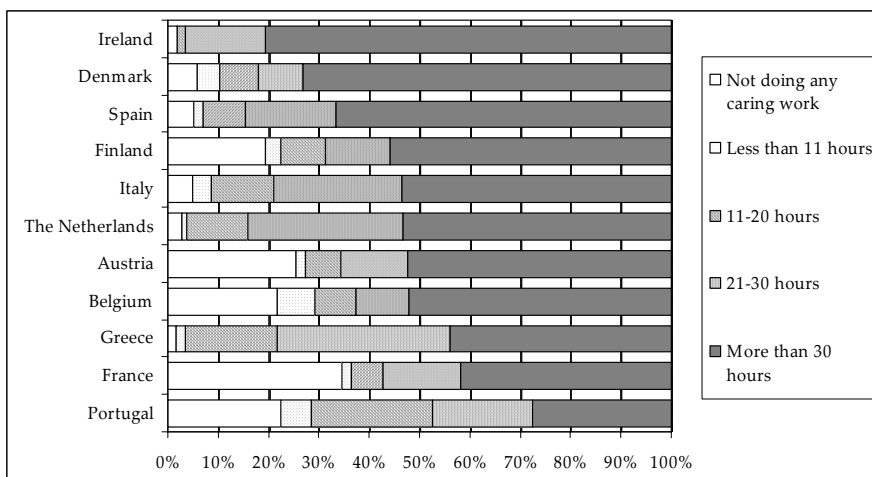
bottom as far as mothers' caring time is concerned. It should be noted, however, than even the countries with lowest score in mothers' caring time are far above fathers' caring time; Danish fathers being the only exception.

Figure 5. Fathers' engagement in care activities (hours per week devoted to care): couple male aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 0-10 years, selected countries, 2000



Source: own elaboration (weighted data) ECHP 7<sup>th</sup> wave.

Figure 6. Mothers' engagement in care activities (hours per week devoted to care): couple women working full-time aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 0-10 years, selected countries, 2000



Source: own elaboration (weighted data) ECHP 7<sup>th</sup> wave.

### 3.2. Data and methods

To test the hypotheses described in section 1, we first run a pool model in which countries are included as control variable. Secondly, we run models for a group of countries which are culturally close and share similar degrees of cohabitation: 1) Southern European countries with low prevalence of cohabitation; 2) France, a continental example with relatively high degree of cohabitation and, lastly; 3) Nordic countries (Denmark and Finland) where cohabitation has been for a long time relatively high and seems to naturally co-exist together with the marital unions.

The variable of interest for our research is the number of hours spent on child care. Linear regression model (LRM) is the most commonly used method for continuous variables. However, the analysis of ordinal outcomes with OLS regression requires that distances between categories are equal; otherwise the regression violates its assumptions and leads to erroneous conclusions. Therefore, we need a statistical model that does not requires the assumption of equal intervals between ordinal categories because it cannot be assumed, for instance, that the distance between low, middle and high involvement on childcare activities are the same. Therefore, we shall consider models specifically designed for ordinal outcome variables. One typical model for this type of variables is the ordered regression. The use of ordered regression has been, however, discarded because the test of parallel regression or proportional odds assumption did not hold.<sup>2</sup> We then turned to an alternative model which did not impose constraints of parallel regressions: the multinomial logit model which treats the outcome variable as nominal. In other words, in multinomial logit models (MNLM) independent variables are allowed to differ for each of the outcomes used to predict the choice that is made. MNLM simultaneously estimates binary logits for all possible comparisons among the outcome categories, which enforces the logical relationship among the parameters (Long 1997). A response variable consisting of three outcomes is equivalent to three binary logits comparing outcomes 1 to 2, 1 to 3 and 2 to 3. Long (1997) suggests graphical methods to summarise the results given the large number of probabilities involve in the models. The dependent variable shall be interpreted as the log of the odds outcome 1 versus outcome 2.

The sample selected for this research has been restricted to married and cohabiting male in couple-household who are aged 18-45 years old and have at least one child aged 0-10 years old at the time of the interview (2000). The resulting sample consists of 6,513 men (100%). This is the resulting sample after excluding from the analysis some countries that participated in the ECHP. Netherlands was excluded because it did not provide consistent data on education. Sweden, UK, Luxembourg and Germany have also been excluded

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<sup>2</sup> Stata computes the test using the brant command (likelihood-ratio test of proportionality of odds across response categories).

because they did not include the question about caring time or information was not available.

The dependent variable is the number of hours per week that fathers spent in caring activities. This variable, the involvement in caring activities, is conceptualised as a nominal outcome where three main categories are considered: 1) uncaring father (those who report not doing any care activities at all); 2) low to medium involvement which meant doing less than 20 hours of caring work per week, and; 3) high involvement which meant doing 20 or more hours per week of caring activities.<sup>3</sup> The respondents were distributed as follows: 3,188 men (49%) reported not doing any caring activities at all, 2,002 men (31%) had a low to medium involvement in caring activities, and 1,323 of men (20%) had high involvement in caring activities.

The independent variables which are expected to affect men's involvement in caring activities are age (dummy variable), education (three main categories included in the models as a dummy variable), occupational sector (public, private and self-employed), working hours (a series of dummy variables), housing tenancy (a dummy variables which captures whether the dwelling is owned or rented), women's relationship with the labour market (dummy variable which captures the influence of the female partner on his partners' involvement on care), educational homogamy (dummy variables which intends to measure the bargaining power across different types of partnerships), marital status (dummy variable which consists of married and cohabiting couples) and the availability of intergenerational support (a dummy variable that accounts for the presence of a person from a third generation probably grand-mothers/fathers at home). Finally, the resulting sample analysed according to the males' marital status is illustrated in table 4. This table shows the very low presence of cohabiting men particularly in Southern European countries and Ireland. France and Denmark are the countries with the highest percentages of cohabiting men with small children. Next the results of the MNLM are introduced.

This last part of the paper is divided into two main sections. In the first part, we report the results from the pool model in which all the countries are included as a control variable. That is to say, we test some of the hypotheses above described within a hypothetical European region where country dummies basically control for differences in the likelihood that men get involve in child care activities taking France as a reference category. The fact that country dummies remain significant indicates the need to run country specific models. This is done in the second part where three models are conducted with the sample of Southern countries, France and Nordic countries. Each cluster of countries represents different prevalence of cohabitation as well as different pattern of caring time. The small samples make unfeasible running specific model for many of the

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<sup>3</sup> The variable used is= PR007A which reports "the number of hours (per week) spent looking after children".

countries analysed. Only France, a country with a large sample population and cohabiting couples, permits allows for a case study with the ECHP.

Table 4. Distribution of men aged 18-45 living with a partner and at least one child aged 0-10 years old according to their marital status: selected EU countries, 2000

	Cohabiting couple	Married couple
France	22.5	77.5
Denmark	19.1	80.9
The Netherlands	11.8	88.2
Finland	11.6	88.4
Belgium	9.4	90.6
Austria	9.2	90.8
Portugal	5.8	94.2
Ireland	5.0	95.0
Italy	2.1	97.9
Spain	2.1	97.9
Greece	0.2	99.8

Source: ECHP 7<sup>th</sup> wave (weighted data).

### 3.3. The pool model (all countries included): does cohabiting entail more gender equality?

Cohabiting does make a difference to predict men's involvement in caring time. However, it is worth noting that marital status has little effect on whether men have low rather than high involvement. Using the 0.05 level of significance, we actually see that the main difference that marital status makes is between those uncaring fathers and those highly involved fathers (see Table 5). Another important question is the extent to which marital status matters in front of other aspects to determine men's engagement in caring activities. Contrary to our expectations, results from table 5 reveal that other aspects are far more important than marital status to determine men's engagement in caring work. Among these aspects we shall mention education and women's labour force participation.

There are many aspects behind the variable of educational attainment among which empathy with gender egalitarian values shall be one of the most obvious. Actually, the odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring are almost double for highly educated men as compared to low-educated men (with primary education) holding other variables constant.<sup>4</sup> This is an interesting and equally promising result as the increase in the population

<sup>4</sup> Obtain from the coefficient in Table 6 (Odds ratio:  $\exp(0.79)=2.19$ ).

general level of education may progressively favour more egalitarian share of family responsibilities.

Table 5. Estimates for all combinations of outcome categories with the variable: marital status

Odds comparing Group 1 vs Group 2			Raw coefficient	z-score for test of b=0	p-value for z-test	exp(b)	exp(b*SD of X)
High involvement	vs	Not doing any caring	-0.31	-2.313	0.0210	0.7364	0.9172
Not doing any caring	vs	High involvement	0.31	2.313	0.0210	1.3579	1.0903

Note: these are the coefficients one would get if the category listed as Group 2 were the reference category (only differences which are significant at level 0.05 are shown) using the post-estimation commands (listcoef) based on table X. Exp(b) = factor change in odds for unit increase in X; exp(b\*SD of X) = change in odds for standard deviation increase in X.

There are many aspects behind the variable of educational attainment among which empathy with gender egalitarian values shall be one of the most obvious. Actually, the odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring are almost double for highly educated men as compared to low-educated men (with primary education) holding other variables constant.<sup>5</sup> This is an interesting and equally promising result as the increase in the population general level of education may progressively favour more egalitarian share of family responsibilities.

The other variable with an important effect on men's engagement in caring activities is their partner relationship with the labour market. Thus, women's participation in the labour market increases the chances that men engage in care work. This is particularly relevant if women work in full-time basis. The odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring are 2.20 times greater for couple men with a full-time employed female partner as compared to couple men with homemaker female partner holding other variables constant.<sup>6</sup> Actually, men's involvement in care increase parallel to women's involvement in paid work, since the effect of having a full-time female partner is much higher than having a part-time female partner particularly to predict high levels of male caring time. Geist (2005) found similar results combining information of couples' income contribution. As the male income contribution to the household economy increased, the propensity of the female to specialise on domestic and caring activities also increase. On the contrary, as the female income contribution increased men would not accordingly increase their involvement in domestic and caring activities but would rather tend to equally share these chores. Therefore, bargaining processes do not seem to be symmetrical for men and women.

<sup>5</sup> Obtain from the coefficient in Table 6 (Odds ratio: exp(0.79)=2.19).

<sup>6</sup> Obtain from the coefficient in Table 6 (Odds ratio: exp(0.83)=2.30).



As far as the country effect is concerned, we found statistically significant differences. Thus, Nordic countries (Denmark and Finland) are far more likely to get involved in a low or high degree in caring activities relative to not doing any caring as compared to France. Equally, Greece, Spain and Portugal are less likely to get involved in a low or high degree in caring activities relative to not doing any caring as compared to France. These results go in line with previously shown descriptive statistics (see Figure 5). The interesting question is why, even after controlling for age, education and partner's labour force participation, there are still country differences in the likelihood of men being involve in care work. Authors such as Geist (2005) provides an answer as he argues that macro-level differences in the division of labour are associated with the nature of the welfare state. According to this author, individual characteristics are not enough to explain the division of household labour. He shows, for instance, that equal sharing of housework by both partners is rare in conservative countries regardless of the couples' relative resources, time availability and gender ideology, because of the contextual factors against gender equality (i.e. gender role attitudes and time resources structured by different welfare state regimes).

Finally, men's engagement in caring work have also been analysed taken into consideration their relationship with the labour force. An interesting results emerges concerning the economic sector: the odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring are 1.58 greater for men working in the public sector as compared to men working in the private sector holding other variables constant.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, self-employ men are less likely to have a low or high involvement in care activities. This may be associated to the long-working hours of self-employed men. The number of hours at the workplace is further analysed in the next model.

Table 7. includes new dimensions in the model to predict men's involvement in childcare activities: working hours, couples' educational homogamy and housing tenancy. As far as the effect of men's working hours on caring time is concerned, Table 7 clearly its significant negative effect. Thus, it is very unlikely having men highly involve in childcare while working more than 46 hours per week. The number of hours spent in the labour market clearly influence men's time availability.

Another aspect that strongly affects men's involvement on childcare, apart from his working time, is the couple educational homogamy. Results completely validate our "couples' homogamy hypothesis". Thus, the odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring are almost double (1.70) for men in homogamous partnership in which both partners are highly educated as compared to the more traditional partnership in which men have higher educational level than women holding other variables constant. On the contrary, the odds of being highly involved in caring activities relative to not doing any caring decrease by 30% (0.70 odds ratio) for men in homogamous partnership in which both partners are low-educated as compared to the more traditional partnership holding other variables constant. Therefore, sharing similar earning capacity does not necessarily implies equal share of caring activities, because low educational level are usually associated with traditional gender values (González, 2001). This result it interesting as one would expect that as medium educational level of the population increases, the negotiations to share caring

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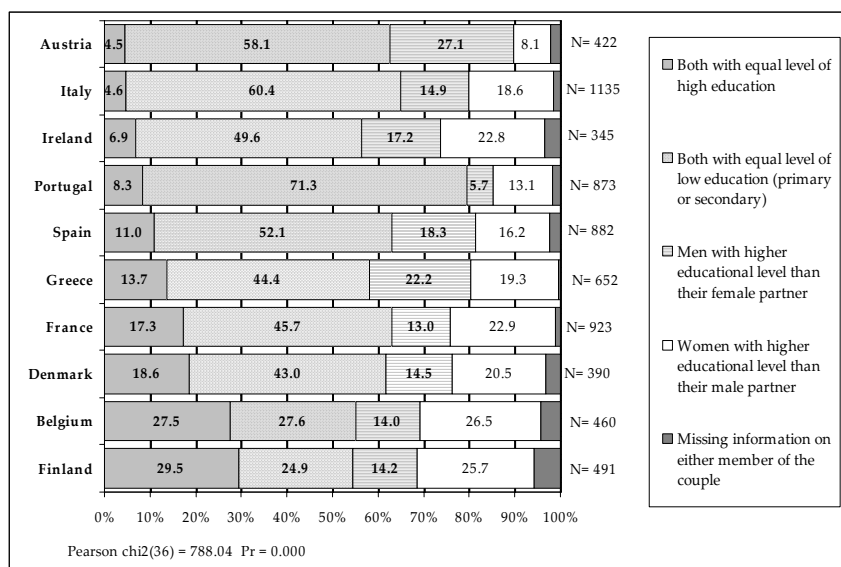
<sup>7</sup> Obtain from the coefficient in Table 6 (Odds ratio:  $\exp(0.46)=1.58$ ).

responsibilities by two partners will accordingly increase. Figure 7 illustrates the current distribution of couples' educational homogeneity and, more in particular, the low proportion of top-educational homogeneity (both highly educated) in countries such as Austria, Italy, Ireland, Portugal Spain and Greece, whereas they represent a large proportion in countries such as Finland, Belgium and Denmark.

Contrary to the expectations (the “marriage with the-loan” hypothesis), housing tenancy does not affect men's involvement in caring activities. The idea behind this variable was that homeownership resembles marital unions insofar as they both represent the acquisition of long-term bonds. There is, however, a methodological shortcoming to capture this effect as long as partnership formation and homeownership occur almost simultaneously while most of the couples with small children in our sample are homeowners (79%). Only in countries such as Greece, Ireland and Spain above 80% of couple men (aged 18-45) with at least one child aged 0-10 years old are homeowners or their accommodation is provided rent-free.

Country effects remain being statistically significant in table 7 which suggest the need to pursue country specific models. To overcome sample problems, the analysis is conducted in a cluster of countries. The results are next discussed.

Figure 7. Male's educational homogeneity (sample of men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10): selected European countries, 2000



Source: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (weighted data).

Table 6. Results for multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Men's Involvement in Child Caring Activities (couple men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10 or less): selected European countries

	LOW-MEDIUM INVOLVEMENT		HIGH INVOLVEMENT	
	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>
<b>Age:</b>				
18-35	--		--	
36-45	-0.05	0.06	-0.34***	-0.34
<b>Primary education</b>				
Secondary	0.34***	0.08	0.60***	0.60
High education	0.63***	0.09	0.79***	0.79
<b>Relationship with labour market:</b>				
Private sector	--		--	
Public sector	0.06	0.09	0.46***	0.46
Employed (sector unknown)	-0.41**	0.19	0.35	0.35
Self-employed	-0.15*	0.08	-0.54***	-0.54
Out of work	-0.22	0.16	0.86***	0.86
<b>Female partners' labour force:</b>				
Out of work	--		--	
In full-time employment	0.38***	0.07	0.83***	0.83
In part-time employment	0.34***	0.11	0.64***	0.64
<b>Cohabiting</b>				
Married couple	-0.22*	0.12	-0.31**	-0.31
<b>Control variable:</b>				
France	--		--	
Denmark	1.52***	0.22	2.72***	2.72
Belgium	0.12	0.19	-0.12	-0.12
Ireland	0.47***	0.16	0.99***	0.99
Italy	0.57***	0.11	0.29**	0.29
Greece	-0.33**	0.13	-0.55***	-0.55
Spain	-0.19	0.12	0.56***	0.56
Portugal	-0.64***	0.12	-0.96***	-0.96
Austria	0.14	0.15	-0.08	-0.08
Finland	1.21***	0.16	1.52***	1.52
Constant	-0.74***	0.13	-1.65***	-1.65
Log likelihood				-5849.1744
LR chi2(38)				1340.82
Prob > chi2				0.0000
Pseudo R2				0.1028
Number of obs.				6300

Data: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (unweighted data).

NOTE: Reference category for the equation is "NOT DOING ANY CHILD CARING ACTIVITIES".

\*Significant at  $p \leq 0.10$ ; \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ .

*e.s.*: standard errors. -- Reference category.

Table 7. Results for multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Men's Involvement in Child Caring Activities (couple men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10 or less): selected European countries

	LOW-MEDIUM INVOLVEMENT		HIGH INVOLVEMENT	
	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>
<b>Male working time:</b>				
Out work	--		--	
<=35 hours	0.32*	0.18	-0.44**	0.18
36-40 hours	0.17	0.16	-0.63***	0.15
41-46 hours	0.48***	0.18	-0.47***	0.18
>46 hours	0.09	0.16	-1.23***	0.16
<b>Couple's educational homogeneity:</b>				
He has higher education	--		--	
She has higher education	-0.06	0.10	0.18	0.12
Both low-educated	-0.24***	0.09	-0.35***	0.10
Both highly-educated	0.31***	0.12	0.54***	0.13
Missing education	-0.19	0.20	-0.79***	0.27
Cohabiting	--		--	
Married	-0.23**	0.11	-0.33***	0.13
<b>Housing tenancy:</b>				
Owner/free	--		--	
Paying rent	-0.07	0.08	0.14	0.09
<b>Control variable:</b>				
France	--		--	
Denmark	1.82***	0.21	3.18***	0.21
Belgium	0.03	0.14	0.34**	0.16
Ireland	0.57***	0.15	1.17***	0.17
Italy	0.59***	0.11	0.37***	0.14
Greece	-0.21*	0.13	-0.34**	0.17
Spain	-0.19	0.12	0.57***	0.14
Portugal	-0.55***	0.12	-0.68***	0.17
Austria	0.45***	0.14	0.48***	0.18
Finland	1.47***	0.15	1.91***	0.17
Constant	-0.53**	0.21	-0.35	0.22
Log likelihood			-6156.6113	
LR chi2 (48)			1169.86	
Prob > chi2			0.0000	
Pseudo R2			0.0868	
Number of obs.			6509	

Data: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (unweighted data).

NOTE: Reference category for the equation is "NOT DOING ANY CHILD CARING ACTIVITIES".

\*Significant at  $p \leq 0.10$ ; \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ .

*e.s.*: standard errors. -- Reference category.

### *3.4. Models predicting men's involvement in caring time by a cluster of countries: Southern Europe, France and Nordic countries*

Geist (2005) suggests that macro-level differences related to the nature of the welfare state shape domestic division of labour even in as much intensity than individual characteristics. In our analysis have also been unable to remove country effects in the prediction of men's involvement in caring activities. Therefore, something is behind the variable of the country (i.e. gender values and socio-economic constraints) which makes necessarily to study them separately. This is done in this section.

First of all, only in Southern Europe education exerts a highly significant effect on men's involvement in caring time. The likelihood of being highly involve in caring activities relative to not doing any caring work is much greater for highly educated men as compared to low-educated men holding other variables constant. Male working hours negative significant effect in all countries considered the chances that men would intensively engage in caring activities relative to not doing any caring work. This is especially clear among men working more than 46 hours per week.

Another common trend in the cluster of countries considered is the significant effect that women's labour force activity has on men's engagement in caring activities. As previously discussed, the fact of having an employed woman increases the chances that a man engages in care activities. This effect is particularly strong in Southern Europe. An odd result emerges, however, in the Nordic countries since women's employment seems to have the opposite effect. That is to say, women's employment decreases the chances that men engage in caring activities. Further analysis should disentangle this puzzle.

Country specific models also include the variable of living in an extended household or having a person from a third generation at home such as grand mothers/fathers or mothers/fathers in law. This variable only arose significant effect in the model for Southern Europe. Thus, intergenerational solidarity (the support of grand-mothers and fathers) still inhibits men's engagement in care activities, although they may also help women to reconcile paid employment and family responsibilities in the absence of public services (i.e. childcare centres) or generous family policies.

Marital status does not reveal having strong significant effect which rejects our "selection effect hypothesis". We expected that in countries with low prevalence of cohabiting unions, as it is the case in Southern Europe, cohabiting men will behave completely differently than married men as far as care activities was concerned. Instead, it emerges that it is men's educational attainment what really matters in Southern Europe, rather than marital status, to attain higher male engagement in caring activities. Only in France being married seems to negatively affect the chances of men being highly involve in caring activities

relative to not doing any caring work, but the effect is very weak (significant at level 0.10).

Finally, we should mention that even within Southern Europe and Nordic countries there appear significant differences across countries. For instance, the chances that men highly involve in caring activities relative to not doing any caring work are much higher among Danish than Finnish men. Likewise, the chances that men highly involve in caring activities relative to not doing any caring work are much higher among Spanish than Portuguese men. Therefore, the research is still open to better datasets that allow in-depth single case studies.

Table 8. Results for multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Men's Involvement in Child Caring Activities (couple men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10 or less): **Southern European countries**

	LOW-MEDIUM INVOLVEMENT		HIGH INVOLVEMENT	
	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>
<b>Primary education</b>	--		--	
Secondary	0.40***	0.10	0.76***	0.12
High education	0.91***	0.12	1.01***	0.15
<b>Male' working time at job:</b>				
<=35 hrs	--		--	
36-46 hrs	-0.03	0.13	-0.40***	0.15
>46 hrs	-0.17	0.14	-0.80***	0.17
<b>Women out of employment</b>	--		--	
Women in employment	0.45***	0.09	1.06***	0.11
Married men	-0.05	0.26	-0.34	0.32
Third generation at home	-0.02	0.16	-0.54**	0.27
Portugal	--		--	
Italy	1.18***	0.12	1.21***	0.17
Greece	0.25*	0.14	0.32	0.20
Spain	0.44***	0.13	1.53***	0.17
Constant	-1.62***	0.29	-2.45***	0.37
Log likelihood				-3111.90
LR chi2(20)				501.00
Prob > chi2				0.0000
Pseudo R2				0.0745
Number of obs.				3529

Data: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (unweighted data).

NOTE: Reference category for the equation is "NOT DOING ANY CHILD CARING ACTIVITIES".

\*Significant at  $p \leq 0.10$ ; \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ .

*e.s.*: standard errors. -- Reference category.

Table 9. Results for multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Men's Involvement in Child Caring Activities (couple men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10 or less): **France**

	LOW-MEDIUM INVOLVEMENT		HIGH INVOLVEMENT	
	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>
<b>Primary education</b>	--		--	
Secondary	0.08	0.27	0.00	0.32
High education	0.33*	0.18	0.25	0.22
<b>Male' working time at job:</b>				
<=35 hrs	--		--	
36-46 hrs	-0.06	0.17	-0.02	0.20
>46 hrs	-0.26	0.23	-0.64**	0.31
<b>Women out of employment</b>	--		--	
Women in employment	0.40**	0.16	0.66***	0.20
Married men	-0.29	0.18	-0.37*	0.21
Third generation at home	-0.08	1.25	-35.29	5.72
Constant	-0.63***	0.20	-1.21***	0.24
Log likelihood				-890.5
LR chi2(14)				28.92
Prob > chi2				0.0107
Pseudo R2				0.0160
Number of obs.				906

Data: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (unweighted data).

NOTE: Reference category for the equation is "NOT DOING ANY CHILD CARING ACTIVITIES".

\*Significant at  $p \leq 0.10$ ; \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ .

*e.s.*: standard errors. -- Reference category.

Table 10. Results for multinomial Logistic Regression Predicting Men's Involvement in Child Caring Activities (couple men aged 18-45 with at least one child aged 10 or less): **Nordic countries**

	LOW-MEDIUM INVOLVEMENT		HIGH INVOLVEMENT	
	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>	$\beta$	<i>e.s.</i>
<b>Primary education</b>	--		--	
Secondary	-0.26	0.31	0.17	0.32
High education	0.03	0.34	0.26	0.35
<b>Male' working time at job:</b>				
<=35 hrs	--		--	
36-46 hrs	0.59*	0.36	-0.15	0.32
>46 hrs	0.51	0.39	-1.25***	0.38
<b>Women out of employment</b>	--		--	
Women in employment	-0.78***	0.29	-0.64**	0.29
<b>Married men</b>	-0.44	0.31	-0.40	0.31
Third generation at home	-1.33	1.44	-1.37	1.54
Finland	--		--	
Denmark	0.34	0.23	1.16***	0.23
Constant	1.48***	0.53	1.68***	0.52
Log likelihood				-797.23708
LR chi2(16)				108.76
Prob > chi2				0.0000
Pseudo R2				0.0639
Number of obs.				851

Data: 7<sup>th</sup> wave of the ECHP, 2000 (unweighted data).

NOTE: Reference category for the equation is "NOT DOING ANY CHILD CARING ACTIVITIES".

\*Significant at  $p \leq 0.10$ ; \*\*  $p \leq 0.05$ ; \*\*\*  $p \leq 0.001$ .

*e.s.*: standard errors. -- Reference category.



#### 4. Concluding remarks

This research reveals that cohabitation very distinct features among cohabiting and married couples in Western European countries. First of all, there are large differences concerning its prevalence. There is a low prevalence of cohabitation in Ireland and Southern Europe, both from Christian tradition, and there is a high prevalence of cohabitation in countries such as France, Denmark and Finland which also share the influence of a Protestant tradition. Apart from the differences in the widespread of cohabitation across countries, we found significant differences between married and cohabiting couples in vast array of aspects. The more important factor explaining cohabitation is age: cohabitation is basically chosen by young adults, is less frequently found among mature individuals and virtually non-existent at old ages. Cohabitation is also more common among couples with large age differences and normally entails fewer children than married couples. Cohabitants are more likely to rent as oppose to married couples who are more often homeowners. More unstable and unfavourable partners' economic situations (i.e. both unemployed) are also more common among cohabiting couples, while the breadwinner family models are also further concentrated among married rather than cohabiting couples. Interestingly enough, partnerships based on women as the main breadwinner very more common in cohabiting than in married couples.

Previously described differences between married and cohabiting couples justify the idea the leading question of this chapter: the extent to which cohabitation is the best choice for achieving gender equality within the partnership. We have taken as an indicator of gender equality men's involvement caring activities. The results of this analysis only partially validated the hypothesis that cohabiting couples uphold more egalitarian gender relationships. Married men only seem to be less likely to fully engage in caring activities as compare to cohabiting men in the models with pool data (all European countries analysed in a single dataset), but not in the models for Southern Europe or the Nordic countries. We expected that in countries where cohabitation was still rare, this type of living arrangement would particularly entail more egalitarian relationships and higher male involvement in caring activities. Nonetheless, the results reveal that in Southern countries men's engagement in caring activities is above all related to their educational attainment and, even more, to their female partner participation in the labour market. These two variables completely cancel out the effect of the marital status (cohabiting or being married). In countries where cohabitation has been a common living arrangement for a long time and already uphold high levels of gender equality in the division of housework, such as in the Nordic countries, neither marital status nor male educational attainment predicted men's involvement in caring activities.

It is worth mentioning as a concluding remark that contextual factors, country effects, seem to determine different levels of cohabitation as well as different degrees of men's involvement in care activities and couples' share of domestic and caring activities. We have not been able to disentangle these county effects

in this research. Future studies shall look at the micro-macro connexion which interacts in the decision or partners' capacity to negotiate the allocation of caring and domestic activities.

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## **APPENDIX**

**Table 1. Model for the countries with lowest cohabitation**

variables	categories	n of cases	coefficient	p-value	%cohabitation
YEAR OF OBSERVATION	1996	16800	-0.07	0.193	0.72
	1997	15368	-0.12	0.603	0.68
	1998	14091	0.03	0.592	0.78
	1999	13138	0.05	0.694	0.80
	2000	12091	0.05	0.502	0.80
	2001	11305	0.07	0.110	0.82
COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	Ireland	8693	0.49	0.001	1.24
	Italy	24221	-0.10	0.628	0.69
	Greece	12612	-1.34	0.000	0.20
	Spain	19962	0.17	0.035	0.91
	Portugal	17305	0.77	0.000	1.64
MALE AGE	21-25	33	-2.02	0.522	0.10
	26-30	486	1.53	0.000	3.44
	31-35	2853	0.83	0.028	1.73
	36-40	7407	0.54	0.389	1.31
	41-45	9667	0.16	0.782	0.90
	46-50	10311	-0.36	0.017	0.54
	more than 50	52036	-0.69	0.000	0.38
FEMALE AGE DIFFERENCE WITH MALE	5 or less	2970	1.16	0.000	2.39
	-4	861	-0.08	0.348	0.71
	-3	1404	0.14	0.134	0.87
	-2	2299	-0.34	0.393	0.54
	-1	3997	0.09	0.326	0.84
	0	7448	0.03	0.787	0.79
	1	8581	-0.50	0.009	0.47
	2	9541	-0.57	0.000	0.44
	3	9712	-0.49	0.005	0.47
	4	8131	-0.27	0.000	0.59
	5 or more	27849	0.83	0.000	1.73
LABOUR MODEL	Male breadwinner	16944	-0.22	0.174	0.61
	Dual earners (both full-time)	16529	0.62	0.000	1.41
	Dual earners (she part-time)	7723	-0.01	0.332	0.76
	Female earner	2595	-1.01	0.002	0.28
	Others	39002	0.62	0.000	1.41
MALE LEVEL OF EDUCATION	less than secondary	51735	-0.37	0.005	0.53
	secondary	19596	0.23	0.169	0.96
	higher	11462	0.14	0.221	0.88
HOMOLOGY	het much more men	1867	-0.94	0.044	0.30
	het more men	11660	-0.09	0.510	0.70
	homogamy	57930	0.21	0.374	0.94
	het more women	9536	-0.16	0.078	0.65
	ht much more women	1800	0.98	0.001	2.02
CHILDREN AT HOME	0	17016	0.31	0.000	1.04
	1	19720	0.19	0.167	0.92
	2	29405	-0.81	0.000	0.34
	3	11245	-0.16	0.000	0.65
	4	3466	0.15	0.243	0.89
	5 or more	1941	0.32	0.000	1.05
TENANCY	owner	60879	-0.28	0.000	0.58
	tenant	12560	0.63	0.000	1.42
	provided	9354	-0.34	0.591	0.54
CONSTANT	total		-4.87	0.000	0.76
	-2 log likelihood			8,740	
	Chi-squared			1,063	

**Table 2. Model for the countries with medium cohabitation**

variables	categories	n of cases	coefficient	p-value	%cohabitation
YEAR OF OBSERVATION	1996	17079	0.03	0.404	8.09
	1997	10813	0.11	0.010	8.71
	1998	10071	0.05	0.227	8.22
	1999	9566	0.02	0.332	8.05
	2000	8922	-0.08	0.118	7.30
	2001	8519	-0.12	0.001	7.03
COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	Germany	23070	-0.17	0.000	6.74
	Belgium	8593	0.16	0.000	9.13
	Luxembourg	9288	0.10	0.000	8.62
	United Kingdom	13662	-0.04	0.990	7.61
	Austria	10357	-0.05	0.000	7.51
MALE AGE	21-25	213	-0.82	0.000	3.64
	26-30	1612	1.20	0.000	22.05
	31-35	4896	0.05	0.000	8.26
	36-40	7994	-0.14	0.000	6.95
	41-45	8418	-0.37	0.000	5.56
	46-50	7368	-0.79	0.000	3.73
	more than 50	34458	-1.91	0.000	1.25
	5 or less	2675	0.98	0.000	18.60
FEMALE AGE DIFFERENCE WITH MALE	-4	981	0.41	0.000	11.40
	-3	1555	-0.10	0.087	7.19
	-2	2479	0.40	0.013	11.36
	-1	3936	-0.29	0.004	6.01
	0	6336	-0.57	0.000	4.61
	1	7966	-0.62	0.000	4.38
	2	8422	-0.41	0.000	5.38
	3	7307	-0.11	0.040	7.12
	4	5788	-0.13	0.348	6.97
	5 or more	17525	0.44	0.000	11.75
LABOUR MODEL	Male breadwinner	9068	-0.88	0.000	3.42
	Dual earners (both full-time)	15646	0.31	0.000	10.41
	Dual earners (she part-time)	10821	-0.19	0.000	6.63
	Female earner	2606	0.58	0.000	13.25
	Others	26829	0.18	0.000	9.32
MALE LEVEL OF EDUCATION	less than secondary	15089	-0.11	0.000	7.15
	secondary	29565	-0.14	0.001	6.90
	higher	20316	0.25	0.000	9.89
HOMOLOGY	het much more men	3483	-0.12	0.126	7.06
	het more men	15899	-0.02	0.053	7.77
	homogamy	36943	-0.07	0.142	7.39
	het more women	6869	0.12	0.044	8.83
	ht much more women	1776	0.08	0.122	8.48
CHILDREN AT HOME	0	20364	1.15	0.000	21.29
	1	15075	0.41	0.000	11.46
	2	19720	-0.41	0.000	5.35
	3	7317	-0.34	0.000	5.73
	4	1895	-0.54	0.000	4.74
	5 or more	599	-0.27	0.763	6.14
TENANCY	owner	39576	2.23	0.000	44.36
	tenant	21735	0.38	0.000	11.11
	provided	3659	-0.15	0.104	6.84
CONSTANT	total		-2.46	0.000	7.88
	-2 log likelihood			24,441	
	Chi-squared			5,388	

**Table 3. Model for the countries with highest cohabitation**

variables	categories	n of cases	coefficient	p-value	%cohabitation
YEAR OF OBSERVATION	1996	11280	0.26	0.000	25.70
	1997	10458	0.18	0.000	24.18
	1998	9656	-0.04	0.183	20.30
	1999	9239	-0.05	0.131	20.20
	2000	8419	-0.13	0.017	18.87
	2001	8072	-0.22	0.000	17.65
COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	Denmark	7051	0.17	0.000	23.98
	Netherlands	18198	-0.22	0.000	17.65
	France	18904	-0.19	0.000	18.03
	Finland	12971	0.24	0.000	25.20
MALE AGE	less than 21	11	1.66	0.229	58.21
	21-25	235	1.80	0.000	61.76
	26-30	1786	0.86	0.000	38.57
	31-35	4639	0.26	0.000	25.57
	36-40	6497	-0.12	0.933	19.05
	41-45	7749	-0.59	0.000	12.88
	46-50	7532	-1.14	0.000	7.87
	more than 50	28675	-2.73	0.000	1.71
FEMALE AGE DIFFERENCE WITH MALE	5 or less	2006	0.76	0.000	36.15
	-4	729	0.37	0.000	27.90
	-3	1270	-0.06	0.527	20.03
	-2	2236	-0.19	0.001	18.00
	-1	3851	-0.31	0.000	16.34
	0	6356	-0.23	0.000	17.49
	1	7678	-0.24	0.000	17.38
	2	7722	-0.35	0.000	15.81
	3	6672	-0.32	0.000	16.15
	4	4840	0.06	0.669	22.03
	5 or more	13764	0.51	0.000	30.60
LABOUR MODEL	Male breadwinner	3824	-0.46	0.000	14.32
	Dual earners (both full-time)	13123	0.26	0.000	25.62
	Dual earners (she part-time)	9237	-0.10	0.004	19.41
	Female earner	2248	0.30	0.000	26.45
	Others	28692	0.00	0.451	21.07
MALE LEVEL OF EDUCATION	less than secondary	16945	0.07	0.073	22.21
	secondary	24295	0.03	0.576	21.52
	higher	15884	-0.10	0.024	19.39
HOMOLOGY	het much more men	1895	0.34	0.008	27.17
	het more men	11696	-0.13	0.013	18.90
	homogamy	32762	-0.25	0.000	17.20
	het more women	9141	-0.07	0.487	19.82
	ht much more women	1630	0.11	0.042	22.97
CHILDREN AT HOME	0	19981	1.26	0.000	48.42
	1	10769	0.69	0.000	34.69
	2	16875	-0.05	0.047	20.22
	3	7066	-0.47	0.000	14.20
	4	1773	-0.78	0.000	10.87
	5 or more	660	-0.65	0.000	12.21
TENANCY	owner	38887	-0.23	0.000	17.40
	tenant	16298	0.32	0.000	26.80
	provided	1939	-0.09	0.108	19.61
CONSTANT	total		-1.32	0.000	21.01
	-2 log likelihood			30,649	
	Chi-squared			9,552	

