



PAPERS DE DEMOGRAFIA
457



2017

GARCÍA-ROMÁN, Joan (2017) "The division of gender roles in female breadwinner couples in the United States and Spain". *Papers de Demografia*, 457: 1-23. Bellaterra: Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics.

Resum.- *La divisió del rols de gènere en les parelles de dona proveïdora a Estats Units i a Espanya*

Les famílies de “dona proveïdora” (FBw de l’anglès “Female Breadwinner”) no són habituals i representen una situació atípica pel que fa als rols de gènere a la llar. Però, a partir del període de recessió de 2007 s’ha observat un increment en la proporció de parelles FBw, especialment a Espanya. L’objectiu d’aquest article és estudiar parelles FBw i la seva divisió de rols de gènere, a dos països amb diferents règims de benestar, normes culturals i socials, i actituds de gènere: els Estats Units i Espanya. Per analitzar la divisió de rols, s’utilitzen dades sobre l’assignació de temps de les parelles. Els resultats revelen que les parelles FBw han canviat significativament a Espanya, mentre que les seves característiques han estat més estables als EUA. Pel que fa a l’assignació del temps de les parelles, hi ha una modificació en la diferència de gènere en temps dedicat a treball domèstic als Estats Units on els homes hi dediquen més temps. A Espanya no s’observa aquest canvi, i les dones encara fan més tasques domèstiques, fins i tot quan són l’únic membre ocupat de la parella.

Paraules clau: Dona proveïdora; Rols de gènere; Ús del temps .

Resumen.- *La división de los roles de género en las parejas de mujer proveedora en Estados Unidos y España*

Las familias de “mujer proveedora” (FBW del inglés “Female Breadwinner”) son inusuales y representan una asignación atípica de roles de género en el hogar. A partir del período de recesión de 2007, se ha observado un incremento en la proporción de parejas FBW, especialmente en España. El objetivo de este artículo es estudiar parejas FBW y su división de roles de género en dos países con diferentes regímenes de bienestar, normas culturales y sociales y actitudes de género: Estados Unidos y España. Para analizar la división de roles, utilizo datos sobre la asignación de tiempo de las parejas. Los resultados revelan que las parejas FBW han cambiado significativamente en España, mientras que sus características han sido más estables en EEUU. Con respecto a la asignación del tiempo de las parejas, en Estados Unidos se observa una reversión en la diferencia de género en tiempo dedicado a trabajo doméstico, donde los hombres dedican más tiempo. En España, no hay ninguna reversión, y las mujeres todavía dedican más tiempo a tareas domésticas, incluso cuando son el único miembro ocupado de la pareja.

Palabras clave: Mujer proveedora; Roles de género; Uso del tiempo.

Abstract.- *The division of gender roles in female breadwinner couples in the United States and Spain*

Female breadwinner (FBw) families are unusual and represent an atypical allocation of roles in the household. Beginning with the recession period in 2007, an incremental increase in the proportion of FBw couples has been observed, especially in Spain. The aim of this paper is to study FBw couples and their division of gender roles in two countries with different welfare regimes, cultural and social norms and gender attitudes: the US and Spain. To analyze the division of roles, I use data regarding couples’ allocation of time. Results reveal that FBw couples have changed significantly in Spain, whereas their characteristics have been more stable in the US. Regarding couples’ allocation of time, there is a reversal in the gender gap in the US in terms of time spent in housework with men doing more. In Spain, there is no reversal, and women still do more housework even when they are the only employed member of a couple.

Key words: Female breadwinner; Gender roles; Time use.

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THE DIVISION OF GENDER ROLES IN FEMALE BREADWINNER COUPLES IN THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN¹

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1.- Background

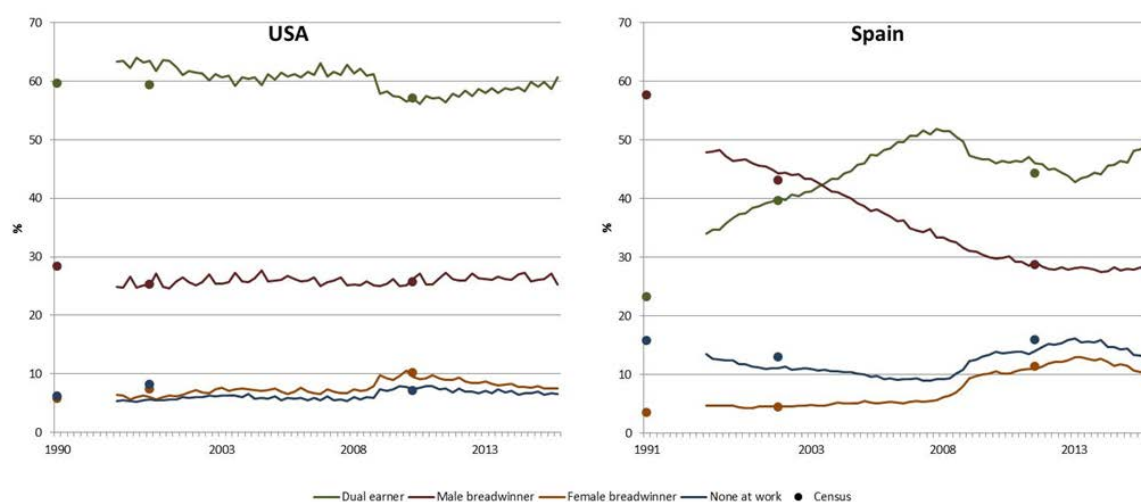
The massive incorporation of women into the labor market is one of the major changes that has occurred in Western societies in recent decades (Bianchi et al, 2000; Goldin, 2006). This change marks a dramatic alteration in the traditional division of tasks in the household that gave the role of the main breadwinner to the man and the role of managing domestic and caring activities to the woman (Becker, 1981, Esping Andersen, 2009). Women have gained status and greater access to higher education, thus the opportunity cost to remain home and not enter the labor market has increased considerably (Raley et al 2006; Vitali and Mendola, 2014). Couples in which both members are employed have become predominant, and male breadwinner couples have decreased. Female breadwinner (FBw) couples in which the woman is the main breadwinner have also increased, especially with the beginning of the economic recession. FBw families are unusual because they represent an atypical allocation of roles in the household that is especially important when the only person employed in the couple is the woman (Vitali and Arpino, 2016; Chesley 2011; Kramer et al 2015).

Changes in female labor market participation have not occurred simultaneously in all places. Figure 1 shows the evolution of each type of couple according to employment status in the US and in Spain. At the beginning of the 1990s, dual-earner couples were already the majority in the US, whereas they represented less than one-quarter of the couples in Spain, where the male breadwinner model was still predominant. The US graph

¹ This work forms part of the R & D project "Family strategies and demographic responses to the economic recession" (CSO2015-64713-R) co-directed by Albert Esteve and Iñaki Permanyer and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. Joan García-Román also receives funding under the "Juan de la Cierva-Incorporación" program (IJCI-2015-23382), financed by the same Ministry. Financial support was also received from the Catalan Government under the CERCA Program.

shows a more stable pattern with approximately 60% dual-earner couples and approximately 25% male breadwinner couples. Different trends are observed for Spain, which experienced the continued growth of dual-earner couples until the year 2007 when dual-earner couples exceeded 50% and the proportion of families with male breadwinner arrangements decreased. In Spain, the massive entry of women into the labor market occurred later than in other countries, and the traditional allocation of roles in families lasted longer (Alberdi, 1999).

Figure 1.- Evolution of couples by employment status. Heterosexual couples with both members between 15 and 64



Source: Current Population Survey (Flood et al. 2015 cps.ipums.org), Encuesta de Poblacion Activa (INE www.ine.es) and Population Census (Minnesota Population Center 2015 international.ipums.org).

Beginning with the recession period in 2007, an incremental increase in the proportion of FBw couples has been observed, especially in Spain. In the early years of the recession, the financial crisis had a greater impact on more male-oriented jobs such as industry and construction, which led to a significant proportion of families with a woman as the only person employed in the household (Vitali and Mendola, 2014; Harkness, 2013). The US experienced a much smaller increase in FBw couples.

The aim of this paper is to study FBw couples and their division of gender roles in two countries with different welfare regimes, cultural and social norms and gender attitudes: the US and Spain. I will also compare the situation at two different points in time for each country. The first comparison will be in the year 2003, when the economy was expanding, and the other will be in the year 2010, when the economy was in recession. To measure the

division of roles, I use the allocation of time of the members of the couple. I define FBw couples based on the employment status of both members of the couples. I consider a couple as a FBw when the woman is employed and the man is not.

The paper explores FBw couples and their differences from other types of couples in different dimensions. First, I study sociodemographic characteristics and time allocation differences between FBw couples and other types of couples. Second, I analyze differences between FBw couples in the two countries of interest. The last comparison explores change over time, taking into account that there is both an evolution in gender equality and alterations in labor market conditions.

2.- Female breadwinner couples

Characteristics of FBw couples depend on the couple's reason for moving to this type of arrangement. Economic and labor market constraints and egalitarian gender attitudes are the main factors in explaining why a family becomes a FBw one (Vitali and Arpino, 2016). Male unemployment is a major reason explaining why the woman becomes the main earner in the household (Vitali and Arpino, 2016; Klesment and Van Bavel, 2017). Using data from the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA), Drago et al (2005) develop three types of FBw families: temporary, persistent due to economic factors and persistent with a purposeful gender equity strategy. They found divergences between the temporary and persistent types on demographics, socio-economic status, labor market and family commitment. Temporary FBw families are younger, and the woman has a lower level of education, while the man has a higher level; thus, they are generally more hypergamous couples. They are also less likely to have young children, but they rear more children. Mothers tend to spend more time with children, while fathers spend more weekly hours at work. Among persistent FBw families, the men in the gender equity families are more educated, and women have a stronger presence in the labor market because they are more likely to work full time and longer hours and to be employed in managing occupations.

Using data from the US, Kramer et al (2015) found that compared to male breadwinner and dual-earner couples, mothers in FBw families (or in their terms, families with stay-at-home fathers) have a significantly higher level of education than their partners, are older and have older children. They distinguish between two types of FBw couples according to the

main activity of the husband: caregiving and unable to work. The former type is more similar to the traditional male breadwinner family, especially regarding income. That type of family has increased in recent decades, and its income has increased, becoming much closer to that of families in which only the husband works. Caregiving couples are younger than unable to work couples, but the age gap is smaller. Kramer et al conclude that FBw couples are the result of a deliberate choice made by spouses to have fathers assume a caregiving role while mothers pursue employment outside the home.

Also in the US, Chesley (2011) found that men in FBw families tend to have less education than their partners than in other family arrangements. Becoming FBw couple can lead to a more egalitarian gender arrangement, especially regarding childcare. Chesley and Flood (2013) also found that FBw couples are the most equal in terms of childcare mainly because fathers spend more time on this type of activity (it is often a key factor in adopting this kind of arrangement), but they are the least equal regarding time spent in housework. The authors concluded that gender attitudes are stronger than employment conditions even in couples with a very unequal allocation of time.

3.- Gender-based inequalities in time allocation

Although the gender gap in housework has narrowed substantially in the recent decades, it is still wide: women spend a much larger amount of time on household duties (Bianchi et al 2006). Research scientists have developed different theories to explain the allocation of time between a couple. The most relevant factors are relative resources, time availability, and gender (Coltrane 2000, Bianchi et al 2000, Greenstein, 2000), all of which are based on the premise that housework is not desirable and individuals try to avoid it (Greenstein, 2000).

From the relative resources perspective, the amount of housework performed by each member of a couple depends on their opportunity costs, and the member with more resources will have more power in the negotiation of roles. This will place a higher burden of unpaid work on the member with fewer resources (Bernhardt et al. 2008). The increase in the level of women's education gives them the possibility of also increasing their income and their power in the negotiation of roles with their partner (Raley et al 2006; Esteve et al 2012; Van Bavel, 2012; Klesment and Van Bavel, 2017). The amount of domestic work

performed by the woman decreases with her level of relative earnings in the couple, while the contribution of the man increases (Sevilla-Sanz et al 2010; Bianchi et al 2006).

The time availability perspective argues that time spent on housework depends on the time spent in the labor market, and the member of the couple who spends less time doing paid work will perform more housework (South and Spitze, 1994). There is a specialization inside the couple in which one member does the paid work and the other does the unpaid work (Becker, 1981). In general, the man specializes in the former and the woman in the latter.

The gender perspective considers housework to be a symbolic field in which men and women perform according to what is expected according to their gender identity (West and Zimmermann, 1987). Gender norms regarding breadwinning have not changed as quickly as the changes observed in women's education and labor force participation (Raley et al 2006). Although the gender gap in housework has decreased in recent decades, it still persists even in couples where the woman's educational and earning advantages have reversed (Bianchi et al 2006)

According to the first two theories, FBw families should be more egalitarian in terms of the allocation of housework. However, these families are far from being completely egalitarian, which suggests that the gender perspective theory has a considerable effect on the allocation of time. In this sense, Brines (1994) introduced the concept of the economic dependency model and suggested that wives do more housework because they are more likely to be economically dependent on their husbands. She proposed that the relationship between the amount of housework and earnings differs between men and women. For women, the relationship is negative, whereas there is a curvilinear relationship for men. When the earnings of both members of the couple are more similar, men do a larger share of the housework. According to this theory, when the traditional male breadwinner model is violated, there is a gender deviance neutralization effect, and husbands who are more dependent in terms of earnings attempt to reinforce their gender expectation by doing less housework (Bittman et al 2003; Sullivan and Gershuny, 2016).

4.- National context in the US and Spain

The United States and Spain are countries with different social, cultural and welfare policies and they present important differences regarding female labor force participation. The United States is classified as a liberal welfare state and is characterized by limited

involvement of the state in the provision of services (Esping-Andersen 1990; Anxo et al 2011). Spain is classified with other Mediterranean countries as familialist with a strong presence of the extended family in the provision of welfare (Arts and Gelissen 2002).

The general structure of the labor market is considerably different in both countries. In the US, the labor market is characterized by a low level of employment protection as well as much lower unemployment than Spain (Brinton et al 2017). The Spanish economy suffers from a high level of insecurity that is reflected in a high unemployment rate of 22.1%, the second highest in the European Union only below Greece (Eurostat, 2016).

Regarding the participation of women in paid work, both countries have followed different trends in the massive incorporation of women into the labor market. In both countries, women have always participated in paid work activities, but their work was considered 'secondary' or for small expenses. It was also very common for women to exit the paid work market after marriage in order to take care of family responsibilities (Ruggles, 2015; Esping Andersen 2009; Goldin, 2006, Hakim, 1996; Solsona, 1991). In the US, the massive incorporation of women into the paid work market occurred much earlier than in Spain, where traditional female labor force participation did not pass 50% until the beginning of the current century (Worldbank, 2017). Trends observed in the US regarding the generalization of dual earner couples occurred in Spain with some decades of delay (Esping Andersen, 2009). Nevertheless, the dual-earner model has become the preferred and most common work arrangement among Spanish couples since the beginning of the century (Dema, 2005). The increase in dual earner couples ended with the economic recession, which has had a stronger effect on male employment than female. The recession also produced a growing number of women who became the sole breadwinner in their household (Bueno and Vidal, 2017).

There have been different trends in terms of the attitudes regarding female work participation, especially regarding married women. In that sense, attitudes towards married women's work shifted dramatically during the 1970s in the US (Ruggles, 2015). By contrast, Spanish society was characterized by traditional gender roles until the end of the century. However, Spanish society has experienced significant modernization in recent decades, and women have increased their role in the public sphere, gaining general to high education, paid work and access to politics (Arpino et al 2015; González 2001, Dema 2005, Domínguez and Castro, 2008). Changes that occurred in Spain in recent decades have brought it closer in terms of gender role norms to the US than more traditional countries such as Japan, a fact that is especially relevant among more highly educated women (Brinton et al, 2017).

Despite the important changes that have occurred, traditional norms seems to be more established than in other countries, and the role of women, especially mothers, as the main caregivers remains strong (Esping Andersen, 2009; Sevilla-Sanz, 2010; Dema 2005; García Román and Cortina, 2016).

5.- Hypotheses

H1: FBw couples have a more egalitarian division of gender roles

My first hypothesis assumes that FBw families will have a more egalitarian division of roles and a more symmetrical allocation of time. According to the time availability and bargain theories, if the woman is the only member of the couple engaged in paid work, she should have less time to perform housework duties as well as more power to avoid those duties. However, it is not clear whether the gender gap in housework has reversed or still persists.

H2: FBw couples are more egalitarian in the US than in Spain

Regarding differences between countries, FBw couples are a phenomenon that is very new in Spain. Moreover, gender roles relating to what is expected from men and women, including the role of mothers as the main caregivers who are responsible for unpaid work, are more established in Spanish society (Sevilla Sanz, 2010). In this sense, I expect the expression of traditional gender roles to be stronger in Spain than in the US and inequalities in time allocation for FBw couples to be higher in Spain.

H3: FBw couples are more egalitarian in 2010 than in 2003

Regarding differences in trends over time, several aspects are simultaneously working in opposite directions. One aspect is reflected in recent studies arguing that gender displays are not as strong as they used to be (England, 2010; Kramer et al. 2015). The increase in women's roles in the public sphere in most Western societies and female empowerment has led to more egalitarian couples (McDonald, 2013). Women have also surpassed their partners in education achievement and have increased their labor force participation, giving them more bargain power in the negotiations of roles inside the household (Esteve et al 2012; Coltrane, 2000; Blau, 1998; Becker, 1991). From another aspect, the economic

conditions of the two moments of observation are very different and labor market constraints are considered an important determinant for moving to a FBw arrangement (Vitali and Arpino, 2016, Chesley, 2011).

6.- Data and Methods

Data

Data have been obtained from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) and the Spanish Time Use Survey (STUS). Both surveys gather information by means of a diary in which the respondents report all their activities during a 24-hour period. In addition to the diary of activities, the respondents also report sociodemographic information about themselves and their households. Although the modes of collection and some information differ slightly, the surveys are comparable.

The ATUS is an ongoing time-diary study funded by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics and fielded by the US Census Bureau. The sample comprises a subset of households that previously participated in the Current Population Survey (CPS). The CPS is a monthly household survey of the civilian, non-institutionalized population in the US. One member 15 years of age or older from each selected household is randomly designated to complete a time-use diary; the participant reports all activities performed over a 24-hour cycle from 4am one day to 4am the next day. The sample has been obtained from the American Time Use Survey Extract Builder-ATUSX (Hofferth et al 2013), which provides harmonized data for the different years of data collection. Although the survey is conducted yearly, I use data only from the 2003 and 2010 surveys, years that match the Spanish survey. The sample size was 20,720 respondents for 2003 and 13,260 for 2010.

The STUS was conducted by the Spanish Statistical Institute (INE) following the guidelines of EUROSTAT. Thus far, there have been 2 editions of the survey: one from October 2002 to September 2003 and another from October 2009 to September 2010. For comparability with the ATUS, I call these years 2003 and 2010. I use the data provided by the INE's webpage (www.ine.es). The sample comprises a selection of residents living in private households. For each household in the sample, all members 10 years of age and older filled out a diary of activities from 6am one day to 6am the next day. The 2003 sample was composed of 46,774 persons living in 20,603 households. The 2010 sample was composed of 25,895 persons living in 9541 households.

Measures

The study is restricted to members of the population between 15 and 64 years old living with a different sex partner who is also in the same age range. The sample size and the main characteristics of the couples are described in table 1. The number of cases for the sex of the respondent is the same in the Spanish samples and different in the samples for the US because in the ATUS, time-use information is available for only one member of the couple, whereas in the Spanish data, there is information for both members. However, I consider information for each member of the couple independently.

Table 1.- Sample description

	USA		Spain	
	2003	2010	2003	2010
N	9,783	5,592	18,970	8,364
Sex of respondent				
Male	47.3%	47.9%	50.0%	50.0%
Female	52.7%	52.1%	50.0%	50.0%
Age (Mean)				
Male	43.3	43.9	45.8	46.2
Female	41.1	41.2	43.2	43.9
Type of union				
Cohabitator	6.2%	5.9%	5.6%	9.9%
Married	93.8%	94.1%	94.4%	90.1%
Children under 18 in the household				
No	34.8%	28.7%	44.1%	44.2%
Yes	65.2%	71.3%	55.9%	55.8%
Education				
Homogamy	70.1%	71.4%	56.7%	56.6%
Hypergamy	15.0%	12.5%	23.6%	20.4%
Hypogamy	14.9%	16.1%	19.6%	23.0%
Type of employment				
Dual-earner couple	61.3%	58.0%	38.5%	46.7%
Male breadwinner couple	26.7%	26.7%	43.2%	30.1%
Female breadwinner couple	7.5%	9.3%	5.3%	9.4%
None employed	4.5%	6.0%	13.0%	13.8%
Day of the week				
Weekday	49.1%	50.1%	66.3%	61.5%
Weekend	50.9%	49.9%	33.7%	38.5%

Source: Own calculation from American Time Use Survey (Hofferth et al 2015 www.atusdata.org), and Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2002-2003 and 2009-2010 (www.ine.es).

The characteristics of the couples are analyzed using the collected sociodemographic information in conjunction with the diary. The characteristics correspond to categories that previous literature considers most relevant in explaining the differences in the time use of couples.

Type of couple according to employment status considers which member of the couple is employed; this variable is created using the employment status provided in the questionnaire. Employed individuals can work full or part time, while individuals who are not employed can be unemployed or out of the labor force. This variable defines a FBw couple in the study as a couple in which only the woman is employed. It differs slightly from some studies about FBw families conducted recently (Vitali and Arpino, 2016; Klesment and Van Bavel 2017). These studies categorize families according to the relative earnings of each member of the couple. In my case, although the income of each respondent in the survey is collected by the questionnaire, there is a high proportion of missing values for the second Spanish observation.

Couples in which the woman has a higher level of education have a more egalitarian allocation of time. More highly educated men contributed more to housework duties, while women with the same education usually do less housework (Blau, 1998; Bianchi et al 2006). Education is also correlated with higher income that in some cases, allows to externalize domestic service and reduce the total housework (Gupta, 2007; González and Jurado, 2009). Type of couple according to the level of members' education is calculated based on the educational attainment reported for each member of the couple, and this variable is aggregated into 4 categories: less than primary, primary, secondary or university. Based on these 4 categories, homogamous couples are those in which the man and the woman have the same level of education, hypergamous couples are those in which the man has a higher level of education, and hypergamous couples are those in which the woman has a higher level of education.

The age of the respondent is included because younger generations are supposed to be more egalitarian (Sayer, 2005). We categorize the variable into 3 groups: 15-34, 35-49 and 50-64. However, the more egalitarian behavior detected in younger cohorts is sometimes explained by their moment of the life cycle, mainly because most of them do not have children yet (Ajenjo y García Román, 2011). In that sense, the presence of children in the household supposes a dramatic change in the role distribution of the couple (Bianchi et al 2000; Sayer, 2005; Dribe and Stanfors, 2009). While childless couples have traditionally had a more symmetrical allocation of time, the presence of children is a trigger that increases

the gender gap in housework. The presence of children increases the total amount of housework, which more often goes to women (Anxo et al 2011; Craig 2007). We have categorized the variables according to the age of the youngest household child. No children, 0-3, 4-9, 10-17 and 18 and older.

Cohabitators are considered more egalitarian than married couples who have more traditional attitudes. This difference is reflected in a more unequal division of roles and a more symmetrical allocation of time (Baxter, 2005; Domínguez and Castro, 2008).

The inclusion of the day of the week (weekday or weekend) is a control for the different rhythm and allocation of time during weekdays (more commonly a work day and more constraints) and weekend (more likely free time and less constraints).

I also compute a summary measure of time spent in 10 types of activities. The total of all the activities for each person is 1440 minutes (24 hours). The categories are as follows:

- Housework: all type of domestic work and activities related to maintaining the household
- Paid work: work as a part of a job
- Leisure: social activities, sports and exercise, religious activities, volunteering
- Personal care: sleeping, grooming, providing self-care
- Care for others: caring for and helping other household and non-household members
- Meals: eating and drinking
- Purchase: all purchases and rentals of consumer goods
- Study: educational activities
- Travel: trips, commuting
- Others

Methodology

In the descriptive part of the study, I first analyze the sociodemographic characteristics of FBw couples in the two countries and at two time points under study. Second, I explore differences in the allocation of time between men and women in FBw couples, and I compare those differences with the overall population living with a partner. Although I compute the differences in all the selected activities in the first stage, I focus my analysis on the activities in which the gender gap between men and women is higher. The gender gap between women and men in each activity is the difference between the average time spent

by women and by men. Positive gender gaps mean that the average for women is higher than for men, and the opposite is the case for negative values.

In the multivariate part, I compute OLS models with interactions to estimate the time spent on the activities in which the gender gap is more significant. The main explanatory variable in that case will be the gender of the respondent, but I also include the interaction effect between gender and country. In the description of the results, I explain why I do not include other interactions such as gender and year or gender and type of couples according to the employment status. The other variables considered in table 1 are used as control variables in the models. Consequently, I expect to obtain predicted means for men and women with respect to the selected activities for each country and type of couple. The difference between these predicted means (women-men) will provide a predicted gender gap for each activity.

7.- Characteristics of the female breadwinner model in the US and Spain

Table 2 shows the estimates for the main characteristics for all the couples and FBw couples in the US and Spain at the two moments of observation. The estimates reveal that FBw couples have changed significantly in Spain over the 7-year period of observation, whereas the characteristics have been more stable in the US. The US has not experienced any significant change in the characteristics of FBw couples (there are not any b in the column Test country/year). However, the proportion of FBw couples increased considerably in Spain, and this produced variations in their characteristics.

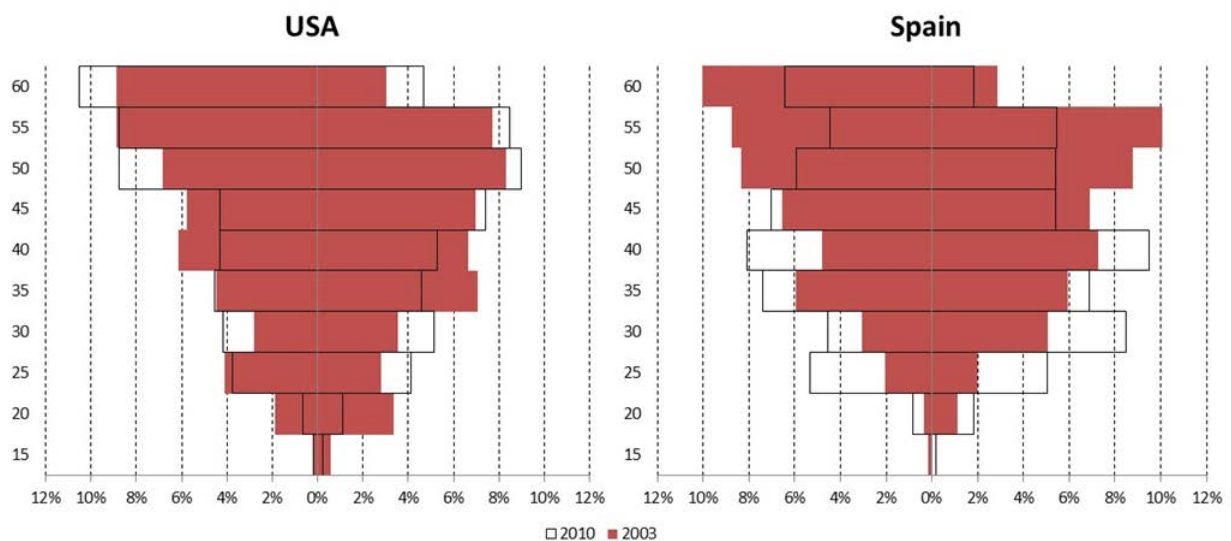
As a result of the economic recession and the increase in male unemployment, FBw couples have become younger. The population pyramid represented in figure 2 also reveals the point at which there is a clear rejuvenation. In 2003, a high proportion of the population was on the top of the pyramid because men were retired and their partners were not. In 2010, there was a higher proportion of the population whose age was below 45. As a result, the age difference between FBw couples and all couples, which was significantly different in the first moment of observation, is not significant in 2010. For the US, we observe the opposite as the proportion of men above 50 increases, although in this case, the difference between the 2 moments of observation is not significant ($p=0.05$).

Table 2.- Main characteristics of all couples and female breadwinner couples in the US and Spain, 2003 and 2010

	US				Spain				Test Country/year				
	2003		2010		2003		2010						
	All	FBw	All	FBw	All	FBw	All	FBw					
% All couples		7.8%		10.3%		5.0%		10.7%					
Age (Mean)													
Male	43.1	a	46.2	44.6	a	48.3	44.6	a	49	44.7	44.2	c e	
Female	41.2	a	44.5	42.2	a	45.8	42.2	a	46	42.2	41.3	c e	
Type of union													
Cohabitor	7.7%	a	13.3%	7.7%		8.7%	7.1%		7.2%	12.1%	16.7%	c d e	
Married	92.3%	a	86.7%	92.3%		91.3%	92.9%		92.8%	87.9%	83.3%	c d e	
Children under 18 in the household													
No	43.1%	a	53.9%	44.6%	a	54.5%	45.0%	a	59.2%	41.4%	a	48.6%	c
Yes	56.9%	a	46.1%	55.4%	a	42.5%	55.0%	a	40.8%	58.6%	a	51.4%	c
Education													
Homogamy	70.3%		66.5%	71.5%		70.4%	56.2%	a	61.7%	56.4%		54.8%	e
Hypergamy	14.9%	a	11.1%	12.9%		11.7%	23.3%	a	16.7%	19.7%	a	14.7%	d
Hypogamy	14.8%	a	22.4%	15.7%		17.9%	20.5%		21.6%	23.9%	a	30.4%	c e

Source: Own calculation from American Time Use Survey (Hofferth et al 2015 www.atudata.org), and Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2002-2003 and 2009-2010 (www.ine.es).

- a: significant differences between all couples and FBw for the year and country $p=0.05$
- b: for FBw couples in the US, significant differences between 2003 and 2010 $p=0.05$
- c: for FBw couples in Spain, significant differences between 2003 and 2010 $p=0.05$
- d: for Fbw couples in 2003, significant differences between the US and Spain $p=0.05$
- e: for Fbw couples in 2010, significant differences between the US and Spain $p=0.05$

Figure 2.- Population pyramids of female breadwinner couples in the US and Spain, 2003 and 2010


Source: Own calculation from American Time Use Survey (Hofferth et al 2015 www.atudata.org), and Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2002-2003 and 2009-2010 (www.ine.es).

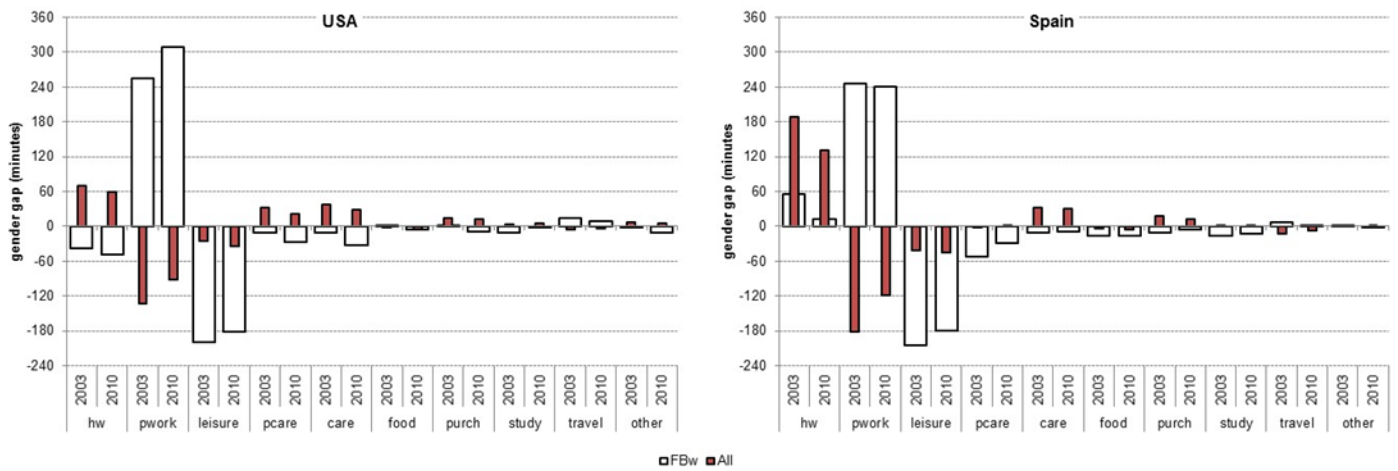
Another important change in the Spanish FBw couples' characteristics is the increase in the number of couples cohabitating and in the number of couples with children. The proportion of FBw couples who cohabit have dramatically changed from 7.2% in 2003 to 16.7% in 2010. Again, we observed the opposite for the US where FBw couples were more often married in the second moment of observation. In this case, the changes have supposed that the prevalence of cohabitation is not significantly different from the overall sample of couples. Regarding the presence of children in the household, FBw couples show a higher proportion of children in the household than couples overall in both countries and moments of observation. The observed changes over time are a consequence of the variation in the age composition of the population. In Spain, FBw couples are more likely to have children in 2010, while in the US, there is no variation over time. In this case, I do not observe significant differences between countries.

The distribution of the couples by level of education also presents significant differences between the FBw couples and the total couples as well as differences over time for Spain. In Spain, a higher proportion of FBw couples have a higher level of education for the woman (hypogamy), and the difference has increased significantly in the period of analysis. Almost one-third of FBw couples had this type of arrangement in 2010, while in 2003, the proportion was about one out of five. By contrast, the proportion of couples in which the man had a higher level of education has decreased, as has the proportion of couples in which both members have the same level of education. In the US, the education characteristics of FBw couples have not significantly changed, and the small variation observed has converged with similar characteristics among the overall sample of couples. In that sense, the most significant difference observed between Spanish and American couples is Spain's much higher proportion of hypergamous couples and much lower proportion of homogamous couples.

8.- Allocation of time in female breadwinner couples

Figure 3 shows the gender gap between women and men in terms of time spent in different types of activities for all couples and for FBw couples in the US and Spain. In both countries, there is a reversal in the gender gap regarding paid work activities. This is logical because in FBw couples, only the woman is employed. However, in both countries, the gender gap decreased between 2003 and 2010.

Figure 3.- Gender gap (woman-man) in time spent in selected activities in the US and Spain for female breadwinner couples and other couples, 2003 and 2010



Source: Own calculation from American Time Use Survey (Hofferth et al 2015 www.atusedata.org), and Encuesta de Empleo del Tiempo 2002-2003 and 2009-2010 (www.ine.es).

The most interesting difference is observed in time spent on housework. In the US, there is a reversal in the gender gap in terms of time spent on housework. For the overall sample of couples, the gender gap is positive, and women spend approximately 1 hour more on this activity. By contrast, for the FBw couples, men spend more time on housework: approximately 50 minutes in 2010, which is an increase of 11 minutes from 2003. For Spain, there is no reversal, and women still do more housework even when they are the only employed member of the couple. The difference is lower than in the overall sample of couples, and it has decreased. In 2010, women in FBw couples in Spain spent 55 minutes more on housework than their partners, whereas in 2003, they spent 13 minutes more.

The other group of activities that shows a significant difference is leisure activities, although in this case, the pattern is the same in both countries. In both countries, women in FBw couples spend approximately 3 hours less than their partners in leisure activities, and this has decreased by approximately 20 minutes over the period of observation. The gender gap is much smaller for the overall sample of couples. In 2010, it was 45 minutes in Spain and 34 minutes in the US.

Women in FBw couples spend more time on personal care than their partners. However, the gender gap has increased in the US over the period of study, while it has decreased in Spain. There is also a reversal in the overall sample of couples because the gender gap is positive, although very small in the case of Spain.

9.- Multivariate models: The gender gap in time allocation

For the multivariate models, I focus in the activities in which we found a greater gender gap between women and men: housework, paid work, leisure and personal care. For each of these activities, I compute an ordinary least squares model using the variables revealed in the data and methodology section as independent or control variables. After testing different models and interactions between the main variables of interest (gender, type of union according to employment, country and year), I chose the models with the interaction between gender and country and gender and type of couple. The interaction between gender and year was not significant, and I chose not include it in the final model in order to simplify the interpretation. From the estimated coefficients, I computed predicted means using the STATA command margins for each gender and country for all couples and for FBw couples only. Then, I computed a predicted gender gap for each activity following the same formula used in the descriptive section: time spent by women-time spent by men. The results of the OLS models are presented in table 3 and the predicted gender gaps appear in figure 4.

The fact that the year is not significant for any of the models reflects that the changes observed in the descriptive estimates are produced by changes in the composition of groups, particularly changes in FBw couples in Spain.

Model I reveals a positive net effect of gender with women spending approximately 3 hours more doing housework. The interaction effects of gender with country (approximately 1 hour and 45 minutes less time for women in the US) and type of couples (2 hours less for women in FBw couples) are both significant and negative ($p=0.001$).

Regarding leisure time, the coefficient for net effect of gender is also significant ($p=0.001$), but in this case, it is negative; women spent less time in leisure activities. The interaction between gender and country and gender and type of family are also significant ($p=0.001$). Women in the US reduce the gender gap by approximately 15 minutes, while the reduction in the gender gap grows by approximately 3 hours in FBw couples.

For paid work activities, the net effect of gender shows more than 3 hours of time spent by men ($p=0.001$). Women in the US reduce the gap by approximately 40 minutes ($p=0.001$), and as the woman is the only employed member of the couple, women in FBw couples logically reduce the gap by more than 7 hours ($p=0.001$).

Table 3.- OLS models for time spent in selected activities

VARIABLES		Model I housework	Model II leisure	Model III work	Model IV pcare
Gender (ref=male)	female	181.968*** (1.923)	-28.742*** (2.421)	-193.934*** (3.401)	1.251 (1.760)
Country (ref=Spain)	USA	23.142*** (2.065)	4.239 (3.301)	13.036** (4.330)	-20.328*** (2.170)
Gender*Country		-104.278*** (3.311)	14.310*** (4.319)	42.483*** (5.982)	29.349*** (2.975)
Year (ref=2003)	2010	-3.312 (2.826)	-3.958 (3.795)	-3.330 (5.045)	5.323* (2.580)
Type of couple (ref=Not FBw)	Female breadwinner	82.410*** (9.543)	147.062*** (13.137)	-313.451*** (7.643)	44.800*** (9.247)
Gender*Type of couple		-121.805*** (11.232)	-179.559*** (15.284)	442.420*** (14.108)	-54.551*** (11.420)
Age (ref=15-34)	35-49	22.694*** (3.636)	-3.516 (5.113)	1.197 (6.774)	-21.739*** (3.690)
	50-64	33.255*** (4.379)	15.884* (6.422)	-28.813*** (8.451)	-22.764*** (4.514)
Age youngest child (ref=No children)	0-3	12.208** (4.089)	-59.809*** (5.735)	-43.185*** (7.756)	-17.190*** (4.076)
	4-9	11.430** (4.314)	-38.451*** (5.792)	-22.330** (7.713)	-12.275** (3.935)
	10-17	13.144** (4.302)	-21.410*** (5.613)	-4.339 (7.492)	-11.039** (3.893)
Type of union (ref=cohabitor)	married	8.348 (5.721)	-15.709+ (8.422)	3.929 (10.845)	-11.191+ (5.931)
Education (ref=homogamy)	hypergamy	-1.882 (3.659)	5.876 (5.851)	-19.289** (7.230)	6.937+ (3.704)
	hypogamy	-7.694* (3.893)	3.201 (5.649)	14.851* (7.170)	3.121 (3.556)
Day of the week (ref=weekday)	Weekend	38.276*** (2.752)	124.654*** (3.710)	-240.782*** (4.247)	62.457*** (2.508)
Constant		16.480** (6.101)	262.714*** (8.481)	413.453*** (11.343)	558.671*** (6.347)
Observations		42,709	42,709	42,709	42,709
R-squared		0.093	0.141	0.273	0.075

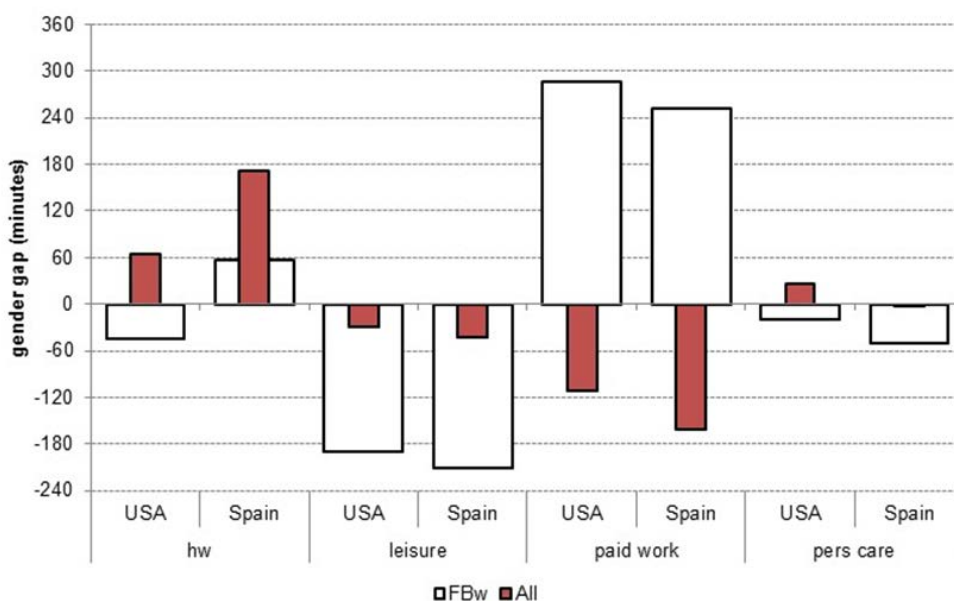
Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Finally, for personal care activities, the net effect of gender is not significant. However, the interactions are significant and represent an increase in favor of women by approximately 30 minutes in the US and an increase of approximately 50 minutes for men in FBw couples.

As we can see in figure 4, the predicted gender gaps computed by the OLS models put in context the most significant differences observed between FBw couples and the overall sample of couples in the two countries. The most interesting finding is the confirmation that there is not a reversal in the gender gap in time spent on housework by women and men in FBw couples in Spain. Although the gender gap is reduced from 3 hours in all couples to only one in FBw couples, women still do more housework. In the US, the gender gap for all couples is predicted as one hour more spent by women than men among all couples, but that reverses to 45 minutes more spent by men in FBw couples. Therefore, the difference between both types of couples is very similar in both countries (approximately 2 hours), but the gender gap predicted for Spain when all the couples are considered is much higher than in the US.

Figure 4.- Gender gap (woman-man) in time spent in selected activities in the US and Spain for female breadwinner couples and other couples. Estimates from the predictive means computed from the OLS models



The gender gap for leisure activities moves in the same direction for both countries and type of couples. Men always spend more time on leisure activities. However, the difference is much higher in FBw couples: 160 minutes in the US and 168 in Spain.

The gender gap for paid work is as expected, whereas for personal care, we observed that men spent more time (or women spent less) in FBw families with a gap 50 minutes in Spain and 20 in the US.

10.- Conclusion

Using data addressing the allocation of time among couples, I analyzed FBw families and their division of roles in two countries with different social, cultural and welfare policies as well as different labor market conditions: the United States and Spain. I compared FBw families with other types of family arrangements, and by taking advantage of the availability of data for two moments of observation, I explored possible trends in the period 2003-2010. My main results show that FBw families are more egalitarian than other families, as predicted by bargain theories on the distribution of housework. The gender gap in housework among FBw couples is lower than in other types of families, so there is a change in roles in the couples. However, the changes in roles are not of the same level in both countries. In the US, there is a reversal in the gender gap in housework, and men in FBw couples do more housework than in the overall sample of couples. In Spain, there is no reversal, and women still do more housework even if they are the only member of the couple who is employed. FBw couples have a different meaning in each country. While in the US, the proportion of FBw couples has been stable in recent decades, in Spain, FBw couples are relatively new, and a high proportion of them are a consequence of the economic recession. While before the crisis, Spanish FBw couples were mainly a retired man and a woman still in labor market, new FBw couples are much younger and are driven by the higher impact of the crisis on male-dominated jobs. The observed increase is not real, and a high proportion of FBw gain new employment. The instability and precariousness of the Spanish labor market make sustaining a family with only one salary difficult. In that context, sole breadwinner families (male or female) are not sustainable. Given the contradictory allocation of gender roles in household duties in a context where the division of paid work is unequal (only woman is employed), the future distribution of roles when these couple return to more a more symmetrical allocation of paid work does not seem very optimistic. The return to a dual earner arrangement might suppose an increase in the gender gap in household duties when the man returns to the labor market and his availability of time decreases.

The stability observed in the US and the fact that there is a real reversal in the allocation of roles in the couples indicates that the FBw arrangement is less driven by labor market constraints and is more a consequence of the negotiation of roles in the household. In this case, most of the couples will keep the FBw arrangement and the allocation of time and

gender roles in which the man (the member of the couple who is not employed) performs a higher proportion of household duties.

These results confirm my first two hypotheses: FBw couples are more egalitarian, and they are more egalitarian in the US than in Spain. Regarding the third of my hypotheses, FBw couples are becoming more egalitarian, there is not enough statistical evidence, and the possible change I observe towards a more equal allocation of roles is more a consequence of the characteristics of FBw couples than a real change in behavior. Especially in Spain, characteristics of FBw couples in 2010 are more likely to have a more egalitarian allocation of roles (more cohabitators, hypergamous, younger) than in 2003, which is the main reason for a certain reduction in the gender gap in some activities.

The findings of this paper have some limitations, specially regarding my definition of FBw couples. I defined FBw couples only based on employment status rather than according to the contribution of each member to the household income. I recognize that my definition takes a strict definition of FBw. However, defining FBw in that way allows this arrangement to be contrasted from a perspective completely opposed to the traditional division of roles in which the man was the only one employed. For future research, I would like to use a less strict definition of FBw based on income instead of labor force status. This new approach will require imputing income for a relatively high proportion of respondents in Spain.

For future research, it would also be interesting to explore the post-recession evolution of FBw families. Unfortunately, there has not been a new time use survey in Spain to explore what occurs regarding the allocation for time, though the estimates from Labour Force reveal that after 2013, dual earner couples started increasing again and FBw families have been slightly decreasing. This reinforces the idea of temporality of FBw families in Spain and the return of many them to a dual-earner arrangement after the recession. In the case of the US, the latest data available for 2015 show a continuation in the existing trends. Men in FBw couples do 82 minutes more housework, which represents an increase in the gap of 33 minutes compared to 2010. This is still far from the 3 and a half hours that have been the observed in gender gap for male breadwinner couples. In a complete reversal of roles, FBw couples should be even closer to male breadwinner families.

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