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Research Article

Are highly educated partners really more gender egalitarian? A couple-level analysis of social class differentials in attitudes and behaviors

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Are highly educated partners really more gender egalitarian? A couple-level analysis of social class differentials in attitudes and behaviors

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Abstract

BACKGROUND

Research suggests that, following major changes in women's roles in developed societies, gender relations within heterosexual partnerships are entering a second stage, during which men's roles are the main source of change. Some scholars suggest that changes in gender roles occur differentially across social classes, as reflected in variation across educational groups.

OBJECTIVE

We ask how variation in the educational level of both partners is related to: (1) gender role attitudes and housework contributions of each partner; and (2) consensus between partners on egalitarian gender role attitudes, and gaps between partners in housework hours.

METHODS

Analyzing British Household Panel Survey and Understanding Society data on currently married, heterosexual partnerships in the United Kingdom (1992–2018) from a couple-level perspective, we compare across four educational types defined by whether partners have a tertiary-level degree.

RESULTS

We find that (1) it is not the male partner's but rather the female partner's tertiary education that is a key factor in understanding variation in partners' gender role attitudes and housework hours, as well as couple-level consensus on gender egalitarian attitudes and between-partner differences in housework hours; and (2) gender gaps in housework hours between partners are smallest among couples in which women are highly educated, primarily because highly educated women do substantially fewer hours than less educated women rather than because their partners do substantially more hours.

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CONTRIBUTION

Our results highlight that women's class status, as measured by their education (as distinct from their partner's), is related to meaningful variation within the household in terms of partners' values and day-to-day experiences of chores.

1. Introduction

Recent literature has suggested that in developed societies, gender relations within heterosexual partnerships may be entering a second stage of development, during which men's roles are the main source of change (Esping-Andersen and Billari 2015; Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015). According to this literature, changes in men's attitudes and behaviors will follow what has been an initial stage of changing gender roles among women.

In response to this literature, other scholars suggest that processes of change in gender roles are rather slow and may be stalling in some Western societies (Hook and Paek 2020; Kan et al. 2022) and that they occur to a differential extent across social classes, as reflected, for example, in variation across groups with and without tertiary-level education (Cherlin 2016; Goldscheider and Sassler 2018; Miller 2020; Pessin 2018; Sullivan, Billari, and Altintas 2014). Indeed, previous research suggests that educational level is associated with gender egalitarianism and that there may be gender differences in these educational gradients. For example, research has shown that more educated women hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes (e.g., Davis and Greenstein 2009; Philipov 2008) and do less housework (e.g., Evertsson et al. 2009; Gershuny and Sullivan 2003). A positive educational gradient in men's gender role attitudes is also often found, but results are not always consistent (e.g., Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Bryant 2003; Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Deole and Zeydanli 2021). With respect to an educational gradient in men's housework contribution, the results are mixed across countries and over time (e.g., Aassve, Fuochi, and Mencarini 2014; Evertsson et al. 2009; Sullivan 2010).

It is important to note that past research did not focus on educational gradients in gender egalitarianism in attitudes at the couple level and therefore did not simultaneously consider both partners' educational level, gender role attitudes, and other characteristics. Moreover, previous research on men's and women's housework contributions did not explicitly consider both partners' gender role attitudes. Couple-level analyses are key because men and women may be more or less egalitarian in attitudes and behaviors depending on their partner's educational level and gender role attitudes.

Moreover, couple-level analyses are important, as previous research has documented asymmetry in the effects of female and male partners' characteristics on

family outcomes (e.g., Killewald and Gough 2010). This asymmetry may stem from differences between partners in preferences and bargaining power (Chiappori and Lewbel 2015). Therefore couple-level decisions that depend on both partners' educational and other characteristics may be to the benefit of one partner at the expense of the other partner. For example, it is widely accepted that women experience work–family conflict in the form of a “second shift” (Hochschild and Machung 2012), with literature suggesting that women's labor force activity is negatively affected by their domestic responsibilities (Brinton and Oh 2019; Stone 2007) and that fertility levels in advanced societies are dampened by women's work–family conflict (McDonald 2000). While men's greater housework hours may relieve some of the burden from women (Esping-Andersen and Billari 2015; Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015), this may lead to greater work–family conflict on the part of men, especially if expectations of men in the labor market remain unchanged (Carlson and Lynch 2017; Vinkenbunrg et al. 2012). This greater work–family conflict may, in turn, have implications for family dynamics determined at the couple level, such as fertility intentions, actual childbearing (Okun and Raz-Yurovich 2019; Testa and Bolano 2021), and union satisfaction (Barstad 2014; Leopold 2019) and dissolution (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015; Raz-Yurovich, Okun, and Ben-Avi Forthcoming).

We contribute to the literature on educational level and gender egalitarianism in attitudes by examining gender egalitarianism at the couple level by educational couple type – that is, according to the educational level of both partners in interaction. In addition, as previous literature distinguishes between “spoken” and “lived” egalitarianism (Usdansky 2011) and suggests that stated gender role attitudes are not always consistent with actual household behavior (Aassve et al. 2015), we analyze gender role attitudes and actual behaviors as distinct facets of gender egalitarianism within couples. We analyze housework at the couple level by simultaneously considering the gender role attitudes of both partners, as well as their educational levels.

In the present study, we reconsider theoretical arguments underlying expectations regarding the gender role attitudes and behaviors of highly educated partners within couples, and we provide empirical evidence that allows for a more nuanced understanding of the associations under discussion. We ask the following questions: How do gender role attitudes and housework contributions of each partner vary by the level of education of both partners? How do consensus between partners on egalitarian gender role attitudes and gaps between partners in housework hours vary by the educational level of both partners?

We examine these questions in the context of the United Kingdom, a liberal welfare regime that lacks broad institutional support for a “dual earner–dual career” society. The reliance on market-based solutions for work–family “conciliatory” services such as child care suggests that social class differentials in gender-related behavior in the public and

private spheres are significant in the United Kingdom relative to other advanced societies (Baizan 2021; Lewis 2001). Thus the focus in this paper is on differentials in partners' gender role attitudes and behaviors across social classes, as indicated by partners' educational level.

We present couple-level analyses that focus on the association between partners' tertiary-level education and egalitarianism and that simultaneously control for a variety of indicators of family status, as well as both partners' health status, labor market activity, and economic status. Throughout the paper, when referring to the male partner, we use the terms men, male partners, and 'his/him', interchangeably; when referring to the female partner, we use women, female partners, and 'hers/she', interchangeably. We focus on partners' absolute numbers of housework hours as well as the difference between partners in housework hours. We focus on housework hours rather than on child care hours because housework is the major component of domestic labor (Raz-Yurovich 2016), is less valued than child care by both partners (Gershuny and Sullivan 2019; Robinson and Godbey 2010), and is a main area of conflict between partners (Hartmann 1981).

In answer to our research questions, we have two main results to report. First, we demonstrate that it is not the male partner's but rather the female partner's tertiary education that is a key factor in understanding variation in both partners' gender role attitudes and housework hours, as well as couple-level consensus on gender egalitarian attitudes and between-partner differences in housework hours. Second, we show that the gender gap in housework hours between partners is smallest among couples in which the woman is highly educated, primarily because highly educated women do substantially fewer hours than less educated women rather than because their partners do substantially more hours.

2. How do gender role attitudes vary by education?

Higher education, particularly tertiary education, is thought to be associated with more egalitarian attitudes in part because higher education may provide exposure to universal values, a diversity of experiences, and more egalitarian ideas and peer groups, as well as more critical evaluation of gender stereotypes (Bryant 2003; Davis and Greenstein 2009; Kalmijn 1998). Moreover, more educated individuals are thought to be early adopters of new cultural values (Hook and Paek 2020; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn 1988).

Despite these theoretical reasons to believe that more educated individuals may hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes, we may expect to see gender differences in the association between education and egalitarianism in gender role attitudes. For example, in the case of women, those who are more educated have a greater vested interest

(Bolzendahl and Myers 2004) in holding gender egalitarian attitudes toward women's roles relative to their less educated partners, as highly educated women will benefit more from labor market participation. Also, more educated women, who tend to be more active in the labor market than their less educated counterparts, may take on more egalitarian gender role attitudes to reduce cognitive dissonance regarding their own behaviors (Davis and Greenstein 2009).

In contrast, factors associated with vested interest and reduction of cognitive dissonance are less likely to be salient among educated men because educated men do not challenge traditional gender role expectations themselves. Moreover, additional theoretical expectations suggest that in recent decades, increasing egalitarianism in attitudes has been occurring among men of all educational levels and that any positive association between men's education and their gender role attitudes has been weakening or changing direction. First, men have been placing more emphasis on the earnings potential of prospective female partners, and more women expect potential or current partners to be accepting and supportive of their labor market activity and their roles outside the home (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015; Van Bavel, Schwartz, and Esteve 2018). As a result, men competing for higher-earning female partners may feel the need to adopt or express more egalitarian gender role attitudes to be more attractive in the marriage market. This phenomenon may be general and not one that is particular to educated men only. Indeed, less educated men may feel the need to adopt more gender egalitarian attitudes as a means of compensating for their lower social status and earnings potential.

Second, there may be other theoretical reasons to believe that in recent decades the association between men's education and egalitarian gender role attitudes is not strongly positive. Van Bavel, Schwartz, and Esteve (2018) suggest that due to a relative shortage in the number of educated men compared with educated women, educated men have strong bargaining power in the partnership market. Therefore, educated men may exploit their bargaining position to attract a highly educated, well-paid female partner without having to take upon themselves large amounts of unpaid labor or without adopting more egalitarian gender role attitudes. For these reasons, we may expect to see that the association between education and egalitarianism in gender role attitudes is more positive among women than among men.

Empirical research has found that women tend to hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than men (Bolzendahl and Meyers 2004; Cunningham et al. 2005) and that more educated women tend to hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than less educated women (Davis and Greenstein 2009; Philipov 2008). With regard to men, studies also find that educated men in the United States and in some European countries hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes relative to less educated men (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Corrigan and Konrad 2007; Philipov 2008), although results regarding men are

less consistent than those regarding women (Deole and Zeydanli 2021). The current research adds to this literature by analyzing gender role attitudes at the couple level, which allows for explicit consideration of each partner's educational level in relation to that of his or her partner.

3. How do housework hours vary by education?

Numerous factors at the household, couple, and individual levels may be related to the educational gradient in housework hours among male and female partners. At the household level, the total number of housework hours done by each partner is affected by household characteristics, such as the number of rooms in the residence and the use of outsourcing (Raz-Yurovich 2014). At the couple level, power relations between partners are important, as the partner with more power may be able to bargain successfully to do less housework (Lundberg and Pollak 1993; Stratton 2012). In addition, gender role attitudes and values at the individual and couple levels may be important and may counterbalance economic reasoning (Mandel, Lazarus, and Shaby 2020; Van Bavel, Schwartz, and Esteve 2018).

Because various household-, couple-, and individual-level factors differ across unions with differing educational levels of partners, the pattern of partners' housework by education is unclear. For example, at the household level, highly educated couples may have bigger houses than less educated couples, but the former may have a greater ability to outsource than the latter (Raz-Yurovich 2014; Raz-Yurovich and Marx 2019). With regard to power relations at the couple level, we view the gender and educational level of each partner as types of capital that each partner brings to the relationship. Additional types of capital include potential earnings, physical appearance, health status, and other characteristics that may be considered hierarchical in nature. The balance between these different types of capital determines which partner has greater bargaining power. Moreover, beyond considerations of power differentials between partners, other considerations, discussed below, may also affect how housework is shared between partners.

Other things being equal, among educationally homogamous couples, where there is no power imbalance directly related to differences in educational resources between partners, the gendered nature of heterosexual marriage as an institution (Sayer et al. 2011) implies that a man will do fewer housework hours than his female partner. This expectation is reinforced, among other things, by men's greater earning power, which is a reflection of gender inequality in the labor market. Comparing between more educated and less educated homogamous couples, if more educated partners hold more egalitarian

gender role attitudes, as discussed above, the division of housework between the partners may be more egalitarian than it is among less educated homogamous couples.

In non-homogamous couples, other things being equal, the more educated partner is expected to have greater power. Because educational level is positively associated with social, communication, and cognitive skills (Matysiak, Styrk, and Vignoli 2014), as well as social status (Parsons 1940), the partner with the higher educational level may have greater powers of persuasion and may wield greater influence in decision-making. However, the greater bargaining power associated with a partner's higher education may be reinforced or counterbalanced by gender and gender role attitudes or by other types of capital related to education, such as earnings. For example, educated men may use their social class privilege to reinforce a traditional division of labor within the home (Gerstel and Clawson 2014; Usdansky 2011). Accordingly, due to gender inequality in the labor market and in the public sphere more generally, highly educated male partners may have greater power and authority within partnerships and may thus do fewer housework hours than their female partners. In contrast, if, as discussed above, we do find that educated men have more egalitarian gender role attitudes, this may counterbalance their bargaining power and lead to their greater involvement in housework.

In non-homogamous partnerships in which the female is more educated than her partner, she can use her bargaining power to purchase domestic services to mitigate her own work–family conflict (Treas and de Ruijter 2008). In this scenario, educated women may do fewer housework hours than less educated women, although empirical findings are mixed regarding the association between outsourcing and women's housework time (Craig et al. 2016; Van der Lippe, Tjidsens, and De Ruijter 2004; Killewald 2011). How the use of outsourcing affects men's housework hours and the gap in partners' housework is also unclear (Raz-Yurovich and Okun 2023), as men may see outsourcing as an excuse to avoid doing housework and therefore may reduce their own housework time even more than women do (Groves and Lui 2012). Also, more educated women who use their earnings to purchase services may take over most of the remaining housework to compensate for partly withdrawing from their traditional gender roles in the domestic sphere, as per the “doing gender” perspective (Brines 1994; West and Zimmerman 1987). There are additional considerations related to non-homogamous partnerships in which the female partner is more educated. For example, it is important to consider that returns to education differ by gender (Mandel and Rotman 2021) and that the female partner will not necessarily have greater earnings power than her partner. In contrast, it is possible that since more educated women tend to hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes, they will bargain harder to reduce their own housework hours. Furthermore, in cases in which the female partner is more educated and *prima facie* has greater power within the relationship, considerations of gender deviance neutralization may actually lead to her deferring to her less educated partner, in accordance with more traditional gender role

expectations (Brines 1994; West and Zimmerman 1987). Thus it is difficult to predict, based on the considerations raised in this section, whether more educated women in non-homogamous partnerships will do more or less housework than less educated women and whether the gap in housework hours vis-à-vis the partner will be smaller as compared to other couple types.

Thus the question of how housework hours differ across educational couple types is very complex, which makes it difficult to have a clear theoretical expectation for the educational gradient in partners' housework hours, as well as the within-couple gap in hours.

Empirical studies that analyze the educational gradient in men's and women's contribution to housework find mixed results. (See Coltrane 2000 for a review of older studies.) Bittman et al. (2003), using Australian data from 1992, find no significant gradient with men's or women's absolute housework hours. Evertsson et al. (2009), using data from 2000, find mostly nonsignificant educational gradients among men in the United States, the Netherlands, and Sweden and find negative educational gradients for women in all three countries. Gershuny and Sullivan (2003) find that in several English-speaking and Scandinavian countries, from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, more educated men spent more daily time on core housework tasks relative to their less educated counterparts, whereas the opposite was found for women. Sullivan (2010), in a study of dual-earner couples, demonstrates that there was a positive educational gradient for men in the mid-1970s in the United States and the United Kingdom but that this gradient had disappeared by 2000. In contrast, Altintas and Sullivan (2017), in a multinational analysis of data collected between 1971 and 2010, find that more educated fathers tend to do more core housework than their less educated counterparts. In summary, empirical results do not show a consistent, significant relationship between men's educational level and their own housework hours. In contrast, for women, research generally finds a negative relationship. In this paper we provide an empirical examination of male and female partners' housework hours that accounts for gender role attitudes of both partners and that includes data at the couple level from recent periods.

4. Data and analytic samples

We analyze British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and Understanding Society (UNSO) data in the period ranging from 1992 to 2018. We have chosen to limit our study to pre-COVID-19 waves, as household dynamics may differ during periods affected by COVID-19 (Perelli-Harris, Chao, and Berrington 2023). BHPS and UNSO data have been harmonized by the Institute for Social and Economic Research (University of Essex 2022). This harmonization allows researchers to analyze more than two decades of

household panel data. While the majority of BHPS participants continued as participants in UNSO, new participants joined the second wave of UNSO (UNSO, ND). We limited our analyses to heterosexual couples in which both partners are in their first marriage, as research has shown that division of housework may differ in cohabiting partnerships (Davis, Greenstein, and Gerteisen Marks 2007; Pepin, Sayer, and Casper 2018), in second and higher-order partnerships (Lozano and Garcia-Roman 2022), and in same-sex partnerships (Bauer 2016). The unit of analysis is the couple-year. Further, as our focus is on couples who may be experiencing work–family conflict, we analyze a sample of couple-years in which both partners are between age 25 and age 55, as at these ages partners will likely have completed education, are still in the prime working ages, and are in the main childbearing ages or have recently completed childbearing. All household members are surveyed in BHPS as well as UNSO. Based on information on partnership status and partner identification number in the household grid, women are linked with their partner’s information for each couple-year in union. One of the advantages of the BHPS and UNSO data is that, unlike in most survey data, information on a wealth of socioeconomic and demographic control variables for both partners is available and our main dependent variables – gender role attitudes and housework hours – are based on self-reports of each partner rather than on reports provided by one partner only.

For the analyses of dependent variables based on gender role attitudes, we were limited to 11 waves that collected information on those dependent variables (BHPS odd waves between 1 and 17; UNSO waves 2 and 4), resulting in 8,135 unique couples and 21,526 couple-years. Because the couple-level analyses focus on attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics of both partners in union, data requirements are demanding. Due to restriction of the sample to cases in which there were no missing values on either partner’s gender role attitudes, we are left with 5,878 unique couples and 15,508 couple-years. Following exclusion of cases with missing values on one or more independent variable, the sample for the analyses of gender role attitudes comprises 5,789 unique couples yielding 15,114 couple-years.

For the analyses of dependent variables based on housework hours, we were limited to 19 waves that collected information on those dependent variables (BHPS waves 2–18 with the exception of waves 9 and 14; UNSO waves 2, 4, 6, and 8), resulting in 8,597 unique couples and 35,148 couple-years. Due to restriction of the sample to cases in which there were no missing values on either partner’s housework hours, we are left with 6,752 unique couples and 27,199 couple-years. Following exclusion of cases with missing values on one or more independent variable, the sample for the analyses of housework comprises 4,388 unique couples yielding 19,383 couple-years.

Relative to couple-years excluded due to missing items on any of the dependent or explanatory variables, cases in the final analytic samples included couples who were more likely to be homogamously less educated and, on average, had slightly fewer

children. Also, in the analytic samples, the female partners were slightly more likely to be employed and male partners were slightly more likely to report being healthy relative to partners in couple-years excluded due to missing items. Overall, however, the final analytic sample of couple-years is similar to observations excluded due to missing items on any of the explanatory variables.

5. Variables

5.1 Dependent variables

5.1.1 Gender role attitudes

We analyze three time-varying dependent variables based on information regarding gender role attitudes: summated indices of gender role attitudes of the male partner and the female partner separately, as well as a variable that captures whether, at the couple level, the partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes. The summated index of each partner's gender role attitudes is measured by the sum of self-reports to three Likert-style items: "A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works"; "All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job"; and "A husband's job is to earn money; a wife's job is to look after the home and family." We interpret this summated index as reflecting respondent's attitudes toward women's primary role as caregivers. These three items were selected based on exploratory factor analysis, which showed that the factors load together. The answers to each question ranged from (1) "strongly agree" to (5) "strongly disagree," and the range of scores on this summated scale is from 3 (the value most supportive of women's primary role as caregivers – that is, the most traditional in outlook) to 15 (the value least supportive – that is, most gender egalitarian in outlook). Although additional items capturing gender role attitudes are available in the BHPS, the ones included here are available in UNSO as well.

The third dependent variable, capturing gender role attitudes measured at the couple level, is a dichotomous measure that takes on the value 1 if the partners' summated index takes a value of 12 or above; in all other cases, the measure takes on the value 0. We selected the cutoff as 12 and higher to indicate that both partners share gender egalitarian attitudes. For women, a score of 12 or higher reflects the top 33% of the distribution and for men the top 26% of the distribution.

5.1.2 Housework hours

Our dependent variables related to housework are based on self-reports of partners' weekly housework hours. The housework variable is based on numerical responses by each survey participant to the question "About how many hours do you spend on housework in an average week, such as time spent cooking, cleaning, and doing the laundry?" Housework hours were top-coded at 50 hours. We focus on absolute housework hours rather than men's and women's share of housework hours because, for example, a man's share can increase when his partner's hours decrease, even if there is no behavioral change on the part of the man himself. To consider gender gaps in housework performance, we examine the difference in housework hours done by partners within couples.

5.2 Explanatory variables

Our main explanatory variables are categorical and are based on combinations of educational levels of male and female partners. The four educational types are defined according to whether either or both of the partners hold a tertiary-level educational degree: both partners (about 14% of the couple-years), only the female partner (about 9% of the couple-years), only the male partner (about 10% of the couple-years), and neither partner (about 67% of the couple-years). In all analyses, the omitted category is couples in which both partners have tertiary-level education. This operational definition is motivated by theoretical literature suggesting that tertiary-level education is a prime factor that differentiates demographic behavior across social groups (e.g., Nitsche et al. 2018; Perelli-Harris et al. 2010; Schwartz and Mare 2005; Sullivan, Billari, and Altintas 2014).

In our multivariate analyses of the dependent variables based on gender role attitudes, we include a variety of important time-varying control variables for *each* partner, including age, employment status (employed/self-employed [ref.], unemployed, out of the labor force), total working hours (top-coded at 55 hours), and logarithm of CPI-adjusted total gross monthly income (including non-labor income). We also include control variables at the couple level: partnership status (first marriage following cohabitation, first marriage not following cohabitation with this partner [ref.]), children ever born (based on the female partner's response – top-coded at 4), and survey year dummies. We note that for UNSO waves, we computed the time-varying variables measuring children ever born and partnership status based on our life course construction of partnership and childbearing histories. We further note that in exploratory models of gender role attitudes, health status of partner had no significant effect and was thus

excluded from the models presented here. In the analyses of each partner's summated index of gender role attitudes, we also included controls for the other partner's summated index as well as a variable indicating the other partner's extent of agreement with the statement "Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income." The values of this item were reversed so that 1 represents strong disagreement and 5 strong agreement. Factor analyses showed that this item loads separately from the three other items. We interpret this last item partly in terms of subjective feelings of economic hardship.

In our analyses of the dependent variables related to housework, we include nearly all the same control variables as in the analyses of gender role attitudes; in addition, we control for dummy variables indicating the health status of each partner (equal to 1 if health limits moderate activity; equal to 0 otherwise [ref.]) as well as a lagged explanatory variable indicating whether partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes (equal to 1 if both partners have a summated index of at least 12; equal to 0 otherwise [ref.]). We use a lagged version of the indicator of couple-level gender role attitudes because we want to minimize possible endogeneity between responses in the same wave to questions concerning gender role attitudes and housework hours. Generally we use lags of one or two years because questions on gender role attitudes were not asked in every wave. The only exceptions are the 2016–2018 wave, for which we use lagged values of gender role attitudes from the 2012–2014 wave, and the 2010–2012 wave, for which we used values from the 2007 BHPS wave. In the analyses of housework hours, we do not include the variable indicating the other partner's extent of agreement with the statement "Both the husband and wife should contribute to the household income," as this variable was not found to contribute to the explanatory power of the model.

6. Analytic strategy

In our multivariate analyses of all the dependent variables, we ran linear mixed models with a random intercept. The random intercept model allows for a couple-specific intercept and controls for correlation in errors within the same couple. The linear mixed model captures variation between, as well as within, couples. We also ran cluster-corrected linear regression models, which account for correlations between error terms across observations within the same couple. Results from these models were substantively similar to those from the linear mixed models and are not presented here. In the case of dichotomous dependent variables, the advantage of the linear mixed model over the logit-type model is in its simplicity of interpretation and computation. The substantive conclusions based on logit-type models are similar to those presented here.

In our models, we consider interactions between partners' levels of education by analyzing whether associations between each partner's educational level, gender role attitudes, and housework hours are moderated by the other partner's level of education. We operationalize these possible interaction effects with variables that represent the educational types of couples. As the educational type of the couple does not vary much over the course of the union, we interpret the regression coefficients primarily in terms of cross-sectional variation across social groups rather than in terms of changes over the life course. Results from descriptive regression models, which analyze the association between educational types of couples and the dependent variables for each partner and which contain few control variables (only those related to the age of each partner and the year of survey), are presented graphically. We present graphical results of models of each partner's gender role attitudes, as well as a couple-level measure of gender role attitudes (whether both partners share egalitarian attitudes), in addition to the housework hours of each partner and the difference in housework hours between partners. We present graphically the results of models that include only limited controls because we want to present the *total* effects of the educational pairings of partnerships. However, because tertiary education captures many economic, social, and cultural dimensions of partnership, we report in the appendix tables results from full models controlling for a rich set of relevant independent variables, described above, to understand the extent to which partner-level and couple-level social and economic characteristics mediate the association between educational types of couples and partners' gender role attitudes and housework contribution. Such potentially mediating variables include family and health status, labor market activity, income, gender role attitudes of the other partner, and – in the case of housework as the dependent variable – gender role attitudes of the couple.

7. Results

Tables 1 and 2 present descriptive statistics based on the analytic samples used for the analyses of gender role attitudes and housework hours, respectively. The measures presented are shown for the overall samples, as well as the samples broken down by educational couple types. We note that dependent variables (measures of gender role attitudes and housework hours) as well as some of the explanatory variables differ by educational couple types. Relative to couples in which neither partner is highly educated, couples in which both partners are highly educated are more likely to have experienced cohabitation prior to marriage, to have higher gross incomes, to have fewer children, to be somewhat younger (both male and female partners), and to have a female partner who is working and working longer hours. In most cases, couples in which only one partner is highly educated tend to fall in between these extremes.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics based on sample used to analyze gender role attitudes, computed over couple-years (N = 15,114)

Variables	Who has tertiary education?									
	Total		Both partners		Only she		Only he		Neither	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables										
Gender role attitudes (index)										
Male partner	9.4	2.7	10.4	2.6	10.3	2.6	9.2	2.5	9.1	2.6
Female partner	10.0	2.7	10.7	2.8	10.9	2.6	9.5	2.8	9.8	2.7
Partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes	15%		25%		25%		11%		12%	
Explanatory variables										
Partnership status										
First marriage following cohabitation	39%		54%		48%		43%		34%	
First marriage not following cohabitation	61%		46%		52%		57%		66%	
Number of children ever born	1.9	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.7	1.1	1.9	1.1	2.0	1.1
Employment status of male partner										
Employed or self-employed	93%		97%		96%		96%		91%	
Unemployed	3%		1%		2%		2%		4%	
Not in labor force	4%		2%		2%		2%		5%	
Employment status of female partner										
Employed or self-employed	77%		82%		88%		74%		75%	
Unemployed	2%		2%		1%		2%		2%	
Not in labor force	21%		16%		11%		24%		23%	
Weekly working hours										
Male partner	40.5	14.3	42.0	11.6	41.2	11.9	41.9	12.4	39.9	15.3
Female partner	23.7	16.8	28.4	17.3	31.3	16.0	20.8	16.3	22.0	16.4
Monthly gross income (log)										
Male partner	7.6	1.2	8.1	1.1	7.6	1.2	8.0	0.9	7.5	1.2
Female partner	6.7	1.5	7.2	1.7	7.4	1.2	6.6	1.5	6.6	1.4
Attitude toward gender equity in economic contribution										
Male partner	3.4	0.9	3.4	0.9	3.5	0.9	3.3	0.9	3.4	0.9
Female partner	3.4	0.9	3.5	1.0	3.5	0.9	3.3	0.9	3.4	0.9
Age										
Male partner	41.7	7.7	40.3	7.2	40.7	7.3	41.9	7.3	42.1	7.9
Female partner	39.7	7.7	38.5	7.2	38.8	7.3	40.0	7.6	40.0	7.9
N (couple-years)	15,114		2,177		1,385		1,498		10,054	

Notes: Sample consists of currently first-married couples with spouses aged 55 or under; 5,789 unique couples contribute to analyses of gender role attitudes.

Source: BHPS and UNSO. See text for details.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics based on sample used to analyze weekly housework hours, computed over couple-years (N = 19,383)

Variables	Who has tertiary education?									
	Total		Both partners		Only she		Only he		Neither	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Dependent variables										
Weekly housework hours										
Male partner	5.3	5.3	5.9	4.8	6.1	5.4	4.9	4.6	5.2	5.5
Female partner	17.5	10.6	13.4	8.5	13.6	8.8	17.9	10.3	18.9	10.9
Difference in housework hours between partners	12.2	12.4	7.5	9.9	7.5	10.8	12.9	11.6	13.7	12.7
Explanatory variables										
Health limits daily activity										
Male partner	7%		3%		5%		4%		9%	
Female partner	9%		4%		3%		7%		11%	
Partnership status										
First marriage following cohabitation	39%		55%		48%		43%		33%	
First marriage not following cohabitation	61%		45%		52%		57%		67%	
Number of children ever born	1.9	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.8	1.1	2.0	1.1	2.0	1.0
Employment status of male partner										
Employed or self-employed	93%		97%		96%		96%		92%	
Unemployed	3%		1%		2%		1%		3%	
Not in labor force	4%		2%		2%		3%		5%	
Employment status of female partner										
Employed or self-employed	79%		84%		90%		75%		77%	
Unemployed	1%		2%		1%		1%		1%	
Not in labor force	20%		14%		9%		24%		22%	
Weekly working hours										
Male partner	41.0	13.9	42.2	11.4	41.3	11.6	42.4	12.2	40.6	14.8
Female partner	24.1	16.6	28.8	17.2	31.5	15.7	20.9	16.0	22.6	16.2
Monthly gross income (log)										
Male partner	7.7	1.1	8.1	1.0	7.6	1.3	8.0	1.0	7.5	1.1
Female partner	6.8	1.4	7.2	1.6	7.4	1.2	6.6	1.4	6.6	1.3
Partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes (tagged)	15%		26%		25%		12%		12%	
Age										
Male partner	42.2	7.6	41.3	6.9	41.9	7.1	42.3	7.2	42.4	7.8
Female partner	40.3	7.6	39.7	7.0	40.0	7.1	40.6	7.4	40.4	7.8
N (couple-years)	19,383		2,771		1,764		1,887		12,961	

Notes: Sample consists of currently first-married couples with spouses aged 55 or under; 4,388 unique couples contribute to analyses of weekly housework hours.

Source: BHPS and UNSO. See text for details.

In Figures 1 and 2 we present graphical results, based on random intercept models with limited controls, of partners' egalitarianism in gender role attitudes and housework hours, respectively; models include interaction effects between levels of education of the male and female partner. Figures are presented as bar charts, where each color bar represents a different educational couple type. In each figure, the black bars represent couples in which *both* partners have tertiary-level education; the dark gray bars represent couples in which only the *female* partner has tertiary-level education; the light gray bars represent those in which only the *male* partner has tertiary-level education; and the white bars represent those in which *neither* partner has tertiary-level education. That is, the black and dark gray bars represent couples in which the female partner is highly educated; the black and light gray bars represent couples in which the male partner is highly educated. The p-value relevant to a test of statistical significance relative to the reference category (those in which both partners have tertiary-level education – black bars) is noted above each bar.

Figure 1a presents predicted values of the summated index of gender role attitudes separately for male and female partners. Our main finding, from the left-hand side of Figure 1a, is that the gender role attitudes of men vary more by the educational status of their female partners than by their own educational status. When comparing between couples in which the female partner is highly educated (black and dark gray bars) and those in which she is not (light gray and white bars), we note a salient dichotomy in that men in the former types of couples hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than men in the latter types. In contrast, when comparing between couples in which the male partner is highly educated (black and light gray bars) and those in which he is not (dark gray and white bars), no such dichotomy is observed. In other words, highly educated men do not uniformly hold gender egalitarian attitudes; only those who are in union with a highly educated partner (black bar) tend to hold more egalitarian views. Highly educated men with partners who lack tertiary education (light gray bar) have less egalitarian gender role attitudes, and in fact their attitudes do not differ from those of less educated men in union with a partner who lacks tertiary education (white bar). Thus from the findings presented in Figure 1a we conclude that men's gender role attitudes are more closely associated with the educational status of their female partners than with their own educational status.

The right-hand side of Figure 1a presents predicted values of the summated index of gender role attitudes for *female* partners by educational couple type. Women in each couple type hold more egalitarian gender role attitudes than male partners in the same couple type (comparing each bar on the right-hand side of Figure 1a with the analogous bar on the left-hand side of Figure 1a). Overall, as with men's gender role attitudes described above, the more prominent association with women's gender role attitudes is vis-à-vis the female partner's educational level, not the male partner's educational level.

We note a salient dichotomy in the more egalitarian gender role attitudes of highly educated women (black and dark gray bars) relative to less educated women (light gray and white bars) regardless of the educational level of the partner.

The results from full regression models of male and female partners' gender role attitudes yield similar results (see Table A-1). Economic and other factors captured by the full models go some way toward accounting for differences in men's and women's gender role attitudes, and the variation across couple educational types is somewhat reduced in the full models even though the pattern of differentials remains unchanged.

Figure 1b, which presents the predicted probabilities of both partners holding egalitarian gender role attitudes, shows much the same patterns as Figure 1a and again reinforces the idea that women's educational status is a more important factor in understanding couples' gender role attitudes than is men's educational status. Results are consistent in the full model reported in Table A-1.

Figure 1a: Predicted levels of partners' egalitarianism in gender role attitudes, by educational couple type (models with limited controls)

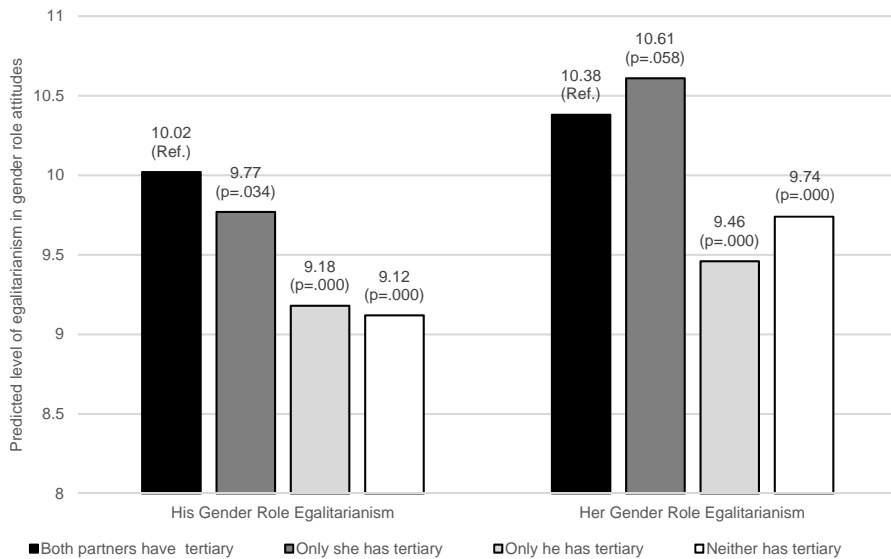
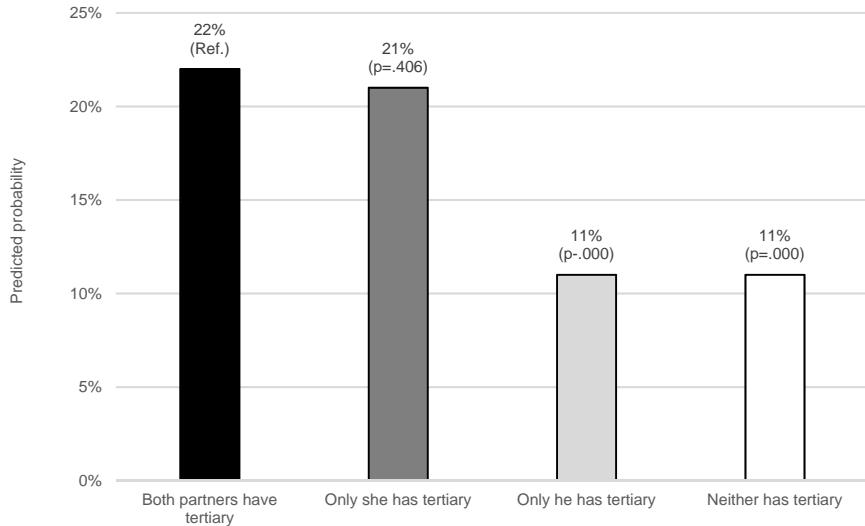


Figure 1b: Predicted probability of both partners having egalitarian gender role attitudes, by educational couple type (models with limited controls)

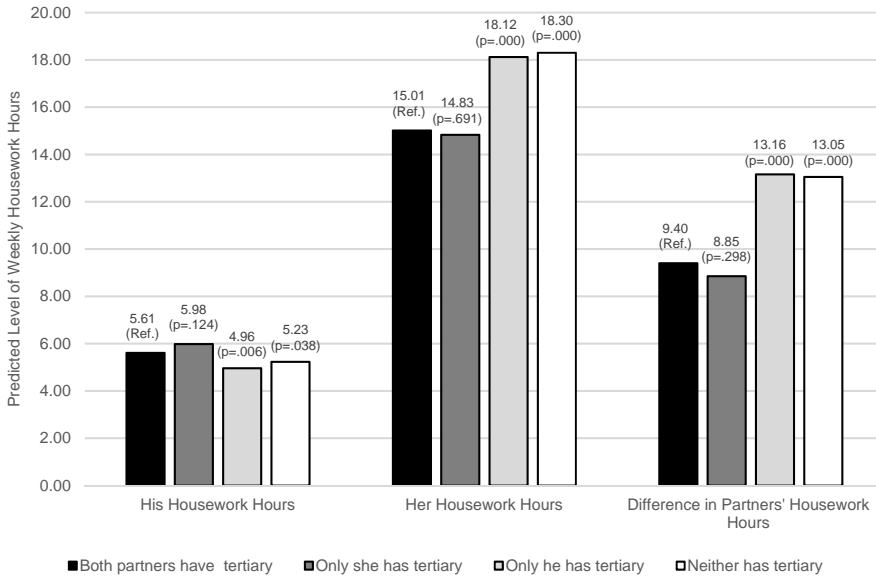


Notes: Predictions based on results from random intercept models of gender role attitudes, separately by sex of each partner (Figure 1a), and on results from random intercept models of the probability of both partners having egalitarian gender role attitudes (Figure 1b) from models with limited controls in Table A-1. Explanatory variables include educational status of each partner (tertiary vs. other) and interaction effects between the educational status of each partner, where the reference category is both partners having tertiary education. The models also control for the age of each partner and survey wave. N = 15,114. Sample includes currently married couples in which partners are aged 25–55. Source: BHPS and UNSO.

We now move on to see how educational couple type is associated with egalitarian behavior. Figure 2 presents predicted weekly housework hours for male and female partners as well as the difference in housework hours between partners, according to educational couple types, based on random intercept linear models with limited controls.

The average number of housework hours women report doing (roughly 15 to 18 hours per week) is much higher – on the order of three times higher – than what men report doing (5 to 6 hours per week). Moreover, there is greater variation in the average number of housework hours done by women (roughly three hours) according to educational couple type; among men, the variation is rather small (about one hour).

Figure 2: Predicted levels of housework hours, by gender, and difference between partners' housework hours (models with limited controls)



Notes: Predictions based on results from random intercept models of housework hours, separately by sex of each partner, and from random intercept model of the difference in housework hours between partners (her hours minus his hours) from models with limited controls in Table A-2. Explanatory variables include educational status of each partner (tertiary vs. other) and interaction effects between educational status of each partner, where the reference category is both partners having tertiary education. The models also control for the age of each partner and survey wave.

Source: BHPS and UNSO; N = 19,383.

Results from the left-hand panel of Figure 2 indicate that the pattern of men's housework across couple types, although muted, is similar to the pattern described above regarding men's gender role attitudes. That is, not men's but rather women's tertiary education is the key factor behind any modest observed differentials in men's housework hours. Moreover, highly educated men do not do more housework than other men. For example, among couples where the female partner is highly educated, men who are highly educated (black bar) actually appear to do slightly less housework than those who are less educated (dark gray bar). Similarly, among couples where the woman is less educated, highly educated men (light gray bar) appear to do slightly less housework than less educated men (white bar). Highly educated men who are partnered with highly educated women (black bar) do more housework than highly educated men who are partnered with less educated women (light gray bar) – indicating that there is nothing intrinsically egalitarian about highly educated men but rather that their housework contribution is

dependent on the female partner's educational level. Analogous results from the full models, presented in Table A-2, show similar results.

We now turn to the female partner's housework hours and the difference in her partner's housework hours (middle and right-hand panels of Figure 2). The key patterns are the same as those we have seen above, with a clear dichotomy in housework patterns depending on whether the female partner (but not the male partner) is highly educated. For example, highly educated women (black and dark gray bars) do roughly three hours less housework per week than less educated women (light gray and white bars) regardless of the partner's level of education. Similarly, the difference between partners' hours is smaller among couples in which the woman is highly educated (roughly 9 hours) than among couples in which the woman is less educated (13 hours). This smaller difference stems primarily from highly educated women doing substantially fewer hours (on the order of three hours per week) relative to less educated women rather than from their partners doing substantially more hours (variation on the order of one hour per week). In the full model (Table A-2), the general pattern remains, but the differences between couple types are reduced.

8. Discussion

Our analyses consistently show that women's tertiary education – but not men's – plays a dominant role in understanding variation in both partners' gender role attitudes and housework hours across educational couple types. These patterns may arise as a result of two related processes. First, during selection processes leading to union formation, highly educated women may be more likely to select men with more egalitarian gender role attitudes as partners. Conversely, more egalitarian men may be more attracted to highly educated women (Trimarchi 2022). Second, men in partnerships with highly educated women may adapt to their partner's more egalitarian gender role attitudes over the duration of the union. In both cases, the influence of women's tertiary education appears to go beyond measurable human capital, as evidenced by consistently more egalitarian attitudes among men partnered with highly educated women, even after controlling for a range of relevant factors.

The lack of evidence that highly educated men do more housework is perhaps unexpected, given that the literature suggests that more educated men, and more educated couples, will form the leading edge of change in gender role behaviors and will drive the second half of the gender revolution (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015; Musick, Bea, and Gonalons-Pons 2020; Sullivan 2010). While our findings do show social class differentials related to educational status (Cherlin 2016), we interpret our findings in terms of the *female* partner's rather than the male partner's higher education

being the key factor behind educational differentials in housework contributions at the couple level. This interpretation is consistent with recent literature that suggests that changes in women's roles and status drive trends in family dynamics (Pessin 2018), changes in household economic decisions regarding partners' paid and unpaid work (England and Srivastava 2013; Killewald and García-Manglano 2016), and the outsourcing of domestic labor (Raz-Yurovich 2014; Raz-Yurovich and Marx 2019).

Moreover, as discussed above, we find that highly educated men in partnerships with highly educated women are more gender egalitarian in attitudes, but not in behavior, relative to less educated men in partnership with highly educated women. These findings are consistent with previous research showing that while highly educated men know how to "speak the language" of gender equality better than their less educated counterparts, their lived experience does not always go hand in hand with their stated attitudes (Usdansky 2011; Scarborough et al. 2021). Based on qualitative research, Usdansky (2011) suggests that structural constraints posed by the demanding jobs of highly educated men may limit their ability to behave in concordance with their attitudes in the domestic sphere. The structural constraints that contribute to the gap between men's spoken and lived gender equality (Usdansky 2011) can be narrowed by governmental policy, such as limitation of and reduction in weekly work hours (Raz-Yurovich 2022), which will moderate the expectations of male workers in the labor market and support men's active involvement in the private sphere. This research, as well as previous research (Lightman and Kevins 2021), suggests that such policy should address differing gender gaps by social class.

How do our findings tie in with literature that describes ongoing trends and differentials in union formation, union dissolution, and in particular changes in educational assortative mating within unions? Research in the last 20 years has indicated that compared with less educated women, more educated women are more likely to marry (Kalmijn 2013), to transition from cohabitation to marriage (Kuo and Raley 2016), and to bear and raise children within stable unions (McLanahan 2004; Perelli-Harris et al. 2010) and are less likely to divorce (Matysiak, Styrac, and Vignoli 2014). Our research suggests, in addition, that more educated women are more likely to be in unions characterized by partners who share gender egalitarian attitudes and are more likely to be in partnerships where they perform less housework, their male partners contribute (slightly) more to housework, and the gaps between women's and men's housework contribution are smallest. That is, our results highlight that women's class status, as measured by their education (as distinct from their partner's), is related to meaningful variation within the household in terms of women's day-to-day experience of chores and values. In other words, the ways in which women experience gender inequality vary by class.

Due to changes in sex differences in educational attainment, educated women are increasingly likely to be in union with a partner with a lower level of education than themselves (Van Bavel, Schwartz, and Esteve 2018), but this does not seem to pose a threat to the relatively better position of more educated women.

The main methodological contribution of the current research is its ability to consider both the gender role attitudes and housework contributions of partnered individuals from a couple perspective. That said, our study is limited by the available measures of gender role attitudes and housework hours. Research has shown that gender role ideologies are complex, nuanced, and multidimensional (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2011; Knight and Brinton 2017). Most available measures of gender role attitudes, such as the ones used in this study, focus on women's roles in the labor market and the home, whereas fewer directly address attitudes regarding men's roles in the home. Future research can benefit by examining the relationships between education and other measures of gender role attitudes. Regarding our measures of housework, we are limited to self-reports on weekly hours from each respondent. While these measures are less detailed and considered less accurate than those taken from time-use diaries, the data used here offer the advantage of having self-reports from each partner, which allows for couple-level analyses. As research suggests that men tend to overreport their own housework hours more than do women (Kan 2008), such bias actually would result in our underestimation of the gender gap in housework hours within households. Moreover, greater overreporting of housework hours among more educated men relative to their less educated counterparts – perhaps as a result of social desirability bias – would lead to an upward bias in the educational gradient in men's reported housework hours. Given that our results indicate very small gradients, conditional on the female partner's education, correction for any such bias would weaken gradients further.

Future research could also benefit from analyses focused on couple-level characteristics other than education, such as partners' (earned) income, to capture other dimensions of power relations within couples. Moreover, additional research could also explore mechanisms that lead to social class differentials in gender egalitarianism. Examples of such mechanisms include selection processes leading to unions (Trimarchi 2022) as well as changes in attitudes and behaviors over the duration of unions. Future research can benefit from extensions of the current research to other contexts and welfare regimes. Institutional contexts may differ with regard to the stage of the gender revolution as well as the extent to which reconciliation policies are being used, not only to allow women to play an active role in the labor force but also to allow men to be active members in the private sphere. Moreover, an examination of changes over time or across partnership cohorts in the evolution of social class differentials in partners' roles and attitudes will also add to our understanding of changing family dynamics.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Estimated coefficients from models of each partner's summary index of gender role attitudes and of binary indicator of whether partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes

Variables	Male partner's summated index of gender role attitudes		Female partner's summated index of gender role attitudes		Binary indicator of whether partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Educational couple type:						
Who has tertiary education?						
Neither partner	-0.893 (-1.065 - -0.721)	-0.567 (-0.719 - -0.415)	-0.638 (-0.817 - -0.459)	-0.177 (-0.333 - -0.020)	-0.109 (-0.131 - -0.088)	-0.084 (-0.105 - -0.062)
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.027	0.000	0.000
Only he	-0.841 (-1.068 - -0.613)	-0.439 (-0.640 - -0.238)	-0.921 (-1.156 - -0.685)	-0.503 (-0.709 - -0.296)	-0.110 (-0.140 - -0.081)	-0.086 (-0.114 - -0.057)
	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Only she	-0.245 (-0.471 - -0.019)	-0.309 (-0.508 - -0.110)	0.227 (-0.008 - 0.461)	0.256 (0.051 - 0.461)	-0.012 (-0.042 - 0.017)	-0.020 (-0.048 - 0.009)
	0.034	0.002	0.058	0.014	0.406	0.178
Both partners	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age						
Female partner	0.036 (0.019 - 0.054)	0.034 (0.019 - 0.049)	0.017 (-0.002 - 0.035)	0.007 (-0.009 - 0.023)	0.001 (-0.001 - 0.003)	0.001 (-0.001 - 0.003)
	0.000	0.000	0.072	0.378	0.323	0.247
Male partner	-0.066 (-0.084 - -0.049)	-0.050 (-0.065 - -0.035)	-0.029 (-0.048 - -0.011)	-0.002 (-0.018 - 0.014)	-0.004 (-0.006 - -0.002)	-0.004 (-0.006 - -0.002)
	0.000	0.000	0.002	0.783	0.000	0.001
Number of children ever born		-0.063 (-0.110 - -0.016)		-0.115 (-0.164 - -0.067)		-0.003 (-0.010 - 0.004)
		0.008		0.000		0.400
Partnership status						
First marriage following cohabitation		0.670 (0.549 - 0.792)		0.564 (0.439 - 0.689)		0.060 (0.043 - 0.077)
		0.000		0.000		0.000
First marriage not following cohabitation		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.
Employment status of female partner						
Unemployed		0.372 (0.109 - 0.635)		0.352 (0.082 - 0.622)		0.082 (0.040 - 0.125)
		0.006		0.011		0.000
Not in labor force		-0.217 (-0.347 - -0.087)		-0.239 (-0.372 - -0.106)		0.010 (-0.012 - 0.031)
		0.001		0.000		0.347
Employed or self-employed		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.

Table A-1: (Continued)

Variables	Male partner's summated index of gender role attitudes		Female partner's summated index of gender role attitudes		Binary indicator of whether partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Employment status of male partner						
Unemployed		0.060 (-0.197 – 0.316)		-0.204 (-0.468 – 0.059)		-0.036 (-0.077 – 0.005)
Not in labor force		0.647 (-0.300 – 0.209)		0.129 (-0.265 – 0.258)		0.085 (-0.041 – 0.040)
Employed or self-employed		0.726 Ref.		0.982 Ref.		0.973 Ref.
Weekly working hours						
Female partner		0.013 (0.009 – 0.016)		0.019 (0.015 – 0.023)		0.003 (0.002 – 0.003)
Male partner		0.000 (-0.005 – 0.003)		0.000 (-0.007 – 0.001)		0.000 (-0.001 – -0.0001)
		0.611		0.200		0.016
Monthly gross income (log)						
Female partner		0.065 (0.034 – 0.096)		0.030 (-0.002 – 0.062)		0.010 (0.005 – 0.015)
Male partner		0.000 0.011 (-0.022 – 0.045)		0.070 0.044 (0.010 – 0.078)		0.000 0.002 (-0.003 – 0.008)
		0.505		0.012		0.368
Female partner's gender role attitudes (index)		0.259 (0.244 – 0.274)				
		0.000				
Male partner's gender role attitudes (index)				0.273 (0.257 – 0.289)		
				0.000		
Female partner's attitude toward gender equity in economic contribution		0.041 (0.002 – 0.079)				
		0.038				
Male partner's attitude toward gender equity in economic contribution				0.053 (0.014 – 0.092)		
				0.007		
Constant	10.850 (10.57 – 11.13)	6.697 (6.191 – 7.202)	10.620 (10.33 – 10.90)	6.308 (5.788 – 6.828)	0.319 (0.280 – 0.357)	0.157 (0.083 – 0.230)
N (couple-years)	15,114	15,114	15,114	15,114	15,114	15,114
N (unique couples)	5,789	5,789	5,789	5,789	5,789	5,789
Random effects parameters on couple ID						
Var (constant)	4.735 (4.516 – 4.964)	3.124 (2.961 – 3.296)	5.149 (4.913 – 5.397)	3.304 (3.130 – 3.487)	0.055 (0.052 – 0.058)	0.049 (0.046 – 0.052)
Var (residual)	2.251 (2.187 – 2.316)	2.24 (2.176 – 2.306)	2.368 (2.301 – 2.437)	2.364 (2.296 – 2.434)	0.066 (0.064 – 0.067)	0.066 (0.064 – 0.068)

Notes: Index values range from 3 to 15. Higher values indicate more egalitarian gender role attitudes. Binary indicator equals 1 if partners' summary index is at least 12; 0 otherwise. Models include limited controls only for wave and age of each partner. Full models also include other control and explanatory variables, as detailed in the table. See Figure 1 for graphical representation and explanatory notes. For each explanatory variable, we present the estimated coefficient (first row), the 95% confidence interval in parentheses (second row), and the estimated p-value (third row). Estimated p-values reported as 0.000 were less than 0.001. Sample consists of currently first-married couples with spouses aged 55 or under.

Source: BHPS and UNSO. See text for details.

Table A-2: Estimated coefficients from models of each partner's weekly housework hours and the difference between partners' hours

Variables	Male partner's weekly housework hours		Female partner's weekly housework hours		Difference in partners' weekly housework hours	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Educational couple type:						
Who has tertiary education?						
Neither partner	-0.379 (-0.737 - -0.021)	-0.573 (-0.917 - -0.229)	3.290 (2.601 - 3.978)	1.359 (0.755 - 1.963)	3.648 (2.841 - 4.456)	1.938 (1.224 - 2.652)
Only he	0.038 -0.650 (-1.117 - -0.183)	0.001 -0.526 (-0.972 - -0.080)	0.000 3.116 (2.217 - 4.015)	0.000 1.099 (0.310 - 1.887)	0.000 3.758 (2.708 - 4.807)	0.000 1.644 (0.715 - 2.573)
Only she	0.006 0.362 (-0.099 - 0.824)	0.021 -0.027 (-0.467 - 0.413)	0.000 -0.180 (-1.068 - 0.708)	0.006 0.201 (-0.576 - 0.979)	0.000 -0.551 (-1.588 - 0.487)	0.001 0.253 (-0.663 - 1.169)
Both partners	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Age						
Female partner	-0.078 (-0.116 - -0.041)	-0.070 (-0.106 - -0.034)	-0.009 (-0.082 - 0.063)	-0.048 (-0.110 - 0.015)	0.069 (-0.017 - 0.154)	0.022 (-0.053 - 0.096)
Male partner	0.000 0.086 (0.048 - 0.124)	0.000 0.045 (0.008 - 0.081)	0.803 0.057 (-0.016 - 0.130)	0.136 0.004 (-0.059 - 0.067)	0.115 -0.028 (-0.114 - 0.058)	0.566 -0.041 (-0.116 - 0.034)
Health limits daily activity						
Female partner		0.405 (0.161 - 0.649)		-0.703 (-1.158 - -0.248)		-1.112 (-1.633 - -0.592)
Male partner		0.001 -0.081 (-0.360 - 0.198)		0.002 0.623 (0.102 - 1.144)		0.000 0.700 (0.104 - 1.297)
Number of children ever born						
		0.569 0.518 (0.414 - 0.622)		0.019 2.554 (2.368 - 2.740)		0.021 2.079 (1.861 - 2.296)
Partnership status						
First marriage following cohabitation		0.082 0.25 (-0.031 - 0.531)		0.000 -1.661 (-2.150 - -1.172)		0.000 -1.917 (-2.499 - -1.336)
First marriage not following cohabitation		Ref.		Ref.		Ref.
Employment status of female partner						
Unemployed		0.138 (-0.421 - 0.697)		-0.955 (-1.999 - 0.089)		-1.079 (-2.273 - 0.115)
Not in labor force		0.629 0.306 (0.040 - 0.573)		0.073 1.153 (0.656 - 1.649)		0.077 0.813 (0.244 - 1.382)
Employed or self-employed		0.024 Ref.		0.000 Ref.		0.005 Ref.

Table A-2: (Continued)

Variables	Male partner's weekly housework hours		Female partner's weekly housework hours		Difference in partners' weekly housework hours	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Employment status of male partner						
Unemployed		2.204 (1.652 – 2.757)		–0.313 (–1.343 – 0.717)		–2.532 (–3.711 – –1.353)
Not in labor force		0.000 2.319 (1.781 – 2.856)		0.552 –0.094 (–1.090 – 0.902)		0.000 –2.422 (–3.565 – –1.278)
Employed or self-employed		0.000 Ref.		0.853 Ref.		0.000 Ref.
Weekly working hours						
Female partner		0.040 (0.033 – 0.047)		–0.153 (–0.166 – –0.139)		–0.192 (–0.207 – –0.177)
Male partner		0.000 –0.039 (–0.047 – –0.031)		0.000 0.04 (0.025 – 0.056)		0.000 0.079 (0.062 – 0.096)
Monthly gross income (log)						
Female partner		0.156 (0.090 – 0.222)		–0.154 (–0.277 – –0.031)		–0.304 (–0.446 – –0.163)
Male partner		0.000 –0.183 (–0.250 – –0.115)		0.014 0.032 (–0.094 – 0.157)		0.000 0.220 (0.076 – 0.364)
Partners share egalitarian gender role attitudes (lagged)						
		0.000 0.232 (0.026 – 0.438)		0.621 –0.836 (–1.219 – –0.454)		0.003 –1.048 (–1.487 – –0.608)
		0.028		0.000		0.000
Constant	4.640 (4.04 – 5.24)	5.922 (4.90 – 6.95)	16.770 (15.60 – 17.93)	19.800 (17.92 – 21.67)	12.110 (10.76 – 13.47)	13.780 (11.62 – 15.95)
N (couple-years)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
N (unique couples)	19383	19383	19383	19383	19383	19383
	4388	4388	4388	4388	4388	4388
Random effects parameters on couple ID						
Var (constant)	14.601 (13.81 – 15.44)	12.654 (11.95 – 13.40)	53.331 (50.42 – 56.41)	35.735 (33.63 – 37.97)	75.599 (71.56 – 79.86)	52.418 (49.42 – 55.59)
Var (residual)	13.25 (12.96 – 13.55)	12.668 (12.39 – 12.96)	50.106 (48.99 – 51.25)	45.446 (44.44 – 46.48)	64.673 (63.23 – 66.14)	58.53 (57.23 – 59.86)

Notes: Difference in housework hours is computed as the female partner's hours minus the male partner's hours. Models include limited controls only for wave and age of each partner. Full models also include other control and explanatory variables, as detailed in the table. See Figure 2 for graphical representation and explanatory notes. For each explanatory variable, we present the estimated coefficient (first row), the 95% confidence interval in parentheses (second row), and the estimated p-value (third row). Estimated p-values reported as 0.000 were less than 0.001. Sample consists of currently first-married couples with spouses aged 55 or under.

Source: BHPS and UNSO. See text for details.