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## **Household division of labour among European mixed partnerships**

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## **Abstract**

Household duties have been a privileged terrain for academic research in recent decades, given that they represent an excellent field in which to observe how gender differentials have developed since women entered the paid labour market. However, despite the number of investigations that have centred on this subject, the results advanced in relation to housework dynamics among mixed partnerships have been few and confusing. Therefore, and as a means of partially overcoming this absence, the present paper looks at household gender division among European upper-middle class mixed couples living in Lisbon. The 15 interviewed couples revealed several dimensions of the allocation of housework performed by each spouse, particularly: a) the type of tasks undertaken; b) the amount of time devoted to home chores; c) the purchasing of formal help services for the performance of domestic duties; and d) perceptions of fairness in the distribution of home activities. After discussing each of these dimensions, in a final section we will suggest some of the lines of inquiry that might help expand further investigations dedicated to this topic.

**Key-words:** European mixed couples, household division of labour, gendered home differentials, perception of fairness, formal paid services.

## **Introduction**

Housework division of labour is all too often believed to be a key realm for the reproduction of gender roles and a lynchpin for the analysis of contemporary gender equality. Getting the household tasks done implies either cooperation or conflict among spouses or other family members, and demands constant negotiation of practices and attitudes among those who share the same roof. Women have been the family members who have traditionally taken on domestic chores, with the greater responsibility for caring for the family and monitoring the routine tasks that are capable of guarantee acceptable standards of household cleanliness and nutrition. Traditionally defined as routine or occasional activities such as shopping, cooking, cleaning and laundry, housework involves those activities that are undertaken on a regular basis for the good orchestration of the home and the well-being of the family (Coltrane, 2000). They are, in a word, the unpaid domestic duties that need to be performed in order to safeguard the whole society.

In the last few decades, the attention of scholars has been drawn to the patterns of gender differentials in housework resulting from the increased entrance of women into the paid market. The awareness of the reallocation of women's time into the labour market has opened up an academic debate on how household tasks are now being negotiated and how they have been changed by these new dual-earner home arrangements. This adjustment in work roles was expected to cause a greater male participation in household affairs, thus leading to a more balanced division of domestic chores. In particular, it was thought that women's home burden would be relieved as husbands' performance of tasks inside the home was enhanced. Several studies tried to investigate and assess this trend, but no consistent findings bore out the neutralizing impact that this phenomenon might have on families' daily lives (for a review, see: Coltrane, 2000; Shelton and John, 1996; Coleman, 1988). In fact, the only consistent result has been that women still tend to perform over 70 percent of the total volume of housework duties in dual-earner families (Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1996; South and Spitze, 1994), thus indicating that the changes in domestic behaviour have not been as profound as initially expected. Although gender differentials in home responsibilities are narrowing and moving towards less sex-dichotomized patterns (i.e., women are doing less and their spouses are doing more), wives still do the majority of unpaid

family work in Western societies (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton and John, 1996; South and Spitze, 1994).

The fact that women still perform more home tasks than men has been eliciting different explanations at the heart of the research surrounding gendered housework division. Among the burgeoning literature focusing on this subject, at least three contributions seem to have been dominating the theoretical analysis: a) the resource-power perspective, b) the time availability hypothesis; and c) the socialization and gender roles attitude (for a review, see Bianchi et al, 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Shelton and John, 1996; South and Spitze, 1994).

The *first approach* focuses on the type and amount of economic and social resources (educational attainments, income, and occupational prestige) that each spouse brings to the marriage, as a way of negotiating his/her participation in housework affairs. The partner with more resources will use them to bargain his/her liberation from domestic chore responsibility, and accordingly, higher income and level of education are said to determine the symbolic power that one spouse has over the other, and appear to be used to evade home task duties. Most obviously, women have been relegated to household chores because they have traditionally been out of the labour market and consequently have been financially dependent on their husbands (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Brines, 1993).

The studies that took this perspective as theoretical support found that a smaller gap between wives and husbands' earnings tends to balance the performance of housework (Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1993). Moreover, when educational credentials are taken into consideration, some studies have shown that better educated men do more domestic activities, while better educated women do less (Coltrane, 2000; Pittman and Blanchard, 1996; Presser, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994). In addition to this, Presser (1994) also argues that the higher occupational prestige normally provided by professional careers, seems to be associated with a lesser investment in household duties by both women and men. To put it briefly, when the gender gap between spouses' relative socio-economic resources narrows, a more balanced household division seems to emerge, because "*it increases a person's 'comparative advantage' in the market*" (Bianchi et al., 2000:195).

*The time availability hypothesis* has been elaborated through the pioneering work of Hiller (1984), who suggests that housework is performed according to the

relative time left to husbands and wives after the time they spend on working as part of the labour force is subtracted. This perspective is underlain by the idea that housework allocation is rationally made in accordance with the time commitments of each partner. Employment status, hours worked outside the house, work schedule, and parental status are some of the indicators that most account for the time constraints on husbands and wives when their own allocation of household responsibilities is determined.

Taken together, the investigations that have focused on these issues indicate that, even though working women still continue to do the bulk of the tasks that are required in the family (Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994), their participation in the paid labour market tends to reduce the amount of time spent on household affairs and to contribute to a more shared domestic distribution (Brines, 1993). When looking at spouses' different time schedules, Presser (1994) argued that husbands whose wives work different shifts tend to increase their domestic task performance. Furthermore, the presence of children (and particularly, preschool children) in the family unit is strongly associated with the devotion of more time to housework by both women and men (Brines, 1993; Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994).

Finally, the last theoretical contribution – *the socialization and gender roles perspective* – has been critically assessing both the resource-power and the time availability hypothesis, by arguing that housework allocation is a result of the symbolic differentials in gender relations, and not a mere readjustment of rational decisions and logical rules of economic exchange between paid and unpaid labour markets. With this critique, this approach highlights the fact that housework performance helps define gender expectations in the home, by mapping the frameworks within which the roles of “wife” and “husband” can be enacted. Housework task division is therefore a privileged terrain for “doing gender” (South and Spitze, 1994; West and Zimmerman, 1987), where both partners can develop the sex-typed roles that have been formed since early childhood socialization. This means that when men and women are performing different home tasks, they are displaying gendered selves and reproducing gendered interaction patterns. The ability to competently perform specific domestic activities provides an opportunity to show one's spouse that one has the capacity to appropriately flaunt certain gendered behaviours (Coltrane, 2000).

To give an example of this idea, inasmuch as the role of “wife” or “mother” is strongly related to expectations of higher devotion to family care and higher standards

of household hygiene and supervision, performing it well can be highly valued by many women, thereby placing them at a disadvantage in the allocation of housework duties. In fact, women seem to spend more time doing the most unpleasant and demanding types of daily activities (i.e., cleaning, laundry, cooking) that are required for the whole family to function well (Bianchi et al, 2000). Women also tend to be more prone to reorganizing their daily schedules in an adjustment to household demands than are men, thereby contributing to an increase in gender differentials in household maintenance and participation (Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1996).

On the whole, and despite the inconsistencies that the cumulative results derived from these past studies might reveal, all these perspectives acknowledge the idea that *gender differences are the most determining element in framing unpaid domestic task division* (Shelton and John, 1996), and that *women are performing more home tasks than men, particularly among married couples* (see Presser, 1994). Apart from these undisputed assumptions, some issues remain unclear and underscore the need for deeper analysis. First of all, as some studies demonstrate (Coltrane, 1990; Shelton and John, 1996), a dichotomized housework division appears to exist, given that each specific task is normally sex-typed. The fundamental issue at this point is that *the nature of the duties performed by men and women is different* – i.e., husbands and wives do different chores inside the home, with wives normally doing the most unpleasant and routine ones (cleaning, laundry, ironing, washing), and husbands the less unpleasant and more occasional ones (cooking, child care, house repairs, emptying the trash) (for a review, see Coltrane, 1990). Secondly, and despite the time inequality in domestic activities – wives do more than their husbands – the majority of couples tend to perceive this situation as fair (Baxter, 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Mederer, 1993). Finally, the purchasing of paid services by middle-class families seems to be functioning as a means of alleviating women's potential overburden at home. This suggests that by delegating domestic responsibilities to outside help, these couples may be masking deeper inequalities in gendered home division and misleading some theoretical interpretations of contemporary changes in gender equality at home (Bianchi et al, 2000; Coleman, 1988).

Notwithstanding the fact that academic studies in this field have been a serious topic since the 1990s, there is almost no information on mixed partnerships, and it is thus unclear whether cultural and ethnic differences have any significance when

exploring this area of research (for a brief review, see Shelton and John, 1996). In order to expand our knowledge of the dynamics of these couples, the aim of this paper is to understand how housework gender division is accomplished among highly qualified European mixed marriages. In doing so, we will assess the issues mentioned above, with an analysis of the following hypothesis: 1) *Is the quality of the home tasks performed by women and men really different?* 2) *Are women in these couples performing more daily activities than their husbands?* 3) *Is paid house-cleaning help used as a domestic tool among these couples?* and 4) *Do women and men perceive the housework distribution of labour as fair, even if it is unequally allocated?*

A central factor behind this investigation is the influence that *social class* has on household division. As mentioned in previous research, the existence of higher incomes and educational credentials contributes to the pursuit of professional careers by both partners, balancing the power within the marital dyad and leading to a more shared division of domestic chores (Coleman, 1988; Coltrane, 2000; Pittman and Blanchard, 1996; Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1996; South and Spitze, 1994). Within this conjugal scenario, women with greater resources will have more power to negotiate domestic affairs, and will therefore be less tolerant towards an imbalance in housework management activities. Social class position is therefore a crucial element for consideration here, as the group that we will take under evaluation is only composed of middle and upper-middle class partnerships. Even if we are not aiming at a comparative analysis that would enhance our the level of understanding of these couples, we believe that it is entirely relevant to highlight the fact that affluent partnerships are the ones that have the most leverage in securing equal adjustments in domestic home activities.

## Methodology

Contrary to the majority of studies focused on housework division, the methodology of this research has been qualitative. As summarised by Coltrane (2000), Shelton & John (1996) and Coleman (1988), quantitative research based on national inquiries and diary reports has continuously suffered from a lack of detailed information about several aspects linked to attitudes, values and social representations. Therefore, what we have tried to capture is the *symbolic significance* attached to housework chores, by examining gender differentials in European mixed couples. The analysis and interpretation of their discourses could be particularly relevant to uncovering both men and women's subjective views in relation to their own family and conjugal experiences, and to accumulating data in order to lay the foundation for upcoming qualitative and quantitative research.

All the couples were contacted and asked to participate in this study using a snowball technique. After providing them with prior general information via e-mail or telephone, semi-directed interviews of approximately one-and-a-half hours were conducted with one partner, and later on with the other. The interviews took place in the interviewee's home or office, the interviewer's home, or public places, and were conducted in English, Portuguese, or Spanish, depending on the language skills of each participant. After giving his/her oral consent to taking part in the study, each partner was separately asked the same questions, in order to obtain an individual perspective within the couple. This technique has barely been used in previous studies, so we consider that it constitutes a significant methodological contribution to investigations centred on family lives. The interview was not solely restricted to issues of household affairs, but included some other, different dimensions – beginning of the affective relationship, history of migration, identity, conjugal life, child education, social integration, and future projects – in order to obtain an overall picture of life paths of European mixed couples. The information on household division of labour was included in the conjugal life section, and we incorporated specific questions on daily housework organisation, task specialization, estimation of daily percentage of housework carried out by each spouse, number of hours worked daily inside and outside the home, and perception of fairness regarding house duty allocation.



The sample comprises 30 individuals (15 couples) living in the Greater Lisbon area, who have been ordered according to a particular group structure, so as to control gender and nationality:

- Portuguese men married/cohabiting with European women (5 couples);
- Portuguese women married/cohabiting with European men (5 couples);
- European men married/cohabiting with European women (5 couples);

Although a snowball technique was used, we tried to include as many different participants from various social and cultural backgrounds as we could. The mean age was 36.25 years, with men being somewhat older (37.3 years) than women (35.2 years). On average, the length of the relationship was 6.6 years, including both the dating period and the marriage or cohabitation period itself. 12 couples were married and the remaining 3 were cohabiting. All interviewees were highly educated – 13 had a Bachelor's degree, 9 a Master's degree, and 8 a PhD – and had professional paths to match these levels of credentials. 12 out of 15 couples were dual-earner couples, while only 3 were male-breadwinners. Most of the interviewees mentioned a highly mobile trajectory (2.1 foreign countries besides Portugal), ranging from 1 to 6 different countries. The majority of the Portuguese spouses had mobility experiences of approximately 4 or 6 years, whereas just two Portuguese interviewees had never left Portugal. The foreign partners had a mean length of residence in Lisbon of about 4.6 years, ranging from 1.5 to 17 years. All participants were able to speak English competently, and mastered at least four different languages. Finally, regarding parental status, 9 out of 15 couples had children (on average, 1.8 children per couple), who were said to be educated bilingually and hold both the father's and the mother's nationality (for a comparable sociodemographic overview, see table in Appendix 1).

## Results

The next sections will provide evidence for the analysis of the four dimensions defined above. We mainly tried to scrutinize our results by looking at differences between men and women, rather than differences in national backgrounds. Gender differentials are therefore privileged in the present investigation.

### 1) Household task allocation: still a sex-typed division?

In order to evaluate whether European mixed couples exhibit a conjugal sex-typed pattern in their household arrangements, each partner was separately asked two fundamental questions: *who does what?*, and *who takes home decisions?* The first question tried to investigate a possible “female-typed” (indoor) and “male-typed” (outdoor) tasks’ distribution, whereas the second one was intended to understand which spouse usually assumed the leading role in housework management. Past research (South and Spitze, 1994) showed that married and cohabiting men used to perform less female-typed tasks and more male-typed ones when compared to men from other marital statuses. In this sense, we tried to record which indoor core activities – cooking, housecleaning, shopping, doing the laundry, and ironing – each partner was performing, since our concern at this point was merely focused on *the gendered nature of the tasks* performed, rather than on the amount of time each individual spent doing them.

One central finding that immediately emerged from our analysis is the quasi absence of a very strict task-division distribution. More than half our male and female respondents claimed that household allocation did not have a very clear gender plan and that each partner did “*a bit of everything*” (this was the case of Paulo and Athina, Norbert and Ingrid, Miguel and Gertrude, Karol and Catarina, Carlos and Marie, Luís and Mercedes, Luca and Patrícia, and Francisco and Jane). Moreover, none of the couples who mentioned the existence of a more specialized task allocation (Claus and Marta, Markus and Carlota, Johann and Sónia, Albert and Sara, Sean and Claus, Rodrigo and Ema, and Knut and Marguerite) reported that one partner performed certain domestic chores exclusively. This means that even when particular activities tend to be displayed more by one of the spouses, this condition does not imply that the

other partner might not occasionally be responsible for it. In the end, a particular kind of “tacit adjustment” tends to prevail, as Sónia clearly mentions:

*“There are things we like more to do: to do the laundry it’s me who does it in the end of the evening, but then it’s him who dries it. He likes more to cook and whenever he comes home earlier than me, he starts cooking immediately. And if he’s not, I start cooking myself. And if one of us puts the table, the other one cleans it afterwards and ends up tidying up the kitchen...”*

(Sónia, 35 years, Portuguese, married to Johann, 42 years, German)

As such, the allocation of family responsibility in these mixed couples seems to break somewhat with the traditional household organization, where women contributed to the bulk of indoor activities and men used to “help” them by undertaking sporadic outdoor activities, such as car maintenance, taking out the trash, or doing house repairs (see Coleman, 1988). In addition, it also seems evident that our male respondents are performing something more of a “responsibility” role in domestic chores than a “helping” one, as husbands have habitually done in the past. By adapting to their partner’s task allocation at home, men are revealing that they are taking the initiative of doing a particular chore without needing to be asked to do so. However, and although this men’s “responsibility attitude” is said to be taken both by wives and husbands, about six of the couples (Markus and Carlota, Albert and Sara, Luís and Mercedes, Sean and Claire, Johann and Sónia, and Knut and Marguerite) reported that it was women who mostly took home decisions and the role of managing the orchestration of the home. Albert and Sara, for instance, are extremely clear when talking about it:

*“It is her who takes almost all initiatives, and then I do what she says... Then we both do the tasks; but it is her who takes the initiatives of the house... And she wants to know my opinion and she likes when I have some responsibility...She becomes happy. Because it shows that I’m also worried about it. But in general terms, it is her: the house!”*

(Albert, 33 years, Belgian, married to Sara, 33 years, Portuguese)

*“Shopping is almost made by the two of us, although is something very much supervised by me. That is, even when he goes shopping alone he asks me what it is needed to buy... And he had always helped me in housecleaning, although that was also something very supervised by me....”*

(Sara, 33 years, Portuguese, married to Albert, 33 years, Belgian)

Looking now at task distribution, although cooking has been said to increasingly be an area of convergence between husbands and wives (Bianchi et al, 2000: 206-207), we found that slightly more men than women were dedicated to it. Of those, six men said that they cook more often than their respective spouses (i.e., Claus, Markus, Carlos, Francisco, Rodrigo and Knut), five said they cook as much as them (Paulo, Miguel, Karol, Luca and Johann), and only three reported cooking less (Norbert, Albert and Luís). Though they traditionally stay away from the kitchen, cooking might be reflecting men's conquest of a new and pleasant chore in the household domain. By "choosing" to do certain *creative tasks* such as cooking, men might be investing in some domestic roles that allow them to disconnect from daily stress and include some artistic activity in their everyday lives. This idea was advanced by more than one of our male interviewees:

*"I tend to cook more. But that is something that I like more to do than her, so... And that gives me pleasure, so it does not count as a sacrifice."*

(Miguel, 34 years, Portuguese, married to Gertrude, 39 years, Maltese)

Nevertheless, while men are preparing home meals, women seem to be doing other tasks that are not as pleasant and are more physically demanding, such as home cleaning or doing the laundry, especially if the couple does not have any external paid help (see Bianchi et al, 2000). As Marta and Markus clarify:

*"As he normally cooks, I maybe compensate a bit doing some other things more often like him... Yes, I think I'm more attentive to do the laundry than he is."*

(Marta, 38 years, Portuguese, cohabiting with Claus, 36 years, Dutch)

*"I think Carlota is cleaner than I am, so she cleans up more. If it's a bit messy or so, it's usually more Carlota. Carlota always takes care of laundry; I don't know why, but she always does it..."*

(Markus, 39 years, German, married to Carlota, 32 years, Portuguese)

Ironing appears to be a tricky and unpleasant domestic chore that both spouses normally try to avoid. This is a subject that was already raised in innovative research conducted by Bianchi et al (2000), who suggested that although women have been reducing their housework participation and men have been increasing it during the last

few decades, there are still some tasks being left undone due to a continuous disinvestment in home chores. In fact, and contrary to higher standards of home activity usually set within traditional families in the past, leaving some tasks, such as ironing, undone in contemporary households seems to be perceived by both partners as a natural practice that allows them to escape from a domestic responsibility which they perceive as onerous and boring. However, when it does occur, ironing seems to be largely a female-typed task, since five out of the fifteen couples reported that the female partners tended to do it. This idea is precisely what Patrícia and Mercedes transmit when speaking about their home affairs:

*"I don't mind ironing but his shirts are quite difficult... So before we had this cleaning lady we had a contracted laundry service that used to pass by on Tuesdays and return on Thursdays. I don't need my clothes to be ironed, but Luca has his shirts... So in general we do not iron."*

(Patrícia, 32 years, Portuguese, cohabiting with Luca, 37 years, Italian)

*"I don't need to iron anything; I just hang my clothes very straight for them to be wrinkle-free after drying"!*

(Mercedes, 31 years, Spanish, cohabiting with Luís, 33 years, Portuguese)

Some tasks, like grocery shopping, tend to be seen as an enjoyable outdoor activity shared by both partners (eleven out of the fifteen couples), who mentioned doing it together if there is a lot to buy, and separately if it is just necessary to replace some goods during the week.

On the other hand, some other outdoor maintenance tasks like paying the bills (rent, electricity, gas, etc) or everything related to car supervision, are said to be male-type activities. Women like Ingrid, for instance, feel reluctant to speak to the water or gas supplier, and so she asks Norbert to take care of these responsibilities, mainly due to the fact that she does not master Portuguese. Likewise, house repairs also tend to be perceived as a male core activity.

In summary, we can argue that despite the existence of a flexible household allocation between spouses (that is, men and women can do any of the required home chores), European mixed couples do not entirely display a gendered-free behaviour, since a subtle task specialization still seems to occur. Even though husbands are also performing traditional female-typed indoor chores, men tend to assume mainly cooking,

outdoor activities and shopping responsibilities, whereas women are more likely to do the cleaning, the laundry, and the mental planning of the household orchestration. We will now look at the amount of time each partner devotes to house duties, in order to get a more complete picture of this marital dynamic.

## 2) Time spent on housework activities

As we have already said, some crucial questions we posed our interviewees focused on the total objective time each partner dedicated to household tasks each day – i.e., “What percentage of time do you spend on housework duties daily, compared to your partner/spouse?”, “How many hours per day do you spend in the labour market and how many in housework duties?” (For a comparable overview of the results obtained, see the table of the Appendix 2).

The estimated percentage of daily time spent on domestic affairs proved to be fairly equal when the three types of couple are compared. If we exclude the three male breadwinner couples (Rodrigo and Ema, Sean and Claire, and Knut and Marguerite) from our analysis, the most prevalent scenario among the remaining couples is that *women spent more time performing home chores than men*. For the Portuguese man / European woman type, three of the couples mentioned a slightly higher female dedication (60% for Gertrude, 65% for Mercedes, and 60% for Jane) compared to their respective husbands (40% for Miguel, 35% for Luís, and 40% for Francisco). Only Paulo and Athina reversed this pattern, by reporting a 65% dedication by him and 35% by her.

The next couple type group – European man / Portuguese woman – offered a somewhat more confusing portrait. Both Markus and Carlota and Albert and Sara said that the men were performing 40% and the women 60% of housework duties. Similarly, Luca and Patrícia said that the estimated time each them dedicated to house affairs was 60% for Luca and 40% for Patrícia; whereas the other two couples (Karol and Catarina, and Johann and Sónia) exhibited some discrepancies in the estimated total time. Karol argued that he used to contribute to roughly 60% of the time spent on household affairs and Catarina around 40%; whereas Catarina reported the reverse (60% for her and 40% for him). Johann and Sónia also gave different estimates of the amount of time spent on

domestic duties, with Johann saying that they both used to do 50% of the tasks, and Sónia attributing the majority of the time to herself (60%), and the rest to her husband (40%).

When it came to the last group – European man / European woman – and again excluding the two male breadwinner cases (Sean and Claire, and Knut and Marguerite), where the proportion of housework is exceptionally unequal (the women perform nearly 90% of all domestic chores), the findings here were also very balanced. Claus and Marta and Norbert and Ingrid mutually agreed that the estimated time was 50% for each partner; while the last couple, Carlos and Marie, reported that she usually did 60% of the tasks and he usually performed the other 40%.

In addition to this, the effective number of hours spent every day in the labour market was also measured using each respondent's reporting. On average, both husbands and wives across all groups seemed to have similar exterior work schedules, ranging from 7 to 10 hours per day (see Appendix 2). Exceptions to this situation are housewives, one female working mother (Carlota) who dedicates 5 hours to paid labour, and also a language teacher couple (Claus and Marta), who each tend to dedicate around 6 hours to their professional life. One stress-related finding is the fact that those interviewees who normally report a higher number of overall hours spent in the labour market are either childless, or else are among the male-breadwinner couples. Given the fact that children usually require a higher level of attention and dedication to domestic affairs, this result ought not to be surprising (see Bianchi et al, 2000; Presser, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994). On the other hand, those husbands who perform the role of sole financial supporters of the family are more prone to dedicating themselves more intensely to their professional careers, as they can rely on their wives' exclusive dedication to household orchestration.

Given the fact that both spouses report the same amount of hours devoted to exterior labour, according to the *time availability hypothesis* one would expect that the time dedicated to housework would also be similar. However, and consistent with previous investigations, this is not entirely true, because women have alleged that they contribute more hours to household tasks than men (Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1996; South and Spitze, 1994). If we look in more detail at the results of each group, we find that the gap in hours between wives' domestic labour (excluding childcare) and that of their husbands is almost double. When the Portuguese man / European woman

couple's type is considered, this situation clearly seems to occur (see Appendix 2 for the cases of Miguel and Gertrude, Luís and Mercedes, and Francisco and Jane). Similarly, and also within this same group, if the partner who spends more time doing housework happens to be the man, the amount of time performed on it is also double that of the female spouse (see the case of Paulo and Athina).

The European man / Portuguese woman group displays fairly parallel results. Carlota spends a third more of her time than Markus on household duties (3 daily hours and 2 daily hours, respectively); whereas Sara dedicates nearly two thirds more of her time to domestic activities than Albert (3 daily hours and 1 hour, respectively). Again, conversely, Luca reports spending double the daily time on home tasks compared to Patrícia (1 hour and 25 minutes, respectively). On the other hand, Karol and Catarina aim to spend about one hour per day each doing domestic affairs, and Johann and Sónia also reported doing 2 or 3 daily hours each in home chores.

In the final group – European man / European woman – Claus and Marta estimated their overall daily hours at about 1 to 2 hours each, whereas Norbert and Ingrid agreed that both of them dedicate not more than one daily hour to household affairs. Carlos and Marie said they contribute an average of 2 and 4 hours respectively to domestic duties. It should be noted that among the remaining male breadwinner couples (Sean and Claire, and Knut and Marguerite), although Sean was not meant to perform any home task whatsoever, Knut said that he dedicated at least one daily hour to household chores.

When the cumulative number of hours is calculated on a weekly basis, the amount of time contributed to domestic labour by working wives was said to be around 10.2 hours, whereas the time devoted by men was about 7.7 hours. These figures are roughly the same as those estimated in past investigations (see Lee and Waite, 2005). Although these findings seem to suggest that couples spent a modest amount of time doing housework, it has to be considered that while performing particular home chores, individuals are often multitasking or a primary and a secondary activity (Lee and Waite, 2005). On the other hand, and as we will see in the next section, paid external help could be minimizing domestic overburdens and helping to significantly decrease the total number of hours spent on household affairs (Bianchi et al, 2000; Orapesa, 1993; Spitze, 1999; Soberon-Ferrer and Dardis, 1991). Another possible explanation for this modest domestic contribution is the fact that both spouses tend to have misleading



perceptions of their participation in housework (Lee and Waite, 2005; Kamo, 2000; Press and Townsley, 1998). Nonetheless, these studies have admitted an over-reporting of husbands' domestic contributions (and not underreporting as may be the case here), although both men and women correctly stated wives' housework times.

Another factor that is not included in our analysis and might be determinant in the accuracy of the exact number of hours spent doing housework is childcare. When interviewed on housework labour division, respondents may not have considered childcare to be an activity that is included in indoor home tasks, and for this reason may have been under-recalling the number of hours dedicated to household responsibilities. The fact is that childcare is said to increase both mother and father's domestic time occupation, particularly in the case of women (see Bianchi et al, 2000; Presser, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994).

Nevertheless, and although it would be interesting to address all these issues in further studies, the major result that we can retain from this analysis is that, even in the presence of a fairly balanced amount of time spent on household duties within European mixed partnerships, wives tend to display more hours of domestic activities.

### 3) Paid helpers as a neutralizer of a gendered imbalance in household chores?

Previous research has been showing that higher incomes and higher levels of education among dual-earner couples with children are significant predictors of paid help in housework (Spitze, 1999; Orapesa, 1993; Soberon-Ferrer and Dardis, 1991). Delegating some of the home tasks that are less frequent and are normally viewed as more unpleasant (i.e. cleaning) to a paid person thus seems to be a current family practice for dealing with domestic affairs when both partners have professional careers. Moreover, the purchasing of other outside services like laundry, takeout meals or ready-made clothes, is also functioning as a means of alleviating the general burden that daily home activities may entail.

Consistent with these findings, 10 of the 15 couples interviewed had a cleaning lady for the general management of the house. Of these 10 couples, 2 hired such a person on a daily basis, both to tidy up and to take care of their preschool-age children; another 2 had this paid service twice per week, on average four hours each day; and the

remaining 6 had this domestic help for at least 4 hours once per week (see Appendix 2). It is important to note that among these marriages, 6 had children and 4 did not; as previous investigations have recorded (Spitze, 1999), this seems to be a relevant factor in the decision to contract out more hours of weekly housework to a third party, especially when it comes to caring for the offspring themselves.

The ability to pay for a cleaning lady has to be interpreted cautiously, in order to understand whether this reflects a joint decision, or else is a demand made by only one of the spouses. Nevertheless, in the end, this choice mainly seems to relieve the woman's burden, and can also contribute to perpetuating the gendered division of housework by making provision for or neutralizing wives' domestic work and absorbing possible tensions or conflicts in the home. In other words, women are the family member who benefit most from hiring paid staff to help with household chores, as Jane, one of our interviewees, seems to confirm:

*“Well, now we have a cleaner; Francisco always had a cleaner so he never really did his own housework, or washing or ironing or any of that. And I never had a cleaner before I came here. And I really didn't want one, because I like my privacy and I don't like someone else coming... So that was an issue because when we moved into our new house, we left behind the cleaner that he had in his old house, and now for the first time he was without a cleaner. And so we had decided that we would do the housework between the two of us. And there were great arguments and eventually the only way I consider to solve it was to pay for a cleaner... Because otherwise I would feel I was doing all of the work and I don't like that. And he wasn't willing to do it or to be bored doing his part...”*

(Jane, 33 years, British, married to Francisco, 32 years, Portuguese)

Likewise, being capable of affording paid help can also be related to the search for a more enjoyable marital relationship and to enhancing quality of life. Markus, for instance, is particularly clear when talking about the advantages for his conjugal life of contracting out housecleaning and childcare services on a daily basis:

*“But I think here the ingredient is the “*empregada*” (cleaner), I mean it's a tremendous luck! While in another city in Europe that would be quite difficult financially, with the “*empregada*” we can manage being together a lot and work, because both of us have to write a lot, so for the relationship is very good”.*

(Markus, 39 years, German, married to Carlota, 32 years, Portuguese)

So are paid helpers a neutralizer of gender imbalance among these couples? We believe that these individuals' high financial income makes it easy for them to purchase paid cleaning services, which contributes most obviously to substituting spouses' domestic duties that would otherwise probably end up being more of a constraint on women's housework time than men's. Therefore, and although a cleaning lady tends to be the logical solution for household labour orchestration among dual-earner families, it could either be sustaining the existence of more pronounced gendered disarrangements inside the home, or significantly reducing the number of hours spouses devote to domestic chores.

#### 4) Perceptions of fairness

One of the most perplexing findings of past research centred on household gender allocation reveals that, regardless of the fact that women objectively do the bulk of domestic chores compared to their respective spouses, an important proportion of them perceive this situation as satisfactorily fair (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994; Hochschild, 1989). Lennon and Rosenfield (1994) maintain that 50% is not seen as a middle measure by couples, as women considered a household distribution where they perform 66% of the total work as fair, whereas men perceived 36% of their personal involvement in home affairs as fair.

Some of the studies that have tried to understand the meaning of this paradox have reported that the amount of time husbands spent doing particular home tasks was less significant for women than the quality of home chores that the men tended to do (Baxter and Western, 1998; Baxter, 2000; Sanchez and Kane, 1996). This supports the suggestion that the *symbolic significance* associated with men's participation in some women's traditional indoor tasks (i.e., cooking, tidying up the kitchen after meals, doing laundry, or cleaning the house) is more valued by women and is an important predictor of their judgements of fairness (Thompson, 1991).

Another fundamental issue uncovered by previous research is that for both husbands and wives the determining factor in perceptions of fairness seems to be men's (and not women's) own contribution to household affairs. This supports a *gender ideology perspective* which holds that, because both spouses tend to see women's domestic performance as a practice that is "natural" or is taken for granted, men's level

of home involvement is then considered to be the standpoint from which fair judgements are elaborated (Baxter, 2000).

In relation to these assumptions, we tried to assess how our interviewees perceived their household gender distribution, simply by asking each partner “*do you consider home tasks are equally distributed among you both?*” Two of them (Luca and Paulo) had noticed a task division that was somewhat unbalanced in their disfavour (i.e. they reported doing more at home than their wives), with Paulo arguing that “*for the male pattern that I know, I think I do a lot*”; and with Luca curiously justifying his attitude with the same cleanness requirement arguments found in some female respondents:

*"I think they are ok. Well, they are a bit unfairly distributed, but just a little... And I also have more need to see things tidied up than she has, and so, as I know that that is my need I do not want to overborne her with this. And that's why I end up doing more things. And it also might function to relax and to think on different things... But I do not mumble a lot, no..."*

(Luca, 37 years, Italian, cohabiting with Patrícia, 32 years, Portuguese)

Although this difference in housework involvement was not seen as extremely disproportionate, both Paulo and Luca's wives (respectively, Athina and Patrícia) confirmed that their husbands' participation in household affairs was greater than their own, and that this situation “*was not entirely normal*” (Patrícia) when compared to the common type of married man. Another two male respondents (Claus and Norbert) and their partners (Marta and Ingrid) reported a fair sharing of household responsibilities, and were among those partnerships who mentioned an equal amount of time spent on household duties. However, and as expected, most of the husbands (Johann, Carlos, Markus and Miguel) and their wives (Sónia, Marie, Carlota and Gertrude) perceived the men's domestic involvements as fair, even if the women admitted that they did slightly more than men. Two of the men in the remaining couples (Francisco and Jane; Luís and Mercedes) said that their home performance was less intense than that of their female partners and, as found in past research (Hochschild, 1989), justified their lesser involvement in terms of their “*male incompetence*” or “*laziness*”:

*"I don't want to apologize for my behaviour... But of course, it is my typical masculine laziness to think that television is much more attractive than to clean up the kitchen or the bathroom!"*

(Francisco, 32 years, Portuguese, married to Jane, 33 years, British)

*“I could do more. I excuse myself saying that I am tired, but she also is... And it is a bit tricky to say ‘my work is more demanding than yours’, because that isn’t true...”*

(Luis, 33 years, Portuguese, cohabiting with Mercedes, 32 years, Spanish)

Some other factors such as *financial resources* are also said to have a considerable influence on different perceptions of fairness. Women with lower earnings than their husbands and who spent more time doing housework activities have been thought to perceive this situation as more acceptable (Lennon and Rosenfield, 1994; Sanchez and Kane, 1996). This argues in favour of the idea that greater levels of economic dependency and lesser marital power contribute to lowering female expectations in the direction of unequal home arrangements. In parallel, one would presume that greater financial resources on the part of women would enhance their expectations regarding conjugal domestic allocation, and lead to a greater propensity to judge an imbalanced division of house labour as unfair (Baxter, 2000). Our results tend to confirm both of the latter assumptions. On the one hand, and in case of male-breadwinner homes such as that of Ema and Rodrigo, the wife justifies her husband’s performance by the fact that they have different labour activities (paid and unpaid), and thus expectations regarding home distribution are necessarily unequal:

*“I do not mind taking care of the chores at home, as my husband is working and sustaining fully the family. If I was working full time as he does, probably I would mind a lot to do as much as I do now relating to cleaning the house and putting things in order, as then not only he, but also me would come back home tired and not wishing to spend that time for cleaning. Now I justify him, although sometimes I get tired of boring chores and then I mumble. But what relates feeding, giving bath, playing, educating our children the tasks are absolutely well divided between us. I am truly satisfied with this.”*

(Ema, 29 years, Lithuanian, married to Rodrigo, 36 years, Portuguese)

On the other hand, dual-earner mixed couples with similar levels of earnings and education like Gertrude and Miguel, stress much higher equality expectations and demands regarding domestic chore arrangements:

*“I think we are pretty even in terms of tasks... I would not accept anything less than an equal management... But I’m aware that I probably end up doing more, not necessarily because it is imposed on me but because I take it quite often. Shopping on the way home and things like that... But we pretty much share things.”*

(Gertrude, 39 years, Maltese, married to Miguel, 33 years, Portuguese)

However, this last discourse reveals an extremely interesting contradiction because, like Gertrude, women tend to justify carrying a slightly greater home burden simply by the fact that they have different perceptions regarding family care. This view has equally as much to do with gender role expectations shaped by interpersonal outcomes, since wives believe themselves to be those who better personify the role of caring for the family (Hochschild, 1989; Thompson, 1991). In addition, “housework as caring for the beloved ones” turns out to be a fundamental part of the female gender definition, even if it requires a greater performance of household chores. Accordingly, as Sonia’s discourse visibly illustrates, invoking the need to maintain high levels of home cleaning can also offer support for husbands’ weak participation in household duties (Coltrane, 1996):

*“Theoretically speaking, the tasks are well shared... But I’m too exigent and so I end up doing some things...Or then I use to do them first because I think they have to be better made, and I think Johann don’t do them so well... I don’t know, I think all the couples have this attitude: women think that tasks need to be better made and they tend to be more exigent regarding cleaning. And they become self-responsible for that. Although theoretically speaking, things are well divided, yes...”*

(Sónia, 35 years, Portuguese, married to Johann, 42 years, German)

So our findings provide support for the idea that among mixed couples with higher income and similar levels of education, household labour division is often seen as fairly allocated between both spouses, particularly, as mentioned in a previous section, if we take into consideration that the number of hours spent doing domestic tasks is only somewhat higher among our female interviewees compared to their husbands. It is probably due to this, as well to the fact that our male respondents say they do the same kind of chores as their females spouses, that perceptions of an unequal housework distribution are not as pronounced as those found in past investigations.

## Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to evaluate how household is gender-allocated among highly educated European mixed partnerships living in Lisbon. In order to assess this, we conducted a qualitative survey of 15 couples designed to understand some of the main dimensions linked to: a) the gender-typed nature of the tasks performed; b) the amount of time dedicated to housework by each partner, c) the contracting of paid services as a means of alleviating the domestic burden; and d) husbands and wives' subjective perceptions of the fairness of their own household distribution.

Our results reveal that even without a strict and stereotyped task distribution, the fact that both husbands and wives tend to do the same type of home duties means that a somewhat gendered specialization of the “chosen” activities inside the home seems to prevail. As such, men seem to be more responsible for those chores that are seen as more creative, time-flexible and occasional, such as cooking, house repairs, car maintenance, and shopping, whereas women are mainly required to do housecleaning, laundry and ironing, as well as mentally supervising the general functioning of the home. When it comes to time spent on housework, women declared a higher percentage of time doing home tasks than men, even when both partners had similar labour market schedules. Additionally, two thirds of these couples said they purchased paid cleaning help at least once per week, and that this was intended to maximize domestic efficiency and relieve them of the more time consuming and onerous home tasks, like cleaning or ironing. Finally, when declaring their own subjective judgements on the fairness of their housework distribution, almost all our respondents said they were fairly satisfied with their home arrangements, even when time spent on these activities was not entirely equal. All in all, gender differentials among highly educated mixed relationships also seem to be the fundamental factor structuring the household division of labour – i.e. wives still tend to work more on domestic tasks than their husbands, even if this difference is not as great as that reported in past studies, and this tends to indicate a stronger gender egalitarianism ideology (Coltrane, 2000).

So how should these findings be interpreted according to the three theoretical explanations provided earlier (i.e. the resource power perspective, the time availability hypothesis, and the gender socialization roles)? From the resource power perspective, similar earnings and educational credentials for both spouses have been said to reduce

the gender gap differential participation in domestic activities (Coltrane, 2000; Pittman and Blanchard, 1996; Presser, 1994; South and Spitze, 1994). This was precisely what we found, since our female and our male respondents had identical financial and professional resources, and tended to exhibit a fairly balanced home task division. However, and particularly in relation to this point, further studies need to include other comparative social groups, if this assumption is to be fully upheld.

The time availability hypothesis is the least consistent with our results. As we said, even when working in the paid market for the same amount of time as their husbands, the wives we interviewed reported a somewhat higher amount of time spent doing domestic labour, compared to their partners. As in some other investigations (Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994), this finding weakens the availability hypothesis approach since it does not explain why, even when both spouses are subject to similar time constraints, women continue to shoulder the bulk of housework responsibilities.

Accordingly, the gender roles hypothesis seems to be the most reliable explanation and the one which better supports our results, when it stresses the importance of gender role behaviour and socialization when performing home activities. We believe we found evidence for this argument in the discourses of some of our interviewees, who (women) justified their behaviour by simply being “more strict with domestic standards of cleanliness”, or (men) clearly said that their partner’s brain “*was structured as to organize the household chores, and that she liked it a lot*” (Luís).

There are, however, certain issues that were not considered in this research for time economy reasons. First of all, the amount of time devoted to house chores might have been underestimated by our interviewees due to the fact that some of them tend to shift home cleanness to the weekend, when both spouses spend time cleaning the house or doing the larger amounts of shopping. Secondly, childcare was not included in our analysis, even though, as past research has been showing, some of our respondents who were also parents declared that the care of their offspring was a somewhat absorbing home activity (Brines, 1993; Presser, 1994; Shelton and John, 1993; South and Spitze, 1994). More research is thus needed when considering the assessment of both housework and childcare planning among these types of mixed union. Finally, it would be interesting to further consider whether mixed partnerships exhibit a more egalitarian gender ideology when compared either to monocultural couples belonging to the same



or different social class positions, or to other mixed marriages belonging to upper or lower social classes.

In short, without wanting to devalue the fact that these mixed couples tend to display a more balanced organization of home tasks, something of a “household labour glass” remains, in which women are still (self) required to do more tasks, even when they possess the same social and financial conditions as their husbands.

# Appendix 1

## Sociodemographic Table

| Couple type                     | Name              | Sex | Age | Nationality | Qualifications | Profession             | Mobility experience | Residence in Portugal | Languages | Number of children | Duration of relationship |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----|-----|-------------|----------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Portuguese Man – European Woman | <b>Paulo</b>      | M   | 42  | Portuguese  | Master         | Military               | 1                   | 36 years              | 2         | 1                  | 11 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Athina</b>     | F   | 38  | Greek       | Master         | Communication Director | 2                   | 13 years              | 5         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Miguel</b>     | M   | 34  | Portuguese  | PhD            | Researcher             | 3                   | 27 years              | 2         | 2                  | 10 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Gertrude</b>   | F   | 39  | Maltese     | PhD            | Researcher             | 4                   | 3,5 years             | 3         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Luís</b>       | M   | 33  | Portuguese  | Bachelor       | Biologist              | 0                   | 33 years              | 4         | 0                  | 2 years cohabiting       |
|                                 | <b>Mercedes</b>   | F   | 31  | Spanish     | Bachelor       | Biologist              | 1                   | 5 years               | 5         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Francisco</b>  | M   | 32  | Portuguese  | Master         | Consultant             | 0                   | 32 years              | 2         | 0                  | 4 years                  |
|                                 | <b>Jane</b>       | F   | 33  | British     | Master         | Consultant             | 2                   | 4 years               | 2         |                    |                          |
| European Man – Portuguese Woman | <b>Rodrigo</b>    | M   | 36  | Portuguese  | Postgraduated  | Engineer               | 1                   | 36 years              | 3         | 2                  | 5 years                  |
|                                 | <b>Ema</b>        | F   | 29  | Lithuanian  | Master         | Housewife              | 3                   | 4 years               | 6         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Markus</b>     | M   | 39  | German      | Bachelor       | Consultant             | 6                   | 3 years               | 4         | 2                  | 10 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Carlota</b>    | F   | 32  | Portuguese  | PhD            | Researcher, Lecturer   | 3                   | 25 years              | 3         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Albert</b>     | M   | 33  | Belgian     | PhD            | Lecturer               | 1                   | 5 years               | 3         | 1                  | 9 years                  |
|                                 | <b>Sara</b>       | F   | 33  | Portuguese  | PhD            | Lecturer               | 1                   | 27 years              | 4         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Karol</b>      | M   | 33  | Polish      | Master         | Diplomat               | 1                   | 3,5 years             | 6         | 0                  | 2 years                  |
|                                 | <b>Catarina</b>   | F   | 35  | Portuguese  | Bachelor       | Economist              | 1                   | 35 years              | 4         |                    |                          |
| European Man – European Woman   | <b>Luca</b>       | M   | 37  | Italian     | PhD            | Engineer               | 1                   | 8 years               | 4         | 0                  | 8 years cohabiting       |
|                                 | <b>Patricia</b>   | F   | 32  | Portuguese  | Bachelor       | Engineer               | 1                   | 30 years              | 4         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Johann</b>     | M   | 42  | German      | Bachelor       | Artist                 | 1                   | 17 years              | 3         | 2                  | 10 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Sónia</b>      | F   | 35  | Portuguese  | Bachelor       | Architect              | 0                   | 32 years              | 2         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Claus</b>      | M   | 36  | Dutch       | Bachelor       | Language Teacher       | 3                   | 2 years               | 5         | 0                  | 2 years cohabiting       |
|                                 | <b>Marta</b>      | F   | 38  | Spanish     | Bachelor       | Language Teacher       | 2                   | 4 years               | 4         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Norbert</b>    | M   | 37  | German      | PhD            | Researcher             | 3                   | 2,5 years             | 6         | 0                  | 10 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Ingrid</b>     | F   | 40  | Swedish     | Bachelor       | Diplomat               | 2                   | 2,5 years             | 5         |                    |                          |
| European Man – Portuguese Woman | <b>Carlos</b>     | M   | 39  | Spanish     | Master         | Diplomat               | 3                   | 3 years               | 6         | 2                  | 6 years                  |
|                                 | <b>Marie</b>      | F   | 30  | Belgian     | PhD            | Researcher             | 2                   | 3 years               | 5         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Sean</b>       | M   | 40  | Irish       | Master         | Project Manager        | 3                   | 3 years               | 2         | 3                  | 15 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Claire</b>     | F   | 40  | French      | Bachelor       | Housewife              | 3                   | 3 years               | 3         |                    |                          |
|                                 | <b>Knut</b>       | M   | 47  | Norwegian   | Bachelor       | Company Director       | 5                   | 1,5 years             | 7         | 2                  | 15 years                 |
|                                 | <b>Marguerite</b> | F   | 43  | French      | Bachelor       | Housewife              | 4                   | 1,5 years             | 4         |                    |                          |

## Appendix 2

### Time spent on housework and paid help services

| Couple type                     | Name of interviewee | Percentage of time spent on housework | Hours spent daily on labor market | Hours spent on housework per day | Weekly hours of paid cleaning help |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Portuguese Man – European Woman | Paulo               | 65 %                                  | 7-8                               | 2                                | 0                                  |
|                                 | Athina              | 35 %                                  | 7-8                               | 1                                |                                    |
|                                 | Miguel              | 40 %                                  | 7-8                               | 2                                | 3                                  |
|                                 | Gertrude            | 60%                                   | 7,5                               | 2-3                              |                                    |
|                                 | Luís                | 35 %                                  | 8-9                               | 0,5-1                            | 0                                  |
|                                 | Mercedes            | 65 %                                  | 8-9                               | 1                                |                                    |
|                                 | Francisco           | 40 %                                  | 8-9                               | 1                                | 4                                  |
|                                 | Jane                | 60 %                                  | 8-9                               | 2                                |                                    |
| Rodrigo                         | 10 %                | 9                                     | 1                                 | 0                                |                                    |
| Ema                             | 90 %                | 0                                     | Housewife                         |                                  |                                    |
| European Man – Portuguese Woman | Markus              | 40 %                                  | 7-8                               | 2                                | 40                                 |
|                                 | Carlota             | 60 %                                  | 5                                 | 3                                |                                    |
|                                 | Albert              | 40 %                                  | 8                                 | 1                                | 4                                  |
|                                 | Sara                | 60 %                                  | 7-8                               | 2-3                              |                                    |
|                                 | Karol               | 60 %                                  | 9                                 | 1                                | 4                                  |
|                                 | Catarina            | 60 %                                  | 8-9                               | 1                                |                                    |
|                                 | Luca                | 60 %                                  | 8-10                              | 1                                | 8                                  |
|                                 | Patricia            | 40 %                                  | 8-10                              | 25 minutes                       |                                    |
| Johann                          | 50 %                | 7-8                                   | 2-3                               | 0                                |                                    |
| Sónia                           | 60 %                | 7-8                                   | 2-3                               |                                  |                                    |
| European Man – European Woman   | Claus               | 50 %                                  | 6                                 | 1-2                              | 0                                  |
|                                 | Marta               | 50 %                                  | 6                                 | 1-2                              |                                    |
|                                 | Norbert             | 50 %                                  | 8-10                              | 1                                | 4                                  |
|                                 | Ingrid              | 50 %                                  | 10                                | 1                                |                                    |
|                                 | Carlos              | 40 %                                  | 8                                 | 2                                | 40                                 |
|                                 | Marie               | 60 %                                  | 8                                 | 4                                |                                    |
|                                 | Sean                | 0 %                                   | 8-9                               | 0                                | 4                                  |
|                                 | Claire              | 100                                   | 0                                 | Housewife                        |                                    |
| Knut                            | 10 %                | 8-9                                   | 1                                 | 8                                |                                    |
| Marguerite                      | 90 %                | 0                                     | Housewife                         |                                  |                                    |

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