

Hausarbeit = Frauensache?

Ein Survey-Experiment zur Relevanz von Geschlechternormen

Sabine Düval & Katrin Auspurg

Lunchbag Session „Familie am Mittag“, DJI

10. Mai 2023

Kontakt: sabine.dueval@lmu.de

Weitere Infos zum Projekt:

https://www.ls4.sozиologie.uni-muenchen.de/aktuelle_forschung/haushalt

Division of housework among (heterosexual) couples in Germany

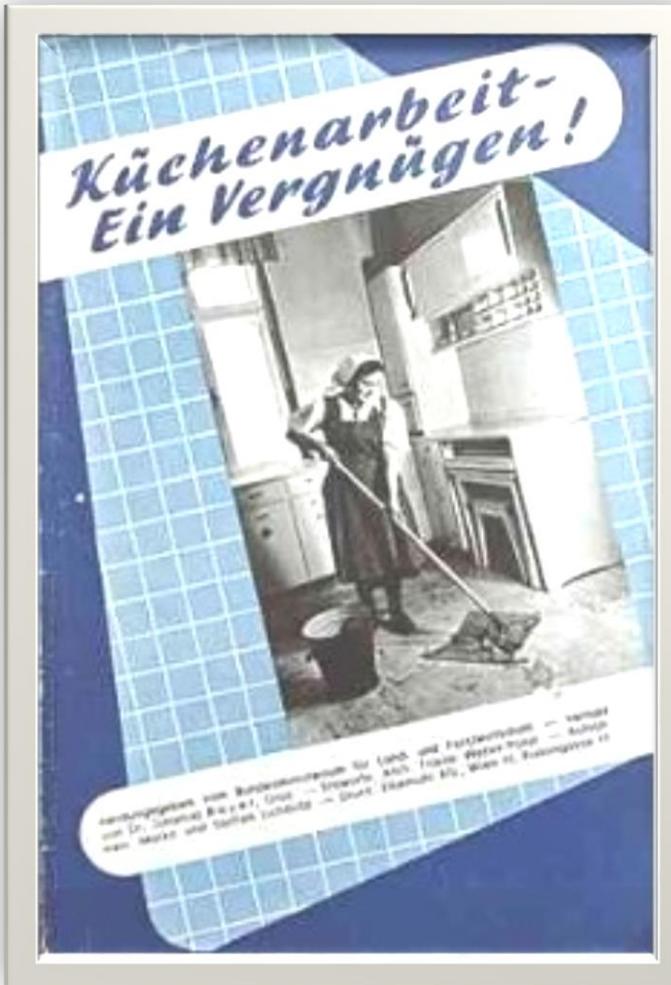


Source: ALLBUS 1982-2018. For 2012 and 2016 only split A was used. Own calculations.

Why do women take care of the housework?



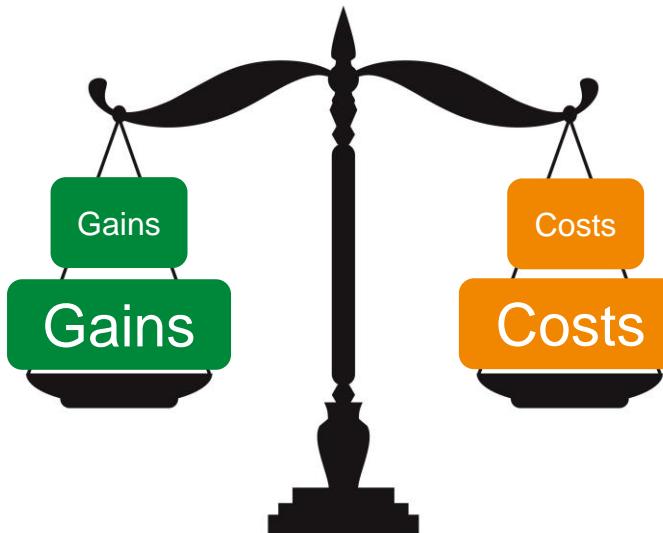
Social (gender) norms in division of paid and unpaid work



Bildquelle: <https://www.wirtschaftswundermuseum.de/frauenbild-50er-1.html>

Mechanism? Why do gender norms affect behavior?

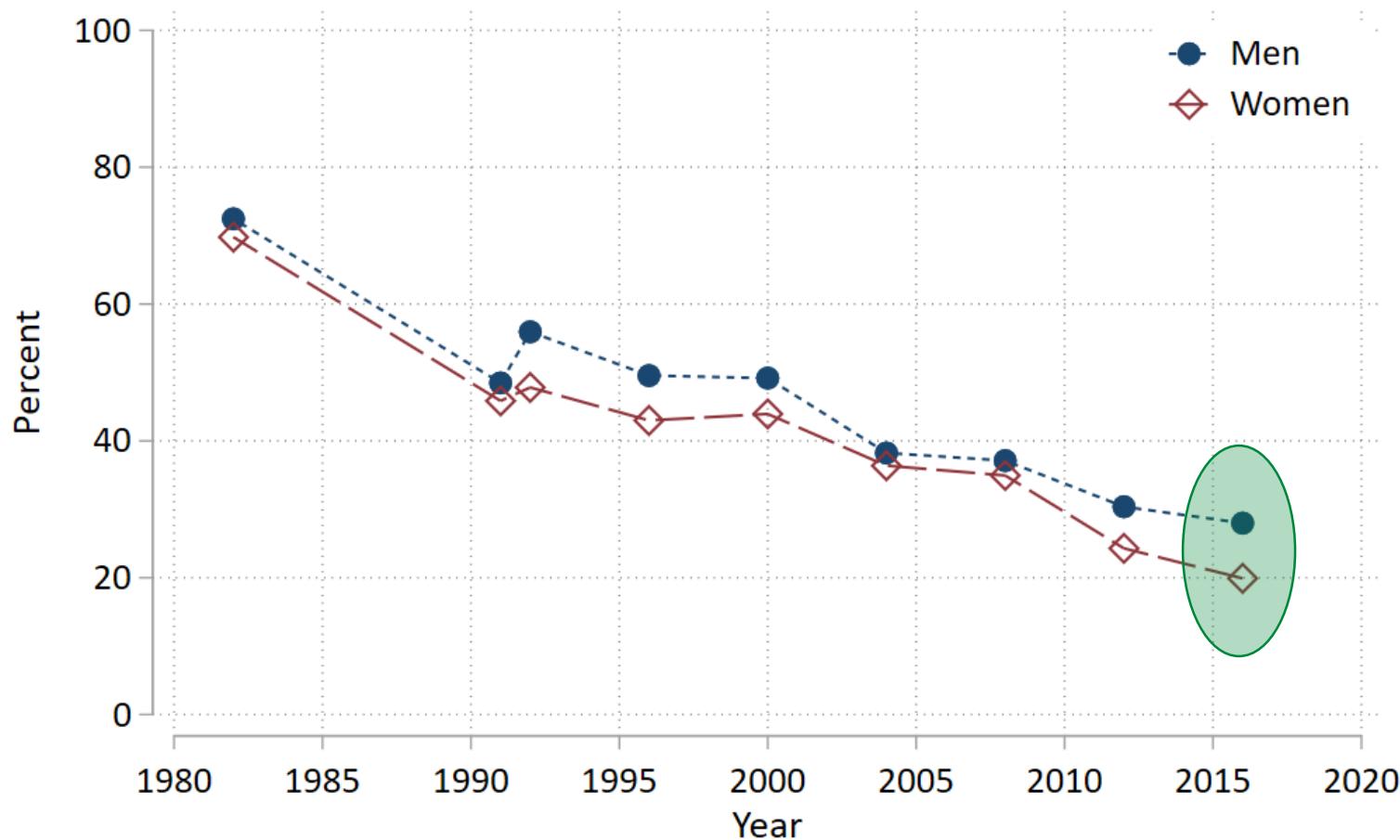
- No social sanctions / bad conscience
(e.g., Akerlof & Kranton 2000; Opp 2001)
- Efficiency, e.g., comparative advantage, avoidance of conflicts (Blood & Wolfe 1960; Thibaut & Kelley 1959)
- Intact gender identity
(Akerlof & Kranton 2000, Bittmann et al. 2003; Brines 1993, 1994; West & Zimmermann 1987)



- Loss of financial resources / bargaining power
(e.g., Blood & Wolfe 1960; Ott 1992)
- Having to do (unpleasant/non profitable) domestic work
(Blood & Wolfe 1960)

Questionable whether gains really exceed costs, especially for women

Traditional gender norms over time

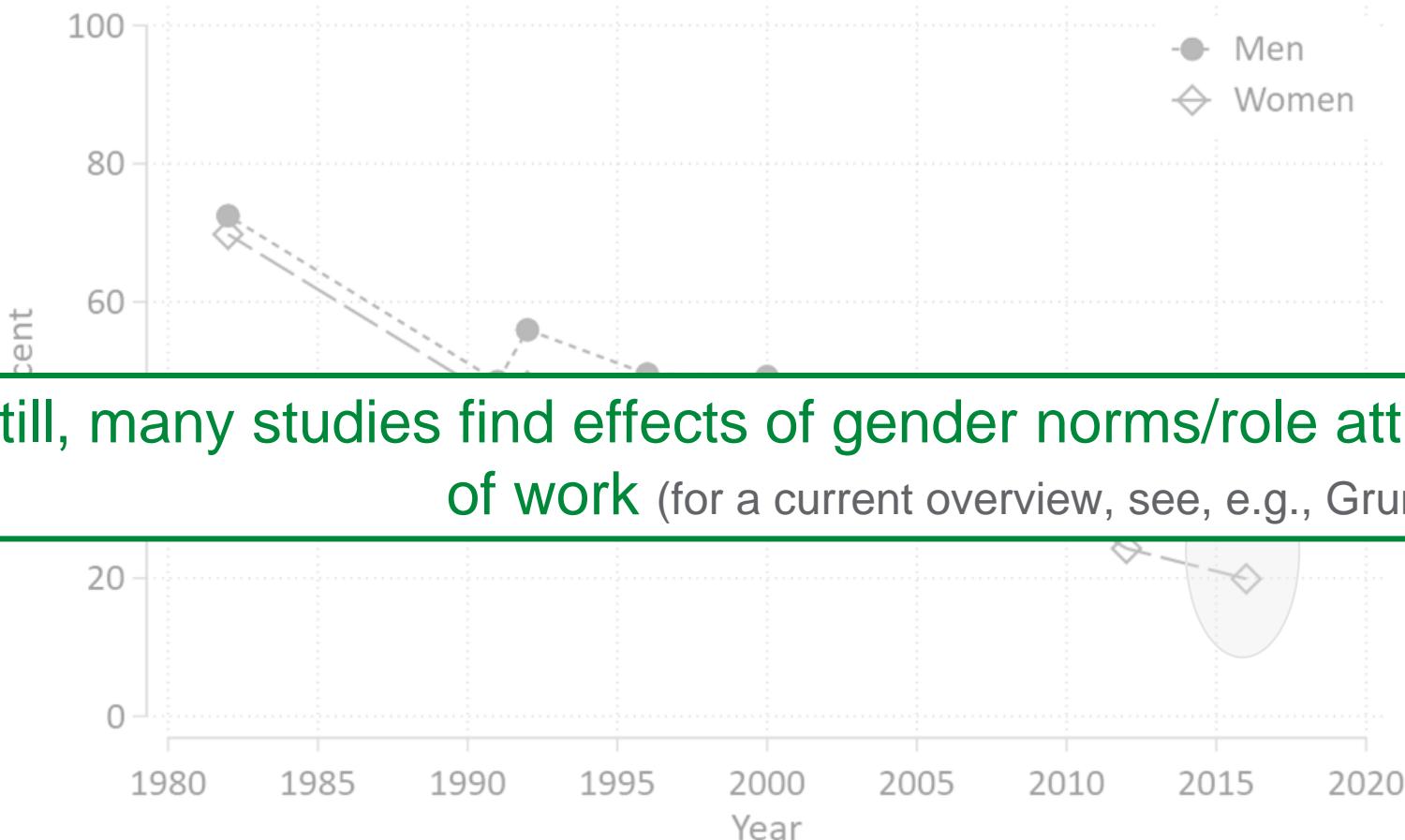


- Percentage of respondents agreeing that

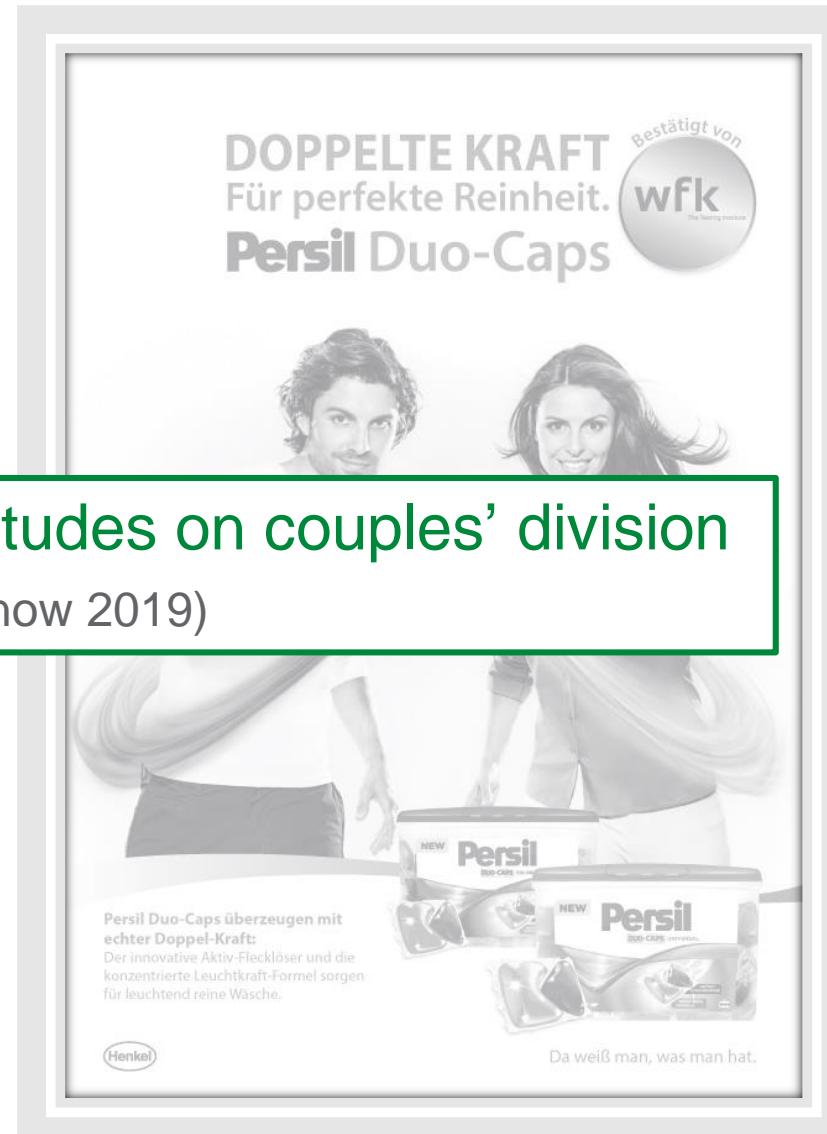
“Es ist für alle Beteiligten viel besser, wenn der Mann voll im Berufsleben steht und die Frau zu Hause bleibt und sich um den Haushalt und die Kinder kümmert.”

Source: ALLBUS 1982-2018. Weighted due to an over-representation of East German households. For 2012 and 2016 only split A was used. Own calculations.

Traditional gender norms over time



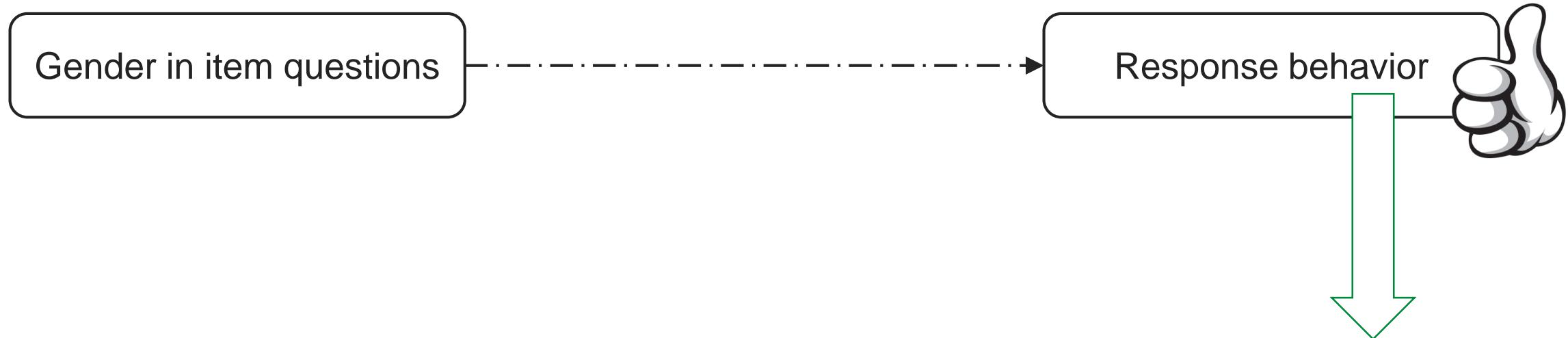
Still, many studies find effects of gender norms/role attitudes on couples' division of work (for a current overview, see, e.g., Grunow 2019)



Source: ALLBUS 1982-2018. Weighted due to an over-representation of East German households. For 2012 and 2016 only split A was used. Own calculations.

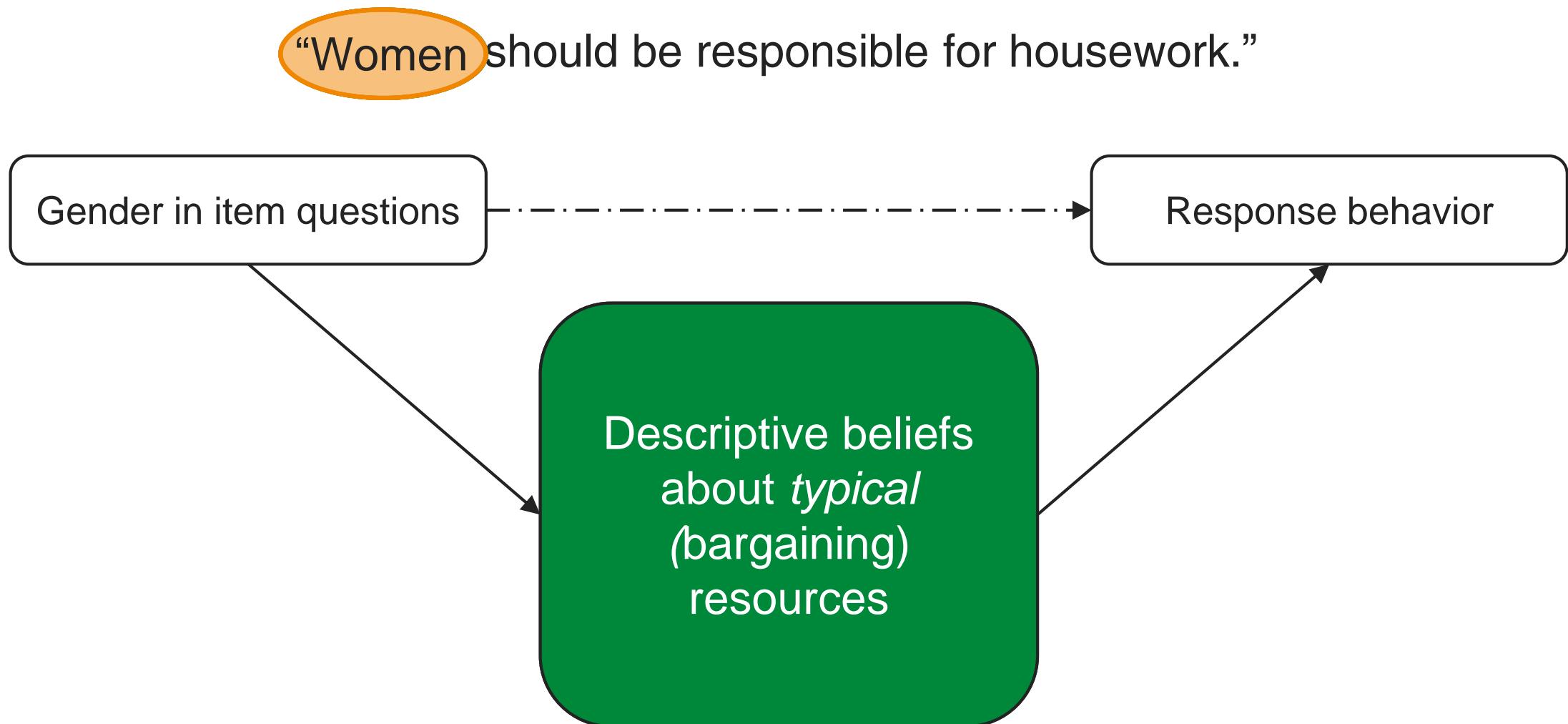
Standard measurement of prescriptive gender norms

“Women should be responsible for housework.”

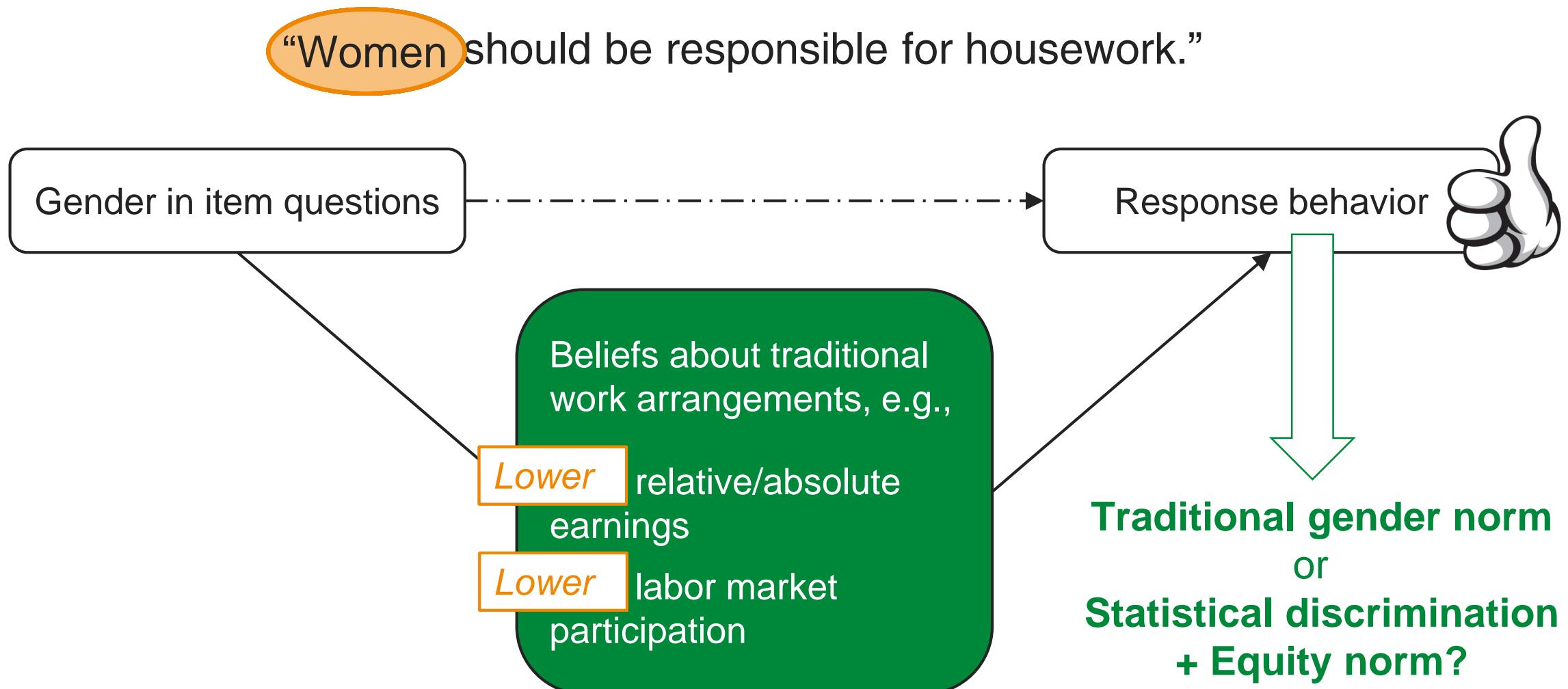


But is it really *gender* in itself?

Standard measurement of prescriptive gender norms



Standard measurement of prescriptive gender norms



Hausarbeit = Frauensache?



Is there (still) a social norm that expects women to do unpaid work?

Even if they have the same working hours and/or the same income as men?

Identification strategy: We vary the amount of information!

Ein verheiratetes Paar hat ein achtjähriges Kind.

Von der Hausarbeit (z.B. Waschen, Kochen, Putzen, Reparaturen) erledigen beide gewöhnlich 50% (15 Stunden in der Woche).

Bei der Kinderbetreuung übernimmt sie einen kleineren Anteil als er.

Wie angemessen finden Sie den Hausarbeitsanteil der Frau?

➤ Causal mediation analysis /w different amounts of information (Acharya et al. 2018)

Identification strategy: We vary the amount of information!

Ein verheiratetes Paar hat ein achtjähriges Kind.

Sie arbeitet 30 Stunden in der Woche, er 40 Stunden in der Woche.

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Sie arbeitet 30 Stunden in der Woche, er 40 Stunden in der Woche.

Ihr monatlicher Beitrag zum Haushaltseinkommen ist etwa halb so hoch wie sein Beitrag.

Von der Hausarbeit (z.B. Waschen, Kochen, Putzen, Reparaturen) erledigen beide gewöhnlich 50% (15 Stunden in der Woche).

Bei der Kinderbetreuung übernimmt sie einen kleineren Anteil als er.

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➤ Causal mediation analysis /w different amounts of information (Acharya et al. 2018)

Data: German Family Panel 2017/18

- 3 vignettes describing individuals in hypothetical couples
- N = 13,703 ratings of 4,624 resp. (aged 23-47 years)
- Experimental treatments (within resp.): Level of vignette dimensions
- Experimental treatments (between resp.):
 - Amount of information: Low / Medium / High
 - Gender of vignette person: Man or Woman → No corr. btw gender & labor market char.
 - Response task: Appropriateness of Share of Housework or Total Workload (11-point scale)
- Main assumption: **Mainly in low-info conditions** (traditional) resp. assume and **support traditional arrangements** (i.e. higher shares of female housework)

Effect of adding information about labor market characteristics

Männer sollten sich genau so an der Hausarbeit beteiligen wie Frauen.

Disagree =
traditional

Agree =
egalitarian

no info

labor market hrs

labor market hrs &
relative income

-1 0 1 2 3 4 5
should be
lower should be
higher

-1 0 1 2 3 4 5
should be
lower should be
higher

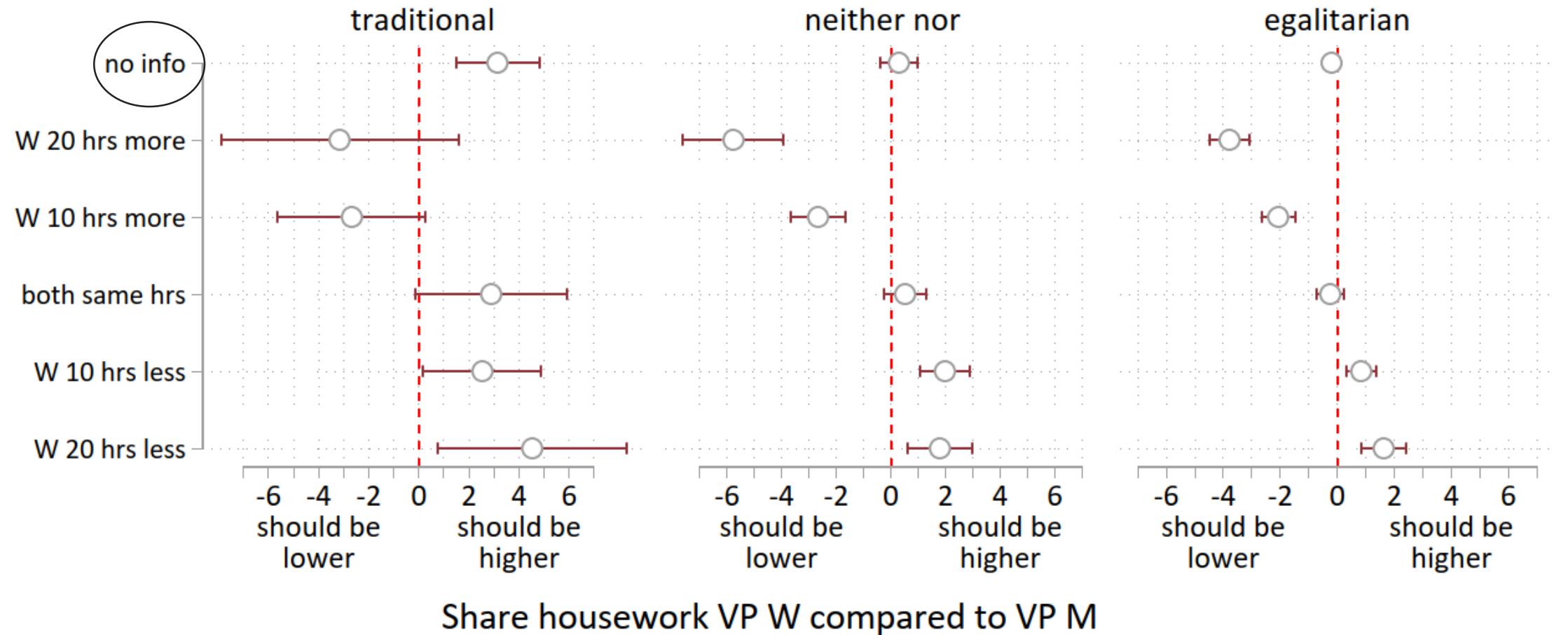
-1 0 1 2 3 4 5
should be
lower should be
higher

No support for gender norms

Share housework VP W compared to VP M

Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations of traditional respondents: 117; neither nor: 647; egalitarian 2,929.

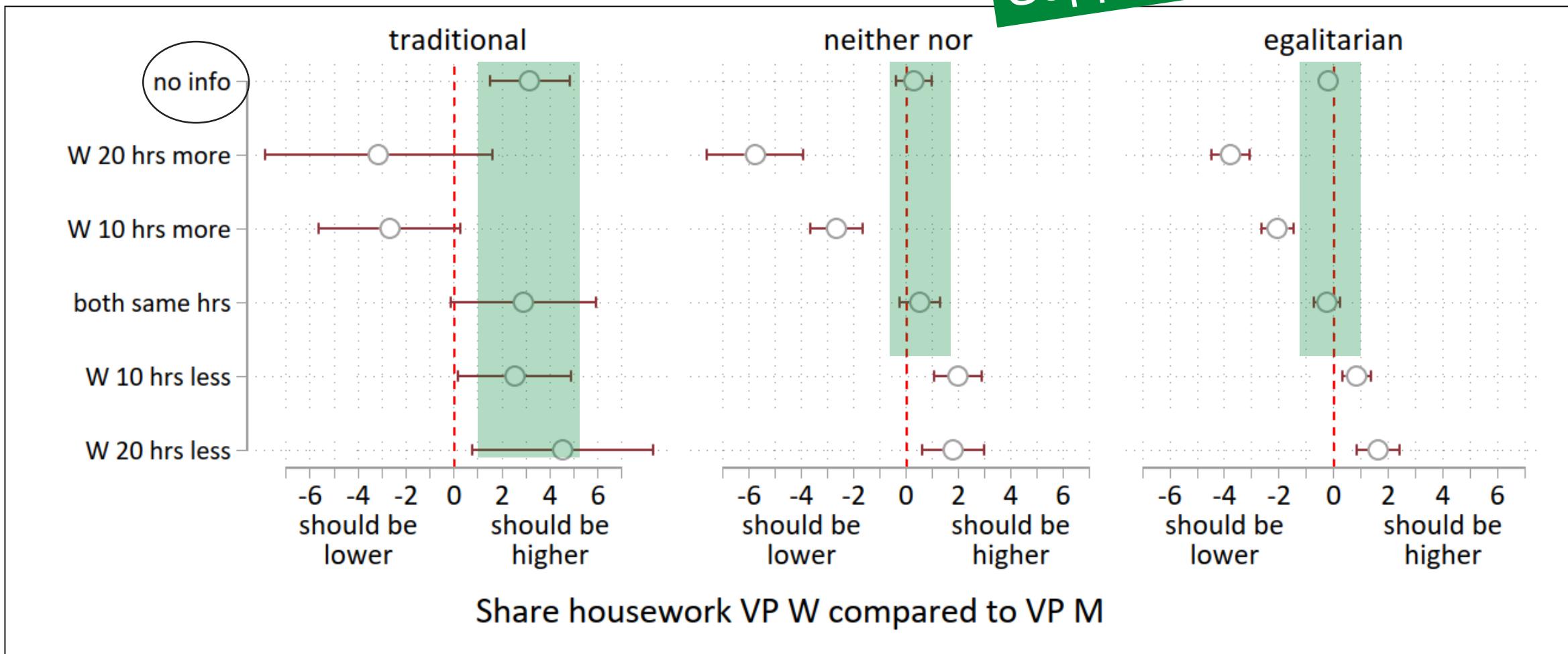
Effect of adding information about exact labor market hours



Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations of traditional respondents: 87; neither nor: 439; egalitarian 1,907.

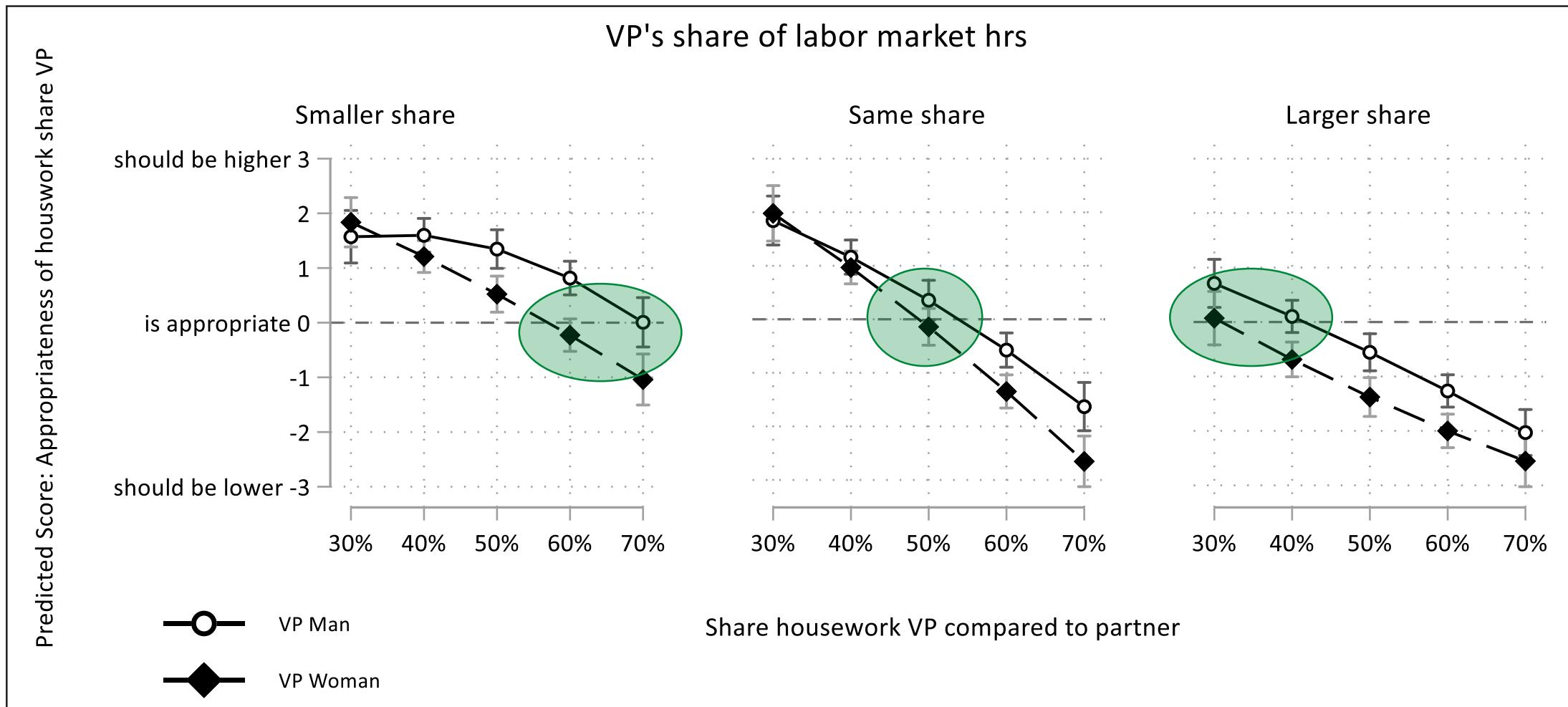
Effect of adding information about exact labor market hours

Support for equity norms



Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations of traditional respondents: 87; neither nor: 439; egalitarian 1,907.

Add-On 1: No evidence for “gender deviance neutralization”



Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations of traditional respondents: 87; neither nor: 439; egalitarian 1,907.

Interim conclusion



- Is there (still) a social norm that expects women to do unpaid work?
- Strong support for the prevalence of equity norms
- Evidence that vignettes /w extensive information on labor market characteristics reduce support of traditional gender norms
- No evidence for existence of a traditional gender norm;
Not even for “traditional” respondents

Add-On 2: Differences between male and female *respondents*?

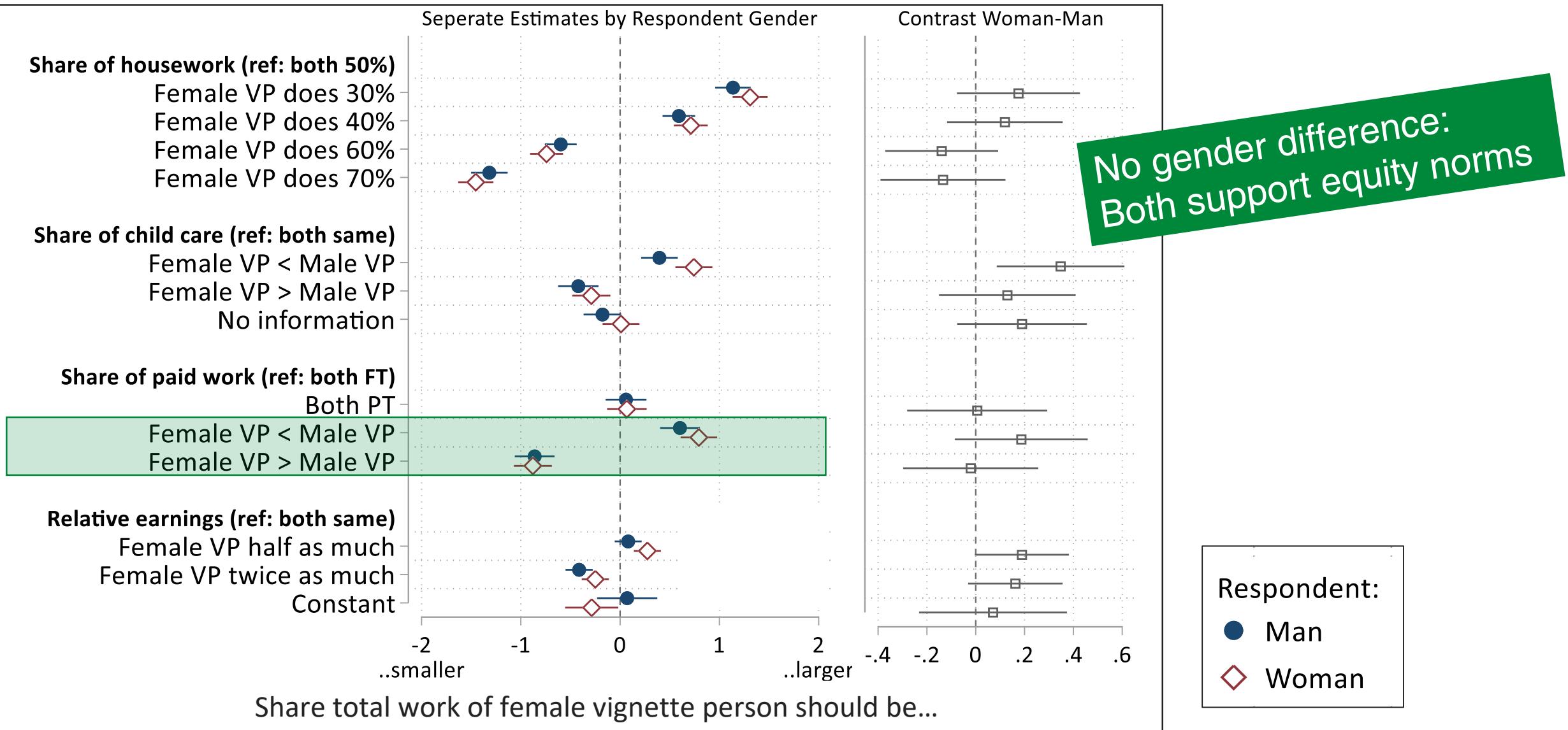
- Men have more traditional gender role attitudes than women
(e.g., Arránz Becker 2013; Horne & Johnson 2018 many more)
- Methodical issues in existing research:
 - Measurement has to consider that gender and beliefs about resources are confounded (Auspurg & Düval 2022)
 - Multidimensionality of gender role attitudes, e.g., egalitarian familism, flexible egalitarianism (Grunow et al. 2018, Knight & Brinton 2017)

RQ: Do men and women really have different gender role attitudes?

Published as:

Düval, Sabine (2023): Do men and women really have different gender role attitudes? Experimental insight on gender-specific attitudes toward paid and unpaid work in Germany.
Social Science Research 112. 102804.

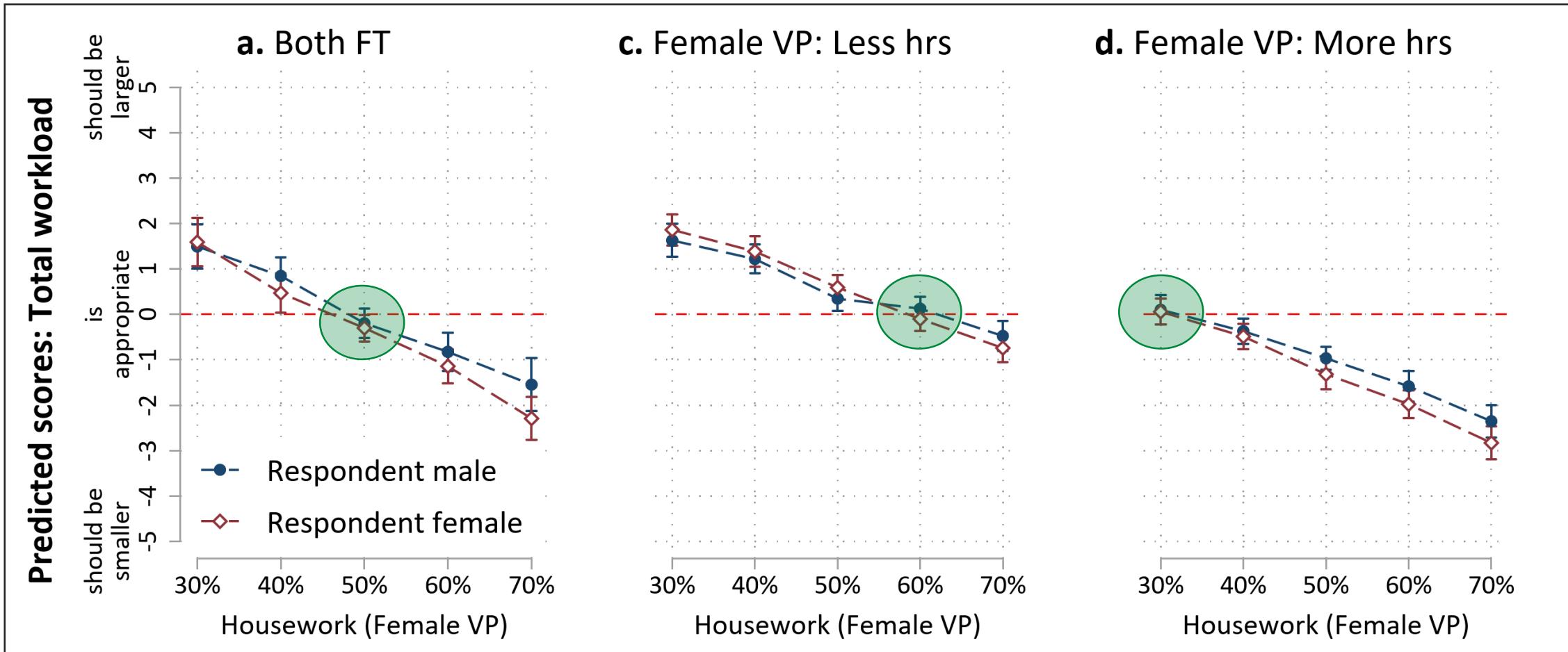
Effect of vignette dimensions by respondent gender



Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations in total: 6,370, thereof 2,981 evaluations by men and 3,389 evaluations by women.

Appropriateness of female VP's total workload

No gender difference



Source: pairfam wave 10. Number of vignette evaluations in total: 6,370, thereof 2,981 evaluations by men and 3,389 evaluations by women.

Conclusion



Substantive results:

- No evidence for existence of a traditional gender norm;
Not even for “traditional” respondents (qua item questions/men)
- Wide evidence for equity norms (for male and female respondents)
- More hrs paid work + higher rel. earnings allows to reduce time spent
in housework

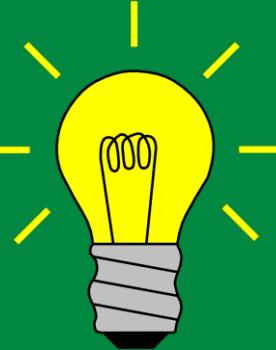
Methodical results:

- Evidence that vignettes (item questions) w/ more info reduce support of
traditional gender norms
- Classical item questions overestimate effect of gender norms

Limitations

- Respondents aged 23 to 47 living in Germany
- Focus is mainly on gender norms in relation to housework division:
 - Only variation of amount of housework, not housework task
 - Focus is not on responsibilities for child care / well-being of child / type of childcare (fun vs. educational) / social norms regarding child care (e.g., intensive mothering)
 - No information on responsibility for “mental load” (see Ruppanner et al. 2021)
 - Not possible to measure “flexible egalitarianism” (Grunow et al. 2018, Knight & Brinton 2017) or “liberal attitudes” (Auspurg & Düval 2022)
- Reasons for specialization (at an earlier stage) unclear
- Factorial survey experiments cognitively challenging
- Social desirability?

Take-home Message



Women should (only) take care of the housework if they provide less of the household income and/or if they work less hours at the labor market.

If full information on bargaining resources is provided:
No evidence for (traditional) gender norms and no gender difference in gender norms.

Main recommendation: Use more (and standardized) information for measuring gender norms!

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