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**Who Helps with Homework?
Parenting Inequality and Relationship Quality among Employed Mothers and Fathers**

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Abstract

This study investigated the relationship between parenting inequalities and feelings of relationship quality, and whether those patterns differed for women and men. Using data from the nationally representative 2011 Canadian Work, Stress, and Health Survey (N=1,427), we documented the relevance of perceived unfairness of the division of parenting and the ways that employment status and work hour preferences (“mismatch”) modify those relationships. We found that mothers in dual-earner households experience greater parenting inequalities than do similarly-situated fathers, net of housework inequalities. The negative association between parenting inequality and relationship quality was stronger among mothers—but that was due to perceived unfairness in the division of parenting tasks. We also observed that the detrimental effect of parenting inequality was stronger for mothers who worked part-time—but that was because of work hours mismatch: they tended to prefer to work longer hours. Our results contribute to the gendered nature of the division of parenting labor and its intersection with work hours and preferences.

Key Words: parenting responsibilities, household labor, marital quality, relationship quality, marital satisfaction, perceived unfairness, work hour preferences, hours mismatch, Canada

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Parents have an enormous job that goes well beyond the routine daily chores of preparing meals, cleaning the house, and making a home for their family. Each day, parents must ensure that offspring are equipped to start their own work—that of schooling—both in terms of homework preparation and through the daily tasks of getting children out the door with the proper clothing, equipment, hygiene, and meals. Moreover, children and families require an enormous amount of additional “planning” work, to ensure that family members are getting to the many places they need to, both in the immediate time frame, but also for the near and far future. This would include planning for children’s academic, social, and extracurricular lives—no small task in a competitive economy when parents’ work is that of “safeguarding” children’s futures (Milkie and Warner 2014). This kind of parenting work occurs above and beyond that of the daily care of young children, and lasts for many years; it can be quite exhausting to parents (Bianchi et al. 2006).

The ways that these kinds of parenting tasks and activities are divided—and their consequences—are important to relationships and parents’ well-being (Milkie et al. 2002). According to equity theory, inequality in social exchange fosters unfavorable cognitive, affective, and behavioral outcomes (Hegtvedt and Parris 2014; Walster et al. 1973). Developed along a social psychological tradition, equity theory was initially applied to assess social exchange among strangers or in the workplace (Adams 1965; Homans 1961, 1964). A fruitful family literature extended equity theory to unpaid work and interpersonal marital dynamics (Lively et al. 2008, Lively et al. 2010; Steelman and Powell 1996; Sprecher 1986, 1992). Yet inquiries have focused almost exclusively on housework inequalities. Lively and colleagues (2010) showed housework inequality was linked to greater anger, depression, and unhappiness more strongly among men (than women) who performed a larger share. Housework inequality also decreased relationship satisfaction and increased the odds of

breaking-up and divorce, especially when women performed a larger-than-fair-share of the housework (Oláh and Gähler 2014; Ruppner et al. 2017). Across this literature, two consistent conclusions have been drawn: (1) inequality deteriorated relationship quality; (2) these divisions and the consequences were gendered. Yet, the limited focus on housework inequality neglects other key sources of domestic inequity, such as parenting labor, which may jeopardize relationship quality.

In the present study, we applied equity theory to estimate inequality in couples' parenting arrangements and activities. Parenting inequality can occur as either (a) doing more than one's share (*under-benefitting*) or (b) doing less than one's share (*over-benefitting*), with an equitable sharing as the standard reference. Parental activities are critical sites of marital negotiation (Hochschild 1989; Milkie et al. 2002). As equity theory predicts, the unequal division of parenting tasks and activities should foster feelings of injustice and contribute to a reduced sense of interpersonal closeness—especially for those who under-benefit (Cropanzano and Folger 1989; Hegtvedt and Killian 1999; Krehbiel and Cropanzano 2000). We directly tested these claims, paying explicit attention to the different levels of relationship quality that are associated with under- versus over-benefitting.

While equity theory provides clear theoretical grounding to explain the negative emotional consequences of inequity, it lacks theoretical rigor to explain *why* the relationship between parenting inequality and relationship quality might vary by gender and employment status. To fill that gap, we also applied a gendered version of role strain theory that identifies how gender norms of female caregivers and male breadwinners structure work and family roles. As a result, some women take on unequal parenting and housework shares based on socialized gender role expectations—what Glenn (2010) calls a form of “coercion” into caregiving. The power of these gender role expectations is visible through time trend data documenting women's larger parenting and housework shares across employment statuses

(Bianchi et al. 2006). Thus, gender role expectations underpin work and family time allocations with women assuming a larger share of domestic labor (parenting and housework) even when they are employed full-time (Bianchi et al. 2000).

Although these trends in time use are well-documented, less is known about how gendered inequality in parenting is linked to relationship quality. We applied equity and gendered role strain theories to empirically test these associations, paying careful attention to the gender distribution of work. We analyzed data from a 2011 national sample of working Canadians (the Canadian Work, Stress and Health Study- CANWSH) to investigate if the association between parenting inequalities and relationship quality differs for mothers and fathers. If so, we hypothesized that any observed differences might be due to the degree of perceived unfairness about the division of parenting tasks. We tested models for within- and between- gender, anticipating that mothers and fathers would report different experiences. And, we assessed parenting activities net of the division and perceived fairness of housework, which is an important step to disentangle and extend the literature on parents' unpaid labor, gender, and relationship quality. Then we asked: How does relationship quality fare in a context where one does more than his or her fair share of the parenting *and* works long hours? Alternatively, is it possible that the combination of parenting inequalities and part-time work has a more negative link to relationship quality? And, how do work hour *preferences* inform these possibilities? Our analyses allowed us to weigh theoretical arguments about equity, role strain, and coerced care to understand how the division of parenting links to relationship quality.

Background

The division of parenting tasks and relationship quality.

According to equity theory, receiving more or less than one's fair share in a social exchange fosters a sense of injustice and the associated negative responses (Adams 1965; Carrell and Dittrich 1978; Cropanzano and Folger 1989; Hegtvedt and Killian 1999; Krehbiel and Cropanzano 2000; Pritchard 1969; Walster et al. 1973). To mitigate the negative fallout, individuals try to restore equity. If this is not possible, they might modify cognition, behavior, or terminate the relationships to neutralize the emotional threat (Adams 1965). Thus, equality in social exchange is seen as the ideal, and inequality can foster an unpleasant relationship climate.

Traditionally, equity theory was tested among strangers in laboratory settings (Adams 1965; Carrell and Dittrich 1978; Hegtvedt and Killian 1999; Pritchard 1969; Walster et al. 1973). Recent scholarship has sought to apply equity theory to the understanding of interpersonal relationships in the household in order to provide a more accurate picture of equity in relationships (Lively et al. 2008, Lively et al. 2010; Steelman and Powell 1996). For example, Lively and her colleagues (2010) tested the relationship between housework inequality and a range of emotions, showing that unequal housework divisions were detrimental to both partners. In line with equity theory, the partner who performs a larger share of the housework reports more negative emotional responses. However, housework inequality also undermines the advantaged partner who reports greater negative emotions and self-reproach. Inconsistencies in couples' housework reports, notably discounting one's partner's greater housework contribution, deteriorated relationship quality, and fostered the contemplation of relationship dissolution or actual termination (Ruppanner et al. 2017). As these studies indicate, housework inequality generates an unfavorable affective and interpersonal climate.

Although providing an invaluable test of equity theory, the existing unpaid work-family conflict literature's primary focus on housework inequality neglects how other forms

of domestic inequity can shape relationship quality. Indeed, while a vast literature shows work-family conflict deteriorates relationship quality, less is known about distinct parenthood versus housework effects (Fellows et al. 2016). To fill this gap, we extend equity theory to understand how parenting inequality is associated with relationship quality—net of housework inequality. Predictions from equity theory are clear: unequal parenting divisions should diminish relationship quality for both partners. As indicated by housework studies, inequality—whether experienced oneself or by one’s partner—evokes unpleasant affective responses. Thus, equity theory posits negative outcomes regardless of who is disadvantaged in parenting tasks.

The unequal division of parenting is intricately interwoven with perceptions of unfairness about this role arrangement. According to equity theory, it seems reasonable to expect that at least some of the hypothesized negative association between inequality in the division of parenting labor and relationship quality should be attributable to differences in perceived unfairness of parenting divisions. Prior research on housework inequality supports this claim. For example, Claffey and Mickelson (2009) found that perceived unfairness mediates the relationship between the division of household labor and unfavorable outcomes, including marital problems and spousal conflict. In a study of women, Stohs (1995) found that comparing one’s contribution to household labor to the contribution of one’s spouse indirectly predicted spousal disputes by decreasing satisfaction with the division of labor. Other studies supported the finding that perceptions of fairness varied by how much work was dedicated to the traditionally gendered sphere in which it is conducted—that is, domestic labor for women versus paid labor for men (e.g., see Wilkie et al. 1998). Extending these findings to parenting, we hypothesized that perceived unfairness in parenting divisions would mediate the relationship between an unequal division of parenting labor and relationship quality.

Bringing in gender: expanding equity theory to test gender differences.

In many respects, the classic formulation of equity theory is “gender neutral”—that is, it predicts that inequality should be associated with unfavorable cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses *regardless of gender*. And yet, research that tests equity theory demonstrates that men tend to report more negative affect when they perform a larger share of the housework (Lively et al. 2008). Traditional gender role norms link femininity to domesticity and masculinity to economic productivity (Feree 1990). Violations of gender norms *and* inequity may create greater vulnerabilities among men who take on a greater share of housework. However, whether inequality in parenting—activities that often hold deep symbolic meaning—creates similar gendered responses remains an unexplored question. Younger men rank equity in parenting a top priority, which represents a generational shift in attitudes documented decades ago (Coltrane 1997; Pedulla and Thebaud 2015). While the bulk of scholarship concentrates on the association between housework inequality and relationship quality, cultural shifts in masculinities and fatherhood imply that parenting inequities might function somewhat differently.

These questions highlight a gap in the literature. Mothers do about twice as much childcare as fathers (Bianchi et al. 2012), with the gaps larger for routine activities like feeding and grooming of children than for interactive activities such as reading with or playing with them. Many core parenting tasks and responsibilities, such as helping the children with their homework, helping them get ready for school, or organizing the family’s activities are understudied, particularly as they link to the quality of the spousal relationship. Family members hold different views of how much childcare each partner does and should do (Milkie et al. 2002) and these core parenting responsibilities are time intensive, and thus the site of significant spousal negotiation (Fox 2009). Gender is the dominant status for

organizing childcare tasks, with mothers disproportionately responsible for parenting even when they are employed full-time (Hochschild 1989; Maume 2008). As these studies indicate, parenting activities and responsibilities have remained intimately tethered to gender.

Whether the gendered division of parenting links to relationship quality requires additional investigation. To reiterate, equity theory—which is gender neutral—predicts that parenting inequality should be associated with poorer relationship quality regardless of gender. Yet, other research clearly demonstrates the highly gendered consequences of domestic inequality. For instance, mothers' greater relative contribution to parenting explains why they tended to report more anger compared to fathers (Ross and Van Willigen 1996). Gender imbalances in emotion-work among married couples with young children is linked to women's reduced feelings of marital love and an increased experience of marital conflict (Strazdins and Broom 2004). Women who feel discounted in their housework contributions also tend to report lower relationship satisfaction and are more likely to consider breaking-up compared to women in couples that have an equitable division of housework (Ruppanner et al. 2017). But the literature still lacks clear evidence about the association between the everyday tasks of parenting and relationship quality among employed mothers and fathers.

Collectively, the theoretical and empirical perspectives articulated above provide a rationale for the following three inter-related hypotheses:

HYPOTHESIS 1A (*The Inequality Hypothesis*): Parenting inequality—both under-benefitting and over-benefitting—will be associated with lower relationship quality.

HYPOTHESIS 1B (*The Gendered-Inequality Hypothesis*): The negative association between parenting inequality and relationship quality will be stronger among mothers compared to fathers.

HYPOTHESIS 2 (*The Inequality-Unfairness Hypothesis*): Differences in the perceptions of unfairness in the division of parenting duties will account for the negative association between the division of parenting labor and relationship quality.

Work hours and hours mismatch as modifiers: role scarcity or captivity?

Although equity theory is clear in its prediction that perceived inequality should be related to unfavorable fallout, it provides less insight about why some social groups might be more vulnerable than others. To fill this gap, we extrapolated from role strain theory to hypothesize about the potential influence of work hours. We identified two scenarios that both produce strain, but for different reasons and in different directions. The first pattern refers to *role scarcity* because it focuses on under-benefitting in the division of parenting and (a) *longer* work hours (full-time/overwork) and (b) a preference for *fewer* work hours. This combination might be detrimental because it situates parenting inequity in a context of limited time and energy—and the desire for fewer hours might reflect parenting challenges. This role scarcity hypothesis underscores a basic point: Employed parents must often navigate competing expectations and responsibilities of these roles, which can result in inter-role strain (Jacobs and Gerson 2004). These conditions might diminish relationship quality.

Mothers may be particularly vulnerable to the negative consequences of role scarcity because social norms equate “good” parenting with time intensive and mother-provided care (Hays 1996). These gender role expectations may pressure mothers into caregiving roles regardless of their preferences—a process that captures more institutional pressures that “coerce” women into care (Glenn 2010). As a consequence, mothers, more so than fathers, may be most sensitive to the intersection of longer hours and under-benefitting in the division of parenting. Although women and men rated parental responsibilities as among the most enjoyable of all forms of unpaid labor (Bianchi et al. 2006), mothers consistently reported the greatest strain in reconciling competing work and family demands (Hill 2005; Poortman and van der Lippe 2009; Schieman and Young 2011). According to Bianchi and her colleagues (2006), parents in recent decades reported spending more time with their children than parents in the past—but continued to feel that they were not giving enough. This feeling may be especially potent for mothers given the cultural ideal of *intensive motherhood*, which

encourages women to put their children's needs above their own careers, leisure-time, and relationships (Hays 1996). Mothers shoulder a larger share of parenting duties even when both partners work full-time, identifying how gender role ideology reinforces domestic inequality (Bianchi et al. 2006). By contrast, men's greater time in paid work reduced their participation in parental activities, compounding parenting inequality (Bonney et al. 1999). Although men are increasingly expected to devote more time to parenting responsibilities, the burden still rests disproportionately on mothers, making the pressure of time spent in parenting tasks more stressful for women than men (Milkie and Warner 2014).

Mothers' disproportionate share of parenting responsibilities may also make it more difficult for employed women to feel as if they are successful in achieving work-family fit. For example, among working parents, Simon (1995) observed that mothers felt unable to 'successfully balance' the demands of work and family which often resulted in them 'putting their marriage on the backburner' and undermined relationship quality. Others have noted that even when women successfully balance work expectations and domestic responsibilities, it might come at the expense of leisure, sleep, or self-fulfillment (Milkie and Peltola 1999). In sum, the hours devoted to the work role likely have gendered consequences for women's work and family role strain—and, ultimately, for relationship quality with their spouse.

According to the role scarcity view, mothers employed longer hours (i.e., full-time or overwork) should experience more cognitive and affective fallout from under-benefitting inequity, which can jeopardize relationship quality. Blending role-strain and equity theories, we hypothesized that full-time working mothers who shoulder a greater burden of parenting should experience more injustice, which can undermine relationship quality.

HYPOTHESIS 3A (*The Role Scarcity-Work Overload Hypothesis*): Under-benefitting in the division of parenting will be more negatively associated with relationship quality among individuals who work longer hours (full-time/overwork) compared to part-time. This pattern will be more severe for mothers than fathers.

HYPOTHESIS 3B (*The Role Scarcity-Hours Overwork Hypothesis*): Under-benefitting in the division of parenting will be more negatively associated with relationship quality among individuals who prefer to work fewer hours. This pattern will be more severe for mothers than fathers.

We also identified a potential alternative to the role scarcity hypothesis: the *role captivity* view. In his classic work on the stress process model, Pearlin (1983) articulated this idea of role captivity: “one reflected in situations where we are bound to one role while wishing to play another...it entails an inescapable obligation to be and do one thing at the very time the individual wants to be and do something different. This generates stress” (p. 19). To be clear, our application of the role captivity concept here is not as stark as suggesting a scenario in which mothers working part-time somehow wish they did not have children. Rather, it is a more reasonable claim that perhaps some mothers who experience parenting inequality and work part-time might simply *wish they could work more hours*—but they feel they cannot partly because of (unfair) parenting responsibilities, and this might generate more interpersonal strife at home with one’s partner. Nor is the workplace structured to make working full-time easy for mothers, in some instances essentially pushing them out (Stone 2008). Social norms of female caregiving may “coerce” mothers into traditional parenting and employment decisions (e.g., part-time), which may breed animosity and deteriorate relationship quality—especially if mothers desire to work longer hours. As a consequence, mothers may find themselves as “captive” caregivers, unable to match desired work time to the actual work time they are able to commit. This “hours mismatch” characterized by the desire for *more hours* may compound the feelings of injustice associated with under-benefitting in parenting tasks and, as a consequence, link to poorer relationship quality. Thus, we extended role strain theories to assess whether gender role expectations function as a form of coerced care and role captivity.

HYPOTHESIS 4A (*The Role Captivity-Work Reduction Hypothesis*): Under-benefitting in the division of parenting will be more negatively associated with relationship quality among mothers who work part-time.

HYPOTHESIS 4B (*The Role Captivity-Hours Underwork Hypothesis*): Under-benefitting in the division of parenting will be more negatively associated with relationship quality among mothers who prefer to work more hours.

Adjusting for the division and perceived fairness of housework.

The main focus of our study centered on the association between working parents' investments in parenting responsibilities and marital quality, given the dearth of research connecting these domains. But it is important to situate this focus alongside an analysis of the division and perceived fairness of housework. Given our scope, we briefly discuss the impact of housework, which has been investigated across a range of studies. Despite some shifts toward a more egalitarian orientation in household labor, women still perform significantly more housework than men—and the tasks that women and men perform are qualitatively different (Wight et al. 2013). Similar to most Western studies, research indicates that Canadian women devoted the majority of their domestic efforts to core activities regardless of employment status (Brayfield 1992). Most of the literature describes the impact of housework on perceived fairness; less is known, however, about parenting activities and perceived fairness. Even when studies have included measures of parenting or childcare activities, study participants are often asked to describe the fairness of the division of family work as a whole, rather than evaluating if the division of housework *and* the division of parenting activities are separately and individually perceived as fair (Coltrane 2000). This is an important contribution of our study because prior research has found that individuals characterized these activities differently, with childcare assessed more favorably than housework (Poortman and van der Lippe 2009). Furthermore, as parenting activities and housework often overlap, it is challenging to completely disentangle perceptions about them. What is more, the link between parenting and relationship quality may be compounded by

mothers' disproportionate childcare time, indicating the need to study these effects net of each other. Relationship quality may be tied to women's overall domestic burden—childcare *and* housework—or more distinctly by one of these domestic shares, indicating the need to weigh them both simultaneously. For these reasons, we accounted for the contributions to and perceived fairness of housework while evaluating the association between parenting and relationship quality.

Sample

To test our hypotheses, we used data from the 2011 *Canadian Work Stress and Health* study (CANWSH), a large national sample of Canadian workers. Interviews were conducted by telephone between January and July 2011. To be eligible, individuals had to be: (1) residing in Canada; (2) at least 18 years of age; (3) currently in a paid job or operating an income-producing business; (4) employed in the civilian labour force; and 5) living in a non-institutional residence. In households with more than one eligible person, the “next birthday” method was used to randomly select a participant. Calls were made to a regionally stratified unclustered random probability sample generated by random-digit-dial methods. Interviews were conducted in English or French and averaged 35 minutes. A \$20 gift card was offered as incentive. The full sample was 6,004, with a response rate of approximately 40%.¹ Further,

¹ While a higher response rate is the ideal—and we expended great efforts to achieve one—this has become increasingly challenging for all survey researchers (with limited budgets). There are conflicting views on the meanings and implications of a ‘low’ response rate. Nonresponse bias in estimates is one concern (Babbie 2010), although research challenges the link between response rates and nonresponse bias (see Curtin et al. 2000; Groves et al. 2007; Merkle and Edelman 2002). To address the possibility that our results were unduly influenced by nonresponse bias, we compared unweighted and weighted analyses in which we weighted the sample based on key demographic statuses (e.g. gender, age, marital status, education) from the most recent Canadian Census. We found few differences between the weighted and unweighted results. Winship and Radbill (1994) argue that controlling for characteristics on which individuals may be under-sampled or over-sampled helps adjust for biases due to these characteristics. Given that all of our analyses include these controls, nonresponse bias should not be a major problem for the estimates reported here. As an additional comparison, the CANWSH response rate of 40% falls in the range of three similar studies: (1) The *2008 National Study of the Changing Workforce* achieved 55% (Families and Work Institute); (2) The *2004 National Study of Overwork in America* achieved a 23% response rate (Galinsky et al. 2005); and (3) in the *2001 National Work–Life Conflict Study* of Canadian workers, the study authors report a response rate of approximately 26% (Higgins and Duxbury 2002).

given that we sought to examine parenting and relationship quality among *dual-earner parents*, we selected a sub-sample based on the following: (1) the study participant had to be currently married or cohabiting with a partner or common-law spouse; (2) the participant's spouse had to be currently employed; and (3) children under the age of 18 had to reside in the household. We excluded cases with missing values on focal variables. Collectively, these exclusions yielded a final analytical sample of 873 women and 554 men.

Measures

Relationship quality.

We used responses to three items to measure relationship quality. As other published research has described, these relationship quality items contain themes of support and the sense of “togetherness” and are predictive of indicators of well-being (see Young et al. 2014). Study participants were asked if they agree or disagree with the following statements: “I feel very close to my spouse/partner,” “My spouse/partner takes time to talk over my problems with me,” and “I know that my spouse/partner will always be there for me.” We coded the responses as follows: “strongly disagree” (1), “disagree” (2), “agree” (3), and “strongly agree” (4). To create the index, we averaged responses such that higher scores indicate higher levels of relationship quality ($\alpha = .77$).

The division of parenting and housework.

Division of parenting. We used responses to three items to assess the division of parenting tasks. Respondents were asked: “Who helps your child with homework?” “Who gets your child ready for daycare or school?” and “Who organizes the family's activities?” If more than one child was presently living in the household, we replaced “child” with “children” in each of these statements. We followed the coding scheme described by Baxter

(2005) to represent the response choices as proportions: “my spouse/partner always does it” (coded 0), “my partner/spouse usually does it” (coded .25), “we both do it equally” (coded .5), “I usually do it” (coded .75), and “I always do it” (coded 1). We averaged responses to measure respondents’ relative contribution to parenting, scored from 0 (none) to 1 (complete). In the analyses, we then used these scores to compare individuals who reported *parenting equality* (.5) as the contrast code and compare them to those who reported *inequality*—either less than equal ($< .5$) or more than equal ($> .5$) in the division of parenting.

It was evident that two items—“getting your child ready for school” and “helping your child with their homework”—might be less relevant for some parents, depending on the age of their children. We provided information about the distribution of responses across these items for parents with children of different ages in the Appendix, which reports the number of cases with valid responses including respondents who reported *someone else* performed the task or that the task was *not applicable*. Two main patterns stood out: 1) parents with children younger than age 6 (but who may also have older children) for whom “helping your child with homework” was less often applicable; and 2) parents with children between the ages of 12 and 18 (but who may also have younger children) for whom “getting your child ready for daycare or school” was less often applicable. Despite having the most “not applicable” responses, these cases were not problematic because, after coding “someone else” and “not applicable” responses as missing values, we then averaged the responses to the other parenting items in the creation of our index. For example, if a respondent reported “someone else does it” or “not applicable” to one of the parenting items, we used their responses to the other two items to generate a value on the division of parenting index. A check across items indicated little overlap in “someone else does it” and “not applicable” responses across all three of the parenting items—so these missing values did not pose a problem for the creation of the index.

Division of housework. We measured the division of *housework* in five core tasks—cooking, cleaning, dishes, laundry, and grocery shopping. As discussed above, core tasks are less flexible and more repetitive, making it more likely that disproportionate responsibility for this kind of housework will result in strain for individuals. Given this, we asked the following: “Who prepares the meals?” “Who does the laundry?” “Who cleans the house?” “Who shops for groceries?” “Who does the dishes?” We employed the same coding scheme as above: “my spouse/partner always does it” (coded 0), “my partner/spouse usually does it” (coded .25), “we both do it” (coded .5), “I usually do it” (coded .75), and “I always do it” (coded 1). We averaged these responses to create an index of the respondents’ relative contribution to housework, scored from 0 (none) to 1 (complete). In analyses, we compared individuals who reported equality (.5) as the contrast code to those who reported less than equal (< .5) or more than equal (> .5) divisions of housework.

In constructing this index, we recognized the possibility that some respondents might report that “someone else” performed these housework items. For example, the item “cleans the house” had the largest number of cases who reported paying someone else to do it. Before creating this index, we recoded “someone else does it” responses as missing and then took the average of the responses across all five items. These missing values had a negligible impact for our index because their frequencies across the five items were quite low. Here was the breakdown of those cases: (1) “prepares meals”: 9 cases paid someone to do it and 6 cases reported that it was done by someone else other than self or spouse (< 1%); (2) “does the laundry”: 11 cases paid someone to do it and 8 cases reported that it was done by someone else (< 1%); (3) “cleans the house”: 83 cases paid someone to do it (6%) and 7 cases reported that it was done by someone else (< 1%); (4) “shops for groceries”: 2 cases paid someone to do it and 1 case reported that it was done by someone else (< 1%); and (5) “does the dishes”:

10 cases paid someone to do it (< 1%) and 47 cases (3%) reported that it was done by someone else. Thus, outsourcing housework tasks did not bias our housework measure.

Fairness in the division of parenting and housework.

Fairness in parenting. Following the items about the relative contribution to parenting responsibilities, we assessed parents' perceptions of fairness: "In general, how fair do you feel the division of childcare is in your household?" We created categorical contrasts by coding the responses "very unfair to you" and "somewhat unfair to you" as *unfair to self*; we coded the responses "somewhat unfair to your spouse/partner" and "very unfair to your spouse/partner" as *unfair to spouse/partner*. In analyses, we used the response of "fair to both you and your spouse/partner" as the reference category.

Fairness in housework. Following the items about the relative contribution to housework responsibilities, we assessed parents' perceptions of fairness: "In general, how fair do you feel the division of housework is in your household?" We created categorical contrasts by coding the responses "very unfair to you" and "somewhat unfair to you" as *unfair to self*; we coded the responses "somewhat unfair to your spouse/partner" and "very unfair to your spouse/partner" as *unfair to spouse/partner*. In analyses, we used the response of "fair to both you and your spouse/partner" as the reference category.

Work hours.

Separately for both respondents and their spouses, we coded work hours as *full-time* (works 35 to 49 hours per week), *part-time* (works fewer than 35 hours per week), and *overwork* (works 50-plus hours per week). To assess preferences, we asked: "Would you prefer to have more hours, fewer hours, or the current hours you work at your job?" If parents

had more than one job, interviewers were instructed that they were specifically inquiring about the hours at the study participant's main job.

Sociodemographic variables.

We employed a dummy measure such that women = 1 and men = 0. Age was measured in years. Education was dummy-coded as high school or less (reference category), specialized vocational training or some college but no degree, and college graduate or higher. To assess annual household income (in Canadian dollars), we asked: "For the complete year of 2010, what was your total household income, including income from all household sources (before taxes)?" We also controlled for the presence and ages of children younger than 18 in the household with three sets of binary predictors: children younger than age 6, children ages 6 to 11, and children ages 12 to 18.

The selection of these particular control variables was motivated by previous research, which documents that age was positively associated with relationship stability and housework allocations (Heaton 2002). Respondents with higher levels of education and income were more likely to marry and, among those where men's earnings were higher, had more stable relationships (Brown et al. 2015; Gibson-Davis et al. 2005; Heaton 2002). Likewise, the presence of young children was negatively associated with relationship quality and increased childcare and housework burdens (Baxter and Hewitt 2008; Dribe and Stanfors 2009). We therefore statistically controlled for these measures in all of our analyses to minimize their influence on the focal associations.

Plan of analysis.

Table 1 reports the basic descriptive statistics. Table 2 reports the findings for the OLS regression of relationship quality on our focal independent variables; all models adjusted for the basic control variables (age, children at home, education, and household

income). For each model, we reported the findings for women and men; in supplemental analyses, we pooled the sample and tested gender interactions where relevant for our hypotheses. Model 1 tested the association between the division of parenting and relationship quality while adjusting for the division of housework, respondent work hours, work hour preference, and spouse's work hours (Hypotheses 1A and 1B). Supplemental analyses pooled women and men and tested the division of parenting \times gender interaction term; we placed borders around the relevant coefficients to demarcate statistically significant interactions. In model 2, we evaluated if any observed associations are attributable to perceived unfairness of the division of parenting, while simultaneously accounting for the perceived fairness of the division of housework (Hypothesis 2). Models 3 and 4 tested the influence of work hours and work hour preferences, respectively; here, we tested the role scarcity (Hypothesis 3A and 3B) and role captivity (Hypothesis 4A and 4B) hypotheses.

Results

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for women and men, indicating several patterns for our focal variables that differed substantially by gender: (1) Women tended to report a lower level of relationship quality than men; (2) Women were more likely than men to report performing more than half of the parenting and housework responsibilities; and (3) Women were more likely to describe the division of parenting and housework responsibilities as unfair to themselves and were less likely to characterize it as unfair to their spouses.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Hypothesis tests.

Parenting inequality and gendered-inequality. The results shown in Model 1 of Table 2 tested the first set of hypotheses: (1A) the *Inequality Hypothesis* predicted both under-benefitting and over-benefitting in the division of parenting tasks would be associated with

less relationship quality among both women and men; (1B) the *Gendered-Inequality Hypothesis* predicted that the negative association between under-benefitting and relationship quality would be stronger among mothers compared to fathers. Model 1 documented a negative association between inequality in parenting and relationship quality—but we observed that pattern *only among women who under-benefit* in parenting ($b_{\text{pi-ub}} = -.224, p < .001$). Specifically, compared to women in equitable arrangements, women who performed the majority of parenting tasks reported lower relationship quality. Additional analyses (not shown but available upon request) that pooled women and men to test the *parenting inequality* \times *gender* interaction confirmed that the association between under-benefitting and relationship quality differed significantly *between* women and men ($b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{gender}} = -.135, p < .05$). Figure 1 illustrates a more dramatic pattern for women compared to men.

[INSERT TABLE 2 AND FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Other findings reported in Model 1 of Table 2 indicated that both women and men who under-benefitted in the division of housework reported less relationship quality compared to those with equal arrangements. The results also showed that men who over-benefitted in the division of housework reported less relationship quality than men in equitable arrangements. However, separate analyses that tested the *housework inequality* \times *gender* interaction found that the association between housework inequality and relationship quality was *not* statistically different between women and men.

Inequality-unfairness. Model 2 added perceived parenting fairness to the model to assess if it contributed to the negative association between under-benefitting and relationship quality among women. In addition, women who reported that the division of parenting was unfair to them reported lower relationship quality than women who reported fairness to both self and spouse. Second, the difference between women in equitable arrangements and women who under-benefitted was reduced from $-.224$ in Model 1 to $-.129$ in Model 2, and the

coefficient remained statistically significant ($p < .001$). Even after accounting for perceived fairness of parenting, women who under-benefitted reported lower relationship quality than women in equal arrangements. In the separate pooled analyses that compared women with men, the division of parenting \times gender interaction coefficient was no longer statistically significant when we included perceived fairness of the division of parenting in the model. This indicated that perceptions of fairness contributed to the different association between parenting inequality and relationship quality observed between women and men.

It is worth underscoring here that we observed these patterns for parenting inequalities and perceived fairness while simultaneously accounting for the division and the perceived fairness of housework. Women who perceived unfairness in the division of housework reported lower relationship quality compared to women who perceived an equitable division of housework; no similar significant patterns were observed among men. Comparisons of women and men in pooled analyses, however, found no statistically significant interaction.

Role scarcity versus role captivity. Model 3 tested if the relationship between parenting inequalities and relationship quality differed across parents' working hours. To test the competing hypotheses about role scarcity versus role captivity, Model 3 included the interaction term for parenting inequality by full-time work (the reference group) versus part-time or overwork. The findings tended to support the role captivity hypothesis for women only: The negative *parenting inequality (under-benefitting) \times part-time* coefficient ($b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{part-time}} = -.147, p < .05$) indicates that doing more than one's fair share was associated more negatively with relationship quality among women who work part-time compared to their full-time peers. That same pattern was not observed among men. Separate analyses that pooled women and men to test the three-way interaction term confirmed that the two-way *parenting inequality (under-benefitting) \times part-time* coefficient was statistically different between women and men ($b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{part-time} \times \text{gender}} = -.346, p < .05$). Among equal parenting

sharers, we found that women reported the greatest relationship quality when working part-time, and those who work full-time reported the lowest relationship quality. Neither role scarcity nor role captivity captured the benefit to relationship quality for fathers' equal parenting among mothers working part-time or overtime schedules. Figure 2 illustrates these different patterns by gender.

[INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

The findings shown in Model 4 provided further support for the role captivity hypothesis: The negative *parenting inequality (under-benefitting) × prefer more hours* coefficient ($b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{more hours}} = -.268, p < .01$) showed that doing more than one's fair share was associated more negatively with relationship quality among women who prefer to work more hours (compared to their peers who prefer to work their current hours). That same pattern was not observed among men (i.e., $b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{more hours}} = .089$ was not statistically significant). Separate analyses that pooled women and men to test the three-way interaction term confirmed that the two-way *parenting inequality (under-benefitting) × more hours* coefficient was statistically different between women and men ($b_{\text{pi-ub} \times \text{more hours} \times \text{gender}} = -.412, p < .05$). Figure 3 illustrates the patterns by gender. It was also noteworthy that the inclusion of the work-hours preference interaction term fully accounted for the part-time interaction effect observed in Model 3.

[INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Discussion

We set out to evaluate the association between the division of parenting responsibilities and relationship quality. And, we sought to examine and establish gender-contingencies in these patterns. Our observations both reinforced and extended prior evidence about childcare allocations and relationship quality. We were able to detect the different ways

in which the division of parenting responsibilities predicted levels of discord in relationship quality, weighing equity, role scarcity, and role captivity.

Our observations provided some empirical and theoretical advances. Equity theory in its classical definition is gender neutral and posits that inequality fosters a negative interpersonal climate. We found, consistent with previous research on housework inequality, that inequality was felt more acutely by women than men (Lively et al. 2008, 2010). Unlike fathers, mothers reported lower relationship quality when they under-benefit in parenting divisions (*Gendered-Inequality Hypothesis*: confirmed). The gender gap in relationship satisfaction was explained by mothers' greater perceptions that parenting was unfairly divided (*Inequality-Unfairness Hypothesis*: confirmed). Specifying these experiences by maternal employment and work hour expectations, we found support for our role captivity arguments (*Role Captivity-Work Reduction & Role Captivity-Hours Underwork hypotheses*: confirmed). Notably, mothers who were responsible for the bulk of the parenting reported lower relationship quality when they worked part-time and when mothers preferred longer work hours. These results lend support to arguments about coerced care, underscoring the interpersonal consequences of proscriptive gender norms and structured inequalities (Glenn 2010). Rigid workplaces that are unfriendly to mothers who work full-time might tend to push some of them from full-time work in ways that they find coercive (Stone 2008). Part-time working mothers with equal parenting divisions reported the highest relationship quality followed by over- and full-time working mothers. Fathers equally sharing the parenting activities perhaps provided the space necessary for mothers to maximize employment (e.g. work overtime or increase part to full-time work). Our results indicated that it is not part-time work per se that is coercive but rather the combination of part-time work and under-benefitted parenting arrangements that appeared to impinge upon relationship quality.

The fact that inequalities in parenting duties appeared to be unrelated to men's assessments of relationship quality may reflect the fact that men performed a lower share of these tasks so they are less likely to experience significant strain. Furthermore, men are often cast in the role of "helper" (Coltrane 1989, p. 480) and their gender identities are not tied so closely to their family roles (Simon 1995). Fathers are not registering parenting inequality as a source of relationship quality, when either fathers or mothers perform a larger (perceived) share. Counter to equity theory predictions, fathers who under-benefitted did not report lower relationship quality compared to fathers who reported equitable arrangements, supporting arguments that active fatherhood is not detrimental to marital quality.

Existing research highlights dual-earner parents' tendencies to be overworked and strained for time (Jacobs and Gerson 2004; Milkie et al. 2004; Nomaguchi and Milkie 2003; Schor 1992) but largely focuses on perceived inequities in housework and on childcare linked to young children. Our observations suggest that an additional source of inequality centers on the gendered division of parental responsibilities that cross many years of parenting. That this inequality was linked to diminished relationship quality indicates the severity of gender inequality in domestic time—in this case, the division of parenting. For mothers, it appeared that gender equality in parenting was the most relevant for partner relations, an additional example of the broad benefits of gender equality in domestic life. While our results draw upon Canadian data, we expect generalizability to countries with similar cultural profiles including the United States. Future research should evaluate these relationships in countries that vary in the gender, welfare, and female employment regimes.

These findings should be considered in the context of several study limitations. First, we measured relationship quality from a single respondent, yet this is best understood as a couple-level process, and thus estimating relationship with couple-level data would be ideal. However, the requisite data to test these couple-level dynamics was not available. Second, the

measure of parenting duties included three important areas—homework supervision, school preparations, and family activity organization— but did not encompass all forms, particularly the routine child care of feeding and grooming of young children. In this, our study probably *underestimated* women’s total childcare burden (Bianchi et al. 2006). Future research that includes these measures may discover even starker gender differences in how childcare time link to relationship quality. Likewise, while these data contained information on relative contribution to parenting and housework, there was no detail about each partner’s absolute contribution to these activities; such information might have provided a useful picture of the different experiences of unfairness across levels of the absolute contribution to parenting and housework. For example, one who usually did the parenting or chores might have found it even more unfair if he or she did a greater absolute level (e.g., 10 extra hours per week more than one’s partner versus 2 extra hours per week). We have also only considered heterosexual, cohabiting couples with children, as same-sex couples or those couples who have alternate living arrangements were not assessed in the present analyses. An emerging area of housework indicates that same-sex couples shared housework more equally, which may extend to childcare as well (Kurdek 2005, 2007). Nor were we able to assess whether the parents in our sample were step-parents, which may have linked to their parenting contributions. Further research should identify how complex families structure parenting labor, as well as what impact different forms of labor then have on relationship quality.

Finally, some critiques have been levied against the perception of fairness measure used in this study (and others). Although “fairness” is often interpreted as a linear variable, Wheaton and Young (2009) challenged that view, arguing that it “is ordinal and the meanings of unfairness on the two sides of the middle fairness points have quite different meanings” (p. 2). They observed that assessments of unfairness to one’s partner result in greater spousal conflict for women than assessments of unfairness to themselves, indicating that the scale is

not perfectly linear and may have different effects for women than for men. We minimized these concerns by using a set of dummy variables that contrast the sense of fairness to both one's self and spouse with perceived unfairness to one's self or to one's spouse. However, there can be response bias in this form of assessment. As Smith and his colleagues (1998) argued, a scale which puts unfairness to one's self and unfairness to one's spouse at opposite ends with "fair to both one's self and spouse" as a middle point might increase the likelihood that respondents will (inaccurately) characterize the division of household labor as "fair" in order to avoid perceiving themselves as exploited or victimized. Moreover, causal ordering is an issue as individuals with infrequent conflict and satisfying marriages were less likely to perceive unfairness in the division of household labor (Grote and Clark 2001; Wheaton and Young 2009). This suggests that we have underestimated the number of respondents reporting unfairness in our sample. While some reverse causation is likely (Grote and Clark 2004), qualitative research cited above suggested that conflict and reduced closeness often evolved from inequities in household labor.

Conclusion

The present study provides new insights into the relationship among the division of parenting responsibilities, perceptions of unfairness, and relationship quality. The fact that employed mothers in Canada and in other parts of the world continue to bear greater responsibility for both childcare and housework is noteworthy given the symbolic and actual gains that women have made in many other areas (Bianchi et al. 2006). It is troubling that mothers who remain responsible for greater childcare and who work part-time and prefer more time at work report lower relationship closeness as a result. These divisions of paid and unpaid labor, often dictated by gender role expectations, are sources of interpersonal distress as evidenced by reduced relationship quality. Future research into the consequences of this

marital discord, notably whether it contributes to divorce, is warranted. Further, our results indicated the need for longitudinal analyses that determine whether policies aimed at increasing women's pathways into full-time work and encouraging equal childcare sharing may benefit families through improved relationship quality. Thus, while discussions of domestic labor may seem like "old news" to some, continuous reassessment across various national contexts, particularly in the arena of childcare, is essential for preventing old patterns of inequity from persisting.

TABLE 1. Descriptive Statistics for Focal Variables and Selected Controls by Gender

	Women (<i>n</i> = 873)	Men (<i>n</i> = 554)	Total (<i>N</i> = 1427)
<i>Focal Variables</i>			
Relationship Quality	3.637**	3.705	3.669
Division of Parenting Responsibilities			
Shared Equally	.199***	.281	.237
Respondent Does Less than Half	.064***	.544	.290
Respondent Does More than Half	.737***	.175	.473
Division of Housework Responsibilities			
Shared Equally	.091***	.147	.118
Respondent Does Less than Half	.066***	.602	.318
Respondent Does More than Half	.843***	.251	.564
Perceived Fairness of the Division of Parenting			
Fair to both Respondent and Spouse	.736***	.816	.774
Unfair to Spouse	.015***	.165	.085
Unfair to Respondent	.249***	.019	.141
Perceived Fairness of the Division of Housework			
Fair to both Respondent and Spouse	.623***	.713	.665
Unfair to Spouse	.038***	.229	.128
Unfair to Respondent	.339***	.058	.207
Respondent Work Hours			
Part-time	.349***	.080	.223
Full-time	.555***	.626	.588
Overwork/50-plus	.096***	.294	.189
Work Hour Preference			
Current hours	.120***	.074	.098
Prefer more hours	.329***	.428	.375
Prefer fewer hours	.551***	.499	.527
Spouse's Work Hours			
Part-time	.044***	.329	.178
Full-time	.677***	.561	.623
Overwork/50-plus	.279***	.109	.199
<i>Control Variables</i>			
Age	39.221***	41.628	40.354
Children < age 6	.442	.399	.422
Children ages 6 – 11	.491	.451	.472
Children ages 12 – 18	.455	.442	.449
High school or less	.167**	.216	.186
Some college	.227**	.241	.233
4-year degree or more	.605**	.542	.581
Household Income	109,695	136,817	122,468

Note: **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ****p* < .001 (indicates differences between women and men). The values shown in the table for relationship quality, age, and income are means; all other values shown in the table are proportions (i.e., the proportion of the total who share parenting responsibilities equally is .237).

TABLE 2. The Relationship between the Division of Parenting & Housework Responsibilities and Relationship Quality

Focal Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>Division of Parenting</i>								
Shared equally (REF)								
Spouse does it	-.084	-.005	-.069	.001	-.069	-.002	-.069	-.031
Respondent does it	-.224***	-.086	-.129***	-.056	-.076	-.097	-.046	-.165
<i>Division of Housework</i>								
Shared equally (REF)								
Spouse does it	-.063	-.153**	-.090	-.176***	-.063	-.175***	-.082	-.171***
Respondent does it	-.179***	-.131*	-.095*	-.111*	-.179***	-.111*	-.091*	-.104*
<i>Fairness of Parenting</i>								
Fair to both (REF)								
Unfair to spouse	—	—	-.062	-.040	-.059	-.042	-.073	-.040
Unfair to respondent	—	—	-.263***	-.347	-.260***	-.329	-.260***	-.363
<i>Fairness of Housework</i>								
Fair to both (REF)								
Unfair to spouse	—	—	-.034	.081	-.034	.086	-.032	.088
Unfair to respondent	—	—	-.227***	-.092	-.231***	-.089	-.230***	-.086
<i>Respondent Work Hours</i>								
Full-time (REF)								
Part-time	.024	.058	.014	.046	.127*	-.020	.105	-.020
Overwork/50-plus	.043	-.042	.042	-.046	.088	-.058	.078	-.058
<i>Work Hour Preference</i>								
Current hours (REF)								
Prefer more hours	-.033	.051	-.031	.042	-.030	.044	.157***	-.028
Prefer fewer hours	-.063	-.058	-.029	-.048	-.028	-.050	.002	-.113
<i>Spouse's Work Hours</i>								
Full-time (REF)								
Part-time	-.025	.031	-.067	.031	-.060	.026	-.051	.023
Overwork/50-plus	-.026	.009	-.010	-.002	-.010	-.012	-.006	-.017

Table 2 continued...

Table 2 continued...

Focal Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
<i>Interaction Terms</i>								
<i>Division of Parenting × Respondent Work Hours</i>								
Spouse does it × ...								
Part-time	—	—	—	—	-.015	.016	-.024	-.003
Overwork/50-plus	—	—	—	—	.039	.006	.026	-.006
Respondent does it × ...								
Part-time	—	—	—	—	-.147*	.232	-.120	.257
Overwork/50-plus	—	—	—	—	-.072	.055	-.060	-.002
<i>Division of Parenting × Work Hour Preference</i>								
Spouse does it × ...								
Prefer more hours	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.072	.110
Prefer fewer hours	—	—	—	—	—	—	.027	.056
Respondent does it × ...								
Prefer more hours	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.268**	.089
Prefer fewer hours	—	—	—	—	—	—	-.043	.230
<i>Control Variables</i>								
Age	-.007*	-.005	-.005	-.005	-.005	-.004	-.005	-.004
Children < age 6	-.084	-.041	-.049	-.027	-.048	-.026	-.044	-.030
Children ages 6 - 11	-.010	-.077	.000	-.074	.003	-.074	.006	-.070
Children ages 12 - 18	-.028	.001	-.014	.009	-.017	.006	-.014	.003
High school or less (REF)								
Some college	.010	.021	.028	.029	.024	.032	.019	.029
4-year degree or more	.005	.082	.048	.092	.043	.092	.041	.092
Household Income (logged)	.075*	-.010	.050	-.012	.052	-.011	.051	-.016
Constant	3.423	4.182	3.597	4.189	3.536	4.176	3.526	4.261
R ²	.058	.047	.168	.071	.171	.074	.174	.081

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001. Note: Boxes demarcate statistically significant interaction by gender (p < .05).

APPENDIX. *Distribution of Responses to Parenting Items by Age of Children*

	<i>At least one child...</i>		
	0-5 Years	6-11 Years	12-18 Years
<i>Who gets your child ready for daycare or school?</i>			
Shared equally	187 (31%)	201 (30%)	121 (19%)
Spouse does it	134 (22%)	165 (25%)	128 (20%)
Respondent does it	222 (37%)	263 (39%)	167 (26%)
Reported that someone else does this task	11 (2%)	14 (2%)	14 (2%)
Reported that this task is not applicable	48 (8%)	26 (4%)	206 (32%)
	(n = 602)	(n = 669)	(n = 636)
<i>Who helps your child with homework?</i>			
Shared equally	152 (25%)	277 (41%)	221 (35%)
Spouse does it	65 (11%)	139 (21%)	127 (20%)
Respondent does it	124 (21%)	234 (35%)	208 (32%)
Reported that someone else does this task	2 (< 1%)	2 (< 1%)	8 (1%)
Reported that this task is not applicable	255 (43%)	20 (3%)	76 (12%)
	(n = 598)	(n = 672)	(n = 640)
<i>Who organizes the family's activities?</i>			
Shared equally	274 (45%)	314 (47%)	324 (51%)
Spouse does it	102 (17%)	111 (17%)	110 (17%)
Respondent does it	218 (36%)	245 (36%)	202 (32%)
Reported that someone else does this task	1 (< 1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Reported that this task is not applicable	7 (1%)	2 (< 1%)	4 (< 1%)
	(n = 602)	(n = 672)	(n = 640)

FIGURE 1. The Association between Parenting Inequality and Relationship Quality by Gender

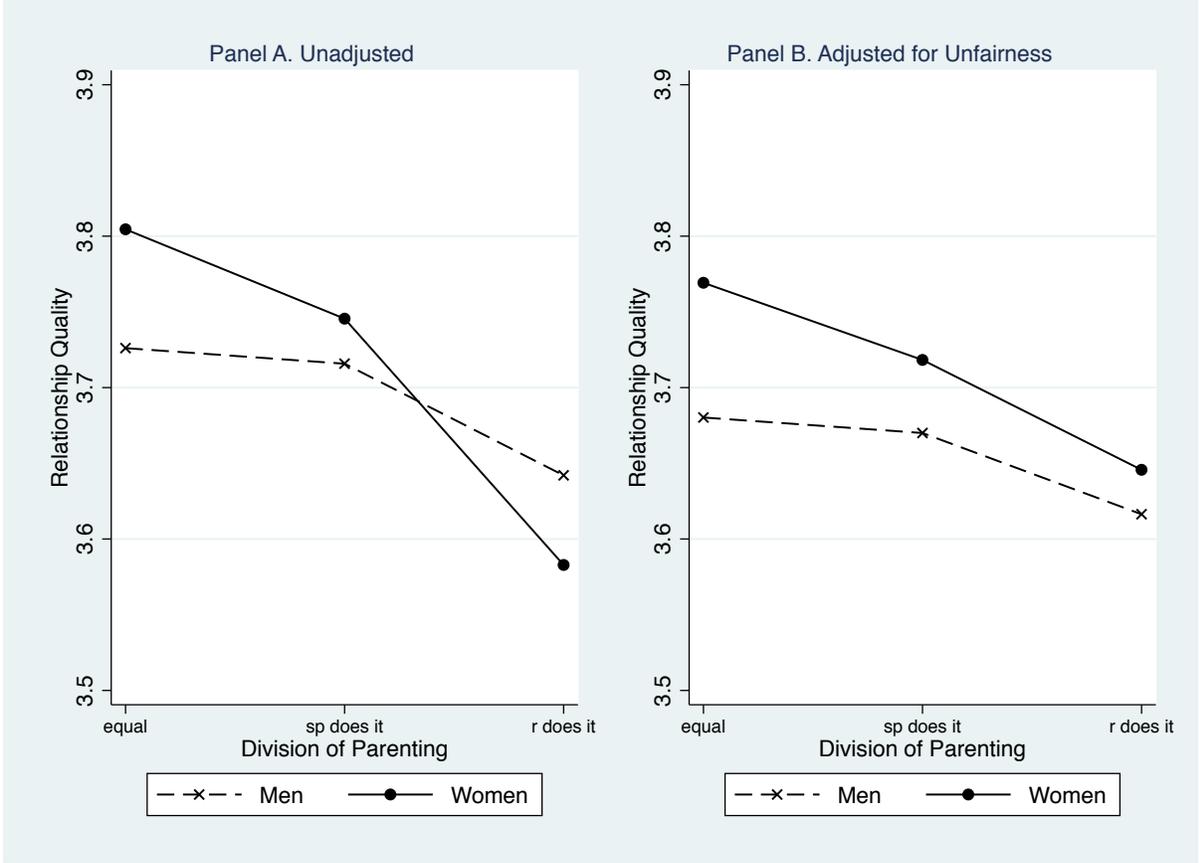


FIGURE 2. The Association between Parenting Inequality and Relationship Quality by Work Hours and Gender

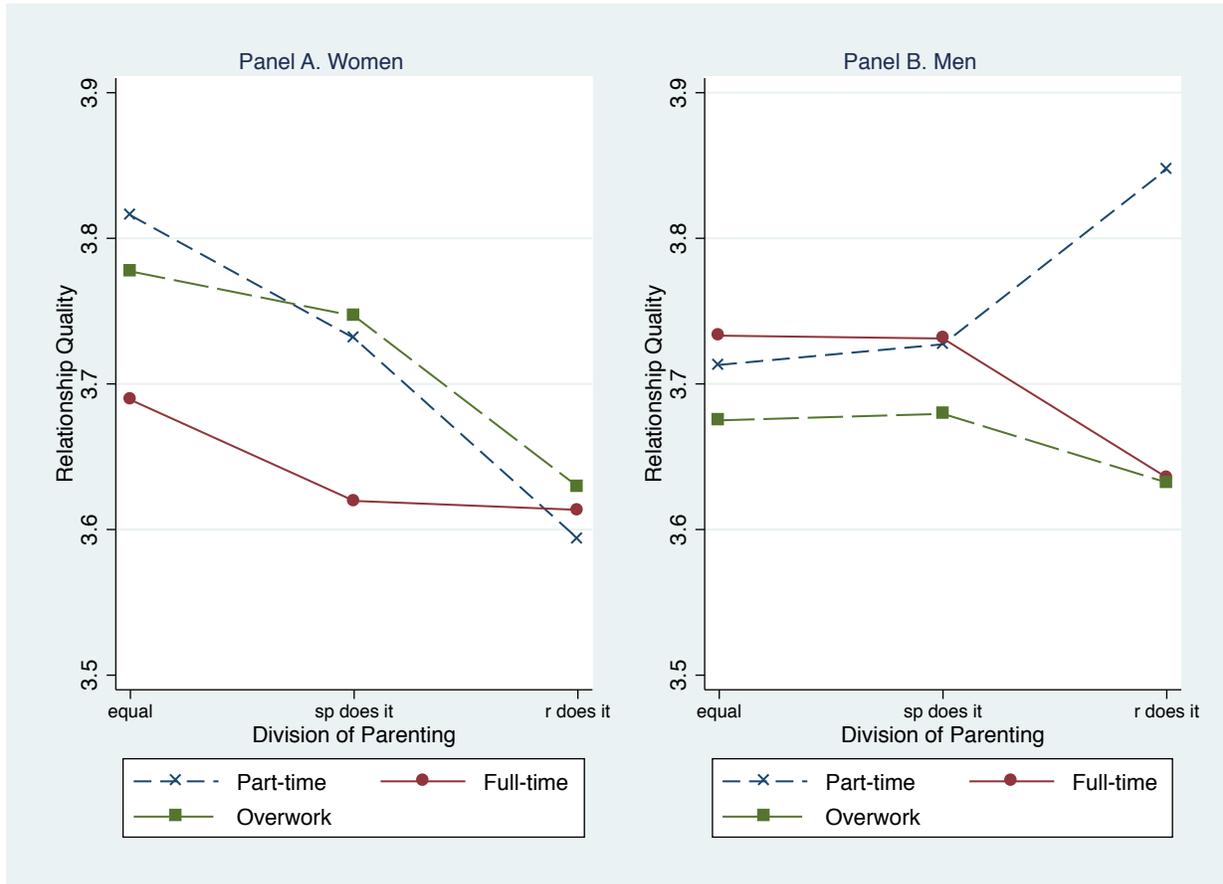
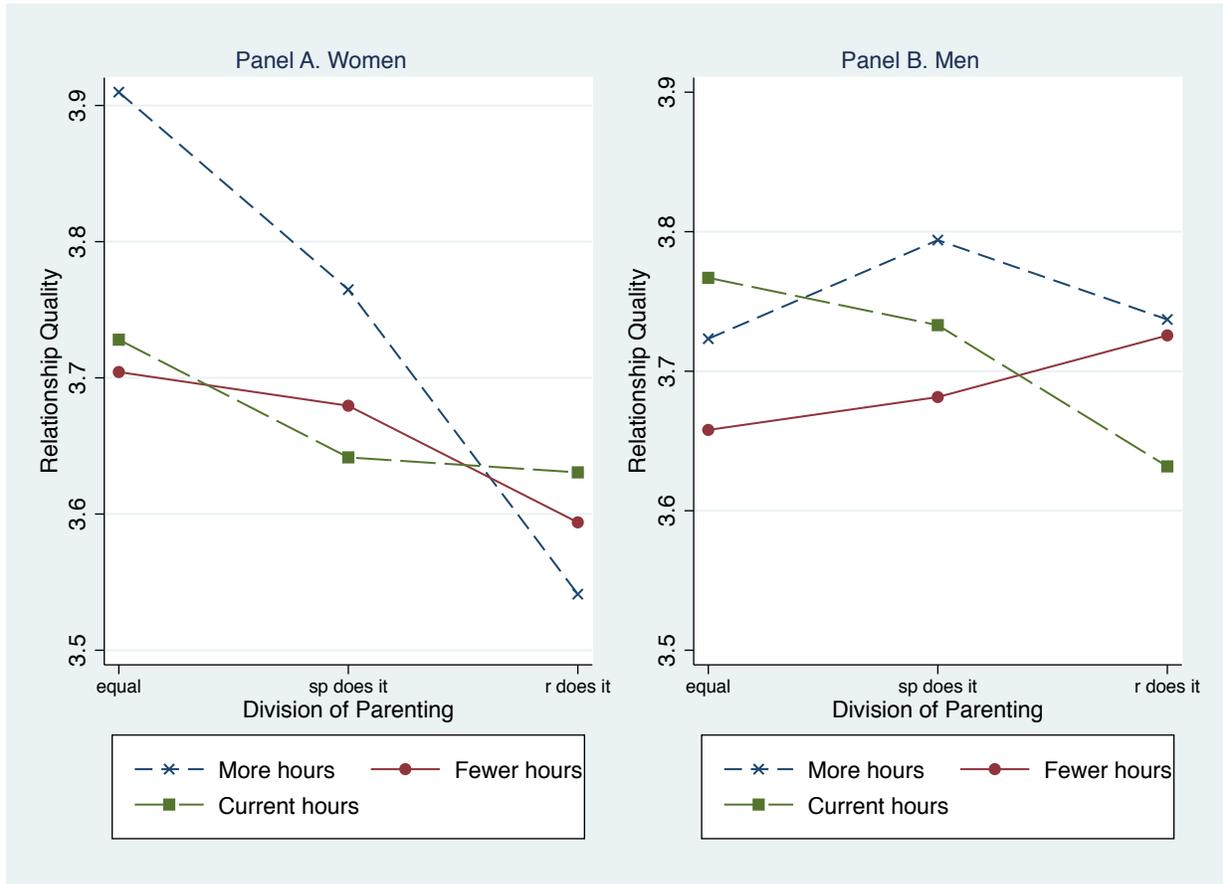


FIGURE 3. The Association between Parenting Inequality and Relationship Quality by Work Hour Preference and Gender



Compliance with Ethical Standards: Author A declares that he/she has no conflict of interest. Author B declares that he/she has no conflict of interest. Author C declares that he/she has no conflict of interest. All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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