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Economic Dependence and Gender Division of Household Labour in the Republic of Korea[1]

This paper examines the relationship between economic dependence and gender differences in housework in Korea. There are three explanatory alternatives for the relationship; economic rule of exchange, gender display perspective and deviant neutralization. We analysed both 2004 and 2009 time use survey data. The findings show the significant gender differences in time spent on housework that wives spend much more time on housework than husbands. However, among couples with non-normative gender roles, in some cases the more economically powerful wives spend more time on housework than breadwinner wives with weaker economic power, although such cases are rare. Rather, it is appropriate to conclude that, the more economically independent the wives, the less time they spend on housework; this is also the case for husbands. Overall, the Korean case shows what the economic exchange theory predicts. Thus, improvements in working wives' economic power will lead to gender equity in the division of housework.

This paper examines the relationship between economic dependence and gender differences in housework in the Republic of Korea. In the traditional Korean family, husbands and wives occupied completely separate domains-namely, the external world and the kitchen, respectively (Vogel, 1971). The literature on Korean women and culture highlighted Confucianism as a source of the strong gender division in labour (Cho & Chang, 1994; Gelb & Lief Palley, 1994; Greenhalgh, 1985; Smith, 1981). However, Korea has witnessed significant changes in gender relations during the post–industrialization era. In particular, the increase in women's proportion in paid work is remarkable. Female labour market participation increased from 48.4% in 1995 to 50.2% in 2006 whereas men's participation reduced from 76.4% to 74% during the same period. The improvement in women's labour market participation stemmed from the increase of female paid workers from 59.6% to 67.7% of all employed females. Such concurred with the decreases in the fertility rate and marriage rate and the increase in the divorce rate. The change was also reflected in the significant proportion of dual-earner households. According to the National Statistics Office (NSO hereafter) in Korea, 43.9% of married households were dual-earner households in 2006, while in 56.1% of such households the male was the sole breadwinner (An, 2008).

However, it seems that the large proportion of unpaid care work has still fallen to women (An, 2008; Choi *et al*., 2006; Hong & Park, 1994; Hong, 1993; Kim, 1993; Moon, 1991; Park, 2007). Since 1999, the NSO has conducted a Time Use Survey (TUS) every five years in order to collect information on how much time people spend on different activities per day. The availability of such data has enriched research on gender division of labour in

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both the family and the labour market. In 1999, men spent on average 23 minutes per day on housework while women spent 170 minutes per day. While only 13% of men aged 10 and older did housework, 84% of women aged 10 and older did housework. In 2004 the gender difference in housework remained salient: 14% of men aged 10 and older did housework, spending on average 25 minutes per day, while 83% of females aged 10 and older participated in housework, spending 160 minutes per day (An, 2008).

Nonetheless, a few studies have looked at the reasons for the gender division of labour. Most studies include Confucianism as a cultural factor for explaining the differences. For example, An (2008) examined the gender division of both housework and care-giving work in the light of socio-economic structural changes, testing the feasibility of two theoretical explanations of gender differences in time use: the economic/bargaining approach and the gender approach. Based on an analysis of the TUS data, An found that men spent more time while women less time on housework and care work between 1999 and 2004. However, the amount of changes is small. The findings again put more weight on the cultural influence even though the concept was not adequately conceptualized and systematically operationalized. However, it is noteworthy that the study dealt with the gender division of labour in light of socio-economic structural changes.

The current paper examines the improvements of women's participation in the labour market and its influence on the gender division of labour. Several works have examined gender differences in time use as a matter of economic dependence. Previous discussions argue that the more an individual contributes to the household economically, the less time that individual spends on housework. Indeed, Brines's (1994) gender display argues that gender differences in time spent on housework are supported by the economic dependence. However, in cases where non-normative economic roles exist, a breadwinner wife and dependent husband pose a greater threat to the identities of dependent husbands than to breadwinner wives. On the other hand, Greenstein's (2000) deviant neutralization argues that both husbands and wives who occupy non-normative roles seem to exaggerate the amount of housework they do in the direction of appearing more consistent with the norm for their gender.

In the Korean case, the dependence model is of interest for several reasons, including the increase in women's participation in the labour market and the increase of dual-earner couples. The conceptual link between economic dependence and the supply of unpaid household labour lies at the heart of debate on gender stratifications (Acker, 1988; Delphy, 1984). Furthermore, the concept of economic dependence is rarely operationalized directly, and its effects on housework have yet to be examined systematically. Using 2004 and 2009 TUS data, the current paper examines the relationship between the economic dependence and the gender division of household work in Korea. To what extent do the economic contributions within family influence the gender division of housework? What happens in the division of housework among the households with partners with non-normative roles? Why-despite the improved positions of wives in the labour market-do they still do the most of housework? Is it because their earning power still lags behind that of husbands? To what extent do cultural matters offer explanations?

The following section provides the conceptual discussion regarding the process by which housework remains "women's work". This paper includes discussions of the economic rule of exchange, gender display perspective (Brines, 1994), and deviant neutralization (Greenstein, 2000), followed by a discussion of the methodology and results of the current study. The results indicate that wives spend much more time on housework than husbands. However, among couples with non-normative roles, in some cases the more economically powerful wives spend more time on housework than breadwinner wives with weaker economic power-although such cases are rare. Overall, the Korean case shows what the economic exchange theory predicts that, the more economically independent the wives, the less time they spend on housework; this is also the case for husbands. Thus, improvements in working wives' economic power will lead to gender equity in the division of housework.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Division of Household Work: Economic Rule of exchange? Gender Display? Deviant Neutralization?

Should we assume that materialist exchanges exist between economic dependence and housework? Previous discussions have supported the argument that household labour is provided in return for economic support (Bergmann, 1986; Delphy, 1984; Fuchs, 1988). Because most married women earn less than their husbands and consequently depend upon them for support, wives compensate by performing most of the housework. The economic perspective adheres to the view that the relations behind the household division of labour are fundamentally economic (Delphy, 1984). The exchange is rooted in a materialist relationship governing the distribution of labour and resources within marriage (Acker, 1988). The exchange relationship between the main breadwinner and dependents is contractual. Money is exchanged for labour under a code stipulating the rights and obligations of parties to the contract of marriage. The logic offered on behalf of this view is formally gender neutral: Housework is women's work because wives are more likely to be economically dependent on their husbands. Consequently, the less economically supportive the husband is, the more housework he is expected to do. Thus, in theory, the economic support and division of housework demonstrate a monotonic negative relationship for husbands and wives.

Brines (1994) argues that the gender division of labour cannot be fully understood only by economic dependence. Rather, it is a process of what she calls "gender display", which highlights the importance of the symbolic weight of being accountably feminine when one is dependent and accountably masculine when one earns most of the family income. Brines argues that two separate gender-specific processes link economic dependence and the performance of housework. For wives, the relationship between economic dependence and performance of housework follows basic exchange principles: wives' economic dependence decreases the amount of housework they do as well as what Brines called "dependence perspective". Yet a different process is found for husbands, who are in a curvilinear relationship; husbands at the extremes of the dependence continuum do the least housework whereas husbands whose earnings are approximately equal to those of their wives do the most. Couples who violate the traditional structure of the breadwinner husband with a dependent wife might be expected to resort to more traditional divisions of housework to achieve gender accountability in terms of how they are viewed by their partners, their friends, and themselves. Brines argues that conceptions of what sets women apart from men tend-across cultures-to regard manhood as a developmental accomplishment, something that, through rite or initiation, must be achieved. Womanhood, on the other hand, is more often seen as a natural condition, in part because women's bodies and reproductive capacities are seen as placing them closer than men to nature (Brines, 1994, pp. 682-683). Therefore, non-normative economic roles pose a greater threat to the identities of dependent husbands than to breadwinner wives. Consequently, husbands and wives tend to invoke two different gender-specific strategies in their behaviour.

Greenstein (2000) argues that both husbands and wives who occupy non-normative roles seem to exaggerate the amount of housework they do in the direction of appearing more consistent with the norm for their gender. Such exaggeration is called deviant neutralization effects. Although Brines (1994) focused only on the hours of housework conducted by both wives and husbands, Greenstein (2000) included the analysis on the housework in relative terms in addition to the absolute hours in housework. When the analysis is about hours of household labour performed per week, Greenstein (2000) argues that different processes are found. For wives, there appears to be a monotonic negative relationship between economic dependence and hours of work performed. Economically dependent wives do the most housework. For husbands, a nonlinear relationship exists in which husbands married to women with approximately equal earnings do the most housework. In addition, contrary to Brines's (1994) findings that husbands who are either fully dependent or independent do

the least housework, husbands at the extremes of Greenstein's (2000) dependence continuum do not do the least housework. When a wife fully depends on her husband, the husband does less housework than when the wife is fully independent.

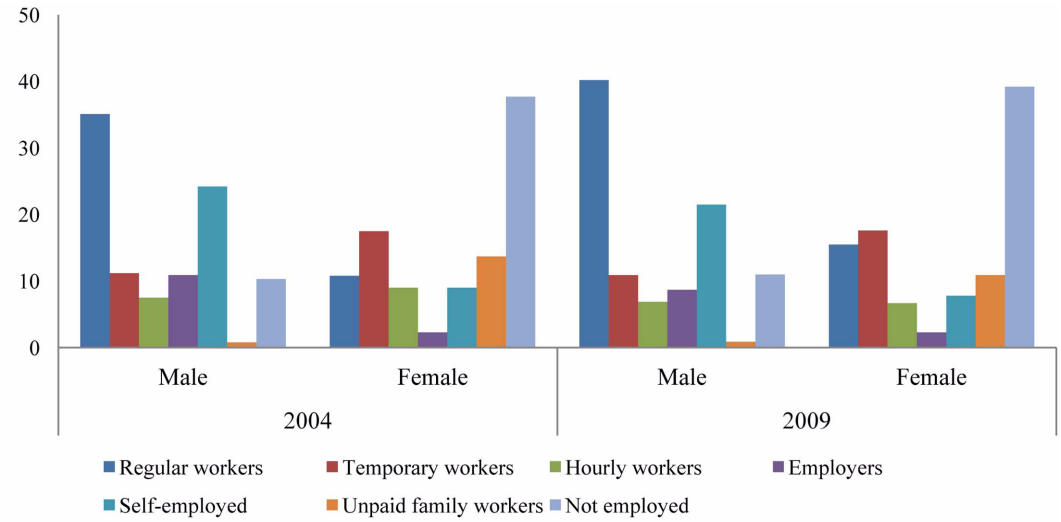
Greenstein (2000) also argued that, in terms of the proportion of housework performed, wives with higher earnings than their husbands do more housework than wives with approximately similar earnings as their partners. Husbands who earn less than their wives do less housework than husbands who earn a similar amount as their wives. This contrasts Brines's (1994) argument that gender display works strongly only for husbands. Greenstein's (2000) findings suggest that gender ideology does not significantly affect the gendered process of the division of housework. Curvilinear relationships between economic dependence and housework are still the case even when gender ideology is included in the analysis. Furthermore, there is no interaction between gender ideology and the curvilinear aspect of the relationship (Greenstein, 2000, p. 334). In summary, Brines's and Greenstein's analyses differ from the economic exchange theory. Brines proposed the concept of gender display, which largely addresses husbands with non-normative economic roles, whereas Greenstein argued that both husbands and wives try to work more accordingly to the social norm of gender.

The definition of economic dependence-namely, the extent to which one should be regarded as being economically dependent upon another-is core in the analysis. Does a dependent spouse exchange the amount of housework at the same level as his or her economic dependence? The dependent spouse can be defined as dependent only to the extent to which he or she relies upon the other for subsistence. However, many sociologist and psychologists argue that, under uncertain contexts, people work based on the relative value of losses and gains rather than the absolute value of levels of rewards, compared to the current situation (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). Also, economic power among family members depends on the control and allocation of surplus. Despite being conceptually important, it is beyond the scope of this research to measure the kinds of sociological interaction mechanisms that are undertaken between breadwinners and dependents. Instead, following Brines's and Greenstein's definition of dependence, the current study defines dependency as follows: A husband or wife might be considered dependent only to the extent that he or she relies upon the breadwinner for subsistence. Therefore, anyone with the ability to support himself or herself after the loss of the breadwinners' contribution would be considered independent. This paper examines to what extent the economic dependence matters for the gender differences in housework. It also examines whether what the gender display perspective and deviant neutralization perspective explain for the non-normative earners is the case for Korea. Finally, it draws upon policy implications based on the analysis on factors influencing the gender division of housework.

Married Women's Labour Market Participation

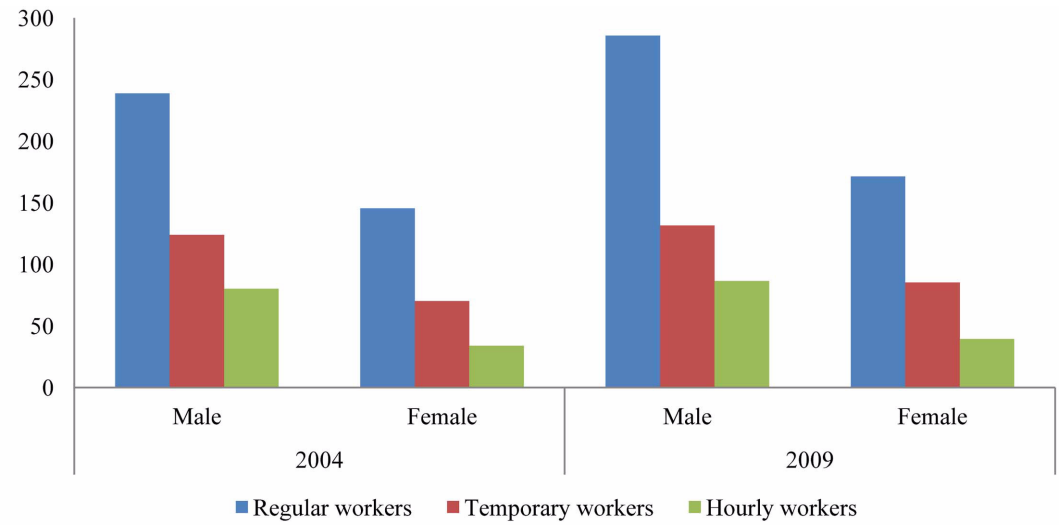
This section examines married women's labour market participation in Korea, with special attention paid on the wages. Never married single and married women's rates of participation in the labour market are included. Single men's participation rate in the labour market was 65.7% in 2004 while that of married men was 65.9%. Meanwhile, for single women the rate was 64.5% and for married woman it was 60.9%. In 2009, 60% of all married men were in the labour market and 64.9% of all single men were. On the other hand, 63.6% of single women were in the labour market and 33.5% of married women were.

Figure 1 shows married women's and men's labour market participation by employment status in 2004 and 2009. The largest proportion of married men (35.1%) was regular workers while 18.7% were irregular workers in 2004. In 2009, 40.2% of all married men were regular paid workers while 17.8% were irregular workers. On the other hand, female regular workers accounted for 10.8% in 2004, increasing to 15.5% in 2009. The proportion of irregular workers was 26.5% in 2004, but decreased



Source: Author's calculation of economically active population survey data 2004, 2009.

Figure 1. *Labour Market Participation by Sex and Employment Status 2004, 2009 (married only, %)*



Source: Author's calculation of economically active population survey data 2004, 2009

Figure 2. *Monthly Wages of Paid Workers by Sex and Employment Status 2004, 2009 (married only , 10,000 won)*

to 24.3% in 2009. These figures indicate that only 28.5% of all married female paid workers were regular workers while 71.4% were irregular workers in 2004. Corresponding figures for 2009 were 38.9% and 61%, respectively. These data seem to indicate that, between 2004 and 2009, women's economic power increased through their enhanced employment status.

Figure 2 shows the monthly wages of both married male and female paid workers by employment status. In 2004, married male workers earned 1,476,333 won on average while married female workers earned 831,666 won. In 2009, wages of both sexes increased to 1,678,667 won and 986,333 won, respectively. According to the sex ratio, women's wages as a proportion of male's wages were

56.3% in 2004 and 58.8% in 2009. By employment status, regular male workers earned 2,388,000 won and female workers earned 1,454,000 won in 2004; in 2009, these figures were 2,856,000 won for males and 1,713,000 won for females. The average wages of irregular workers including the temporary and hourly workers were 1,020,500 won for males and 520,500 won for females in 2004; in 2009, these figures were 1,090,000 won for males and 623,000 won for females. The sex ratio of regular workers was 60.8% in 2004 and 59.9% in 2009. Among irregular workers, the sex ratio was 51% in 2004 and 57% in 2009. Married female workers' wages lagged significantly behind that of male workers. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that the gender gap in wages was larger among irregular workers than regular workers. However, significant improvements have been made in the sex ratio among irregular workers between 2004 and 2009 (from 51% to 57%), indicating the significant contribution married women make to the household economy.

METHODOLOGY

Data

The NSO has conducted its TUS every five years since 1999 with the intention of collecting information on how people spend their time during a 24-hour period. The current study uses the 2004 and 2009 TUS data. The 2004 TUS sample was generated from the multipurpose household sample, which was derived from the 2000 population and housing census, using three-stage stratified sampling methods. The 850 enumerator districts were selected from the multipurpose household sample using systematic sampling; 15 households were selected in each enumerator district. The 2004 sample consisted of 33,000 individuals aged 10 years and older and 12,750 households from 850 enumerator districts. The data from both surveys were subsequently weighed to be representative of Korea's population aged 10 years and older. The 2009 TUS sample was generated from the multipurpose household sample derived from the 2008 population and housing census, using four-stage stratified sampling methods. The 540 enumerator districts were selected from the multipurpose household sample, using systematic sampling; 15 households were selected in each enumerator district. The 2009 sample consisted of 20,263 individuals aged 10 years and older and 8,100 households from 540 enumerator districts. The data were subsequently weighted to be representative of Korea's population aged 10 years and older.

Both the 2004 and 2009 survey contained household and individual questionnaires; thus, the instrument consisted of three parts: the household questionnaire, the individual questionnaire for respondents 10 years of age and older, and the time diary. The household questionnaire collected data on household characteristics, including the type of occupancy, dwellings, floor space, and vehicle ownership. The individual questionnaire collected data on individual characteristics including relationship to the head, gender, age, the caring for infant children, feelings about time pressures, the gender role, economic activity, side job, weekly working time, industry, occupation, employment status, a monthly average of income, day-off, and subjective evaluation of time pressure and tiredness. In the time diary, all the household members aged 10 years and older were asked to record the main and simultaneous activities in the time diary structured in 10-minute intervals for the designated two days. All the self-recorded activities in the time diary were coded into three-digit activity codes, which were divided into nine broad categories including personal care activities, employment, study, household maintenance, family care, voluntary service, leisure, travel and others.

The current research focuses on married couples while we excludes the divorced, widowed, and single and-among the married-those whose partners' information on income was not available. This results in 8,631 cases for 2004 and 11,008 cases for 2009.

Dependent Variables

The TUS collects information on several activities, which we include for our scope of housework-namely, food preparation, clothes care, cleaning and arrangement, house upkeep, purchasing goods for

household care, household management, and other household care activities. The TUS also collects information on the time of travel for corresponding activities. The TUS collects data on both main and simultaneous activities, which are included in our variable (i.e., housework). We also include the time spent on travel related to housework. We include both main and simultaneous activities so a individual's total time is more than 1440 minutes a day. The analysis focuses on both absolute hours per week and proportional measure of it-that is, the proportional share of time spent on the activities between husbands and wives.

Independent Variables

The measure of economic dependence employed was the same used by Brines (1994), where economic dependency = (self earnings – partner earnings) / (self earning + partner earning). The potential values of this measure range from -1, which indicates that the respondent is completely dependent on his or her spouse for economic support, to +1, meaning that the respondent provides complete earned-income support to his or her spouse; a value of 0 means that neither partner is economically dependent on the other (i.e., the partners have equal earnings). Note that this measure is perfectly correlated with the wife's or husband's proportion of family earnings (assuming no other earners in the family). We also examine the impact of gender ideology on the gender division of housework. The TUS respondents were asked for their reactions to the statement "men for paid work and women for unpaid work". Response categories range from 1 (strongly agree) to 4 (strongly disagree).

Control Variables

Control variables in the analysis include age, working hours, education in years, and the existence of preschool children. The TUS collects information on working hours separately for main job and side job; the current study combines the two for the variable of total working hours. The TUS defines working hours as hours excluding time for lunch and dinner, rest, and travel to work as well as all other time for private business, such as visiting a bank after lunch. It includes extra working hours; if the time is more than 30 minutes, it is counted as one hour. Time for family business is considered working hours but time for housework or voluntary work is not.

Studies suggest that the number of children affects the amount and distribution of housework. The Korean TUS collected information on preschool children in 2009, but not 2004. For consistency in analysis, we do not consider the influence of the number of preschool children; instead, we included a variable of whether or not the respondent has preschool children in the regression.

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 displays descriptive statistics of both 2004 and 2009 data.

The average age for husbands is about 49 years, while wives tend to be about 3 years younger. Both husbands and wives tend to have completed high school. According to the data, 63.3% of husbands and 62.9% of wives are paid workers; 20.4% of wives 0.6% of husbands are unpaid care workers. Husbands work for about 51 hours per week while wives work for 44 hours. A significant gender difference exists in time spent on housework: Husbands spent on average 33.62 minutes per day and wives spent 218.29 minutes. Regarding the opinions of the statement of paid work for males and housework for females, only 3% of husbands strongly disagreed while 7.9% of wives strongly disagreed; meanwhile, 51.5% of husbands agreed while 37.5% of wives did.

The economic dependency scores indicate, as expected, that wives tended to be economically dependent on their husbands. Approximately 2% of husbands were economically fully dependent on their wives whereas 49.6% were economically fully supportive. On the other hand, 50.5% of wives were economically fully dependent on their husbands while only 0.3% earned 100% of the household income. In addition, 9.2% of couples had similar earnings.

Table 1. *Characteristics of Couples*

Variable	2004 (*N*=8,631)		2009 (*N*=11,008)	
	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands
Age	44.	47.1	46.33	48.78
Age band				
10s	-	-	-	-
20s	9.1	4.1	7.2	3.5
30s	31.6	27.4	27.2	24.4
40s	30.0	31.3	28.0	28.7
50s	16.6	19.1	21.0	22.4
60 and above	12.7	18.1	16.6	21.0
Region				
Metropolitan area		47.9%		49%
Southeast		27.4%		26.5%
Middle west		10.1%		10.5%
Southwest		10.7%		10.1%
East		2.9%		2.7%
Island		1.1%		1.1%
No. of preschool children*	-	-	1.33	1.33
Education (in years)	11.0	12.22	11.46	12.82
Employment status				
Paid workers	56.5	60.4	62.9	63.3
Employers	3.2	11.5	2.5	8.7
Self-employed	14.7	27.4	14.1	27.3
Unpaid family workers	25.7	.7	20.4	.6
Market labour hours per week	23.41	45.1	43.65	51.26
Economic dependence	-.6093	.6069	-.5943	.5957
Total minutes of housework per day	227.59	29.86	218.29	33.62
Traditionalism				
Strongly agree	2.9	7.7	2.7	5.2
Agree	37	48.9	35.4	46.7
Disagree	53.6	40.6	54.2	45.0
Strongly disagree	6.4	2.7	7.7	3.1

Note: Data for the number of preschool children are not available for 2004
Source: Author's analysis of the time use data 2004, 2009

Figure 3 shows observed hours of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the level of the wife's economic dependence in 2004. On the whole, women do a significant amount of housework: husbands spent on average 29.9 minutes while wives spent 227.6 minutes per day. In 76.9% of households husbands earned more than wives, in 6.2% both husbands and wives earned equal amounts, and in 16.9% the wife was the breadwinner. The figure 3 shows that, among the households in which wives are economically dependent, the more dependent she is, and the more time she spends on housework. A wife with an economic dependence of -.1 averaged 260.4 minutes on housework while a wife with an economic dependence of -.08 averaged 159.3 minutes. In

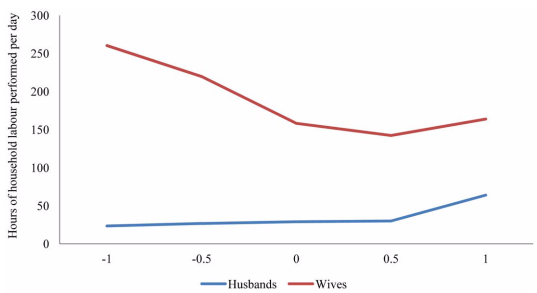


Figure 3. *Observed Hours of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2004)*

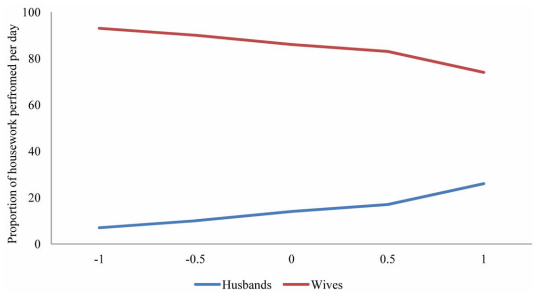


Figure 4. *Observed Proportion of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2004)*

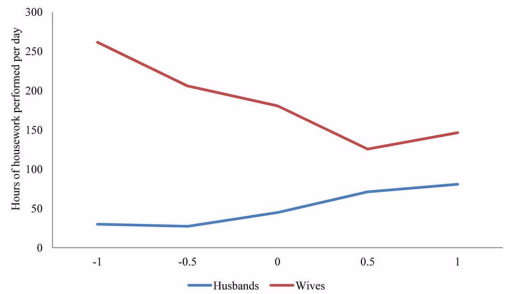


Figure 5. *Observed Hours of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2009)*

addition, the more economically independent the breadwinner husband was, the less time he spent on housework. A husband with an economic dependence of 1 spent 23.4 minutes on housework while a husband with an economic dependence of .08 spent 28.6 minutes. On average, in households with breadwinner husbands, husbands spent 30.5 minutes on housework while wives spent 192.2 minutes per day.

These results contrasted with the households with breadwinner wives, in which husbands spent more time on the housework compared to couples with breadwinner husbands. On average, husbands spent 40.28 minutes per day on housework while wives spent 148.8 minutes. Among the breadwinner wives, wives with more earning power spent more time on housework than wives with less earning power. Wives with an economic dependence of .33 spent 155 minutes on housework while wives with an economic dependence of 1 spent 163.8 minutes. This difference is not large. In addition, in households with equal earning couples, husbands spent 29 minutes on housework each day while wives spent 158.2 minutes.

Figure 4 shows the observed proportion of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the level of the wife's economic dependence in 2004. Among the households with breadwinner husbands, the husbands shared 13.2% of total time spent on housework while wives shared 87.3%. On the other hand, among the households with breadwinner wives, the husbands shared 19.3% of total time on housework while the wife shared 80.6%. Husbands with more economic dependence shared more of housework than those with less economic dependence. Among the breadwinner wives, the more she was economically independent, the less time she spent on housework.

Figure 5 shows observed hours of housework performed per day by husbands and wives based on the level of the wife's economic dependence in 2009. Overall, wives spent 218.3 minutes on housework per day while husbands spent 33.6 minutes. Among the households studied, 81.7% had wives who were economically dependent upon their husbands, 9.5% were equally earning households, and the remaining 9.8% had breadwinning wives. Among households where wives were economically dependent, the more dependent she was upon her husband, the more time she spent on housework. A wife with an economic dependence of -.1 spent 261.4 minutes on housework while a wife with an economic dependence of -.053 spent 153.3 minutes. Furthermore, the more economically independent the breadwinner husband was, the less time he spent on the housework. A husband with an economic dependence of 1 spent 29.9 minutes while husbands with an economic dependence of 0.053 spent 56.1 minutes.

In households with breadwinner wives, the husbands spent more time on the housework while women spent less time on housework; on average, husbands spent 40.7 minutes while wives spent 131.2 minutes on housework. This contrasts with 28.9 minutes for husbands and 184.6 minutes for wives among households with breadwinner husbands. The 2009 data also indicate the interesting pattern that the breadwinner wives with more earning power spent more time on housework than breadwinner wives with less earning power. The wives with an

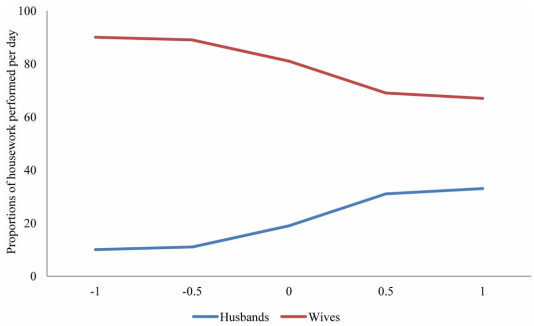


Figure 6. *Observed Proportions of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2009)*

economic dependence of .33 spent 140.5 minutes on housework while those with an economic dependence of 1 spent 146.3 minutes. However, it should be noted that the difference is only 5.8 minutes.

Figure 6 shows the observed proportion of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the wife's economic dependence in 2009. Among households with breadwinner husbands, the husbands were responsible for 14% of total time spent on housework while wives were responsible for 87%. On the other hand, among households with breadwinner wives, the husbands were responsible for 21% of total time on housework while the wife were responsible for 79%.

Table 2 summarises the regression outputs on predicted value of housework in terms of hours and proportions by the wife's economic dependence for 2004 and 2009. Independent variables (i.e., age, existence of preschool children, years of education, total working hours, and economic dependence) demonstrated a statistically significant influence on the time spent on housework. Model 1 is the outputs of predicted hours for 2004 while model 2 is the outputs of predicted proportion for 2004. Model 3 is the output of predicted hours for 2009; model 4 is the output of predicted proportion for 2009. Model 5 includes the regression outcome for predicted hours with gender ideology as the independent variable for 2004 while model 6 is the same for 2009. Figures 5 through 8 show the outcomes in graphs.

Figure 7 shows the predicted hours of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to level of the wife's economic dependence in 2004. Firstly, it shows that the significant share of housework falls to the wife rather than the husband. For husbands, the more independent they are, the less time they spend on housework. Husbands with an economic dependence of 1 are predicted to spend 119.3 minutes on housework while those with -1 spend 23.3 minutes. On the other hand, in households with dependent wives, wives with an economic dependence of 1 spend 258.1 minutes on housework while those with economic dependence -.05 are predicted to spend 229.3 minutes. In households with breadwinner wives, wives with an

Table 2. *Regression Outputs*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
	.757*	.682*	.694*	.908*	.757*	.694*
R square	.573*	.466*	.481*	.824*	.573*	.481*
Adjusted R square	.573*	.466*	.481*	.824*	.573*	.481*
Sex	158.061*	67.086*	111.460*	60.635*	158.472*	111.949*
Age	.065*	.039*	.109*	.007*	.052*	.100*
Relationship to the head of household	16.631*	1.822*	7.320*	3.873*	16.528*	7.284*
Existence of preschool children	9.476*	-1.340*	.251*	-.723*	9.467*	.294*
Years of education	.474*	-.032*	.250*	.057*	.490*	.238*
Total working hours	-.955*	-.042*	-.869*	-.120*	-.953*	-.867*
Economic dependence	-26.143*	-7.318*	-28.240*	-8.424*	-26.188*	-28.246*
Gender ideology	-	-	-	-	-2.079*	-1.787*
Constant	-92.864*	-45.788*	-43.115*	-40.704*	-87.576*	-38.849*

Note: Sample size for 2004 is 8, 631 and is 11,008 for 2009. Model 1 and Model 2 are the predicted hours and the predicted proportion for 2004 respectively. Model 3 and Model 4 are the predicted hours and predicted proportion for 2009 respectively. Model 5 is the predicted hours with gender ideology as the independent variable for 2004 while model 6 is the same for 2009. * $p < 0.05$

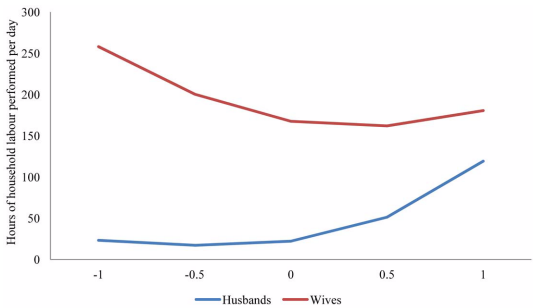


Figure 7. *Predicted Hours of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2004)*

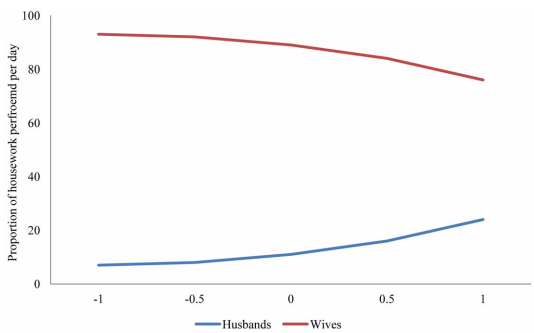


Figure 8. *Predicted proportions of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2004)*

economic dependence of .20 are predicted to spend 161.6 minutes on housework while those with an economic dependence of 1 spend 180.6 minutes.

Figure 8 shows the predicted proportion of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the wife's economic dependence in 2004. The large share of housework again falls to the wives. On average, wives are predicted to be responsible for 88.7% while husbands are responsible for 11.3%. The regression analysis predicts that, for both husbands and wives, the more economically independent, the less responsible they will be for the housework. Husbands of the wife's economic dependence of 1 are responsible for 7% while those with a -1 are responsible for 25%. Wives with an economic dependence of 1 are responsible for 93% while those with a -1 are responsible for 75%.

Figure 9 shows the predicted hours of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the wife's level of economic dependence in 2009.

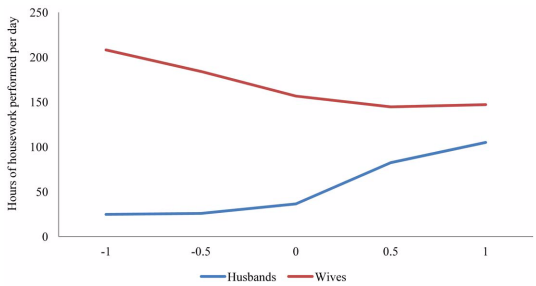


Figure 9. *Predicted Hours of Housework Performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependence (2009)*

Overall, the wives are expected to spend a great amount of time on housework (163.7 minutes per day) whereas husbands average 35.8 minutes per day. For husbands, a lower economic contribution means more time on housework. Husbands with an economic dependence of 1 are predicted to spend 105 minutes while husbands with a -1 spend 24.7 minutes. In households with dependent wives, the lower earned contribution they made, the more they are expected to spend more time on housework. Wives with an economic dependence of 1 are expected to spend 208.1 minutes per day on housework while wives with a -.05 are expected to spend 161.7 minutes. However, among breadwinner wives, more earning power may mean more time on housework. Breadwinner wives with an economic dependence of .2 are expected to spend 138.5 minutes per day on housework while those with an economic dependence of 1 spend 147.1 minutes. The difference is 8.6 minutes.

Figure 10 shows the predicted proportions of housework performed per day by husbands and wives according to the wife's economic dependence in 2009. Wives are expected to be responsible for a large portion of the housework (82.7%) while husbands are expected to be responsible for only 17.3%. For both husbands and wives, as greater economic dependence decreases, the share of housework increases. Husbands with an economic dependence of 1 are expected to be responsible for 28.8% while those with a -1 are responsible for 10%. Wives with an economic dependence of 1 are expected to be responsible for 89.9% while those with a -1 are responsible for 71.2%.

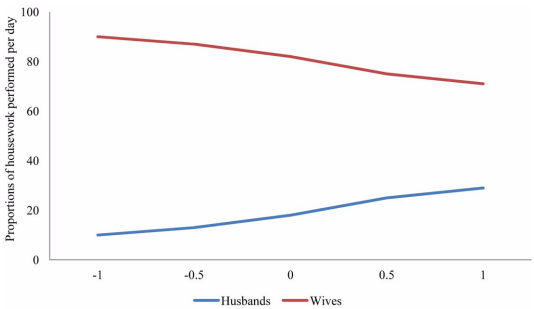


Figure 10. *Predicted Proportions of Housework performed per day by Husbands and Wives by Level of Wife's Economic Dependnece (2009*)

DISCUSSION

This paper set out to determine to what extent economic dependence is related to the gender division of labour within households in Korea. Three alternative explanations were offered: the economic exchange theory, gender display perspective, and neutral deviation perspective. The analysis for Korea followed Brines' and Greenstein's conceptualization operationalization of economic dependence. It looked at both absolute amount of time spent on housework and the proportional share between husbands and wives. For both 2004 and 2009, as observed and predicted, a consistent gendered pattern can be found. In other words, a strong gender division of labour occurred between 2004 and 2009 in that wives spent a much greater amount of time on housework than husbands. We observed linear relationships for both husbands and wives in couples with husbands with more economic power.

Among the non-normative couples, an interesting pattern emerged. In the absolute measure of hours, we observed cases in which more economically powerful breadwinner wives spend more time on housework than breadwinner wives with less economic power. On the other hand, the more dependent the husbands, the more time they spend on housework. The gender display Brines identified by looking into the amount of time in absolute terms argues that the gender difference is structural in nature, based on what Brines identified as differences in how manhood and womanhood are defined. Womanhood is perceived as an ascribed status whereas manhood is an achieved status. Non-normative economic roles pose a greater threat to the identities of dependent husbands than to breadwinner wives. Consequently, dependent husbands react to their non-normative role by doing less-not more-housework as their economic dependence increases. On the other hand, breadwinner wives do not feel the need to overcompensate for their non-normative economic role by doing more housework than might be expected under a dependence model. As such, the Korean case is not what the gender display perspective predicts.

In addition, we are cautious about the conclusions for the curvilinear relationship for breadwinner wives because, in terms of the proportional measure of the gender division of time on housework, for both husbands and wives, we observed linear relationships. In Figures 3, 5, 7, and 9 of the current paper, we observed cases that might be applicable for the deviant neutralization for wives; however, the proportional measures in Figures 4, 6, 8, and 10 do not demonstrate the pattern and the number of cases are few in number. This indicates that deviant neutralization does not adequately explain the Korean case.

In addition, as shown in models 5 and 6 in Table 2, gender ideology is a statistically significant factor but does not improve the model fit to significant amount. Thus, all in all, we conclude that the relationship between the economic dependence and gender division of time on housework follows what the economic exchange theory predicts. However, we are not ultimately convinced about the relationship. The availability of more TUS data would allow us to follow up on the present results. In addition, the research should include qualitative analysis on the how the housework is divided between husbands and wives and the rationale behind such a division. The independent factor (i.e., gender ideology) in the current TUS asks only one question. It needs to either be expanded or qualitative research can be bought in.

CONCLUSION

This paper has examined the relationship between

economic dependence and gender division of housework using 2004 and 2009 time use survey data. We have concluded that for both husbands and wives, the more economically independent is, the less time they spend on housework. That is, the Korean case shows what the economic exchange theory predicts. The findings suggest policy implications for future trends in gender equity in marriage. If working wives' economic contribution increases, more equal sharing of housework follow. The increase of women's labour market participation in Korea over the last three decades has resulted in a significant amount of irregular work with low pay. Thus, the improvements in women's labour market participation as regular workers and improvements in their wages can be the most feasible policy alternative for improving gender equity in the division of housework in the family. As marriages in this country continue to include increased numbers of dual-earner couples, with effective policy intervention in labour market, a likely outcome would be improvements to gender inequality.

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