



Racial and Ethnic Homogamy and Gendered Time on Core Housework

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Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World
 Volume 2: 1–15
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sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
 DOI: 10.1177/2378023116676277
srd.sagepub.com

Abstract

Racial/ethnic partner homogamy may contribute to gendered patterns in time on housework. To evaluate this, we pool 10 years of data from the American Time Use Survey and examine how time spent on housework varies by racial/ethnic homogamy across racial/ethnic groups and by gender. Interracial partnerships are more gender equitable, due to women spending less time on housework than women in homogamous relationships. Patterns vary by race/ethnicity; homogamy effects are strongest for Hispanic women but are also significant for Asian women. Homogamy has no significant effect among black or white respondents. Descriptive patterns by partner's race/ethnicity reflect findings on biculturalism.

Keywords

race, ethnicity, housework, ATUS, gender, homogamy, interracial marriage

A large body of scholarship finds that the gender division of household labor is affected by economic and educational resources, time availability, family structure, gender ideologies, and social policies (e.g., Coltrane 2000; Hook 2010; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010). Increasingly, research demonstrates racial and ethnic differences in housework that are not completely understood (Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Sayer and Fine 2011; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012). The social construction of racial and ethnic group boundaries is strongly related to socioeconomic (dis)advantage, variations in household/family structure, and cultural beliefs and values about gender and family (Higginbotham and Weber 1992; Lareau 2002; Massey and Denton 1993; McLoyd et al. 2000). Thus, racial/ethnic differences in the division of household labor point to important mechanisms of perpetuating the existing racial/ethnic boundaries but also suggest an opportunity to understand how these boundaries may shift by studying gender differences in household labor in interracial/ethnic partnerships.

The number of interracial and interethnic partnership has grown substantially; the share of new marriages between spouses of a different race/ethnicity doubled from about 7 percent in 1980 to about 15 percent in 2010 (Lee and Bean 2010). Although researchers argue that in the long run, race/ethnicity is an important factor shaping population change (Duncan and Trejo 2015; Montgomery 2011), there are more studies on the patterns of intermarriage than on the interactions within the interracial couples/families or the broader societal impact of the growth in intermarriage. Studying how

the patterns of household labor differ for those in interracial relationships may help us better understand persistent racial/ethnic differences in housework and possible mechanisms behind changing gender disparities in household labor. Moreover, a close examination of these patterns may shed light on what draws some people to intermarriage and thus improve our understanding of the nature of interracial/ethnic partnerships. Household labor is a central area of sociological research, yet no previous sociological studies have examined gender, race, homogamy, and housework. Do the patterns of housework vary between persons in racially/ethnically homogamous and nonhomogamous partnerships? Do these patterns vary depending on the partners' race and ethnicity? We address these questions by using pooled cross-sectional data from the 2003 to 2012 American Time Use Survey (ATUS) to look at time spent on core, female-typed, housework among non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, blacks, and Asian Americans with racially/ethnically homogamous or interracial/interethnic partners (hereafter for brevity: "racial homogamy" and "interracial partnership"). Based on our analysis, we conclude that those in interracial partnerships are more gender equitable, because women spend less

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time on housework, rather than men spending more. Hispanic women are affected most strongly by homogamy, although differences are also significant among Asian women. In general, however, interracial/ethnic partnerships seem to operate in similar directions across different racial and ethnic groups.

The Gendered Racial/Ethnic Performance of Household Labor

Being identified as black, Asian, or Hispanic comes with a package of internal and external stereotypes, cultural symbols, and social experiences (Brubaker 2009; Reskin 2012). Racial and ethnic identity may therefore influence not only opportunities and behaviors but also values and beliefs about family relationships, household organization, and patterns of the division of housework across groups (Collins 1990; McLoyd et al. 2000; Mirandé 1997; Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Segura 1992; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012). The literature on housework time has, in part, responded by expanding measures of household structure, employment, education, earnings, and time to more accurately capture nonwhite respondents' experiences (Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012). Especially with regard to Hispanics, recent research argues for the inclusion of more culturally sensitive measures, such as maternal "gatekeeping" and an emphasis on familism or communitarianism (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Coltrane, Parke, and Adams 2004; Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Segura 1992; Zinn 1979).

A small but growing body of research finds that the performance of household labor differs across racial and ethnic groups (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010; Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Sayer and Fine 2011; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012), although the differences in measures of race/ethnicity, housework, and controls for confounding variables limit the comparability of these studies. Intersectional approaches highlight the need to consider race and gender simultaneously (Browne and Misra 2003; McCall 2005) and examine housework by both gender and racial/ethnic identification (Choo and Ferree 2010; John and Shelton 1997). The research we review below shows that (1) race/ethnicity matters (differently) for gendered household labor time, (2) structural and cultural explanations of household labor time vary by group, and (3) current explanations cannot fully account for racial/ethnic differences in gendered household labor time.

Racial/Ethnic Differences among Women and among Men

Most research has focused on racial/ethnic differences separately among women and among men. Among women, recent findings based on ATUS data indicate that Hispanic women do more core housework than any other group, followed by Asian and white women, with black women spending the least time on these chores (Sayer and Fine 2011;

Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012). White women have been found to spend more time on occasional housework than women of all other races/ethnicities (Sayer and Fine 2011; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012). Research on other data sets often echoes these findings (Orbuch and Eyster 1997; Silver and Goldscheider 1994) but not always (Gupta 2007; John and Shelton 1997; Shelton and John 1993). Among men, descriptive findings suggest that Hispanic men spend somewhat less time on core chores than white or black men (Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012), but in full models, racial/ethnic differences disappear (Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Sayer and Fine 2011), casting doubt on prior findings that black men spend more time on core housework chores than their white male counterparts (Artis and Pavalko 2003; John and Shelton 1997; Shelton and John 1993).

Gender Differences among Racial/Ethnic Groups

A focus on racial/ethnic differences within gender alone obscures the importance of the gender differences within racial groups. Women in all racial/ethnic groups spend significantly more time on core housework than men, which is why the literature often refers to it as "female typed" (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010). A more equitable division of labor is thus achieved both by women spending less time on this work and/or men spending more time on this work. Previous research finds that the division of household labor has become more equitable over time mainly because of women's reduced hours; men's time spent on housework increased only slightly (Bianchi, Milke, Sayer, and Robinson 2000; Hook 2006). Nevertheless, a gender gap remains, and the size of this gap may vary by group, which has important implications for racial homogamy and housework. Unfortunately, very little work explicitly tests the gender differences in housework by race/ethnicity controlling for known covariates (but see Grossbard, Gimenez-Nadal, and Molina 2014). The descriptive gender ratios from the ATUS data indicate that the gender gap in female-type chores is the smallest among blacks, followed by whites and Asians, and is largest among Hispanics (Sayer and Fine 2011; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012), and these descriptive findings are in line with the prior research using other data (Golding 1990; Pinto and Coltrane 2009).

Interracial Partnerships and Housework

Race is relevant for understanding gendered housework time, but race is also a source of shifting socially constructed boundaries (Miyawaki 2015; Montgomery 2011; Vasquez 2014). An important part of the shift in ethnoracial boundaries is due to the growth in interracial partnerships (Duncan and Trejo 2015; Fu and Heaton 2008; Qian and Lichter 2011; Wang 2012). Interracial partnerships disrupt processes of homogamy and thus may challenge a variety of socioeconomic and cultural

differences that homogamy tends to preserve (Blossfeld 2009; Kalmijn 1998; Schwartz 2013).

For the most part, previous research has focused on describing patterns of racial intermarriage¹ or explaining why rates of intermarriage have changed over time and much less on the *consequences* interracial partnerships have for social outcomes, inequality, and cultural change (Schwartz 2013). Of the limited existing research, some focuses on intergenerational consequences of intermarriage. For example, researchers have shown that interracial partners invest more in their children's education (Cheng and Powell 2007), and the children from intermarriage are a force for reducing social distance between groups across generations (Kalmijn 2010). Research on inequality within couples has typically focused on socioeconomic homogamy and only addressed race/ethnicity to the extent that these measures overlap (Schwartz 2013:459). Yet, a recent Pew Research Center report finds that although racially homogamous and nonhomogamous couples have similar socioeconomic characteristics such as education, age, and income, sharper differences emerge among specific pairings (Wang 2012). Namely, white/Asian couples have the highest median income, and Hispanics and blacks who marry whites tend to have higher educational attainment than their homogamously married counterparts. These findings suggest that any examination of housework in interracial partnerships must take into account a host of socioeconomic characteristics as well as race/ethnicity of the partners.

Racial homogamy reproduces and reifies racial boundaries. Such boundaries are tied to unequal access to economic and political power. Emerging within such boundaries, disparate cultural and social norms regarding family, gender, and personal interactions reflect this unequal access and may be used to justify or undermine structural inequalities (Collins 1990; Pinto and Coltrane 2009; Segura 1992; Telles and Sue 2009). On one hand, interracial partners may be subject to increased scrutiny from friends, family, and community (Bratter and Eschbach 2006; Childs 2002) and the rejection of what many perceive as the merging of two different cultural worlds (Herman and Campbell 2012; Root 2001). Interracial partnerships, on the other hand, may offer an opportunity to renegotiate gendered cultural expectations for time spent on housework because partners entering such relationships reject cultural pressure to remain racially homogamous, and partners may bring disparate notions of gendered household labor into the partnership that require renegotiation.

¹Racial/ethnic intermarriage varies by race and gender. Black men are three times more likely to marry outside their race than black females (9 vs. 27 percent), and Asian women are twice as likely as Asian men to do so (17 vs. 36 percent) (Wang 2012). Hispanics and whites' racial/ethnic out-marriage does not vary by gender (Wang 2012), but almost 53 percent of native-born Hispanics marry someone of another ethnicity, with 90 percent of those being to non-Hispanic whites (Lee and Bean 2010).

This possibility of renegotiation is bolstered by findings regarding same-sex couples, who are more egalitarian than heterosexual couples in divisions of household labor (Kurdek 1993; Patterson 2000; Solomon, Rothblum, and Balsam 2005). As Goldberg's (2013) review highlights, operating outside of, but being aware of, heterosexual housework norms creates spaces for the partners to "queer" and/or "undo" gendered, power-based housework patterns. Research by Vasquez (2014) also supports such an interpretation. Studying Hispanic-white intermarriages, she critiques models of assimilation that expect Hispanic minorities drop their ethnic identification for "whiteness," while non-Hispanic whites remain unchanged. Instead, through her interviews with both partners, she finds that they engage in biculturalism wherein non-Hispanic whites also adopt some aspects of Latino culture. These processes of cultural difference fit well with theories of intersectionality and understanding the potential for various identities and social locations to matter differently for sociological outcomes. Thus, in racially homogamous relationships, partners may consciously or unconsciously fulfill gendered familial roles that lead to differential gender gaps in household time across racial groups.

An alternative perspective has been offered by economists. In work on black/white couples Grossbard, Gimenez-Nadal, and Molina (2014) argue that interracial marriage and housework reflect differential value of racial partners in marriage markets. Intermarried whites will gain (perform less housework) and intermarried blacks will lose (perform more housework), based on their differential value in the marriage market. Their hypothesis was strongly supported only for white women who do significantly less housework if partnered with black men (compared to white women partnered with white men). Besides focusing only on whites and blacks, using different measures of housework for men and women, and excluding a variety of important sociodemographic controls, this approach assumes that intermarriages are perceived as inherently inferior to racially/ethnically homogamous unions and ignores the existing gender and racial/ethnic differences in housework time.

Hypothesizing Racial Homogamy and Housework

Sociological research reaffirms that racial group boundaries emerge from both structural and cultural forces. To the extent that a comprehensive set of controls for structural differences may be included, remaining differences are more strongly suggestive of the power of cultural factors. Based on this approach and net of controls, we argue that interracial partnerships may help to break down the shared cultural assumptions about the division of household labor and thus offer a unique opportunity to test the hypothesis that *there will be smaller gender differences in time spent on core household chores when comparing those in interracial partnerships to those in racially homogamous partnerships* (H1). This hypothesis is neutral regarding the

source of the smaller gap. However, all previous research finds that women spend far more time on core chores than men, and women's time on housework varies more than men's. Thus, if interracial partnerships reduce gender gaps in time spent on housework, we expect this will be due mainly to *women in interracial partnerships reporting fewer housework hours than women in racially homogeneous partnerships, rather than men in interracial partnerships reporting more housework time than men in racially homogeneous partnerships* (H2).

Interracial partnerships are unequally distributed by race and gender, and it may be that racial homogamy has uneven effects by race/ethnicity (Feliciano, Lee, and Robnett 2011; Fu and Heaton 2008; Qian and Lichter 2011). Moreover, gender gaps in housework vary between racial/ethnic groups. In particular, as reviewed above, Hispanic and Asian Americans have less equitable divisions of labor compared to whites, but black couples are more equitable. Therefore, we examine the hypothesis that *gender equality in housework time associated with being in an interracial partnership will be greater for those who self-identify with racial/ethnic groups with the largest gender gaps (i.e., Hispanic and Asian respondents) compared to those who self-identify with groups that have a more equitable division of housework (i.e., whites and blacks)* (H3).

A corollary of this third hypothesis is the question raised by Grossbard et al. (2014) based on specific interracial pairs. Based on their claim that whites "gain" in ways that reflect discrimination even among those intermarried, as well as their finding that white women gain the most, we can hypothesize that *interracially partnered white women will be the main beneficiaries of less time on housework* (H4a). Yet, if interracial partnership involves more than value on the marriage market and instead suggests processes of the social construction of racial boundaries and cultural norm negotiation, we hypothesize that *interracial partnerships will be associated with smaller gender gaps regardless of the race/ethnicity of a partner* (H4b).

Data, Method, and Measures

Our study uses the 2003 to 2012 ATUS data, which contain respondent-reported time diary data. The survey is conducted annually by the U.S. Census Bureau following its final interview for the Current Population Survey (CPS), and the resulting sample is representative of the noninstitutionalized population age 15 years and older (Abraham, Maitland, and Bianchi 2006; U.S. Census Bureau 2009). The ATUS data are collected by a phone interview following an initial mail notification of the survey and its content. Respondents report on their diary days, which run from 4 a.m. on the designated day to 3:59 a.m. the following day. Pooling 10 years of ATUS interviews produces a sample of 136,960 respondents. Response rates average 56 percent, which is considered acceptable for large time-diary data (Krantz-Kent 2013). All

data are weighted as recommended by ATUS, including a person weight and a control for whether the diary day is a weekend and holiday day (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). We dropped 30,770 respondents younger than 18 years or older than 64 years and 63,377 respondents who were not married or partnered. Six respondents missing data on spouse's education were dropped. Missing values for family income and weekly earnings were imputed from means based on gender, race, education, age, nativity, employment status, and home ownership and tested against a dummy for missing values. Models run with imputed values and missing values dropped listwise produced similar results. The final analytic sample consists of 61,823 respondents. Samples by gender and race are listed in Table 1. All models are ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions run in STATA v. 13 (StataCorp, College Station, TX), and predicted effects are obtained from the margins command for interaction effects.

Household Labor

The dependent variable is a measure of time spent on core household labor per day. Core chores include cooking, cleaning, doing dishes, and laundry.² Time spent on these chores daily, by gender and race/ethnicity, is listed in Table 1. Time reports were divided by 60 to convert minutes to hours in the results. Housework hours are not normally distributed. Among men, 50 percent report spending no time on core chores, and 14 percent of women say they spend no time on these chores. Due to this, modeling strategies other than OLS have been investigated by researchers in this field, but none of these has proved preferable to OLS (Craig and Baxter 2016; Stewart 2013; Wight et al. 2009).³ Modeling time-use data with OLS regressions reflects standard practice in this body of work (Gupta 2007; Sayer and Fine 2011; Wight, Bianchi, and Hunt 2012).

Racial/Ethnic Identity and Racial/Ethnic Homogamy

Respondents self-identified with a racial group and as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. These values were recoded to produce four groups: non-Hispanic whites, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. The Hispanic category includes a mixture of national backgrounds; 63 percent are Mexican and 18

²We also tested a measure of occasional, male-type chores such as lawn/yard care, interior and exterior maintenance, and vehicle repairs. Gender differences by racial/ethnic homogamy were not found in any models, and thus we do not include them below (results available upon request).

³In particular, researchers reject Tobit models because of the untenable assumptions about left-censoring. A report of zero hours on a given time-diary day does not necessarily mean that the respondent never does housework (Stewart 2013). We do, however, test models excluding zero reports and find substantively the same results.

Table 1. Means (Standard Deviations) for Time Spent on Household Labor.

	White		Hispanic		Black		Asian	
	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous
Women	1.99	1.93	2.94	2.05*	1.72	1.65	2.53	2.04*
<i>n</i>	(2.01)	(1.99)	(2.45)	(2.07)	(2.02)	(1.86)	(2.00)	(2.11)
Men	23,441	1,419	3,803	807	2,175	124	1,033	390
<i>n</i>	.64	.73*	.58	.69*	.62	.70	.66	.63
Gender gap (women/men)	(1.16)	(1.24)	(1.21)	(1.33)	(1.28)	(1.33)	(1.17)	(1.14)
	20,336	1,183	3,194	698	1,794	322	921	183
	3.01	2.64	5.07	3.15*	2.77	2.36	3.83	3.24+

Note: Significant mean differences between homogamously and nonhomogamously partnered respondents are indicated by * $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, two-tailed tests. Results include no controls or weights.

percent are Central or South American, with the remainder including Puerto Rican, Cuban, and “other.” Among Hispanics, 95 percent identify racially as white. The sample included 2 percent (1,135) of respondents whose racial/ethnic identity is not white, Hispanic, black, or Asian. These were dropped because they were not large enough subsamples for meaningful analysis. Respondents were asked to report the race and ethnicity of their partner, and we coded this variable similarly, although partners identifying with other or mixed races are included.⁴ A measure of racial/ethnic partner homogamy is then created to equal 1 when partners are the same race/ethnicity and 0 in all other cases.

Controls

Previous literature has identified a number of important determinants of time spent on household labor, especially for women’s time on core chores (Coltrane 2000; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010). To consider the importance of time availability, we control for respondent and partner’s employment status (reported by a respondent), as well as the number of children and other adults in the household. We control for resources with measures of age, respondent and partner’s education, home ownership, and (logged) family income. An alternative measure of (logged) weekly earnings produced similar results. Such controls are also important to help take into account the selection into interracial partnerships and the types of educational and economic characteristics that stratify these couples (Furtado and Theodoropoulos 2011; Nottmeyer 2014; Wang 2012). The models also control for whether the partners are married or cohabiting, region of residence, and whether the respondent was born in the United States. More detailed measures of time since immigration and parental nativity were tested but were not preferred over the more parsimonious nativity measure. Finally, we control for survey year to parse out time-varying trends in our models. Descriptive statistics for all controls by race/ethnicity and homogamy are presented in the Appendix, Table A.

Results

Homogamy, Race/Ethnicity, and Gender: The Gender Gap Housework Hours

We begin with looking at the basic descriptive differences in housework for men, women, racial/ethnic groups, and homogamy, not controlling for any other characteristics. As

⁴775, or 1.25 percent of respondents report that their spouse belongs to an other or mixed race. Given that we excluded respondents in these categories, we also ran the models excluding spouses of a reported other or mixed race. This typically strengthened the relationships reported below, suggesting that including those spouses of mixed or other race is a conservative approach.

expected, data in Table 1 indicate that for all groups, women spend more time on housework than men. The size of the gender gap, however, varies substantially across groups by race/ethnicity and partner homogamy.⁵ The gender gap is largest among Hispanics in homogamous relationships and smallest among blacks in interracial relationships. Among whites, men in interracial relationships do significantly more housework than those in homogamous relationships, although substantively it is only about five additional minutes per day. White women’s work time does not differ by relationship type, and the gender gap does not significantly vary by homogamy, suggesting that whites’ time on housework, on average, varies little by interracial partnership. Among Hispanics, the pattern is stronger; Hispanic women do less work and Hispanic men do more work when they are in interracial relationships, in comparison to their counterparts partnered with other Hispanics. Thus, the gender gap is significantly and substantially smaller among Hispanics in interracial couples. Differences by interracial partnership are never significant among blacks and are only marginally significant among Asians. Asian women in interracial relationships do nearly 30 fewer minutes of housework per day than Asian women in homogamous relationships, but Asian men’s work does not differ, and the overall gender gap is marginally significantly lower among interracially partnered Asian respondents. The descriptive results provide initial support for that time spent on housework does vary by racial homogamy (H1) and that the role of homogamy varies by racial/ethnic group (H3).

Despite combining 10 years of data, the number of interracially partnered respondents is small, especially among black women and Asian men. The mean differences we see are suggestive, but they may be due to a variety of racial/ethnic differences in sociodemographic and economic characteristics, making it difficult to confirm the independent effect of racial/ethnic intermarriage/partnership. Turning to multivariate regression models is thus an important further step, but given the small sample sizes for black and Asians in interracial partnerships, we emphasize that such results should be considered with caution and must be confirmed with larger samples.

Racial Homogamy and Women’s Time on Housework

Turning to multivariate results, we test our hypotheses: first, whether racial homogamy is linked to gender gaps in

⁵Note that we *do not* have data for partner’s housework time, and any reference to gender gaps *does not* refer to intrahousehold housework time but to average differences between women and men in housework time in a particular analytic grouping. For these reasons, we are careful to avoid language that connotes partnership. Nevertheless, given the large, representative sample employed and the large number of controls included, it is reasonable to interpret findings based on the general experiences of respondents in interracial/interethnic partnerships.

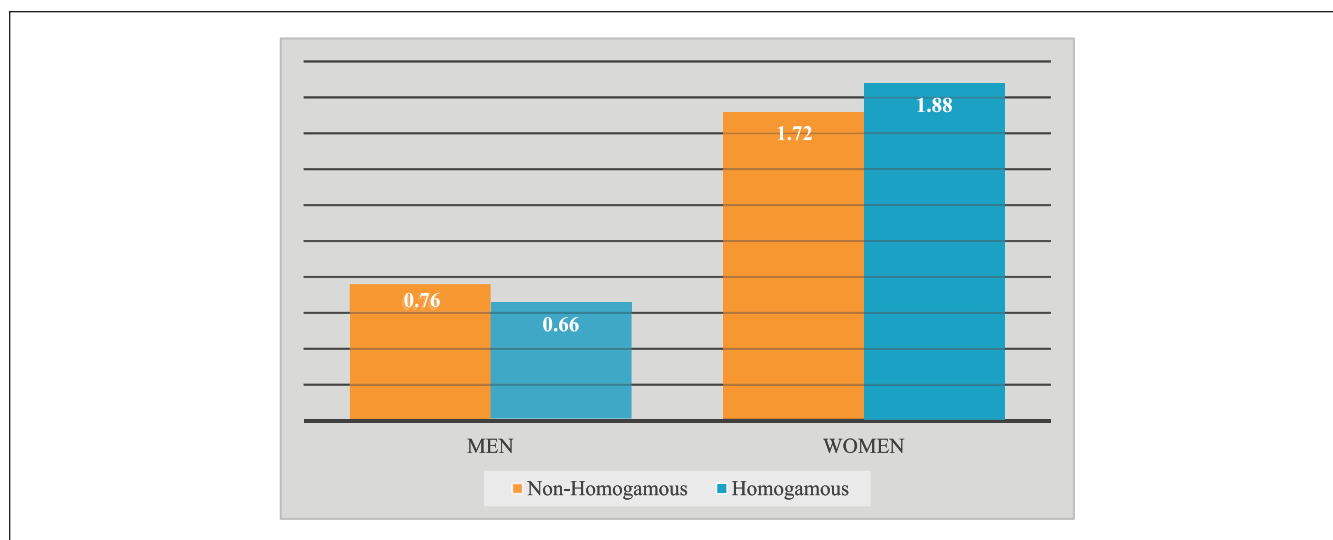


Figure 1. The gender gap in housework time by racial homogeneity.

Note: Marginal mean hours spent on housework per day from a full model with all controls and weights.

time on housework (H1); second, whether this is due to women's reduced time on housework (rather than men's increased time) (H2); and third, whether racial/ethnic groups with the largest gaps (Hispanic, Asian) see larger effects of homogamy than those with smaller gaps (blacks, whites) (H3). All models control for year, weekend or holiday diary day, age, educational level, marriage, U.S. native born, employment status (full- or part-time, not in labor force), home ownership, region, family income, number of children, number of other adults in household, and spouse's employment status and level of education, and use ATUS-supplied weights. Figure 1 illustrates the gender gap in housework and how it varies by racial homogamy. Based on a pooled gender model, women always spend significantly more time on housework than men—more than an hour and half per diary day, regardless of controls. Yet, the gender gap is significantly smaller in nonhomogamous relationships. This is partially because men in interracial partnerships report spending a bit more time on these chores and mainly because women in such relationships report spending significantly less time (full models available in the Appendix, Table B). Thus, we find evidence that homogamy does shape the gender gap in housework time, consistent with our first hypothesis.

Given the consistent gender gap in housework, Table 2 separates the genders to focus on patterns among women and among men. All coefficients can be interpreted as proportions of an hour, and multiplying coefficients by 60 will give an approximate number of minutes. In comparison to non-Hispanic white women, Hispanic women spend significantly more time on chores, an average of 16 minutes a day, and black women spend significantly less time on chores, an average of 17 minutes. Asian women do not differ significantly from white women. Race/ethnicity is unrelated to the

time on housework men report.⁶ In line with results from Figure 1, these gender-separate models indicate this is because women in racially homogamous relationships spend significantly more time on housework than their peers in nonhomogamous relationships. Furthermore, this effect varies substantially by race/ethnicity, such that homogamy matters significantly more for Hispanic and Asian women, while black women's time on chores is not affected by relationship homogamy. The effect of homogamy is never significant among men.

To help interpret these interaction effects, the predicted differences in average hours spent per day among women are presented in Figure 2. All predicted values use fitted values from a full model. Clearly, Hispanic women in homogamous relationships spend the most time on housework, averaging about 73 more minutes a day than black women in nonhomogamous relationships, who spend the least time on housework.

To the extent that these models support the hypothesis that racial homogamy affects the gender gap in housework time (H1), this is because women in nonhomogamous relationships report spending less time on housework, and men do not report significantly increased time (H2). Finally, as hypothesized (H3), Table 2 confirms that racial homogamy matters most for Hispanic and Asian women in comparison to black and white women. Substantively, Figure 2 illustrates that, on average, the homogamy effect is the largest for Hispanic and

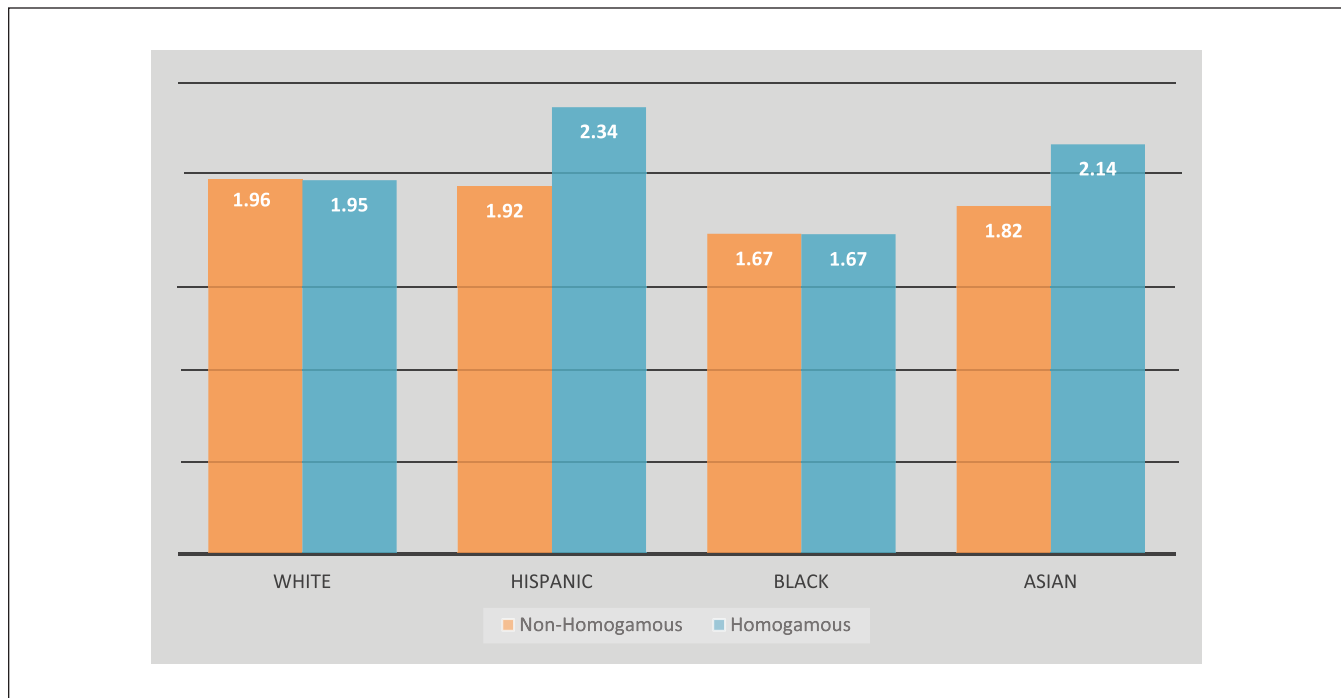
⁶Given that so many men report spending no time on these chores, we restricted the men's sample to only those who had reported some time on housework. The *only* difference was that Hispanic men who report doing some housework (41 percent) spend about 8 minutes more a day, on average, than white men who report spending some time on housework (52 percent).

Table 2. Unstandardized Ordinary Least Squares Regression Coefficients (Standard Errors) of Number of Hours Spent on Core Housework on Gender and Racial/Ethnic Homogamy (N = 61,823).

	Women			Men		
	Race/Ethnicity	Homogamy	Interaction	Race/Ethnicity	Homogamy	Interaction
Race/ethnicity (reference: white)						
Hispanic	.27*** (.05)	.30*** (.05)	-.04 (.10)	.02 (.03)	.01 (.03)	-.00 (.07)
Black	-.29*** (.05)	-.29*** (.05)	-.29 (.18)	.01 (.03)	-.00 (.03)	.01 (.09)
Asian	.07 (.08)	.11 (.08)	-.14 (.15)	.01 (.04)	-.00 (.04)	-.09 (.09)
Race/ethnic homogamy						
Homogamous	—	.15** (.05)	-.00 (.06)	—	-.05 (.03)	-.06 (.04)
Homogamy interaction effects						
× Hispanic	—	—	.42*** (.11)	—	—	.01 (.08)
× Black	—	—	.00 (.19)	—	—	-.02 (.09)
× Asian	—	—	.33* (.16)	—	—	.11 (.10)
Constant	25.92 (8.93)	25.52 (8.94)	26.89 (8.95)	-24.67 (5.03)	-24.48 (5.02)	-24.30 (5.02)
R ²	.14	.14	.14	.05	.05	.05
n		33,192			28,631	

Note: All models control for year, weekend or holiday diary day, age, education, marriage, foreign born, employment, home ownership, region, family income, children, other adults, and spouse's employment and education, and they include American Time Use Survey-supplied weights.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, two-tailed tests.

**Figure 2.** Racial/ethnic group differences in women's average daily time (in hours) spent on housework by homogamy.

Note: Marginal mean hours of housework per day from a full model with all controls and weights.

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations of Time Spent on Housework by Racial/Ethnic Intermarriage among Women and Men.

		Spouse/Partner's Race/Ethnicity			
		White	Hispanic	Black	Asian
Women	White	1.99 (2.01)	2.05 (2.11) ^a	1.63 (1.76) ^{*b}	1.90 (1.76)
	<i>n</i>	23,441	761	242	119
	Hispanic	2.08 (2.09) ^{*b}	2.94 (2.45)	— ^c	—
	<i>n</i>	708	3,803	—	—
	Black	—	—	1.72 (2.02)	—
Men	<i>n</i>	—	—	2,175	—
	Asian	2.03 (2.12) ^{*d}	—	—	2.53 (2.00)
	<i>n</i>	291	—	—	1,033
Men	White	.64 (1.16)	.71 (1.17)	—	.85 (1.48) ^{*d}
	<i>n</i>	20,336	595	—	242
	Hispanic	.66 (1.13)	.58 (1.21)	—	—
	<i>n</i>	630	3,194	—	—
	Black	.66 (1.12)	—	.62 (1.28)	—
	<i>n</i>	208	—	1,794	—
	Asian	.72 (1.28)	—	—	.66 (1.13)
	<i>n</i>	111	—	—	921

^aIn a multivariate model with all controls, white women partnered with Hispanic men spent more time on housework ($p = .10$; two-tailed test).

^bFindings from multivariate models with all controls confirm these differences at $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

^cMeans are not reported when subsample observations totaled less than 100.

^dFindings from multivariate models with all controls fail to confirm these differences at $p < .05$ (two-tailed tests).

* $p < .05$ t test comparison with homogamous mean in the shaded cell in each row (e.g., white women partnered with black men spend less time on average on housework than white women partnered with white men).

Asian women, who spend 20 to 25 minutes more a day on chores than their nonhomogamous counterparts.

White Privilege and Homogamy

Our fourth set of competing hypotheses questions whether housework time varies by the race/ethnicity of one's partner. Given continuing patterns of white privilege in society, it is possible that white women especially benefit from any lower levels of housework due to their value on the "marriage market" (H4a). In contrast, a perspective based on race/ethnicity, gender, and family as socially constructed and emerging from intersectional positions suggests that the race/ethnicity of the partner may not matter as much as the overall effect of homogamy (H4b). Already, the results presented in Table 2 and Figure 1 suggest that white women are not disproportionately benefiting from interracial partnerships. Neither white nor black women see their time affected by an interracial relationship. In comparison, Hispanic and Asian women in interracial partnerships do report significantly less average housework time.

Yet, these tests did not specify the race/ethnicity of the partners. So we now turn to an exploratory analysis of mean differences in time spent on housework by the type of interracial partnership as a way to evaluate our competing hypotheses on partner's race/ethnicity. Small sample sizes raise

serious questions about the robustness of multivariate analyses, so in Table 3, we focus on descriptive patterns for all groups with more than 100 observations, although where possible, we test relationships in multivariate models as noted. We conducted two-sample mean t tests to compare housework hours between those in racially homogamous relationships and those in various interracial relationships.

In every case but one, mean differences suggest that those in interracial partnerships have descriptively smaller gender gaps in time on housework, consistent with the findings in Table 2. The only exception is white women partnered with Hispanic men—they spend more time on housework than their peers partnered with white men, and this pattern is marginally significant in multivariate models ($p = .10$). This finding suggests there is little evidence in favor of H4a; we find racial differences, but these do not clearly show that intermarriage is a "gain" for white women alone. Most of the differences are found among women as in Table 2. There is further evidence that the differences by homogamy will be stronger for some racial/ethnic groups than for others. As found by Grossbard, Gimenez-Nadal, and Molina (2014), white women partnered with black men spend less time on housework than white women with white partners, a finding confirmed in multivariate regressions. Hispanic women with white partners spend significantly less time,

on average, on housework than their peers in racially homogenous relationships. This finding, also confirmed in multivariate models, favors a cultural renegotiation interpretation (H4b). A focus on mean differences suggests that Asian women with white partners spend less time on housework than those with Asian partners and that white men with Asian partners spend more time, on average, than when they have white partners. However, these patterns are not significant in multivariate models, suggesting they are not robust and/or may be correlated with other sociodemographic characteristics. While far from definitive, these results nevertheless echo many of the key findings from the multivariate analyses presented above, suggesting that the more basic measure of racial homogeneity captured meaningful differences, regardless of type of interracial partnership. Finally, the results favor a cultural (H4b) rather than economic (H4a) understanding of housework time and interracial partnership.

Conclusion

Motivated by the question of whether interracial partnerships affect men's and women's time spent on housework, we tested a number of hypotheses. Our results provide support for our first hypothesis that the gender gap in housework time will be smaller among interracial couples. Although women continue to do the bulk of core household tasks, typically spending twice the amount of time as men on these chores, regardless of controls, when focusing on women's time, we see that homogeneity does have significant effects. Women in racially homogenous relationships report spending more time on housework than women in interracial partnerships. Thus, we conclude that racial homogeneity matters for the gender gap in housework and, in favor of our second hypothesis, that women in interracial partnerships report spend less time on housework. We also find strong support for our third hypothesis, when focusing on women's housework time. Women who belong to racial/ethnic groups with the largest gender gaps have larger reductions in housework time than women who identify with racial/ethnic groups with smaller gender gaps. In this case, differences in Hispanic women's reports across homogenous and nonhomogenous relationships are significantly and substantively the largest. Asian women in interracial partnerships report significant but substantively more minor differences. Black and white women's time reported does not differ by interracial partner status.

Finally, although hampered by small sample sizes, we explored hypotheses about how the race/ethnicity of the partner matters for housework time (H4a and H4b). We find scant evidence for a marriage market view of interracial partnerships and household time (H4a), given that whites and white women in particular were not the group that experienced the biggest gains from interracial partnerships. Our findings are more consistent with the ideas of social

construction of race and cultural renegotiation of gendered labor in interracial couples (H4b). Grossbard, Gimenez-Nadal, and Molina (2014) view differences in terms of an econometric marriage market. Similarly to their research, we find evidence that white women partnered with black men spend less time on core chores than when partnered with white men. However, this finding can also be interpreted within the cultural construction of chores, gender, and a power framework (Bittman et al. 2003; Goldberg 2013; Oswald et al. 2009). Moreover, we do not find that we can extend this econometric model to other racial/ethnic groups as our exploratory findings suggest that white women may do more housework when partnered with Hispanic men, while the opposite is true for Hispanic women partnered with white men. Future research should explicitly test claims of racial hierarchy and power in the marriage market, based, for example, on findings from research on online dating (Feliciano, Lee, and Robnett 2011).

It is important to note that all of the differences we found took into account a wide variety of sociodemographic and economic characteristics that may be conflated with race and ethnicity, selection into an interracial partnership, and housework time (see Appendix, Tables A and B). The ATUS lacks attitudinal controls, so we could not examine the extent to which these differences are due to gender and familistic ideologies, but given the comprehensive list of controls, it seems likely that the racial/ethnic differences we found reflect a direct relationship between being in an interracial relationship and time spent on core housework. Certainly, those open to heterogamous partnerships may be less traditional in their outlook with regard to gender and household roles, indicative of a selection effect. However, it is equally possible that entering a relationship with a partner from another racial/ethnic background may lead to a renegotiation of time and expectations. When cultural gender models cannot be easily imported into the new household, taken-for-granted expectations regarding cooking and cleaning are confronted and exposed (Goldberg 2013). The available data do not allow to disentangle possible selection and causal effects, and both mechanisms may be operating to produce the observed differences in housework time. Furthermore, we acknowledge the possibility that other socioeconomic controls, not currently available, may matter in explaining some of the differences we see.

Discussion

Little research, and no sociological research, has examined the importance of racial homogeneity for gendered division of housework. It will be important for future work to consider the broader implications of the greater gender egalitarianism of interracially partnered individuals. Based on previous research on assortative mating and same-sex couples, these may include the intergenerational transmission

of more equitable gender norms regarding household labor (Goldberg 2013), as well as positive gains in education and expanded social networks for children of interracial couples (Cheng and Powell 2007; Kalmijn 2010). Furthermore, while some scholarship suggests interracial couples are at a greater risk of dissolution and divorce (see Schwartz 2013 for a review), more equitable division of household labor in interracial couples can lead to higher levels of relationship satisfaction (Frisco and Williams 2003; Stevens, Kiger, and Riley 2001). Finally, it is important to situate findings about interracial couples within broader changes in marriage and family formation. Cherlin (2004) has argued that American marriage is undergoing deinstitutionalization, or “a weakening of the social norms that define partners’ behavior” (848). All the interracial couples in our sample were less likely to be married, although the differences in housework by homogamy persist beyond the official marital status.

Fully explaining why interracial partnership matters more for some racial groups than others with regard to housework is beyond the scope of this article, but we can point toward directions for future research. The largest effects were concentrated among the two groups often argued as having the most traditional divisions of labor—Hispanics and Asians. Current research on household labor in Hispanic families rejects simplifying concepts such as *machismo* or *marianismo* (exaggerated masculinity or femininity) as explanations. Instead, it has called attention to other cultural practices that increase women’s housework time, such as maternal gatekeeping and an emphasis on familialism (Coltrane, Parke, and Adams 2004; Pinto and Coltrane 2009), whereby household labor may be shaped by ideals about family commitment, obligation, and cohesion. A strong sense of mutual responsibility toward family is a key strategy for facilitating immigrant and working-class social mobility, and research documents the importance Mexican-origin Americans place on “giving back” to their kin and larger ethnic community (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Zinn 1979). This sense of responsibility may increase housework for Mexican women as they in particular may choose to support those around them through cooking or caring for kin and community (Segura 1992). Hispanic men and women who marry outside of their ethnicity may be less integrated into cultural communities where these gendered norms hold or may be actively rejecting such roles. We found in our exploratory analysis in Table 3 that Hispanic women partnered to white men spend significantly less time on housework, but white women with Hispanic men spend slightly more time on housework. This descriptive finding may reflect some sociodemographic differences that we were unable to take into account. However, it may also indicate that the relationship between being in an interracial partnership and division of housework is more complex and that women, and possibly men, adjust their housework hours based on

the cultural expectations and stereotypes associated with their partner’s race/ethnicity. Thus, white women partnered with Hispanic or Asian men may spend more time doing housework than white women in homogamous partnerships because of their partners’ expectations (or their beliefs about their partners’ expectations). These findings echo recent work by Vasquez (2014), who shows that contrary to a simple “social whitening” process, both Hispanic and non-Hispanic whites adjust to cultural expectations across ethnically blurred boundaries.

Similar arguments might be made for immigrant Asian communities. On average, Table 3 suggests that Asian women also spend significantly less time on housework when partnered with white men, and white men spend more time when partnered with Asian women. However, with controls in a multivariate model, these differences disappear. Regardless, these findings are contrary to some racialized gender stereotypes regarding this interracial partnership (Pyke and Johnson 2003; Sue et al. 2009). Research on Asian communities argues that there is a greater emphasis than among whites on filial piety and obligation, women’s family roles, and putting others’ needs above your own (Kamo 2000; Staples and Mirandé 1980; Xu and Lai 2002), although research on Asian American families remains quite limited (Fang et al. 2008). The deinstitutionalization of marriage views marriage as a choice and a means of personal development (Cherlin 2004). Hispanics and Asians in homogamous marriages may be more strongly bound by older institutional notions of marriage, a set of norms that those in interracial partnerships may reject or be excluded from adopting, leading to greater differentiation between homogamous and interracial couples in gendered housework patterns. It is, perhaps, not surprising that controls would absorb mean differences given that education and income are a particularly important stratifying mechanism in partnerships between Asian and white partners (Wang 2012).

In general, further understanding patterns of housework in interracial couples requires more nuanced studies that take into account differences within races/ethnicities (e.g., distinguishing among Hispanic and Asian subgroups), larger sample sizes, and surveys or studies that can incorporate various attitudes, motivations, and experiences to better account for how and why interracial relationships produce more egalitarian divisions of labor. Given the large, nationally representative sample used in this study, the results reflect average patterns for people who report being in interracial/ethnic partnerships. Nevertheless, it is important that future work obtain partner-based samples to further test and examine these findings. The continuing changes to the racial/ethnic makeup of society and its relationship to family formation (Duncan and Trejo 2015) raise a variety of compelling questions related to key issues of inequality and should be an ongoing priority in our research.

Appendix

Table A. Racial/Ethnic Differences in Control Variables by Homogamy.^a

	White		Hispanic		Black		Asian	
	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous	Homogamous	Nonhomogamous
Women	54	55	54	54	55	28	53	68
U.S. born	95	93	27	69	87	90	8	29
Married	94	88	91	87	90	78	98	91
< High school	5	6	40	9	9	9	3	2
High school	27	24	32	27	36	32	13	17
Some college	24	28	15	27	27	29	12	18
College	22	19	9	20	15	16	31	28
Graduate degree	22	22	5	17	14	14	42	34
Full-time employment	65	66	56	66	62	69	66	60
Part-time employment	14	13	11	12	10	10	10	16
Not in labor force	21	21	33	22	28	22	23	24
Own home	88	77	57	77	72	63	71	80
North	20	14	11	13	13	14	22	15
Midwest	30	18	9	15	17	24	17	15
South	32	32	37	31	63	41	24	25
West	18	36	42	41	7	22	37	45
Family income (log)	2.49	2.42	2.12	2.43	2.29	2.32	2.51	2.52
Number of children (mean)	1.28	1.27	1.63	1.29	1.04	1.19	1.44	1.21
Other adults in household	15	14	28	15	21	13	21	14
Spouse employed	78	76	69	79	71	73	73	78
Spouse ≤ high school	30	32	70	31	42	37	17	18
Spouse college	55	55	26	55	49	56	48	54
Spouse graduate degree	15	13	3	13	9	8	35	28
<i>n</i>	43,777	2,602	6,997	1,505	3,969	446	1,954	573

^aValues are presented as percentages unless otherwise indicated.

Table B. Full Ordinary Least Squares Results for All Coefficients.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Base	Full Model	Gender Interaction	Race/Ethnicity Interaction
Female	1.43*** (.02)	1.20*** (.02)	.96*** (.05)	1.20*** (.02)
Hispanic	.51*** (.03)	.15*** (.03)	.15*** (.03)	-.02 (.06)
Black	-.04 (.03)	-.16*** (.03)	-.17*** (.03)	-.03 (.08)
Asian	.24*** (.04)	.05 (.05)	.06 (.05)	-.17 (.10)
Year	-.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)	-.00 (.00)
Weekend	.30*** (.02)	.30*** (.02)	.30*** (.02)	.30*** (.02)
Holiday	.44*** (.08)	.42*** (.08)	.42*** (.08)	.42*** (.08)
Homogamous	.15 (.03)	.03 (.03)	-.10** (.03)	-.04 (.04)
Married		.09** (.03)	.09** (.03)	.09** (.03)
Native born		-.23*** (.03)	-.23*** (.03)	-.22*** (.03)
Less than high school		.15*** (.04)	.15*** (.04)	.14*** (.04)
High school		.13*** (.03)	.13*** (.03)	.13*** (.03)
Some college		.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)
Postgraduate		-.07** (.02)	-.07** (.02)	-.07** (.02)
Part-time		.33*** (.03)	.33*** (.03)	.33*** (.03)
Not employed		.92*** (.03)	.92*** (.03)	.92*** (.03)
Homeowner		-.06* (.02)	-.05* (.02)	-.05* (.02)
Midwest		-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.01 (.02)
South		-.07** (.02)	-.07** (.02)	-.07** (.02)
West		-.03 (.03)	-.03 (.03)	-.04 (.03)
Age		.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)	.01*** (.00)
Log income		-.05 (.03)	-.05 (.03)	-.05 (.03)
Children		.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)	.15*** (.01)
More adults		.10*** (.02)	.10*** (.02)	.10*** (.02)

(continued)

Table B. (continued)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Base	Full Model	Gender Interaction	Race/Ethnicity Interaction
Spouse employed		.25*** (.02)	.25*** (.02)	.25*** (.02)
Spouse ≤ high school		.00 (.02)	.00 (.02)	.00 (.02)
Spouse postgraduate		.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.05* (.02)
Homogamous × Female			.27*** (.06)	
Homogamous × Hispanic				.21** (.07)
Homogamous × Black				-.15 (.09)
Homogamous × Asian				.28** (.11)
Constant	.44 (5.53)	3.14 (5.29)	3.25 (5.29)	3.94 (5.29)
n	61,823	61,823	61,823	61,823
R ²	.173	.234	.234	.234

Note: All models include American Time Use Survey–supplied weights. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, two-tailed tests; standard errors in parentheses.

Acknowledgments

We thank Judy Treas, session participants at the 2015 Population Association of America meeting, and the anonymous reviewers for *Socius* for comments on an earlier version of this article. The American Time Use data are free and publicly available through the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (<http://www.bls.gov/tus/>).

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