

Who Has It and Who Gets It?

The Role of Gender, Resources, and Transitions
for Power within Couples

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1 Introduction

Over the last few decades, intimate relationships have become increasingly unstable. Divorce rates have risen and alternative forms of relationships such as cohabitation or living apart together-relationships have emerged. Whereas – not long ago – intimate relationships between heterosexual individuals automatically led to marriage and partners stayed together throughout their lives, individuals now increasingly focus on their personal goals. They pursue career opportunities, aim at self-fulfilment and are less willing to make sacrifices for their partners. Individualization, it is argued, is the reason for the disruption of family structures (Beck-Gernsheim, 1998). However, despite the instability of intimate relationships, they have not lost their importance in the lives of individuals. Rising divorce rates and the emergence of alternative forms of relationships can even be interpreted in the opposite way: because individuals attribute more importance to intimate relationships, they get divorced if the relationship does not satisfy their needs any longer. Furthermore, since romantic relationships are a crucial part of men's and women's lives, individuals test the quality of the relationship in a so-called "trial marriage" before making greater commitments to the relationship in the form of legal marriage. Although the rate of disruption has increased, the number of married couples still exceeds the number of cohabiting couples in most Western countries. Thus, since partners have to find a balance between pursuing their personal goals and making compromises for each other, the *forms* of intimate relationships and individuals' *motivations* to start and maintain a relationship might have changed throughout the last few decades. Nevertheless, intimate relationships are still important, and, as some argue, even more important than ever (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2005).

Intimate relationships are a sphere beside friendships where individuals express love and emotions. Individuals who are in a relationship are committed to each other and make investments in the relationship. In order to ensure the stability of the relationship, partners cooperate and compromise. In addition to an emotional dimension, intimate relationships also encompass practical, for example "organizational" issues for the partners, particularly when they are living together. When cohabiting, either married or unmarried, individuals not only exchange expressions of love, commitment, and emotions, but they also allocate various resources, duties, work and leisure. How should earnings be allocated, how should the housework be divided, who should take care of the children and who can engage in his or her leisure activities and when? These are questions partners have to face in their relationship. Partners may not address and discuss these questions openly, but they are topics partners have to deal with – whether or not they are conscious of it. Thus, intimate relationships are complex relations in the sense that romantic emotions, which are the reason for being together in the first place, are confounded with issues regarding the organization of the partners' lives and of the relationship.

Since partners have to decide about various arrangements, but do not necessarily have the same preferences and opinions about what such arrangements should look like, intimate relationships not only encompass cooperation and agreement, but also conflict and disagreement. If the conflicts cannot be solved and the partners are dissatisfied with the relationships, they may even separate. In addition to repeated or unsolved conflicts, arrangements may imply unequal outcomes for one partner. Taking the example of the division of housework, research has shown that housework is still allocated unequally between men and women. Even if women are as active in the labor market as their partner, they often assume what Hochschild (1989) terms the “second shift” in the household. Women are predominantly responsible for housework and child care, while men have a relatively small share of household labor and child care and have more time to pursue their leisure activities after coming home from paid work. Another example is the allocation of financial resources. Previous studies comparing the consumption of household members indicate that resources are often allocated unequally in the household and that women and children are generally disadvantaged (Jenkins, 1991; Lundberg and Pollak, 1994; Piachaud, 1982). In addition to exploring the division of housework and child care, the distribution of earnings, and family members’ consumption, research has also focused on the way couples organize their finances and make decisions in the relationship. At the beginning of the 1980s, Jan Pahl (1983) carried out a pioneer-study on money management within English couples. She observed disadvantages for women regarding the management system in marriages. Female partners were often excluded from the financial organization in the household, especially if the budget allowed for various spending decisions. Of course, inequalities of this kind can be a reason for conflict between partners and may lead to disruption if both partners can afford a separation or divorce – this depends predominantly on their financial independence.

Social inequality within romantic relationships is interrelated with power imbalances between partners. Power is defined as the relative ability to influence the other person’s attitude or behavior (Rollins and Bahr, 1976; Sprecher and Felmlee, 1997; Thibaut and Kelly, 1991). The one with more power in a relationship is in the position to achieve better outcomes for him- or herself, to distribute work and duties to the other, or to manipulate the allocation of earnings in his or her favor. The allocation of power between the partners manifests itself when couples have to agree upon such questions as stated above: Who gets what? How are housework and child care divided? Who pursues his or her leisure activities? Power is crucial especially within conflicts, in situations, where partners have to make decisions about the above-mentioned issues. However, since the power of partners is a characteristic of their relationship, power is also at work if the preferences and opinions of partners do not conflict openly. The power relation also defines which conflicts arise in the first place and which topics are not discussed at all. Lukes (2005) therefore distinguishes between three dimensions of power, namely manifest, latent and invisible power. Manifest power is possessed by a partner who openly approves or objects change. Latent power is possessed by one whose needs are

followed by the other without causing conflict, even if this person has other needs. Invisible power is defined as the ideologically shaping of the status quo. According to Lukes (2005) and Pyke (1994), power becomes visible when one of the partners wants to change something in the relationship. Nevertheless, as a crucial dimension of relationships, power is at work in the interaction between partners, even if they may not aim at changing aspects of the relationship. The wish to change something may already be shaped through invisible power.

Of course, power imbalances need not be the only central aspects of intimate relationships. Power may also be balanced between the partners. Social exchange theorists such as Blau (1964), who define reciprocity as a major norm for social interaction, state that social relationships have a tendency towards power balances. Since individuals have to reciprocate what they have received from others, giving and returning are generally balanced. Hence, power may also be allocated equally between partners. Partners may share power and cooperate with regard to crucial power dimensions.

In case of power imbalances, the question arises who has power and who does not. Rational choice theories on the one hand and gender theories on the other hand constitute two theoretical traditions which give answers to these questions and which are therefore often applied to intimate relationships. Within the field of rational choice theories, it is predominantly social exchange theory and resource theory that are used in sociological research, whereas the cooperative bargaining model is applied primarily in economic studies.

Although these theories differ in some of their assumptions and their argumentation, they share a number of major assumptions about power within intimate relationships. In social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1964; Thibaut and Kelly, 1991), resource theory (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Heer, 1963) and the cooperative bargaining model (Ott, 1999), it is assumed that individuals act rationally within social relationships, which means that they try to maximize their gains and minimize their costs. Any interaction implies gains and costs for the individual. Although rationality is defined as a crucial aspect of interaction, social norms are nevertheless important. Social exchange theorists in particular stress the role of social norms such as the norm of reciprocity and the norm of equity. Defining social relations as relations of exchange, they state that any resource, which has been received, has to be returned by the recipient. Furthermore, an individual's costs have to be covered by his or her gains – relative to the gain-cost ratio of his or her partner. If one individual has made higher investments in the relationship than the other, but received fewer gains, the relationship is inequitable. While social exchange theorists highlight the role of social norms for interaction, economists underline the aspect of cooperation in intimate relationships. Within interactions in which individuals repeatedly have to bargain about the allocation of welfare, partners tend to cooperate since cooperation is more efficient in the long run for both partners. In these cooperative, reciprocal relationships, power is balanced. According to all three approaches, power becomes imbalanced when one partner is less dependent than the other.

An imbalance in the interdependence between partners is translated into a power imbalance. The partner who is less dependent on the other, has potential power in the relationship. But which factors make an individual less dependent on a relationship? Theorists define three factors: resources, alternative social relationships, and commitment. These are *power bases*, the power potential of an individual. Alternative social relations and resources are interrelated. Resources can be used to obtain more alternative social relations and social relations are sources of resources. Less commitment captures the emotional dimension of the relationship. Exchange theory highlights the role of commitment to the relationship by formulating the “principle of least interest”. This principle states that the person who is less interested in the relationship will have more potential power. Thus, in the light of rational choice theory, the partner with more resources, alternative social relations and less commitment to the relationship has more power. It is generally assumed that individuals make use of their power bases to purchase power, but especially Emerson (1976) and Thibaut and Kelly (1991) stress that power bases are only the potential power and that individuals do not necessarily use them to purchase power.

When partners have to decide about distribution of resources, the division of labor, or the allocation of leisure activities, they do not make arrangements in a social vacuum, but interact in a social setting. This social setting implies rules and resources, which, according to Giddens (1984), are properties of the social structure of a society. Individuals interact according to these structural properties and, at the same time, reproduce them through their actions. If specific practices are repeated over space and time and, hence, habitualized, social institutions emerge. Like structural properties, social institutions are internalized by individuals. Thus, when partners have to make arrangements and have to decide about these arrangements, their actions are shaped by social structure and social institutions.

In the case of heterosexual relationships, a crucial social institution is gender. Lorber (2003) defines gender as a baseline category with which society organizes social life by attributing social positions and allocating duties and opportunities to individuals. Thus, structural properties – rules and resources – are different for men and women. Goffman (2001) stresses that not only the social structure, but also the physical environment in which individuals interact is gendered. Separate public toilets for men and women are one example for a gendered setting. Within this setting, individuals act gender-appropriately. As a social institution, genders are habitualized practices defined differently for men and women. West and Zimmerman (2002) stress that individuals *do* their gender within gendered settings. Individuals interact according to what is perceived as “male” or “female” by society. Through their name, their clothes and specific behaviors, individuals display the sex category they have been assigned to according to their biological sex.

Gender often produces and reproduces social inequalities between men and women, which leads to women experiencing disadvantages in social life. In the labor market, for example, they face difficulties if they attempt to enter high-level positions and their earnings are still

lower than those of their male colleagues. Furthermore, women struggle to a greater extent than their partner to combine work and family life. Gender implies power relations between individuals and, thus, between partners in intimate relationships. Although women prevalently have the less powerful position, Giddens (1984) highlights that power is never a zero-sum game. Power always involves some degree of autonomy and dependence, which means that both partners may have power in some areas of the couple's life. One partner may have more power regarding financial issues in the relationship, while the other partner may have power over the other's behavior. Thus, it is appropriate to talk about the *allocation* of power – a term which implies that power is a complex relation rather than an absolute characteristic of one person and that different dimension of power are present in intimate relationships.

What does gender theory mean for rational choice theories on power? Men and women may use power bases – resources, alternative social relations and commitment – differently to purchase power. Or they may use power bases in the same way but with different levels of success. Furthermore, Thibaut and Kelly (1991) state that exchange between partners depends on the individuals' perception of the power bases available to them. Considering the omni-presence of gender, women may not perceive their power bases and thus will not purchase power, even though they might possess potential power. Moreover, if household arrangements violate the gender identities of the partners, they may allocate power in a way that allows them to restore their identities. These hypotheses show that the combination of rational choice theories and gender theory is less contradictory than is commonly assumed in social research. Individuals act rationally within interactions and aim at purchasing power, but since they interact in a gendered setting, their actions are shaped through social structure. Therefore, exchange outcomes may be different for men and women. Blau (1964) also accounts for the role of social structure within exchange by arguing that social exchange is located within social structure and that the social positions individuals have within this structure influence their interaction. Hence, gender theory extends the rational choice perspective on intimate relationships and helps measure the complexity of the interaction of the partners. Both gender and rationality constitute mechanisms which are at work in intimate relationships. In order to understand the allocation of power in intimate relationships, rational choice theories and gender theories must be considered as complementary theories.

As mentioned above, Lukes (2005) and Pyke (1994) state that power is observable particularly when one of the partners wishes for a change. Thus, power manifests itself in the dynamic process of the relationship. Since relationships are dynamic, the partners' power allocations themselves change continuously in intimate relationships. As a feature of gender and the social structure, power is produced and reproduced through interaction. Thus, understanding power as static neglects the dynamic character of the interaction of the partners and the interplay between action – or, to quote Giddens (1984), agency – and social structure. But when does partners' power allocation change?

Life course theories state that the life courses of individuals are affected significantly when transitions occur. The life course is characterized through trajectories such as education, employment and retirement on the one hand and transitions on the other hand. Trajectories are a sequence of specific states, while transitions are changes from one state to another. Elder (1985) explains that transitions structure the life course and give trajectories a distinctive form and meaning. The interplay between transitions and trajectories over time produces the dynamics of the life course.

Being crucial for the dynamics of individuals' lives transitions affect the life courses of individuals in intimate relationships. Since the relation between partners is intimate and close, their life courses highly influence each other and are interdependent. To use Elder's expression, the life courses of the partners are linked. Changes in the life of one partner also affect the life of the other partner and vice versa. For example, changes in one partners' employment status influence the other partner's life. However, a number of transitions occurring in intimate relationships are shared by both partners. These are, for example marriage and childbirth.

The welfare state regulates and structures transitions in the life courses of individuals. Since the welfare state imposes certain ideologies through state policies, transitions influence the lives of partners differently – even if these transitions are shared by partners or constitute similar events in the life courses of men and women. In the German welfare state, the gender ideology of the breadwinner model underlies state policies. For instance, the state favors marriages and one-earner households or dual-earner households with rather unequal earnings. This is expressed in the German taxation system. Furthermore, the meager number of day care centers discourages women from re-entering into the labor market after childbirth. Since the gender ideology of the welfare state has an impact on the life courses of individuals, Levy and Ernst (2002) call this welfare state policy an *institutional doing gender*. This institutional doing gender affects the lives of couples and shapes their household arrangements, thus influencing their allocation of power – in case transitions are crucial for power dynamics in intimate relationships.

Does it follow that transitions have an impact on the power allocation between partners? If one defines a high employment status as a power base, changing to a lower employment status may lead to a loss of power. However, transitions may affect power allocation differently for men and women. In Germany, childbirth in particularly often traditionalizes relationships, which means that the division of labor becomes traditional with the man working as the main breadwinner and the woman primarily carrying out unpaid work in the household. It is therefore to be expected that childbirth and a growing number of children decreases the power of female partners. The same may apply to the influence of marriage on the power relation between partners, since married one-earner couples are financially supported by the taxation system.

The aim of this study is to analyze the two research questions mentioned above. What factors are related to power within intimate relationships? And do transitions have an impact on power allocation in couples? Regarding the first research question, the study will focus on the relative resources available to partners, alternative social relations and commitment to the relationship – factors which are defined as power bases. The second question focuses on transitions. These are marriage, children and changes in the relative employment statuses of the partners. Two main dimensions of partners' power allocations will be measured: financial power outcomes and non-financial power outcomes. In line with Grau (2001), non-financial power outcomes are defined as social influence and influence on results. Financial power outcomes are defined as control over the income and financial decision-making. Analyzing these four outcomes allows a detection of the power allocation between partners. The outcomes will be treated as equally important for the relationship.

So far, researchers have not applied such a broad concept of power by considering different dimensions of power. Only a small number of studies have taken into account both financial power outcomes – control over the income and decision-making (Lott, 2009; Sprecher and Felmler, 1997; Vogler and Pahl, 1994; Vogler, 1998). Furthermore, few quantitative studies have considered power in a dynamic perspective and analyzed the effect of transitions on control over the income (Kulik and Zuckerman Bareli, 1997; Szinovacz and Harpster, 1994; Vogler and Pahl, 1993). Some qualitative studies center on the role of marriage on control over the income (Burgoyne et al., 2006, 2007; Singh and Lindsay, 1996). The majority of studies on power in intimate relationships were conducted in the UK and the United States (Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Brince, 1994; Centers et al., 1971; Edwards and Brauburger, 1973; Kandel and Lesser, 1972; Molm, 1989, 1990; Pahl, 1989, 1995; Rosen and Granbois, 1983; Roman and Vogler, 1999; Treas, 1993; Vogler, 2005; Vogler et al., 2006, 2008). German research has mostly neglected power within intimate relationships. Within the field of quantitative research, Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al. (2006) analyzed partners' relative amount of spending money. They did not find evidence of gender inequality. Holst and Schupp (2004) analyzed the relation between gender role attitudes and money management. Modern attitudes were associated with her management while traditional attitudes were related to his management. Within the field of qualitative research, Kirchler et al. (2000) analyzed decision-making processes in intimate relationships in the mid-1990s and provided insights in the complexity of these processes. One study which has applied a dynamic perspective on power, is the qualitative study by Gather (1996). She analyzed power and the division of housework in marriages in the transition to "husband retirement". She found that resource theory is not sufficient to capture the complexity of power. Neither does gender theory alone explain power relations. My own study points to the usefulness of a combination of rational choice and gender theories (Lott, 2009). Focusing on control over the income and decision-making power, my study found that higher relative earnings are associated with power in the relationship. However, his income has more influence than her income. Furthermore, the study supported Pahl's

study (1983). In higher income households, women are less likely to control money. Thus, money matters in the sense of rational choice theories, but gender matters as well. Using both theoretical traditions as complementary theories is fruitful for the understanding of power in intimate relationship.

With the exception of these studies, research has not further considered power within German couples. However, since the social context and the institutional doing gender are different in the countries generally considered, like the United States, it is worth investigating power allocation within couples in Germany. Most studies – German as well as international ones – either treated power as static, reduced the theoretical perspective on power relations to either rational choice or gender theories or analyzed one dimension of partners' power allocations. This study aims to fill this gap in research on power allocation within intimate relationships by focusing on three main aspects. First, the study provides a broad analysis of two main dimensions of power, namely financial and non-financial power. Instead of reducing the focus of the study to one power outcome, four power outcomes will be taken into account. These are control over the income and financial decision-making for financial power and social influence and influence on results for non-financial power. Second, rational choice theories and gender theory will be used for the explanation of power within couples. These theories will be treated as complementary theories providing a theoretical perspective on partners' power allocations. Both theoretical traditions are needed to measure the complexity of intimate relationships. Third, power is also analyzed as a dynamic process between partners. Transitions such as marriage, childbirth and changes in employment status affect the life courses of partners. These transitions may change the power allocation within intimate relationships as well.

The empirical analysis is based on samples of the German Socio Economic Panel Study (SOEP) and the Partnership and Family Survey (*pairfam*). The SOEP is a representative panel study of German households, which started in 1984 with a West German sample. In 1989, East German households were included for the first time. The SOEP now encompasses more than 30,000 individuals in more than 12,000 households. Every year, all household members aged 17 years or older are asked to fill out a personal questionnaire. In addition to this, one member answers a household questionnaire. The SOEP focuses predominantly on socio-economic factors such as income and labor market participation, but also health and satisfaction. The *pairfam* is also an annual panel study, which started with 12,400 randomly selected respondents of the three birth cohorts 1991-1993, 1981-1983, and 1971-1973. Each selected person responds to survey questions and, in addition, is asked whether he or she is willing to ask his or her partner to participate in the survey. Thus, the study not only comprises relationships, where both partners live in one household, but takes into account living apart together couples as well. In the first wave, the *pairfam* is predominantly concerned with relationship quality, interaction with the partner, satisfaction with the relationship, dating behavior (for singles) and fertility.

Control over the income and financial decision-making were observed in the SOEP, while social influence and influence on results were included in the *pairfam*. At the time this analysis was conducted, only the first wave of the *pairfam* was available, so that the second research question concerning the role of transitions for power will be analyzed using the SOEP and will therefore be concerned only with financial power. Control over the income was observed in 2004, 2005 and 2008, financial decision-making in 2005 and 2008. The survey questions with which power outcomes were measured are “Who manages the income(s) in the household?” for the control over money, “Who has the final word regarding important financial decisions?” for financial decision-making, “How often does your partner make you to do things his or her way?” for social influence and “How often does (your partner) get his or her way when you can’t agree on something?” for influence on results. Note that these indicators cover the partners’ *perceptions* of power outcomes rather than their *objective* power allocations. In the *pairfam*, the partners were asked to evaluate the other’s influence. These indicators are highly subjective since they are not related to a concrete arrangement within the relationship. The same applies to financial decision-making. Only control over the income, which is measured with money management, can be defined as an arrangement between partners. However, in the SOEP, where both partners answered the questions concerning their financial arrangements, around 10% of the partners did not give identical answers to survey questions. The partners’ response behaviors for decision-making also differed within some couples. In order to measure possible differences between the perceptions of men and women, the analysis will be conducted separately for the male and the female respondents. Since the couples with identical response behaviors may differ from the couples, where the partners gave different answers to the survey questions, for example regarding their relationship quality or the degree of conflict, the couples with the identical response behaviors will be analyzed separately in Chapter 10. Do results differ for the group of couples with the identical response behaviors compared to the findings of the separate models for men and women? Furthermore, the patterns of the different response behaviors will be further investigated. Are specific factors related to couples where, for example she says “I do it” and her partner disagrees?

The dependent variables of the model are control over the income, financial decision-making, social influence, and influence on results. Since previous studies (Vogler and Pahl, 1994; Lott, 2009) indicate that the financial power outcomes – control over the income and decision-making – often go hand in hand, the relation between control over the income and decision-making will be investigated in Chapter 9. Are control over the income and financial decision-making related to each other? And what power bases explain the power outcomes more satisfactorily?

According to rational choice theories, explanatory variables include partners’ relative income, education, age, employment status as resources, and the frequency of meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities as proxies for alternative social relations. In the SOEP, the relative commitment of the partners is operationalized with the importance of the relation-

ship as proxy, while in the *pairfam*, indicators such as hoping for a long-term relationship and visualizing a long-term future are used for commitment to the relationship. These are the power bases defined by rational choice theorists. In addition, since Pahl (1983) and Lott (2009) observed gender inequalities in higher-income households, the household income is also introduced into the analysis. Control over the income, which is measured with money management, is related to power in households with a higher income, which allows various spending decisions. In lower-income households, however, control over the income can be a rather time-consuming and annoying burden, which has nothing to do with power at all. Whether money management implies control depends on the amount of money in the households. Thus, accounting for household income is a crucial aspect of the analysis of partners' financial power allocations.

The gender dimension is covered not only by splitting the sample in male and female partners, but also by including the division of housework and child care. Power outcomes may be used as a coping strategy for unconventional asymmetries in the division of labor. If the male partner has a greater share of housework and child care, the gender identities of the partners are restored by allocating power in a traditional way – the male partner is more powerful than the female partner. Thus the division of housework and child care are used as explanatory variables in the analysis. However, since the financial power outcomes in particular and even more so control over the income can be considered as other gender arrangements, the financial power outcomes and the division of labor can be interrelated with financial power. Therefore, Chapter 8 further explores the relation between the division of housework and child care and the financial power outcomes. What kind of relation exists between the division of labor and the financial power outcomes?

Furthermore, the *pairfam* includes gender role attitudes, which can be defined as cultural resources available to partners. These measure whether partners think that women should be more concerned about family than their professional lives and whether they think that men should have an equal share of housework. Unfortunately, gender role attitudes are not available in the SOEP data. But we know that they are still different between East and West Germany. West German couples are more traditional with regard to gender issues, whereas East Germans are more progressive (Künzler et al., 2001; Reichart and Pfister, 2002, 102). This also becomes apparent in the participation of women in the labor market and the wage gap between men and women in East Germany (Cooke, 2011). Even though East German women's work force approached the rate of West German working women after reunification, differences still remain today. According to Bauernschuster and Rainer (2010), the gap between East and West regarding gender role attitudes has even increased since reunification. Thus, it can be expected that East and West German couples differ in their power allocations due to different gender norms. In order to study possible differences, Chapter 11 will analyze the financial power outcomes separately for both regions. Are there different patterns of financial power allocation in East and West German couples?

In order to answer the first research question, namely what factors are related to the power outcomes, pooled multinomial logistic regression models were estimated for the financial as well as for the non-financial power outcomes (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010). A descriptive analysis will provide first insights into partners' power allocations, before the results of the multivariate cross-sectional analysis will be presented. For the second research question, the *change* in states and in the financial power outcomes has to be operationalized. Therefore, a random effects model with fixed effects was estimated, the so called hybrid model (Allison, 1999).

The follow-up questions – Which factors are better suited to explain the financial power outcomes? and What kind of relation exists between the division of labor and the financial power outcomes? – are answered by estimating bivariate probit models (Brüderl, 2000). The group of couples, where the partners gave identical answers to the survey questions on financial power are analyzed with a selection model, a heckit model (Woolridge, 2002). As mentioned above, partners with the identical response behaviors might be different from partners with different response behaviors, for example regarding their relationship quality or the frequency of conflicts. The patterns of different response behaviors, where, for example, she says “I do it” and he disagrees, are analyzed with binary logistic regression models. The question concerning the differences between East and West Germany is answered with separate multinomial logistic regression models for East and West. Again, a descriptive analysis gives ideas about partners' power allocations in both German regions.

The study is structured as followed: Chapter 2 presents the empirical evidence of power within intimate relationships. Chapter 3 explains the theoretical background of the analysis. Rational choice theories on the interaction of partners in intimate relationships, gender theory and the life course perspective on power within couples will be presented and discussed. Furthermore, the power concept of this study will be explained. Based on the state of the art and the theoretical background, Chapter 4 explains the objectives of this study as well as expectations and hypotheses. Before talking about the results of the empirical analysis, Chapter 5 presents the data, samples and variables. Chapter 6 discusses the choice of methods. Chapter 7 tackles the first research question for the financial power outcomes. As mentioned above, Chapter 8 analyzes the relation between the financial power outcomes and the division of labor. Chapter 9 discusses the relation between control over the income and financial decision-making. Chapter 10 explores partners' response behaviors regarding the financial power outcomes. Finally, Chapter 11 compares East and West German couples with regard to their financial power allocationa. Chapter 12 studies the role of transitions for power allocations. Chapter 13 analyzes non-financial power outcomes. Since the *pairfam* data provides information on partners' gender role attitudes and their commitment to the relationship, the main focus of this chapter will be on these aspects of power in intimate relationships. But first

of all, empirical results on power within couples will be outlined in the following chapter. The lack of recent research and the contribution of this study will also be discussed and explained.

2 Empirical evidence

“It is in this slippery area between ideals and resources, intended and experienced, that we find gender negotiated, managed, and lived” (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 230).

Since the early 1980s, interest in the household context has grown in the field of economic and social research. Challenging the Beckerian model, researchers have focused on the allocation of income (Davies and Joshi, 1994; Lee, 1999; Trappe and Sorensen, 2006), the intra-household consumption (Holvoet, 2003; Piachaud, 1982; Roy, 2006), and individual poverty in the household (Hill, 2004; Jenkins, 1991). Studies analyzing the validity of Becker’s hypotheses indicate that (a) women and children often have limited access to their partner’s income (Lundberg et al., 1997; Pahl, 1983, 1989, 1995; Roy, 2005), (b) resources are not distributed equally among household members, and (c) in most cases it is the woman who gets less (Browning et al., 1994; Browning and Chiappori, 1998; Lee, 1999; Lundberg and Pollack, 1996; Manser and Brown, 1980; Roy, 2006). According to these results, social inequalities exist within households with women most frequently being disadvantaged household members. However, social and economic research is not limited to the analysis of income and resource allocation but focuses on other areas of couples’ lives as well. For instance, Brynin and Schupp (2000) investigated the allocation of education and employment within households. According to their results, transfers are more likely to favor men than women.

Recent research also focused on intra-household inequality and power imbalances within couples. The following sections will present the main results of the research on power within intimate relationships. It discusses studies which analyze power either in a rational choice or a gender theory framework. The various studies in the field of power in couples can be grouped into studies analyzing (a) decision-making, (b) control over the income, (c) bargaining power, (d) doing gender, and (e) power from a life course perspective – topics which are also crucial aspects in the analysis conducted in this study. Note that this study accounts for heterosexual couples only. Same-sex couples had to be excluded from the analysis because the number of observations was too small. Hence, the following sections will present predominantly studies on arrangements in heterosexual couples.¹

¹For research on same-sex couples e.g. see Burns et al. (2008), Klawitter (2007), or Solomon et al. (2005).

2.1 Applying resource theory and exchange theory – studies on decision-making

In social and economic research on intimate relationships, it is primarily resource theory that has been used to explain couples' decision-making power. Blood and Wolfe (1960) formulated resource theory on the basis of a study of American marriages in the mid-1950s. Defining power as decision-making, they asked wives about who made the final decisions in eight areas of the couples' lives. These were e.g. place of holiday, housing, whether the wife should be employed, choice of doctor, and expenditure for food. Their results showed that resources, especially individual income, are highly related to decision-making. Cultural factors, however, are not significant. Since wives have fewer (financial) resources than their husbands, they are less powerful in the relationship.

Studies which replicated Blood and Wolfe's research design and focused on decision-making power were conducted primarily in the 1970s and 1980s. In their study on decisionmaking in couples in Los Angeles and Detroit, Centers et al. (1971) replicated Blood and Wolfe's study. As opposed to the pioneer researchers, they also considered the responses of husbands and enlarged the list of decisions. Furthermore, they controlled for ethnic background. According to their results, the husband's employment status and educational level as well as the length of marriage and age increase his power. Glaude and de Singly (1986) conducted the same analysis in France. Kandel and Lesser (1972) compared decision-making in the United States and Denmark. While the study by Centers et al. (1971) supports the resource theory, Kandel and Lesser (1972) and Glaude and de Singly (1986) did not confirm the assumption that individual resources have an impact on decision-making in households. In one of a number of studies on decision-making (Bahr, 1974; Lupri, 1969; Michel, 1967; Oppong, 1981), Rodman (1967) compared decision-making between France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and the United States. He observed, in contrast to Blood and Wolfe's findings, that the relation between resources and decision-making varies between countries. Rodman concluded that cultural factors have an impact on the relation between resources and decision-making. Different to these studies, Vogler and Pahl (1994) operationalized power with two aggregated power indicators. They differentiated between financial decisions and general important decisions. Further studies (Lott, 2009; Sprecher and Felmler, 1997) combined both power indicators with the survey question "Who has the last say regarding important financial decisions?" as the indicator of decision-making power.

Resource theory has also been applied to other areas of life within intimate relationships. Brince (1994), for instance, analyzed power imbalances with regard to the dissolution of couples. Defining power simply as higher relative income, they observed that an equal allocation of power is crucial for the stability of cohabiting couples in particular. Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) analyzed the impact of individual income on power and on the division of household labor in married dual-earner couples. Power was measured as decision-making and

was defined in terms of who wins when there is conflict between the spouses (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983, 282). They found a correlation between income and housework. A higher income decreases the participation in housework. Furthermore, the relation between income and housework is mediated by sex-role ideologies. If the couple rejects the provider role, individual income has no influence on the division of housework. While decision-making is determined by income, income matters less with regard to who wins in conflict. Ideologies also play a crucial role for marital power. Although income affects power more in couples with a male-breadwinner ideology, her income only has an impact if she rejects the idea of a male provider (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983, 282). Thus, Blumstein and Schwartz's findings support not only resource theory but also gender theories: gender norms mediate the relation between resources and decision-making. Partners' relative economic contributions to the relationship were also analyzed as explanatory variables for physical violence and emotional abuse (Kaukinen, 2004). The main finding is that status reversal, meaning that the woman has a higher income, education, or employment status, is associated with husband-to-wife emotional abuse (Kaukinen, 2004, 467).

Although most research on power applies social exchange theory, its operationalization in most studies is limited to the consideration of resources. One exception is the study by Edwards and Brauburger (1973), in which the researchers also accounted for alternative social relations and, hence, applied exchange theory to the household context. They analyzed the relationship between parents and children. The exchanged items between parents and children are obedience against approval. The relationship becomes power-imbalanced if the child has other sources of approval e.g. peers. Further studies, for instance Palan and Wilkes (1997) and Jenkins (1979), also analyzed decision-making between children and parents. Furthermore, in laboratory experiments, Molm (1989, 1990) analyzed power, the relation between power and satisfaction (Molm, 1991), and reciprocal justice (Molm et al., 1993) in exchange networks. She applied Emerson's power-dependence theory in these studies. In her study on intimate relationships, Molm (1987) affirmed exchange theory. She concluded that for women, who have less economic resources than their partners, love becomes a valuable resource for a balanced exchange.

2.2 Studies on control over finances

Whereas studies in the 1970s and 1980s predominantly investigated decision-making in English-speaking countries, recent studies have focused much more on how couples manage their incomes than on who makes decisions. Research has been conducted predominantly for Great Britain (Ashby and Burgoyne, 2008; Vogler and Pahl, 1993; Vogler, 1998, 2005; Vogler et al., 2006, 2008), but also for Australia (Edwards, 1982), New Zealand (Fleming, 1997; Elizabeth, 2001), the United States (Rosen and Granbois, 1983; Treas, 1993), Sweden (Nyman, 1999), and Germany (Lott, 2009; Ludwig-Mayerhofer, 2000). Furthermore, cross-country

comparisons of management systems in intimate relationships were conducted by Heimdal and Houseknecht (2003) and Roman and Vogler (1999).

Pioneer studies about allocation systems were advanced by Pahl (1983) and Pahl (1989), based on British data. Because of the crucial role of money not only in economies, but also in social life, Pahl considered the allocation of money as a central dimension of inequality in the household. She defined money as a source of power and therefore linked money management with marital power. In her article “The allocation and the structuring of inequality within marriage”, Pahl (1983) examined the way in which married couples organize their income: the person managing the income is in a position to decide what this money is spent on and how financial resources are distributed. She found six types of allocation systems: the female whole wage system (she organizes), the male whole wage system (he organizes), the allowance system (husband sets allowance), the joint pool (both organize together) and the independent system (separate organization) with different expenditure responsibilities (Pahl, 1983, 246ff.).

Pahl’s findings reveal that wives are less likely to be responsible for money management and therefore have less power in the relationship – especially in households with a high income. The higher the amount of financial resources of the household, the more often the male partner manages the money. In low-income households, the female whole wage or the allowance system are used. Based on these results, Pahl pointed to the differences between managing the income and budgeting. Managing the income involves the decision between food and insurance, whereas budgeting is deciding “between steak and mince” (Pahl, 1995, 245). In households with a low income, the allocation system implies budgeting rather than managing. If the finances are restricted, the income does not allow for more than basic everyday expenditures, which makes money management a time-consuming and annoying task. However, she concluded that although money management is less important than decision-making for power allocation within couples, the organization of money is nevertheless a crucial task in the household – especially if the budget allows going beyond basic expenditures.

In order to differentiate between controlling money and simply managing money, Pahl (1990, 122), in addition to the information whether married couples have joint or separate bank accounts, asked, “who really controls the money that comes into the household”. Similarly to her previous results, wife-controlled pooling is associated with a very low household income. Pahl (1990, 124) therefore remarked that “the term ‘wife control’ of finances seemed a misleading way to describe what was essentially a struggle to make ends meet in very poor households”. Generally, men are more likely to control the income if wives manage the finances. The reversed case, however, is rare. In addition, as regards expenditure responsibilities, women’s money is much more often used as the “family income” (Pahl, 1990, 1995). Pahl (1989) observed that an increase in the woman’s income has a higher impact on expenditures for the family and children than an increase in his income. For France, Roy (2006) confirmed these

results: expenditure responsibilities are gendered whereas women's income is used primarily for the needs of the children and the household.

In a mixed method design, Pahl (2000) also investigated money management in the electronic economy. With regard to the qualitative data, she argued that accounting practices are meaningful since these practices reflect not only the economic position of the household but also the relative incomes of husbands and wives as well as aspects of their relationship.

In their study based on the data of the Social Change and Economic Life Initiative (SCELI), Vogler and Pahl (1994) observed a high correlation between the allocation system and decision-making in marriages. Whereas male management is generally associated with male decision-making, female management is circumscribed with joint control. The authors also included access to personal spending money in their analysis. Access to personal spending money varies markedly with the type of money management system (Pahl, 1995, 372). If couples pool their earnings, access to personal spending money is equal. If she manages the money or he sets an allowance, she is most disadvantaged. These findings are supported by Pahl (1989). But which factors determine who is responsible for the money management? Vogler and Pahl (1993) analyzed the impact of employment status, education and socialization, age cohort, social class (measured as the Goldthorp seven class schema), breadwinning (ensuring the family has an adequate income), domestic division of labor (who has the ultimate responsibility), and attitudes towards gender roles (inside and outside the home) on management systems. Their study is also based on the SCELI. Similarly to Pahl (1990), the authors asked who has the ultimate responsibility for organizing the household money (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 76). This indicator revealed that the joint pooling system is highly heterogeneous. Only 20 % of the overall sample really organize the money jointly (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 77). In order to take the heterogeneity of the pooling system into account, Vogler and Pahl (1993) added the female-managed pool (she has ultimate responsibility) and the male-managed pool (he has ultimate responsibility) to the typology. According to their findings, full-time employment has a higher impact on women's equality than employment per se (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 81). Women's full-time employment is much more important for their position in the household than paid work. Financial equality depends on the wife's employment level "since part-time work simply operates to reduce calls on the husband's wage" (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 80). Logistic regression models, which were only run for the joint pool and the allowance system, showed that partners' socialisation, men's education (the wife's education is not significant), and men's attitudes towards the division of labour are also crucial for choosing the pooling system (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 88). The housekeeping allowance system is associated primarily with social class, employment status, the age of both partners and the husband's education, socialization, and attitudes (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 90). Here, it is especially important who is said to be the primary breadwinner.²

²As pointed out by Mansfield and Collard (1988), Brannen and Moss (1987), and Hunt (1980), "the gendering of breadwinning occurs early in marriage, as a refiguration of future expectations of parenthood roles" (Vogler

Vogler (1998) related money management and decision-making to individual living standard and the access to personal spending money. She conducted her study in six towns in Britain. In contrast to the earlier studies, Vogler also took into account cohabitations. In line with Pahl, she defined money management as “an executive function rather than how the couple exercised strategic control over it” (Vogler, 1998, 691). Vogler argued that money management itself does not directly cause inequality but that it sets the agenda for decision-making. Money management is the context in which non-decisions are made. According to her results, husbands are more likely to manage the money and make decisions at the same time (Vogler, 1998, 693). Occupying both positions, money management and decision-making, are related to a better standard of living and a higher amount of personal spending money (Vogler, 1998, 693f.). Furthermore, the management system is associated to a much larger extent with his than with her preferences (Vogler, 1998, 695). The type of relationship is also crucial for intra-household power. Whereas married couples predominantly pool their incomes, cohabiting couples choose the independent management system. This finding is also supported by Vogler (2005) and Vogler et al. (2006). Since forms of relationships other than marriage, especially cohabitations, have emerged in the last decade, Vogler et al. (2008) argued that individualized ways of control over finances are increasingly implemented by partners. They either completely separate their incomes or separate them partly. Similarly to Vogler et al. (2008), Treas (1993) focused on the use of the separate versus the pooling system. Treas analyzed control over the income only in marriages pursuing the research question, why married couples often pool their incomes. Her main finding is that married partners use the joint pool in order to minimize transaction costs. The increase of an individual organization of finances is also observed in Norwegian couples in 1994 and 2002. Knudsen and Waerness (2009) found that although the majority of couples still pools their incomes, an increasing number of Norwegian couples chooses the separate or the partial pooling system. Furthermore, Vogler et al. (2008) investigated whether these individualized systems are associated with financial decision-making power. Their main finding is that the partly separate system is related to male decisions. In a cross-country comparative study, Heimdal and Houseknecht (2003) examined the differences between cohabiting and married couples in the United States and Sweden. Arguing that cohabitation is much more institutionalized in Sweden than the U.S., they expected cohabitation to have a higher significance in the U.S. than in Sweden. Although cohabitation increases the chance of separating the earnings, the authors did not find any support for their assumption. However, experiencing divorce is a significant indicator in both countries. Partners who have already experienced a divorce are more likely to organize the incomes separately. The researchers observed that relationship experiences are even more important than socio-economic factors (Heimdal and Houseknecht, 2003, 535). They also suggested that the duration of the relationship plays an important role (Heimdal and House-

and Pahl, 1993, 91).

knecht, 2003, 536).

Criticizing resource theory as too narrow for explaining gender inequality, Vogler (1998, 707) argued that economic and cultural factors are interrelated reinforcing each other. In a cross-country comparison, Roman and Vogler (1999) revealed cultural differences in how couples organized their finances in Britain and in Sweden. In Sweden, couples implement more egalitarian allocation systems than in Britain. However, in both countries, economic resources as well as gender ideologies play crucial roles for money management. The ideology of breadwinning is central to the allocation system – especially in marriages as shown by Vogler (1998). Wives often act as agents of their husbands, who orchestrate power to them. Since married women predominantly implement power, they cannot be considered as actually powerful. This interpretation of the joint pool in marriages is supported by Pahl (1990): it is more often the case that she manages the money, while he decides than vice-versa. In cohabiting couples, in contrast, the male breadwinner model is not common. Here, the partners' personal resources such as income has a higher impact on the allocation system than in marriage (Vogler, 1998). Vogler et al. (2006) are also critical as regards the equality of the joint pooling system. Although the joint pool, in theory, offers greater scope for discussions and negotiations over using money (Vogler et al., 2006, 459), the joint pooling system does not necessarily mean equal control and access to money in a 50:50 sense. It is also possible that one partner has more control over the pooled money than the other (Vogler et al., 2006, 458). For instance, with regard to the division of housework, a high gender inequality was observed within couples using the joint pooling system (Vogler et al., 2006, 462). Hence, gender ideology also shapes the organization of finances. In her summary of studies on money management systems, Vogler (2005) explained further the interrelated impact of individual resources and ideology, both of which were associated with the allocation system. She stated that couples with a breadwinner ideology and unequal incomes are most likely to pool the money (Vogler, 2005, 13ff.). The ideology of equality is increasingly present in intimate relationships, and the joint pool is the allocation system used the most often. Jointness, however, can be a symbolic term, which does not necessarily imply equality. As mentioned above, only 20% of couples using the joint pool really manage their finances together – predominantly if the incomes are equal and both partners are employed full-time (Vogler, 2005, 15). This finding is supported by qualitative research on money management, for instance by Burgoyne (1990), Nyman (1999) or McRae (1987), who investigated the partners' perception of managing and controlling finances and access to personal spending money. The researchers revealed that the ideology of equal sharing covers women's (self)-restricted access to money and their limited consumption. Pooling the incomes may allow the myth of equality while income discrepancies and traditional gender roles are still in place (Vogler, 2005, 16).³

³Vogler (2005, 16-17) compared the allocation systems to democratic systems, where formal equality does not necessarily mean equal outcomes. The division of money into different spheres of expenditure excludes certain questions from the agenda (Vogler, 2005, 17).

Furthermore, Vogler (2005, 21) found that partners' definitions of equality regarding the management system varies according to the type of relationship. Married couples define equal as jointness, unmarried couples mean equal contributions when talking about equality. In this sense, equity rather than equality is the dominant concept in cohabitations (Vogler, 2005, 21). However, following the norm of equity, discriminations occurring in the labor market may be translated into the household and lead to unequal outcomes (Vogler, 2005, 18). In her qualitative analysis of money management in cohabitations in New Zealand, Elizabeth (2001) revealed that inequalities with regard to personal spending money and power still exist if she earns less than her partner. Since women often have lower incomes than their male partners, the 50:50-principle cannot always be realized. If she is not able to take over an equal share of expenses, he has to help her out. The man is then perceived as generous for paying bills and providing luxuries (Vogler, 2005, 18). Thus, even if the partners reject the breadwinner model, the responsibilities are still gendered in other areas of the couple's life. However, Vogler (2005, 19) also showed that couples choose the independent system if there was a balance of incomes. Money is pooled primarily if the partners have unequal earnings. According to these results, unequal earnings do not directly lead to a disadvantage for the partner with a lower income, since money is pooled. Vogler et al. (2006, 474), however, observed the opposite. The partial pool and the independent system are used especially when discrepancies in the partners' relative incomes exist – in married as well as unmarried couples.

In a longitudinal study, Vogler et al. (2006) replicated earlier studies on money management systems with ISSP data in 1994 and 2002. According to their results, the main predictors of the couples' way of organizing their finances are type of relationship (married or unmarried with or without children), employment status, attitudes toward breadwinning, and social class. A problem the researchers had to deal with were differences in the response behaviors of partners. Answers about the organization of finances differed to a higher degree in cohabiting than in married couples (Vogler et al., 2006, 465). The authors therefore ran regressions for the whole sample as well as for women and men separately. Predictors had the highest significance for men alone and had more explanatory power in 1994 than in 2002. The authors assumed that the changing social context, e.g. the increasing number of cohabitations, the increase in female participation in the labor market, and the decreasing ideology of the male breadwinner model (at least for women), undermined the explanatory power of the regression model. The results show that in 2002 as compared to 1994, the male breadwinner model has lost its importance. Furthermore, Vogler et al. (2006) supported the finding of previous studies that the partners' relative economic resources and cultural ideologies or discourses of gender are associated with the couple's management system as interrelated factors (Vogler and Pahl, 1993). They showed that social class and type of relationship play increasingly important roles for management systems and for mediating gender relations in intimate relationships. Furthermore, they found an effect of age: older men are less likely to appreciate the independent system. The researchers interpreted the age effect as a generational effect: older

men are socialized with the breadwinner model (Vogler et al., 2006, 471).⁴

In addition to quantitative research, there are also a number of qualitative studies which have analyzed partners' financial organization. As mentioned above, Elizabeth (2001) investigated management systems in cohabiting couples in New Zealand. She focused in particular on the use of the separate system. Elizabeth (2001, 407) found that cohabiting partners separate their money in order to avoid financial dependence and establish a feeling of autonomy and independence. Although the separate system is an attempt to generate equality, the author criticized the use of this system since it generated inequalities "in other guises" in the case of unequal incomes (Elizabeth, 2001, 408). The unequal access for men and women to income in the labor market is then transferred into the relationship. Vogler et al. (2008) also highlighted this problem, which emerges when incomes were separated. By means of in-depth, qualitative interviews, Ashby and Burgoyne (2008) investigated management systems in British couples, who were cohabiting or planning to get married or had recently gotten married. The authors pointed to the complexity of the management systems outlined by Pahl (1989). Ashby and Burgoyne (2008, 478) pointed out that the consequences of managing the income depend on "who was felt to own the money". Similarly to Vogler and Pahl (1994), who questioned equal sharing in couples pooling their incomes, the author also questioned the use of independent management (the separate system) and the partial pool. They found that in couples using the partial pool, the partners with lower earnings feel that they have less right to spend the shared money on themselves (Ashby and Burgoyne, 2008, 478). In another qualitative study, Rosen and Granbois (1983) analyzed the determinants of financial tasks and decisions in marriages. They found that sex-role attitudes and education level are the most important factors impacting the way spouses organize their finances. In their study on British couples, Burgoyne and Morison (1997) observed that in the twenty remarried couples they interviewed most of the partners used the separate system. Furthermore, couples' organization of finances has been used as a predictor of relationship quality. Kerkmann et al. (2000) for instance, found evidence of an association between financial issues and marital satisfaction. Addo and Sassler (2010) were able to show that a high relationship quality was associated with joint bank accounts in low-income couples.

2.3 Studies on bargaining power

Bargaining power has been investigated predominantly in economic research (Alderman et al., 1995; Browning and Chiappori, 1998; Chiappori, 1988; Haddad and Kanbur, 1990; Lundberg and Pollak, 1994; Lundberg and Pollack, 1996; Manser and Brown, 1980), where formal models for individuals' bargaining processes and their utility are estimated.

⁴In an analysis of value change, Riblett Wilkie (1993) was able to show that men's attitudes toward the provider role changed from the 1970s to the late 1980s. Men in older cohorts are more traditional than men in younger cohorts. Pyke (1994) also observed that intra-cohort effects were less strong than inter-cohort effects.

In social research, Scanzoni and Polonko (1980) tried to assess bargaining power in relationships by expanding Blood and Wolfe's (1960) list of variables which may explain decision-making power. While central variables in their model were income, education, and social status, Scanzoni and Polonko (1980) used context variables with subcategories such as *compositional variables* (race, ages of spouses, length of marriage, number and age of children), *resource variables* (tangible: education, job status, income, hours of work per week; intangible: instrumental skills, negotiation behavior), *variables concerning the actor's orientation governing the use of bargaining power* (self-esteem, sex-role preferences), and *variables concerning the actor's orientation regarding other's past bargaining behaviors* (trust, fair/equitable bargaining, understanding the other, communication with each other). Bargaining power is derived from these context factors. Thus, a balance in bargaining power exists if the context variables are distributed equally between the partners (Molm, 1990). In contrast, the power relations are imbalanced if the context factors are distributed asymmetrically (Scanzoni and Polonko, 1980, 41f.). Assuming a direct relation between context variables and bargaining power as influence on the other's behavior, Molm and Scanzoni and Polonko, however, did not analyze power processes either. Although Scanzoni and Polonko (1980) used the theoretical concept of bargaining power, they did not operationalize power as a dynamic process.

2.4 Applying doing gender theory

In the studies presented above, rational choice assumptions served as the framework for analyzing decision-making, bargaining power and control over the income in intimate relationships. Doing gender theory has been used predominantly for the explanation of partners' division of labor. In contrast to the assumption of resource theory, recent research shows that individual resources do not necessarily increase the equality of women in relationships. Brines and Joyner (1999) found that couples allocate housework in a much more traditional way if she earns an equal share of the joint income or even more than her husband. In order to explain this phenomenon, the concept of "gender display" was used. While wives' employment is acceptable, husbands are still not supposed to be dependent. In their study based on Australian and American data, Bittman et al. (2003, 192) also showed that the couple compensate for her higher income, which does not fit into expectations of gendered behavior, with a traditional household arrangement (Bittman et al., 2003, 192). In her study based on the National Survey of Families and Households, Greenstein (2000) replicated Brines and Joyner's study of economic dependence and housework. Her analysis supports doing gender theory. If women earn more than their partners, they have a greater share of housework. If men are more dependent, they perform less housework. "In Brines terms, both wives and their husbands are exhibiting a gender display process when the outcome variable is a proportion of total hours spent on housework" (Greenstein, 2000, 332). Greenstein (2000) used both absolute and relative hours of housework. In terms of absolute hours the relation between women's economic dependency

and housework is linear, whereas men's dependency and housework is curvilinearly related. For relative dependency, however, Greenstein found different results: both relations, for men and women, are curvilinear. The husband has the greatest share of housework if there is an economic balance. Demo and Acock (1993) analyzed the division of housework in different types of families such as marriages, cohabitations, and stepfamilies. Their findings show that in all types of families women perform a significantly larger amount of housework than their partners.

While doing gender theory has been applied primarily to the division of housework, some studies explain partners' power allocations in the framework of gender theory. Stamp (1985) conducted interviews with married couples where the wife was the breadwinner. She showed that although the women are the main breadwinners, they do not take over the powerful position in the relationship. Similarly to this qualitative study of English couples, Sprecher (1985) found that contributing more resources, especially traditionally feminine resources, is negatively related with perceiving oneself as having power. Although this finding contradicts rational choice theory, another observation is in line with social exchange theory and with the study by Molm (1987): for women, an important basis of power is love in the relationship. Pyke (1994) supports Sprecher's study. According to her results, the impact of resources on power is shaped by gendered meanings of resources. It is crucial for the allocation of marital power whether the resource is perceived as a burden or a gift. Husbands and wives attach different meanings to their relative finances. In their longitudinal study of American dual-earner couples, Brennan et al. (2001) also showed that the incomes of women and men have different impacts on marital quality. The researchers saw the main reason for this discrepancy in the partners' gender role identities. If she earns more, he is still defined as the primary provider. His income is thus more important for marital quality than her income. In their analysis of gender ideologies in evangelical couples, Gallagher and Smith (1999) highlighted that gender ideals are in conflict with the increasing economic pressure resulting in two-income families (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 214). Men in particular are more likely to stress the male breadwinner role (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 219) – a finding which is supported by British studies on money management and decision-making (Vogler, 1998). Even when their arrangements are much more egalitarian, couples nevertheless preserve their hierarchical gender ideals (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 224). They maintain their gender identities by redefining male headship. The idea of the sole breadwinner is replaced by the idea of male responsibility and male leadership (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 227). This redefinition is supported by both women and men (Gallagher and Smith, 1999, 228).

The above studies were conducted in English-speaking countries, predominantly the United States and United Kingdom. Some studies also focus on the division of housework in a cross-country comparison. For instance, Sayer (2010) investigated the division of labor in nine countries in Western Europe and North America using the Multinational Time Use Study from the mid-1960s to the early 2000s. Despite an increase in men's share of housework, women

still have the greater share of work in the household in all nine of the observed countries. Within the observed period, the adaptation of women's and men's share of housework stalled in the United States, Norway, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands (Sayer, 2010, 35). Furthermore, women in Germany and Austria spend more time doing housework compared to all other countries (Sayer, 2010, 34). The ratio between men's and women's share of housework is largest in Germany with women doing twice as much housework than men (Sayer, 2010, 35).

Van der Lippe (2010) analyzed the relation between women's work in the labor market and their share of housework. In her broad cross-country comparison including twenty-five countries, van der Lippe (2010) found that in all the countries an increase in women's paid work is related to a decrease in their investment in housework. However, she also observed differences between the countries with regard to women's share of housework. In the egalitarian Nordic countries, women invest significantly less time in housework, whereas women's share of housework is higher in conservative countries such as Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands. In their cross-country comparison between Australia and the United States, Bittman et al. (2003) observed similar doing gender mechanisms for the Australian, but not for the American data. For the United States, the researchers found a negative linear relation between women's earnings and their share in housework. In his study on child care, Coltrane (1989) supported the assumptions of doing gender theory. He showed that gender is done within the couple's interaction and specifically in the division of child care. In another cross-country comparison, this time between Sweden and the United States, Evertsson and Nermo (2004) analyzed the explanatory values of resource theory and doing gender theory. They observed the doing of women's gender in American but not in Swedish couples. The dynamic relation of individual resources and the division of housework was studied by Evertsson and Nermo (2007) with a longitudinal design based on Swedish data. They found a moderate impact of changes in couples' resource allocations on their division of housework.

In addition to research which applied doing gender theory to the division of housework, child care, or power, other studies test gender role theory and use gender role attitudes as explanatory variables. Researchers generally differentiate between traditional norms or attitudes towards gender roles on the one hand and progressive ones on the other. Among other factors, these are said to determine couples' interaction. In their analysis of gender role ideology as a mediating factor between the division of labor, perceived fairness, and marital quality, Lavee and Katz (2002) found that the perception of equality is shaped by ideology. Traditionally-minded women perceive unequal housework arrangements as fair and equal. As explained above, Vogler and Pahl (1993), Vogler and Pahl (1994), Vogler (1998), Vogler (2005), and Vogler et al. (2006) also stated that a couple's ideology has an impact on money management. They found differences between married couples, who follow the male breadwinner model as the dominating ideology, and cohabiting couples, who follow the norm of equity. Their criticism of the joint pooling system, which they defined as a myth used by married couples to

cover up inequalities in actual outcomes, is supported by Blaisure and Allen (1995). In their qualitative study of male and female feminists, Blaisure and Allen found that discrepancies between the ideology and practice of equality exist especially in the context of the division of housework, termed “the second shift” by Hochschild (1989). Although the ideology of equality contributes to an amelioration of the situation of women in marriage (Blaisure and Allen, 1995, 16), the men’s ideologies play a crucial role. If men hold an egalitarian ideology, they are more likely to share the second shift equally (Blaisure and Allen, 1995, 16). If women married to traditionally-minded men try to implement an equal division of labor, they will adapt to their husbands and will not speak about feminist issues (Blaisure and Allen, 1995, 16). In order to cover up gender inequality, unequal arrangements are often justified by “personality differences, women’s needs, or as indications of the special quality of motherhood” (Blaisure and Allen, 1995, 17). In her qualitative study on American couples’ arrangements, Hochschild (1989) very interestingly showed how couples construct discourses of equality and redefined spheres of housework in order to hide unequal divisions of housework. For instance, in one couple the wife gave up fighting for an equal distribution of housework. She established the ideology of equality by labeling the separate spheres of the household as “up” and “down”: she did the entire work in the house, while he was responsible for the basement. These labels suggest more equality than “all” or “almost nothing”. In their quantitative study on perceived social support, Willigen and Drentea (2001) examined the impact of the division of housework and the perceived fairness of this division on social support. The authors found that if the division of housework is inequitable or one partner feels this division to be unfair, both partners perceive lower social support. Lower support is perceived by the advantaged as well as the disadvantaged person. Furthermore, sharing decision-making power is associated with the perception of higher social support.

2.5 Applying a life course perspective

The majority of studies attempts to answer cross-sectional research questions on the impact of resources on power and possible gender differences. Only few researchers have applied a life course perspective to the analysis of power in intimate relationships by taking into account the role of transitions for the power relation between the partners. For instance, Kulik and Zuckerman Bareli (1997) applied a life cycle approach to power in marriages by investigating the impact of retirement on spouses’ power relations. Assumptions grounded in resource theory were tested with a sample of Israeli men. According to the findings of the study, retired men report an increase in their power. In addition to this, pre-retired men accord a higher significance to economic resources, while retired men perceive psychosocial factors as more important. This result is not surprising if one considers that the main resource available to working men is their income. Retired men, whose income is reduced and who are no longer active in the labor market, have to shift their attention to other resources. One problem of the

study, however, could lie in the fact that it did not use panel data. The comparison between pre-retired and retired men is based on cross-sectional data. The authors explain that the two samples have no significant differences in their backgrounds and that the characteristics of the sample correspond to those of the general population of pre-retired and retired men (Kulik and Zuckerman Bareli, 1997, 579). Although the authors accounted for the similarities between the samples, they did not measure *change* when using cross-sectional data. Panel data analysis is necessary in an application of a life cycle or a life course approach. Similarly to Kulik and Zuckerman Bareli (1997), Szinovacz and Harpster (1994) compared pre-retired and retired partners instead of analyzing the change from the work to the retirement trajectory of spouses. In their study, they considered the effect of retirement on partners' division of housework. Szinovacz and Harpster (1994) found that there are differences between pre-retired and retired partners regarding household tasks (male or female) and partners' share of housework. The kind of household tasks that a partner assumes and the time they invest in housework also depend on the employment status of their partner. One main finding is that the share of "male" task is highest for retired men with employed wives and lowest for pre-retired men with retired wives. Vogler and Pahl (1993) applied a longitudinal perspective to money management, using retrospective data. They found that the allocation system shifted from the joint pool to the housekeeping allowance system when wives stopped working (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 93). Conversely, starting work or changing to full-time employment is associated with switching to the joint pool or to the male or female whole wage systems. For the age cohorts, the authors observed an increase of the joint pool as well as an increase of the female whole wage system and the female-managed pool in the younger cohorts. They saw the reasons for the shift to female-organized systems in the financial constraints and higher job insecurity of the younger generation. Since these allocation systems are used predominantly in the lowest social class with a low household income, they involve inequalities between husbands and wives with regard to living standard and personal spending money (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 93). As mentioned above, male-organized systems are used predominantly if the financial situation of the household is secure (Vogler and Pahl, 1993, 78).

Beside these few quantitative studies, qualitative research as well has focused on the role of transitions for power in intimate relationships. For instance, Burgoyne et al. (2006) analyzed control over the income at the transition to marriage in heterosexual couples in the South of England. Couples about to get married were asked how they were planning to manage their money. Surprisingly, the majority of the forty-two couples stated that they used either the partial pooling system or the separate system. Note, however, that the individuals were asked within the transition. The authors assumed, therefore, that not all of the couples already had a clear sense of how they were going to organize financial matters (Burgoyne et al., 2006, 629). They concluded that a longitudinal study is needed to further investigate management systems in the transition to marriage (Burgoyne et al., 2006, 636). Using a panel design, Burgoyne et al. (2007) analyzed the role of marriage for changes and stability in control over the income

in British couples. The authors found that while the majority of the forty-two heterosexual couples separated their incomes, some moved to the pooled system after marriage. The factors influencing change in financial arrangements are pragmatic (having to meet major expenses) and ideological (the importance of sharing). Hence, most of the interviewed couples separated their incomes over time. In contrast to these findings in British couples, Singh and Lindsay (1996) observed that heterosexual couples switched from the separate to the pooling system when they got married. In their qualitative study of Australian married and cohabiting couples between 1991 and 1994, the authors differentiated between “marriage money” and “cohabitation money”. They characterized marriage money as personal, cooperative, and joint, but also nebulous. Making financial organization nebulous masks financial inequalities and dependence. “One way of doing this is to view paying for expenses as flexible. Two key phrases, ‘whoever has money at the time’ and ‘we get the money together’, mask the fact that the high earner is likely to pay more” (Singh and Lindsay, 1996, 67). In contrast, cohabitation money is separate, individual, and calculable (Singh and Lindsay, 1996, 68).

“These different meanings of money in marriage and cohabitation are further affirmed when cohabitation leads to marriage. Cohabitation money is most often transformed to marriage money, as money becomes more joint, cooperative and nebulous” (Singh and Lindsay, 1996, 68).

Several studies have analyzed the impact of partners’ arrangement on marital stability an disruption within an life course framework. Esterberg (1994) focused on the role of the duration of marriage for the risk of disruption, combining exchange theory with a life course perspective on marriage. The author highlighted the importance of multiple role-identities for the subjective well-being of women and the consequences of the importance for marital stability. However, she formulated two hypotheses about the impact of multiple role identities or alternatives outside the marriage on the duration of the marriage. First, multiple role-identities can have a positive influence on couples’ well-being because they increase women’s subjective well-being. Second, when we consider them within the framework of social exchange theory we see that they can increase the chance of disruption because as alternatives outside of the marriage they constitute power bases. The researcher found that alternatives for women outside the marriage, such as returning to school and self-esteem, lead to a shorter duration of the relationship. Life course factors, such as the number of previous marriages, also affect the duration of the marriage. Based on these findings, Esterberg encouraged a combination of exchange theory and a life course approach.

“A life-course perspective views marriage as an ongoing ‘career’ or pathway occurring in the context of other events and circumstances in women’s lives. We suggest that this focus on the dynamic and cumulative nature of the marriage trajectory can be a useful in addition to exchange models of divorce” (Esterberg, 1994, 291).

Besides the role of alternative social relations for the stability of marriages, studies have analyzed the impact of individual resources, such as income and employment status, on disruption (Greenstein, 1995; Heckert et al., 1998; Ono, 1998; Schoen et al., 2002). Whereas a negative relation between resources and marital stability was found, this relation differs according to the gender norms of the partners. While women's resources increase the risk of divorce in traditionally-oriented couples, they contribute to more stability in progressively-oriented couples such as cohabitations. Lois (2008) found a similar relation between the division of housework and disruption. In marriages a traditional division of housework stabilizes the relationship. In contrast, cohabitations tend to be more stable if they display an egalitarian division of labor. With data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women, Hiedemann et al. (1998) analyzed the impact of family life course events on the risk of marital disruption. They specifically focused on the empty nest period within families. The authors account for "family time" as a conceptual framework.

"The family development perspective, in particular, provides a conceptual framework based on the idea of "family time", which lends itself to dynamic analyses. In this perspective, family time refers to the sequence of states in family development that is driven internally by the changing patterns of interdependence among family members and externally by the changing environmental constraints and opportunities, including norms related to family dissolution" (Hiedemann et al., 1998, 220).

The authors found that the transition to empty nest increases the risk of divorce. However, this effect is less noticeable in marriages of a longer duration. In addition to disruption, researchers have also focused on gender arrangements and family formation. Based on the German Life History Study, Blossfeld and Huinink (1991) analyzed the impact of women's education and careers on family formation, i.e. marriage. Arguing from a human capital investment perspective, the authors observed that in contrast to the prediction of the theory it was not women's investment in human capital but rather their participation in schooling which delayed marriage. Based on data of the German Socio-Economic Panel Study, Cooke (2004) studied partners' division of labor and its impact on the likelihood of second birth and divorce. She found that the division of labor affects family outcomes. His greater share of child care increases the chance of second birth. Furthermore, his greater share of housework increases the chance of disruption in childless couples.

2.6 Couples and power in social psychological research

In social psychological research, equity theory has been widely tested. Especially the relation between the partners' perceived equity and their satisfaction with the sexual relationship have been analyzed. Equity is generally measured with the question how equitable the partners perceive the relation to be overall. Hatfield et al. (1982) used a second indicator asking

individuals how their relationship “stacks up” in 25 different areas of life. A high correlation between equity and satisfaction was found. Partners are most satisfied with their sexual relation when they characterize the relationship as equitable. Furthermore, Hatfield et al. (1978) showed that over- as well as underbenefited partners are less content with the relation. This is supported by Sprecher (1992), who tested the assumptions of equity theory in a role-playing vignette study. The individuals expected to become distressed in case of inequity – disregarding under- or over-benefit. Identical results were found by Traupmann et al. (1981). Sprecher-Fisher (1980), however, observed differences between men and women. Whereas women feel upset when receiving too much, men are most upset when receiving too little (Hatfield et al., 1985). Research also showed that equity was crucial in dating couples and long-term relationships (Schafer and Keith, 1980; Traupmann et al., 1981). In a longitudinal study, Sprecher (2001) analyzed the relation between equity and satisfaction while controlling for other social exchange variables such as rewards, investment, and alternatives. Individuals feel distressed in the case of underbenefited inequity. However, this finding is not consistent across time. As regards relationship stability, women’s satisfaction is crucial. Alternative relations are also an important factor for breaking up – for both men and women. In his study on depression and marital power, Mirowsky (1985) observed that either spouse is least depressed if power is shared to some extent. However, the partners’ levels of depression are lowest if he has more power. Sprecher and Felmlee (1997) investigated over a period of four years the relations between gender and power, between power and the principle of less interest, and between power and satisfaction. The sample consisted of 101 heterosexual dating couples. The researchers chose dating couples because they assumed that the initial period of the relationship determines the future power allocation in the relation (Sprecher and Felmlee, 1997, 362). Power was measured through a global indicator (“Who has more power?”) and decision-making.

Socio-psychological research also accounts for power strategies applied by individuals within interaction. In an experimental design, Sagrestano (1992) tested whether women and men choose different power strategies within interaction with either same sex or different-sex individuals. Power strategies all concerned the question “How I get my way” and implied strategies such as asking, suggesting, discussing or withdrawal (Sagrestano, 1992, 484). Anticipating the effect of different gender roles, the authors expected differences in the use of strategies between men and women. However, they found no evidence that men and women apply power strategies differently.⁵ In an earlier study, Falbo and Peplau (1980) analyzed the use of power strategies by homo- and heterosexual men and women. They found that men are more likely than women to use bilateral and direct strategies. They did not find differ-

⁵Note, however, that the experiment did not consider intimate relationships. Furthermore, the unpersonal experimental design might have biased the individuals’ behavior. Gender theorists would argue that gender is an interactional product and not a characteristic of an individual. Thus, gendered behavior could very well emerge in intimate relationships in a personal setting.

ences between homo- and heterosexual individuals. Howard et al. (1986) also analyzed power strategies, or what they termed influence tactics, in hetero- as well as homosexual relationships. Weak structural positions in the relationship, that is a relatively low income and level of education and a younger age, are associated with weak tactics such as supplication and manipulation. Strong positions are related to rather strong tactics like bullying and autocratic tactics. The authors found a minor impact of sex and sex role orientation on influence tactics. Stewart and Rubin (1974) investigated whether the desire to possess power is related to satisfaction and conflicts in dating couples. Their experiment showed that men's hope for power is associated with dissatisfaction as well as with interpersonal conflict and impulsivity. The risk of disruption is also higher if men's hope for power was high. Women's hope for power is not associated with dissatisfaction or relationship stability. The authors did not provide a clear interpretation of the results. Since hope for power is unrelated with relationship quality or duration for women, they questioned their measure of hope for power, which is derived from male subjects only (Stewart and Rubin, 1974, 309). Mason and Blankenship (1987) analyzed the relation between the need for power and physical as well as psychological abuse in dating couples. With their experiment, the authors showed that a high need for power is significantly associated with the infliction of physical abuse by men, but not by women. Furthermore, they found that motives for abuse are different for men and women. While men with a high need for power display aggressive behavior in order to have their way, women use psychological and physical abuse if there has been a large amount of negative stress, thus attempting to keep the relationship with their partner intact (Mason and Blankenship, 1987, 208).

2.7 Power within couples – German research

The studies discussed in the previous sections are predominantly based on data from English-speaking countries. In Germany, less research on power in the intra-household situation has been done. So far, German researchers interested in the household context have focused primarily on the division of housework. The previous section presented cross-sectional studies of the division of housework in Western countries (van der Lippe, 2010; Sayer, 2010). The main finding is that from an international perspective gender relations are rather traditional in Germany, with women still having the greater share of housework. These findings can be confirmed by other studies of the division of housework and child care within German couples. In a longitudinal study based on the German Socio-Economic Panel Study, Gershuny (1996) showed that although women's participation in the labor market and men's share of housework has increased over the last few decades, there is still a gap between men's and women's investments in housework. Kirchler and Venus (2000) analyzed partners' perceptions of equality regarding the division of housework. The authors found that an unequal division of housework is not perceived as unequal by either men and or women. Based on longitudinal data, Reichle and Zahn (2006) observed that women's investments in housework

were stable over a time period of 13 years. Hence, independent of events within partners' life courses, women have the greater share of housework (Reichle and Zahn, 2006, 99). Künzler et al. (2001) analyzed gender relations in East and West Germany with regard to women's participation in the labor market and the division of housework. The authors compared their 2000 study with other studies conducted at the beginning of the 1990s. Künzler et al. (2001, 101) concluded that while East German men have a greater share of housework than West German men in 1995, East German men do less housework than their West German counterparts in 2000 – even though women's participation in the labor market is still higher in the East than in the West. Note, however, that Künzler et al. (2001) did not use panel data but compared their findings with previous cross-sectional studies. In a longitudinal study based on the Bamberger Ehepaar Panel, Grunow et al. (2007) analyzed the division of housework in couples over the life course. They observed that the division of housework is increasingly traditionalized over the duration of the marriage. Men reduce their investment in housework in long-term marriages. Reichart and Pfister (2002) were able to show that women also have a greater share of child care. Furthermore, they found a difference in the allocation of child care with regard to the quality of tasks (Reichart and Pfister, 2002, 82). Women are responsible for day-to-day care while men assume activities with their children. While the gap between the time invested in child care is large during the week, the share of child care of men and women at the weekend is rather equal. Fathers focus on playful activities with the children during the weekend, and women assume time-consuming and annoying chores such as bathing or feeding. Hochschild (1989) found a similar result in her qualitative study of the division of labor in American couples. In addition, women's share of child care increases with the number of children. In contrast, men's share of child care actually decreases with three and more children. Thus, the authors criticized the idea of the "new fathers" stating that it is only adequate to talk about the "new week-end fathers".

Huinink and Röhler (2005) analyzed the relation between love and the division of labor. In their study, in which a mixed method design was used, the authors found that structural properties of intimate relationships, predominantly employment in the labor market and relative income, play a crucial role for the division of housework (Huinink and Röhler, 2005, 249). In order to minimize transaction costs which emerge if partners bargain about the division of housework over and over again, housework is structured not only with the help of these properties or power imbalances, but also of the partners' emotional attitudes towards housework as well as their personal strategies to reduce costs (Huinink and Röhler, 2005, 250). The authors found that gender is an important mechanism structuring housework.

Only a small number of studies has treated the issue of power in intimate relationships in Germany. In their study, Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al. (2006) defined power as the partners' relative amount of personal spending money. The authors tested the assumptions of resource theory as well as the doing gender approach. They investigated the impact of individual in-

come, education, and age on personal spending money. They differentiated their sample of low-income households according to the size of the household income. Initially gender differences were not observed in either income group. However, inequalities in spending money are found especially with regard to education, but also to age (a negative correlation between spending money and her age). Men's higher levels of education have a positive impact on their partners' personal spending money. In contrast to previous research, Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al. (2006) observed that the lower the household income, the less likely partners are to have equal amounts of personal spending money. Using special SOEP surveys in 2003 and 2004, Holst and Schupp (2004) found a high correlation between attitudes toward the woman's professional life and the money management system in couples. Modern attitudes are associated more with her management, traditional attitudes with his management. The study, however, does not differentiate between the attitudes of men and women.

One study on power relations in German couples has applied a life course framework. In her qualitative study, Gather (1996) investigated power structures and the division of labor in couples where the male partner is in transition to retirement. The author found that in the transition period most of the couples try to establish continuity in their arrangements and power relations. Her results point to the importance of cultural norms for the construction of power relations through interaction (Gather, 1996, 236). Where partners have a conventional idea of male gender identity, he has more power. In "husband retirement" couples, one can observe both the interaction between gender and power and the dissolution of this interaction. Gather concluded that existing theories, including both rational choice and gender theories, do not explain the complexity of power in intimate relationships. While resource theory does not account for the role of cultural norms, gender theories define relationships where the man is powerful and the woman powerless as unilateral power relations. Both approaches provide one-dimensional explanations for power relations between partners.

Further qualitative research has focused on allocation systems with regard to the value money has in intimate relationships (Schneider et al., 2005, 2007; Wimbauer et al., 2002; Wimbauer, 2003). In accordance with Zelizer (1994, 2005), different types and values of money have been observed. Money is used as a means to express the partners' identities both as individuals and as parts of a couple. Based on the "Wiener Tagebuchstudie", Kirchler et al. (2000, 14) analyzed decision-making focusing on the process of purchasing and exercising power in intimate relationships in the mid-1990s. The authors considered decisions regarding consumption and other financial and non-financial decisions. Furthermore, they investigated influencing strategies used by individuals in situations where partners are forced to make decisions, especially within conflict. In addition to this, the relation between decision-making and relationship quality was also taken into account. The sample comprised forty couples, who were asked to fill out diaries over a period of one year. The diary entries had to include discussions, conflict, and decision-making (Kirchler et al., 2000, 15). In order to analyze decision-making in a variety of relationship structures, the sample included dissatisfied and

satisfied couples, whose relationships were egalitarian, patriarchic, or matriarchic. The study points to the complexity of decision-making processes in intimate relationships of cohabiting partners. One main finding is that conflict processes rather than the frequency of conflict have an influence on relationship quality. The influencing strategies partners choose and the respect they express towards the preferences of the other are crucial for their satisfaction with the relationship (Kirchler et al., 2000, 231).

In my own study, I investigated the impact of individual income on money management and decision-making in marriages and cohabitations (Lott, 2009). For SOEP data in 2005, the results showed that although the partners' relative incomes has an impact on both implementing and orchestration power, his income has more influence than her income. This supports previous findings on the different meanings of financial resources, which are shaped through gender ideologies. Furthermore, similarly to British studies (Pahl, 1990; Vogler, 1998), the study showed men as more likely to be simultaneously responsible for money management and decision-making. If he manages the money, he is more likely to make decisions. For her, money management is not necessarily related to decision-making. Gender inequality exists especially with regard to decision-making. While couples often manage their incomes jointly, women have power disadvantages on the higher power level. Particularly in the highest-income group, he is more likely to make financial decisions if the independent system is used. The results of British studies on marriages and cohabitations have also been replicated: whereas married couples usually join their incomes, cohabiting couples manage their finances separately. In contrast to Vogler et al. (2006), however, the independent system is used primarily if incomes are equal. Pooling is much more common if the incomes are unequal – especially in marriages and if the wives have no income or a very low one. These findings point to the predominance of the male breadwinner model in married couples. To conclude, the study points out that gender ideology plays a crucial role for power allocation within couples, in addition to individual resources.

2.8 Concluding remarks

The literature review above has demonstrated that research on power within intimate relationships has been done predominantly in English speaking countries, especially in the US and the UK. Only few researchers have been interested in control over the income and/or decision-making in German couples. Furthermore, only few studies in international or German research have considered power within the framework of life course theory. Moreover, for the German case possible differences between East and West regarding partners' power allocation have not been taken into account at all, even though we know that these regions still differ with regard to gender ideology and women's participation in the labor market. Furthermore, it has proved impossible to find a study which investigated social influence and influence on results in intimate relationships. Power is defined as either control over the income, decision-making, or

bargaining power. Moreover, power has predominantly been analyzed separately from gender arrangements, such as the division of housework and child care. The majority of researchers have focused either on the division of housework and child care, or on power within relationships. Likewise, only a small number of studies have taken into account alternative social relations. What is more, there does not seem to be any study which accounts for partners' relative commitment to the relationship in addition to resources and alternative social relations, although all three power bases are defined as crucial within the framework of exchange theory.

This study will therefore fill the gap in German research on power within intimate relationships by broadly analyzing factors associated with power, and by applying a life course perspective. It will account for differences between East and West Germany. Furthermore, this study will fill the gap in international research by analyzing power within two dimensions: the financial dimension with control over the income and decision-making as power outcomes, and the non-financial dimension with social influence and influence on results as power outcomes. The relation between power and the division of labor will also be considered, as will be partners' relative resources, alternative social relations, and emotional commitment. Finally, while the majority of studies treat rational choice theories and gender theories as mutually exclusive concepts, they will be used as complementary approaches in this study. The consideration of *either* rational choice theories *or* gender theories reduces the complexity of intimate relationships to a one-dimensional perspective on power. This is backed up by Gather's study on power relations in husband retirement couples. My own study argued that both mechanisms are at work (Lott, 2009). Resources matter for power in the sense of rational choice theories, but gender matters as well. Rational choice and gender theories therefore have to be combined in order to cover the complexity of power in intimate relationships.

How to combine rational choice and gender theories will be shown in the next chapter which explains the theoretical background of the empirical analysis. What assumptions do rational choice and gender theorists formulate regarding power? How can the two theoretical traditions be combined? How can a life course perspective be applied on partners' power allocations in intimate relationships? And how is power defined and operationalized in this study? These questions will be answered in the following chapter.

3 Theoretical background

In his work "Power: A radical view", Lukes (2005) differentiates between three dimensions of power. These are manifest, latent and invisible power. They are observable when one of the partners wants a change within the relationship. Manifest power is defined as openly approving or objecting to change. Latent power is possessed by the partner whose needs are followed by the other without causing conflict – even if the other partner has different needs.

Invisible power is defined as the ideological shaping of the status quo (comparable to ideological hegemony as defined by Gramsci (1971)). Similar to these types, Pyke (1994) also differentiates between hidden power and invisible power. Hidden power is “the success of spouses in making changes in their marriages and the ability to raise issues without fear of negative repercussions from the other spouse” (Pyke, 1994, 77). Invisible power is an individual’s self-esteem and perception of competence. “Not only do they affect marital power dynamics, they also are a reflection of those same dynamics” (Pyke, 1994, 78).

Due to data limitations, this study will analyze power outcomes which come close to what Lukes calls manifest power, a more “openly” expressed and experienced power. Here, power is defined as the relative ability to influence another person’s attitude or behavior (Rollins and Bahr, 1976; Sprecher and Felmlee, 1997; Thibaut and Kelly, 1991) and the capacity to produce intended effects (Browning et al., 1999; Gray-Little and Burks, 1983). Note, however, that Lukes’ power dimensions are ideal types of power, which will certainly overlap in everyday interactions. Manifest power might have aspects of hidden or invisible power as well. Although this study primarily investigates power which is exercised intentionally by individuals, the indicators for measuring the power outcomes might also imply aspects of hidden or invisible power. In order to take into account the complexity of power, this study will consider four power outcomes, which encompass two dimensions of power and therefore of couples’ lives. These are financial decision-making and control over the income for the financial dimension of power, and influence on results and social influence for the non-financial dimension of power. The power outcomes are the product of power processes which take place between partners. Processes are again determined by the allocation of power bases (see Figure 1). The relation between power bases, processes and power outcomes has been developed by McDonald (1980) and is especially useful for the purpose of this study.

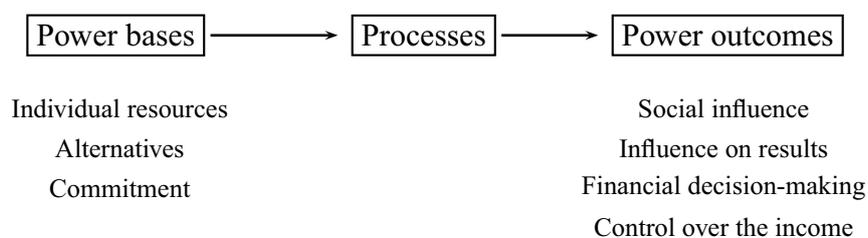


Figure 1: Power concept

Power bases/structural power: McDonald (1980) understands power bases predominantly as resources which provide a power *potential* to the individual. Instead of power bases, Molm (1990) uses the term structural power. Structural power is the actors' (relative) power potential according to their dependence on each other (Molm, 1990, 429). By using the term structural power rather than power bases, the importance of social structure, in which social interaction is embedded, is highlighted. Furthermore, Szinovacz (1987) defines power as a "system property" in order to emphasize the *relational* character of power. "Only the distribution of power, or perhaps more precisely the distribution of power bases, among group members represents a system property" (Szinovacz, 1987, 653). While she considers the family as a system, this study deals with one of its sub-system, namely the dyad (Szinovacz, 1987, 659). Since not only resources but also the partners' alternative social relations and their relative commitment determine their dependence relation, alternative relations and interest in the relationship will be integrated into the model as well. Hence, resources, alternative social relations and commitment will be used as the relative structural power of the partners, as their power bases.

"Alternative opportunities and/or the spouses' relative commitment to the relationship must be considered if one is to obtain an estimate of their relative dependence on each other and on the maintenance of the relationship [...]" (Szinovacz, 1987, 665).

Power processes: It is assumed that gender influences how an individual behaves within power processes and whether the individual perceives or uses his or her structural power (Rollins and Bahr, 1976, 621ff.). As Rollins and Bahr (1976) put it, "power is not independent of the perception of the participants in the social interaction. Therefore, the power relationship in a marriage might be perceived differently by the husband than by the wife" (Rollins and Bahr, 1976, 621). McDonald (1980, 843) also emphasizes the role of normative sources for "cultural and subcultural definitions" of who has power. Thus, gender might change the influence of structural power on power outcomes and the relation between power bases and outcomes might be different for men and women. According to gender theory, gender is done in many different areas of couples' gender arrangements. The most prominent one is the division of housework and child care. Since these might be associated with power, the division of labor will also be integrated in this study.

In addition, this study assumes that power processes are also influenced through transitions in the interwoven life courses of the partners. Not only do transitions such as marriage, children and changes in the employment ratio of the partners alter the ratio of the power bases, they might also have an effect on the bargaining behaviors of the partners. Since marriage implies an ideological concept of how partners live together, changing from cohabitation to marriage might change partners' behavior in the negotiation and bargaining process, e.g. by traditionalizing the relationship. Children might have the same effect on the bargaining behaviors of the partners. Changing to a lower employment status implies not only the loss of social status

and acceptance, but also weakens the integration in social networks. Changes to a lower employment status might therefore lower the standing in the relationship.

Note that gender and transitions do not only shape power processes, but also have an impact on power bases. Gender influences power bases, since gender is used as a baseline category for allocating resources. An example for the influence of transitions on power bases is child-birth reducing women's employment status and income). Figure 2 shows the relation between power, gender, and transitions.

Power outcomes: While Lukes' definition of power is related to how partners deal with change in their relationship, whether one partner is able to provoke change or not, the power outcomes considered in this study are not necessarily related to change. Power – the actual “control” over the other (Rollins and Bahr, 1976) – is defined according to Grau (2001) as social influence, influence on results and control over finances. In addition, financial decision-making will be taken into account as well. The survey questions with which these outcomes are measured are “Who manages the income(s) in the household?” for control over the income, “Who has the final word regarding important financial decisions?” for financial decision-making, “How often does (your partner) make you do things his or her way?” for social influence, and “How often does (your partner) get his or her way when you can't agree on something?” for influence on results.

With regard to power bases and power processes, power is not a personal attribute, but a relational characteristic. Power is always relative in the sense that power outcomes are determined by partners' relative resources and their mutual attempt to gain the upper hand. When talking about power, we therefore talk about power relations. Since social relations change over time, power has to be perceived as dynamic rather than static (McDonald, 1980, 843). But what changes occur in the power outcomes when the couple gets married, when a child is born, or when the ratio of the employment status of the partners changes? Beside investigating the relation between the power bases and power outcomes and possible gender differences, another aim of the study is the analysis of what changes in power within couples occur through transitions. The consideration of transitions allows a life course perspective and therefore a dynamic perspective on power.

In the following sections, theoretical approaches to power in social relationships and, more precisely, intimate relationships will be presented. Rational choice theories and gender theories provide explanations of the emergence and the determinants of power. In the following chapter, it will be shown that power within couples can best be measured when understanding these two theoretical traditions as complementary theories. Furthermore, a life course perspective will be applied to partners' power, stressing the dynamic character of this power.

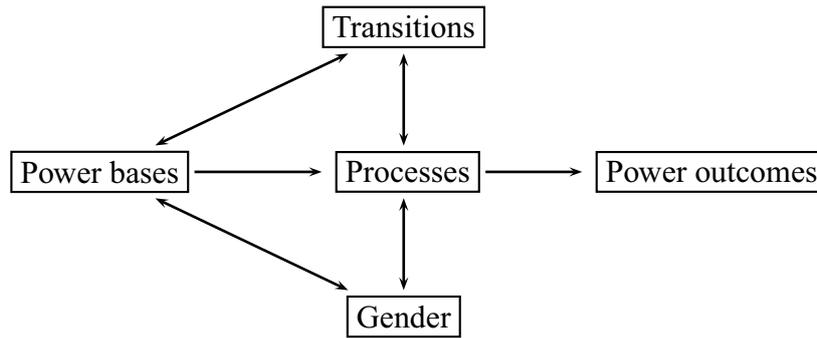


Figure 2: Power, gender, and transitions

3.1 Theoretical approaches to power in intimate relationships

“In reality, of course, income is earned by individuals, not households, and goods and services are purchased not by households, but by individuals” (Pahl, 1990, 120).

When analyzing social stratification, for example income inequality or poverty, social scientists often use the household as a unit of analysis. Research questions such as how income inequality between households develops over time or what kinds of households move in and out of poverty are frequently tackled in studies which measure social stratification on the household level. Although such an application makes perfect sense for answering these questions, researchers are often not aware of the theoretical implications of research designs based on an inter-household comparison. This is due to the fact that while being used as a unit of analysis, the household is at the same time assumed to be a unit of action and the preferences of the individuals living in the household.

This theoretical assumption goes back to Becker (1981) and his well-known and often-cited work “A treatise on the family”. Becker states the following two main theses conceptualizing economy in the family: First, all of the family members have the same preferences, which are identical to the preferences of the head of the household (who is generally defined as the father). The common goal of all the family members is to maximize the household income. Therefore, the household members will abandon egoistic action if this action risks minimizing the family income (Becker, 1981, 69). The household is thus regarded as one actor. Second, Becker (1981, 295) defines the individual income of the head of the household as the family income. He assumes that all family members have free access to this income and that all resources are distributed equally within the household.

These are rather strong assumptions when considering the fact that individuals, even though they belong to one family and live in the same household, may still have different preferences. Furthermore, the access to the “family income” may not be as unrestricted and equally

distributed within the household as Becker expects it to be. Whereas in recent economic research the assumption of identical preferences has been criticized predominantly by applying bargaining theory, social research has questioned the access and distribution of incomes by applying social exchange theory, resource theory, and also gender theory. These theories, which contradict the Beckerian model by focusing on individuals' interaction and bargaining over the distribution of resources, can be clustered into two main classes. One class encompasses rational choice theories, i.e. social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), with the resource theory (Heer, 1963) and the equity theory (Grau and Bierhoff, 2003) as its variants, and the bargaining model (Ott, 1992, 1997, 1999). The second class implies norm-oriented theories such as doing gender theory (West and Zimmerman, 2002) and gender theory (Lorber, 2003). In this study, a combination of social exchange and resource theory as well as gender theories will be applied to the empirical analysis of power in couples. Before discussing these theories in detail, their main assumptions will be presented briefly, in order to give the reader a general understanding of the theoretical framework of the study.

All rational choice approaches have in common the idea that each individual strives to maximize his or her gain or accomplish personal aims. In order to achieve these goals, individuals employ their resources or alternative social relations. Exchange theorists define social structure "as a configuration of social relations among actors" where relations involve the exchange of valued items (Cook and Whitmeyer, 1992, 110). Nearly every social relation is based on social exchange. Individuals enter a relationship because they aim at a reward. In exchanges, they tend to maximize their utility by minimizing emerging costs. Although rationality dominates the actions of individuals, norms such as reciprocity or justice are fundamental elements of every social exchange (Emerson, 1976; Homans, 1964; Lévi-Strauss, 1964; Mauss, 1968; Simmel, 1966). In order to get something out of a relationship, individuals have to make investments. They either have to make an advance when starting a relationship, or they have to return a comparable resource. An exchange is just if the individuals' costs are covered by their reward relative to the gain-cost ratio of the other.

Since each individual is in need of the resources the other has, a social relation is based on the interdependence of at least two individuals (Blau, 1964, 4). If one individual is more dependent on the other's resources, there will be a power imbalance. Power is defined as a situation between individuals in which one individual induces the other to do something the other would not have done otherwise by manipulating his or her gains and costs (Baldwin, 1978, 1232). It is primarily exchange relations with third persons offering the possibility of obtaining resources with a better gain-cost ratio primarily that provide an individual with power. Alternative social relations are used in two ways to purchase power. First, they can be used as a means of threat in the relationship, in the sense that individuals are able to manipulate the exchange by threatening the other to leave the relationship. This aspect is highlighted in particular by cooperative bargaining theory. Second, alternative social relations are sources of resources. An individual with more alternative relations also has more resources, and

vice versa (Emerson, 1976; Blau, 1964). Exchange theorists like Homans (1964), Emerson (1962), Ross (1921), Waller and Hill (1951) and bargaining theorists such as Ott (1999) define the interest in the relationship as another power resource beside alternative social relations. According to the “principle of least interest”, the person who is less interested in the exchange will have more power in the relationship. “In any sentimental relation the one who cares less can exploit the one who cares more.” (Ross, 1921) The social exchange theory will be further discussed in Section 3.2.

Resource theory (see Section 3.3) is an application of social exchange theory to couples and – originally, married couples (Bahr, 1982, 83). Blood and Wolfe (1960) introduced resource theory into the context of a study on couples’ decision-making and, more precisely, on the decision-making power of married women in the United States. The main assumption of the theory is that the person with more resources has power within the relation. Here, power is defined as decision-making power. Heer (1963) extended resource theory by integrating the social environment of the couple. In his approach, the partners compare the value of the resources they obtain in the partnership with the resource value outside the partnership. The more alternative resources are available to a partner, the more power to manipulate costs and gains in the partnership he or she will possess. Since individual resources are perceived to be necessary for providing access to alternative sources, resource theory focuses on the consideration of the individual resources available to partners.

In contrast to resource theory, cooperative bargaining theory stresses predominantly the role of alternative social relations for the interaction of the partners. As mentioned above, bargaining theory understands alternative relations as a means for threat in a relationship. The bargaining model is an application of game theory to the household context. While resource theory considers decision-making statically, the bargaining model refers to the dynamics of decision-making processes in households. The household is regarded as a repeated game. It is assumed that individuals have varying preferences and that “each person knows the preferences of the other people in the household” (Browning and Chiappori, 1998, 1243). In this model, individuals prefer one action to another if the expected utility of this action is greater than that of the alternative action (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 28). Since cooperation leads to higher gains in repeated games, cooperative action is essential in households. However, every individual has the potential of posing threats of noncooperation. A family member who possesses alternative sources (Ott, 1997, 49), is less interested in cooperation. Such a person has bargaining power and can influence the bargain according to his or her preferences. As in social exchange theory, individual resources, in addition to alternative social relations, provide power in partnerships.

Even though the bargaining model is a formal model which cannot be operationalized within the research design of this study, it will be presented to encompass the theoretical framework of power in intimate relationships in a broader way. This is also true for equity theory, which highlights the role of norms for social exchange. Equity theory is an extension of earlier

justice theories on intimate relationships developed by Homans and Blau (Chadwick-Jones, 1976) and is used predominantly in social psychological research (Grau and Bierhoff, 2003; Hatfield et al., 1985; Müller and Crott, 1978). Equity theory underlines the norm of equity or fairness in exchange relations. An exchange is perceived as equitable or fair if the exchange costs of the partners are covered by their gains (Sprecher, 1998, 33). Equity theory predicts that the more equitable a relationship is, the higher the satisfaction of both partners with the relationship will be and the more stable the relationship will be (Rijt and Macy, 2006, 1457). In the case of inequity, even the privileged partner will be less satisfied, predominantly because he or she experiences more guilt. As a consequence, both individuals try to restore equity. If this restoration fails, the final option open to the individual is to end the relation (Sprecher, 1998, 33). The cooperative bargaining model and equity theory will be discussed in detail in Sections 3.5 and 3.4.

A major shortcoming of rational choice theories, however, is that they do not account for structural categories such as gender, race or religion, and related social norms, which (re)produce social inequalities in society. According to these categories, which imply asymmetries such as male/female, white/black and Muslim/Christian, individuals are assigned certain social positions by society. These positions determine the access to resources and alternative social relations – to crucial power bases. In addition, because power bases are the power *potential* of an individual, holding power bases does not necessarily mean possessing power outcomes. Structural categories have an impact on individuals' decision to make use of their potential and their perception of the power potential they have. Thus, considering such categories is crucial for understanding social relationships and relationship dynamics. In intimate relationships, gender is a major “baseline category” (Lorber, 2003) which organizes interaction between the partners, and the household a place where gender inequalities are reproduced. In this study, gender theory and doing gender theory will therefore be used to extend the rational choice understanding of power in couples (see Section 3.6).

While gender role theory accentuates the impact of social norms and values for the socialization of individuals in certain roles, West and Zimmerman (2002) underline the *doing* of gender in interaction. Individuals do not *have* a gender role into which they have grown but have to produce and reproduce their genders in everyday life. And since gender is done, partners always choose positions in the household which correspond to their gender identities (Blossfeld and Schulze, 2006, 29). In relationships where both partners are employed, the partners may strive to compensate this comparability of similar professional careers or incomes by conforming to traditional gender arrangements within the household (Brince, 1994).

While doing gender theory accounts for gender on the micro-level of partners' interaction, gender theory broadens the picture and includes the institutional and structural dimension of gender. Lorber (2003) argues that society, in order to organize itself, uses gender to (re)produce differences between individuals and to formulate rules and duties for men and

women. Gender as a social institution is used to create social differences. In this “socially constructed stratification system” (Risman, 2004), differences can also be detected on the structural level of society, e.g. regarding upward mobility in the professional life or wage gaps, and in the physical world (Goffman, 2001), e.g. separate toilets for men and women. In this setting, individuals do gender in two ways. Individuals adapt their actions to the gendered environment, but they also have an impact on this environment through their actions.

This interrelation of doing gender and gendered structure, that is the interplay between agency and structure, evokes Giddens (1984) and his duality of structure. Giddens’ idea of the interplay between structure and agency is especially helpful because he assumes that social institutions are internalized by individuals and social structure embedded in individuals. Hence, instead of thinking of agency, social institution, and social structure as separate levels of social life, all three aspects overlap, are internalized in each individual, and link individuals to each other.

Although rational choice theories and gender theories are generally treated as exclusive concepts, the explanatory power of the theories lies in their combination. Recent research on power allocation in German couples has shown that combining these two approaches enables a better understanding of interactions between partners (Lott, 2009). The actions of individuals, which follow rational choice, are embedded in gendered structures. Thus, individuals’ rational actions are framed by gender. Both mechanisms are working at the same time and might lead to gendered power outcomes. Perceiving power allocation within couples from these two complementary perspectives avoids limiting the complex nature of intimate relationships and accounts for contradictions which occur in each and every partnership. Hence, it is not expected *either* that resources and alternative social relations explain everything *or* that they explain nothing. Rather, it is assumed that they are related to power, while other mechanisms are also working at the same time.

A crucial aspect of power relations, which has not been mentioned so far, is that they change over time. Social relations are neither ahistorical nor static (Emerson, 1976). Due to the interplay between agency and structure, they change constantly. Power relations do change not only within society, but also throughout the individual’s life course and the “linked lives” of individuals (Elder, 1985). Since the life course is structured by transitions from one status to another, e.g. from cohabitation to marriage or from employment to unemployment, transitions may especially affect power within partnerships. Analyzing the impact of transitions on power within couples is one aim of this study.

When considering transitions in the life course, the modern welfare state has to be taken into account as well. The modern welfare state indirectly structures the lives of individuals (Leisering et al., 2001). Individuals benefit from the welfare state if they adapt to its policy. The welfare state particularly regulates the life course of the individual within transitions from one status to another. When partners get married, a child is born, or one partner becomes un-

employed, welfare state policy implements its ideologies concerning family and employment (Heinz, 1991). Thus, gender is not only reproduced by individuals who interact with each other, but also by the welfare state.

In this study, we deal with the German welfare state who applies rather traditionally-oriented ideologies of the family and women's professional lives. Thus, when analyzing the role of transitions for partners' power allocations, we also deal with the policy of the German welfare state. It is important to note that the impact of policy regulations cannot be measured directly in this study. Rather, the role of the welfare state is used for the interpretation of results.

Hence, in addition to rational choice theories and gender theory, a life course perspective will be applied to the analysis of power within couples (see Section 3.8). In the following sections, the above-mentioned theories will be presented in more detail. As explained earlier, the cooperative bargaining model and equity theory will not be applied in the empirical analysis of this study. However, they provide further insights into the theoretical framework of this study and highlight two aspects which are also crucial in social exchange theory and resource theory: the norm of justice in social relations and the dynamic character of power relations, and the issue of cooperation versus noncooperation. Thus, even though neither theory was tested empirically, they will be discussed briefly in the following chapter. Furthermore, rational choice approaches and gender theories will be brought together before discussing the life course perspective on power.

3.2 Social exchange theory

“To receive is to give” (Lévi-Strauss, 1964, 77).

Social exchange theory perceives social relations as exchange relations. Exchange takes place between at least two individuals or groups. Individuals start an exchange because they aim at personal goals while at the same time trying to reduce their costs which occur within exchange. They are motivated by the expected return from their exchange partner. Thus, the strategy of exchange follows rational motivation and decisions. The decision about what and how to give are often, if not always, based on the individual's desire to maximize his or her benefits (Befu, 1977, 260). However, not every social relation implies goal-oriented exchange. “Behaviour which is not motivated by the return but by a sense of duty or by some other internalized value” is excluded from the conception of exchange (Heath, 1976, 2). Altruism cannot be considered within the framework of social exchange as well.⁶ Although rationality is central to social exchange, theorists differentiate between the rational-

⁶The question whether altruism is excluded from social exchange is broadly discussed in the literature. Here, different answers are provided. Befu (1977) who relies on arguments of Mauss (1968), Blau (1964), and Heath (1976) comes to the conclusion that altruism has to be excluded from social exchange.

ity of the actors within social exchange relations and the economic rationality of economic transfers. Blau (1964) as well as Homans (1964) emphasize that individuals do not always choose the alternative with the greater material profit but the most satisfying one (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 140). “The only assumption made is that persons choose between alternative courses of action or associates, according to a preference ranking” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 280). Furthermore, social exchange differs from economic exchange with regard to resources. Anthropologists such as Mauss and Lévi-Strauss point out in their early works that social exchange has various meanings. In his work “The gift”, Mauss (1968) was able to show that the exchange in primitive and archaic societies is “governed by a quite different morality from that of the economic market” (Heath, 1976, 5). Exchanged resources – in the case of Mauss’ target societies, gifts – could have “social and religious, magic and economic, utilitarian and sentimental, jural and moral” meanings (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, 52). So, what kind of resources are exchanged?

Social exchange incorporates all kinds of interpersonal transactions such as expressions of esteem, respect, love, and friendship. According to Foa and Foa (1980, 78), a resource is “anything transacted in an interpersonal situation”. Resources can be concrete or symbolic, they have instrumental or expressive value. Foa and Foa group the exchanged resources into the six classes status, love, service, information, money and goods. In each class, the same rules of transaction prevail. Figure 3 shows the six resource classes ordered according to their *concreteness* and their *particularism*. Concreteness means how concrete as opposed to symbolic resources are in their material character. Information, for example, is rather abstract, whereas goods are concrete. Particularism means to what degree resources are expressive in their value. Money is the most instrumental resource, whereas love is the most expressive one.

Although the authors indicate the six resource classes as points in their figure, each class

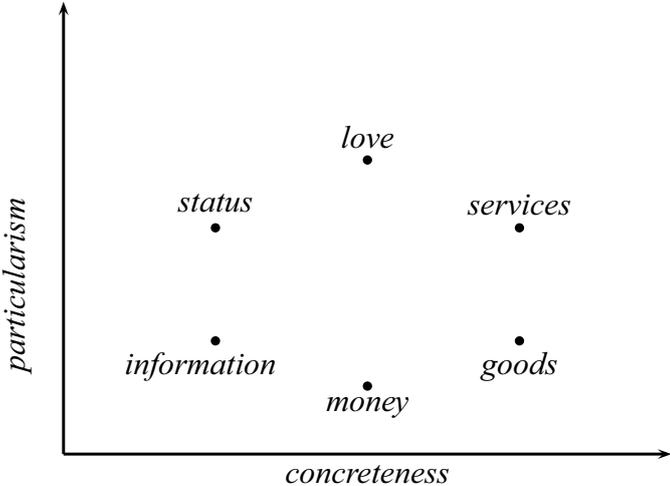


Figure 3: Resource groups

occupies a range in the order. Resources of classes which are close to each other are more likely to be exchanged. “A verbal expression of love such as ‘I like you very much’ is symbolic, and thus is more similar to status than to services. Conversely, fondling and kissing are concrete ways of expressing affection, closer to services than to status” (Foa and Foa, 1980, 80). The resources of classes which are closer together are more likely to be exchanged. This is to say, expressions of love and money are less likely to be exchanged directly, since they are opposite classes. Applying Foa and Foa’s model to close relationships, Walster et al. (1978, 152) state that intra-class exchanges are more likely to occur in casual relationships than in intimate relationships. Intimate relationships are long-term relations and exist in a variety of contexts (Walster et al., 1978, 152). They are more complex and therefore involve a larger number of diverse exchanges within and between resource classes than casual relations.

“Participants have at their disposal the whole range of interpersonal resources, and freely exchange one type for another. Thus, the wife who owes her husband money can pay him back in a number of ways: she can defer to his conclusion that he is entitled to go golfing on Sunday (status), make him a special dinner (service), or tell him how much she loves him and appreciates his generosity (love)” (Walster et al., 1978, 152).

Individuals exchange valued resources according to established rules of exchange, most importantly according to the norm of reciprocity. Mauss’ study of primitive societies, where he observed the reciprocal giving and returning of gifts, was applied to modern societies by Lévi-Strauss. Lévi-Strauss (1964, 76) summarizes that it “is hardly necessary to note that these gifts, like invitations [...] are ‘returned’: this is an instance in our society of the principle of reciprocity”. Here, the motivation underlying the individual’s strategy is “the balance of exchange rather than the amount gained for one of the other party” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 144). Returned resources have to be comparable to the given resource in quantity and quality. Unlike in a market economy, it is not defined what kind of resource and how much of it should be returned (Baldwin, 1978, 1233). An invitation to a party can be returned with an invitation to a party or with an invitation to a restaurant, to the cinema, or simply to a coffee. The invited individual could also bring a present to the party, e.g. a bottle of wine, and consider this as clearing his or her debts immediately. However in the majority of cases one likes to delay returning the resource, because debts are useful tools for establishing relationships over a longer period of time (Blau, 1964, 18). A person who gives back right away the money for a coffee paid for by another might want to stop the relation and might even be perceived as impolite by the other. In this case, the exchanged resource (coffee) has not an instrumental but a symbolic value, which symbolizes the nature of the relation between the receiver and the giver (Haas and Deseran, 1981, 3). Although reciprocity is the dominant norm of exchange, individuals have to trust that the receiver will return their resource. “In social exchange, therefore, each partner in a relationship must somehow persuade the other of his or her trustworthiness”

(Haas and Deseran, 1981, 3). Especially the person who starts the exchange cannot be sure of reciprocity and thus takes higher risks (Blau, 1964, 98). “Simmel took the extreme view that the first kindness of a person can never be fully repaid, because it alone is a spontaneous gesture of good will for another, whereas any future favor is prompted by the obligation to reciprocate” (Blau, 1964, 98). Hence, trust, friendship, and balanced relationships emerge through exchange (Haas and Deseran, 1981, 3).

The general characteristics of social exchange outlined above are said to exist in every society. They are supposed to be free of any cultural bias, and applicable to Europe as well as to Asia, to the United States as well as to South America (Nye, 1978, 222).⁷ Social exchange theorists “declare a central interest in the interdependence of relationships between persons and in the actual process of social behaviour” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 2). They “advance a basic image of social structure as a configuration of social relations among actors (both individual and corporate), where the relations involve the exchange of valued items (which can be material, informational, symbolic etc.)” (Cook and Whitmeyer, 1992, 110).

A number of exchange theorists take stances similar to the one just described. However, exchange theory is a very broad field and incorporates many different approaches. Exchange theory can therefore hardly be regarded as a unitary approach. Ehek (1974) differentiates between two intellectual traditions in social exchange theory: the individualist tradition in Britain and the U. S., and the collectivist tradition in France. Whereas British sociologists define society as an aggregate of individuals, French sociologists, such as Durkheim, see social structure as “an abstraction of the order of culture” (Ehek, 1974, 8), as “a reality sui generis” (Ehek, 1974, 7). In the context of the French tradition, Lévi-Strauss focuses on collectivist exchange relations of societies. Homans (1964) is one prominent representative of the individualist tradition. Other theorists who apply a rather individualist view on social exchange, but at the same time highlight the rational character of exchange, are Blau (1964) and Thibaut and Kelly (1991). While Homans is generally evoked by psychologists, Blau is mostly cited by sociologists. Thibaut and Kelly’s work occurs as a reference jointly with that of Homans and Blau (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 1f.). In order to avoid confounding different approaches and authors in the field of exchange theory, the main theoretical works will be presented in the following chapters. These are the works by Homans, Blau, Emerson, and Thibaut and Kelly. We will see in the following sections, that discussing these authors will also help to building a link to gender theory – especially by introducing Thibaut and Kelly’s approach, which incorporates the role of norms and values.

⁷Befu (1977) points out, however, that cultural context does play a crucial role in understanding social exchange.

3.2.1 Homans – the economic pigeon theory of interaction

“Homans’ world is populated by a ‘Person’ and ‘Other’ who ‘emit’ activities, exchange ‘rewards’, and pursue ‘psychic profits’” (Heath, 1976, 4).

Homans developed his exchange theory in contrast to Lévi-Strauss’s collectivist model of social exchange. His theory differs from the collectivist model in four main points: “(1) face-to-face relations; (2) restricted exchange, limited to two individuals; (3) the double emphasis on psychological and economic needs, and (4) the utilitarian value of exchanged items” (Ehek, 1974, 87). Homans investigates the behavior of individuals who are in direct contact with each other. He focuses on the elementary social behavior of individuals and excludes behavior which is associated with norm-based traditions and institutions, or behavior which is determined by social roles. He therefore defines elementary behavior also as subinstitutional behavior (Homans, 1972, 5). His theory is meant to be applicable to all societies and any situation (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 155).

According to Homans, two disciplines are able to explain elementary behavior: behavioral psychology and economy. He assumes that subinstitutional or elementary human behavior can be traced to animal behavior, and that the attributes of social behavior exhibited by animals are shared with humans (Ehek, 1974, 99). He reduced the study of face-to-face relations to the analysis of the behavior of the individual, more precisely: the pigeon. Since social behavior is, in Homans’ perception, no more than an aggregate of individual behavior, social behavior can be studied by observing individual behavior only. “With social behavior nothing unique emerges to be analyzed in its own terms. Rather, from the laws of individual behavior follow the laws of social behavior [...]” (Homans, 1964, 30f.). The pigeon is therefore in the focus of Homans’ interest. He draws on experiments, which have been conducted in behavioral sciences. The typical set-up of such experiments is the so called Skinner box, where a pigeon was given food by a researcher each time the pigeon picked on a red target. Based on this experiment, Homans formulated four of his five principles of elementary behavior.

Since Homans showed much more interest in the behavior of the pigeon than in that of the researcher, critics also call his theory the “economic pigeon theory of interaction” (Maris, 1970, 1071). Not only did the limitation to only one actor, the pigeon, inspire his colleagues to think of alternative labels for his theory, it also produced a theoretical shortcoming, which has been criticized by theorists such as Emerson (1976) in particular. But before turning to the weakness of Homans’ theory of elementary behavior, his approach will be explained briefly. His key concepts are reward⁸ and cost or punishment. A person’s elementary behavior always follows reward or punishment, which are given by the other (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 154).

⁸By using reward as a central concept, altruism is excluded in social behavior. His theory is, therefore, often regarded as hedonist theory (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 158), since it is assumed that individuals only pursue the maximization of their gains.

Instead of reinforcement, which is used by behavioral scientists, Homans uses the concept of reward. While the term reinforcement conceptualizes the pigeon's behavior, the picking of the red target, as a reaction to a stimulus, receiving food, reward introduces "motive into the system" (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 157). Individuals perform a certain action, because they *anticipate* an expected reward. Here, reward is configured as both a psychological and an economic concept (Ehek, 1974, 116).⁹ Beside reward, punishment, or – the more economical term – costs, constitutes another central concept of Homans' theory. Every action that aims at certain rewards implies costs. Whereas the term punishment evokes concrete and often physical discipline, talking about the costs of "any one activity" includes "the withdrawn or foregone rewards of an alternative activity" (Homans, 1964, 26). Costs are more symbolic in character than punishment.

"Pigeon behavior would be symbolic behavior if it was aware of alternatives, i.e., if it was capable of 'selective choice' from a range of possibilities not physically available before it. To assume that a pigeon, or any other animal, operated on the principle of opportunity costs is to say that the pigeon has a conception of time and space – that it can generalize across time and across space" (Ehek, 1974, 116).

Along with other authors such as Abrahamsson (1970) and Maris (1970), who accuse Homans' theory of being tautological and reductionist¹⁰, Emerson (1976) criticizes its limitation to individual behavior. Homans considers individual behavior, the pigeon's behavior, as a separate social event. The interdependence within the social relation between pigeon and researcher, however, is not considered. Emerson (1976, 351) points out that not only the pigeon's behavior (picking on the red target), but also the researcher's behavior (rewarding the pigeon) is reinforced. The actions of the pigeon and the researcher action are interrelated.

"That social relation, minimal as it might be in some respects, is a good example of what will be called an exchange relation, meaning simply that in studying the relation we pay special attention to the reciprocal flow of valued behavior between the participants" (Emerson, 1976, 347).

Within the context of social exchange, Blau (1964) in particular puts the social relation and the interdependence of individuals at the centre of his study. How this interdependence is related to power will be explained in the following chapter.

⁹While Homans sees no difficulty in combining these two concepts of reward, Ehek questions the compatibility of behavioral psychology and elementary economics (Ehek, 1974, 117).

¹⁰This criticism is supported by Emerson. Furthermore, he questions Homans' empirical *proof* of rationality (Emerson, 1976, 342f.).

3.2.2 Blau – a sociological perspective on exchange

“Blau’s model of social exchange is the behavior of economic man; Homans’ is the behavior of the economic pigeon” (Ehek, 1974, 170).

“[...] As contrasted with its economic aspects social exchange serves two general functions – establishing bonds of friendship and establishing superordination over others, contradictory as these two consequences seem” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 293).

In his work “Exchange and Power in Social Life”, Blau (1964, 2) attempts to answer the question “how social life becomes organized into increasingly complex structures of associations among men”. His aim is not to reduce his analysis to face-to-face relations, but to include social groups and institutions in order to explain social structures. These, however, have to be explained with regard to the dyadic relationships, “in which they are rooted” (Blau, 1964, 3). Relationships play a crucial role for the production and reproduction of social structures. “Emergent properties are essentially relationships between elements in a structure. The relationships are not contained in the elements, though they could not exist without them, and they define the structure” (Blau, 1964, 2). With this concept of social structure, he expands Homans’ exchange theory “beyond subinstitutional phenomena” (Cook and Whitmeyer, 1992, 111).

Blau sees the crucial source of emergent properties in social exchange¹¹. Structural characteristics develop out of social exchange, whereas the existing social positions of giver and recipient determine the nature of the exchange relation (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 299). In contrast to Homans, he does not consider exchange as an event affecting individuals separately. He defines the exchange between individuals as an exchange *relation*, which “is the joint product of the actions of both individuals” (Blau, 1964, 4). To refer again to the experimental design on which Homans’ theory is based, Blau is interested in the pigeon’s as well as the researcher’s behavior. Within a social relation, individuals are dependent on each other, or – more precisely – on the other’s resources. The more they exchange valued resources, the more they become interdependent on each other (Blau, 1964, 107).

“‘Social exchange’, as the term is used here, refers to voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring and typically do in fact bring from others” (Blau, 1964, 91). Instead of the behavioral principles formulated by Homans, Blau introduces micro-economic reasoning (Cook and Whitmeyer, 1992, 111). Of course, Homans also stresses the motivational aspect of individual behavior, at least more than behavioral scientists do, but he nevertheless reduces his analysis to elementary behavior. Blau’s concept of exchange goes beyond elementary behavior since he defines the actions of an individual as

¹¹In order not to call every relationship an exchange relation, Blau defines two aspects, exchange relations involve: (1) conscience and (2) voluntary action (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 293).

voluntary and motivated by his or her expectations. Ehek vulgarizes Blau's micro-economic perspective on individuals by saying that in social exchange relations "nothing goes for nothing" (Ehek, 1974, 169). The main resources aimed at by individuals are approval and advantages. For example, a person helps out their neighbor with tools because he aims at his approval of being a helpful neighbor. The neighbor offers approval because he aims at an advantage, i.e. getting the needed tools. Blau (1964, 105) points out that approval and advantage are generally contradictory, so that individuals often get advantages in one exchange (work) to gain approval in others (friends, family). Like Homans, Blau also uses the concept of rewards and costs. Costs which arise in providing social rewards in exchange for others are defined as "investment costs" (time and energy spent), "direct costs" (produced directly through the exchange), and "opportunity costs" (investing in one exchange relation reduces the opportunity to invest in others) (Blau, 1964, 101). Rewards can be extrinsic (goods, services, money) or intrinsic (compliment). Intrinsic rewards are often exchanged in intimate relationships, where the relationship itself is in a way rewarding (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 278).

Similarly to Lévi-Strauss and Mauss, Blau's social exchange theory features trust and friendship as central aspects. While trust is a general characteristic of social groups in the collectivistic approaches of the former, trust as well as the norm of reciprocity have to be developed through social exchange (Ehek, 1974, 175-176). Thus, social exchange is an important "tool" for building trusting and stable relations. Since the norm of reciprocity emerges from exchange, social relations tend toward a balance between giving and receiving. But what happens, when an imbalance in this interdependence occurs? A social relation is imbalanced if one person fails to return resources given to them. This unreciprocated exchange then leads to differences in power and status (Blau, 1964, 7). According to Blau (1964, 117), Weber's definition of power is crucial for exchange relations. Weber (1980, 28) defines power as "die Chance, innerhalb einer sozialen Beziehung den eigenen Willen auch gegen Widerstreben durchzusetzen". Power incorporates both negative sanctions or punishment (coercive power) and influence (rewards) (Blau, 1964, 116). In social relations, balances and imbalances of giving and receiving lead to cooperation as well as conflict.

"Although there is a strain toward reciprocity in social relations and a strain toward equilibrium in social structures, the same forces that restore balance or equilibrium in one respect are imbalancing or disequilibrating forces in others, which means that the very processes of adjustment create imbalances requiring further adjustments" (Blau, 1964, 7).

Whereas Homans defines status and power as already existing before an exchange, which is then only a "forum for their validation" (Ehek, 1974, 182), Blau's power and status are products of social exchange. Blau (1964, 115) defines power as "all kinds of influence between persons or groups, including those exercised in exchange transactions, where one induces others to accede to his wishes by rewarding them for doing so". Power is not a personal property,

but an asymmetrical social relation. If the exchange is unreciprocated, the giver will have higher status and the power to manipulate exchange conditions in his favor. The giver's power base is a kind of overinvestment in the relationship. He or she has the possibility to obtain power by making contributions to the group which lead to the achievement of the collective or individual goals striven for by its members. "The ability to distribute valuable possessions becomes a socially defined mark of superiority" (Blau, 1964, 109). If they fail to return the resource, they become dependent on the giver. But how could they, according to Blau, maintain their independence?

Since social exchange relations are embedded in a larger social environment (Ehek, 1974, 177), alternative exchange relations play a crucial role for social relations with regard to power imbalances. "If the dyad is examined, then it should not be discussed in isolation, he argues, from the alternative social opportunities which each member may have outside this particular pair relationship" (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 284). Alternative social relations provide power to the individual. The person with alternative exchange relations "has a choice of breaking up his dyadic exchange relations with his exchange partners and forming new dyadic relationships with others" (Ehek, 1974, 177).

"If [the giver] regularly renders needed services they cannot readily obtain elsewhere, others become dependent on and obligated to him for the services, and unless they can furnish other benefits to him that produce interdependence by making him equally dependent on them, their unilateral dependence obligates them to comply with his requests unless he ceases to continue to meet their needs" (Blau, 1964, 118).

Four conditions provide independence to individuals (Blau, 1964, 118f.): 1. They can supply the giver with a service (reciprocal exchange), 2. They may obtain the needed service elsewhere, 3. They can coerce him to furnish the service, and 4. They may learn to resign themselves to do without this service. In addition to alternative exchange relations (second condition), it is also resources that provide independence (first condition).

In Blau's perspective, exchange relations are power relations. Exchange produces trust and friendship at the same time as status differences and power imbalances. Differences in power exist if one individual is more dependent than the other. Blau reduces power relations to unilateral exchange relations, which are highly asymmetrical. Furthermore, he states that negative sanctions prevail as soon as an asymmetrical relation is established. This relation is only satisfying for the powerful person.

Researchers like Baldwin (1978), Chadwick-Jones (1976), and Heath (1976), however, question this narrow definition of power and broaden Blau's concept. Their criticism of Blau's power concept can be summarized in three main arguments. First, due to the rule of reciprocity, power relations are not always vertical, hierarchical, and unilateral (Baldwin, 1978, 1240f.). The giver is able to assume and maintain his or her powerful position only if the receiver acknowledges him or her as the power holder. The powerful person is thus equally

dependent on the others. Second, the zerosum game is not adequate to describe power relations since exchange is not always exploitative (Heath, 1976, 25). Rewards also imply positive sanctions within power relations for the dependent individual (Baldwin, 1978, 1240f.). Since the giver becomes powerful by overinvesting in the relationship, an imbalance in power may lead to a positive exchange which is satisfactory to the person with less power as well (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 283). Third, the winner also has to carry some of the exchange costs (Baldwin, 1978, 1240f.). Actually, overinvestment implies costs to a high degree. In order to gain a power advantage, the giver has to advance resources and make debts, and then simply hope that the receiver stays with him or her and does not change to a third person who makes a better offer.

We have to keep in mind that power relations are complex relationships, where power is related not only to gains but also to costs, where dependent individuals may receive positive as well as negative sanctions, or where both parties may be equally satisfied with the relationship.

In addition to alternative relations and resources, Heath defines a person's interest in the relationship as another important condition for power. "That person is able to dictate the conditions of association whose interest in the continuation of the affair is least" (Heath, 1976, 25). The so-called principle of least interest has also been formulated by Homans (1964), Ross (1921), Waller and Hill (1951) and Emerson (1962). This principle states that the person, who is less interested in the exchange, has more power in the relationship.

"Control over the relationship follows the principle of least interest, and the relationship, if it is continued, comes to give the dominant partner everything that he desires of such a relationship [...] while the other partner gains nothing but the continuance of the relationship" (Waller and Hill, 1951, 191).

Blau's analysis of power within social relations is based on Emerson's power-dependence relation. In order to give a more detailed and also more formal perspective on the relation between power and dependence, Emerson's model will be presented in brief.

3.2.3 Emerson – power-dependence relations

"[...] Social exchange theory seems to be forming specifically towards the analysis of such real but imperfect social structures – that is, social structures involving fairly long-term relations between people, in which power is neither diffuse nor equally distributed, as perfect competition implies [...]" (Emerson, 1976, 351).

In his approach towards social exchange, Emerson explicitly stresses the importance of time and the historical context for exchange relations. His approach is therefore of special interest for this study, which also analyzes power in a life course perspective (see Section 3.8). Emerson (1976, 350) states that social relations cannot be reduced to a face-to-face exchange

between ahistorical individuals. In contrast to the economic perspective on exchange, “social life consists of longitudinal social relations forming, changing, and maintaining over time” (Emerson, 1976, 349). Therefore, social structures, in which exchange relations are embedded, are real but always imperfect (Emerson, 1976, 350). The time perspective on exchange is also involved in his definition of rationality. Rationality means, that “individuals tend to act as to maximize reward and minimize costs over time or in the long run” (Emerson, 1976, 341). Unlike Blau and Homans, Emerson defines the behavior of individuals as not always rational, and emphasizes that individuals do not calculate their rewards at all times. Two individuals who are in love with each other act in an “irrational” way and exercise “self-denial in pursuit of the other’s welfare”. However, since they exchange love, a resource class in Foa and Foa’s (1980) model (Figure 1), the analysis of this love relation is included within exchange theory (Emerson, 1976, 341). Even if individuals might not start a relation because of expected rewards, such actions are usually returned (Emerson, 1976, 341). In case, one actor is more dependent on the relation than the other actor, power imbalances occur. Similarly to Weber (1980), Emerson defines power, as the influence of *A* on *B*. “The power of actor *A* over actor *B* is the amount of resistance on the part of *B* which can be potentially overcome by *A*” (Emerson, 1976, 32). Power is a structural characteristic of a social relation between at least two actors and is related to the specific social positions the actors maintain (Molm, 1987). In Emerson’s power-dependence relation, power *P* is based on dependence *D*. The power of one individual *A* over the other *B* is equal to the dependence of *B* on *A* (Emerson, 1962, 33).

$$D_{B/A} = P_{A/B} \quad (3.1)$$

Two interrelated determinants of dependence exist within social relations. The first is the “resource value”. The more valued resources *A* provides for *B*, the more dependent *B* will be on *A* and the more power *A* will have over *B*. The second determinant of dependence is “resource availability”. The less *B* receives the valued resource outside the *A-B*-relation, the more dependent *B* will be on *A* and the greater *A*’s power over *B* will be (Stolte, 1988, 358). “The ‘availability’ of such goals outside the relation refers to alternative avenues of goal-achievement, most notably other social relations” (Emerson, 1962, 32). These assumptions resemble Blau’s main determinants of power: overinvestment of resources and lack of alternative sources. In addition to alternative social relations and resources, Emerson defines “motivational investment” as a third determinant of dependence (Emerson, 1962, 32). The more *B* invests emotionally into the *A-B*-relation, the more dependent *B* will be on *A* and the more power *A* will have. Although the reduction of motivational investment is a possible reaction to existing power imbalances (Emerson, 1962, 33), it can nevertheless be regarded as a source of power. Emerson’s concept of motivational investment is similar to the principle of least interest. The individual who is less interested in the relation will invest less.

3.2.4 Thibaut and Kelly – towards game theory

As described in the previous chapters, Blau's and Emerson's approaches to social exchange theory are based on the crucial concepts of (inter)dependence, power, and alternative social relations. These concepts are also crucial in Thibaut and Kelly's (1991) theory, which Rusbult and Buunk (1993) call interdependence theory – a term Thibaut and Kelly, however, do not use themselves.

Dyadic interaction lies at the heart of interdependence theory. Interaction means that individuals “emit behavior in each other's presence, they create products for each other, or they communicate with each other” (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 177). According to Thibaut and Kelly, individuals are interdependent in the outcome of interactions. Similarly to Homans', Blau's, and Emerson's approaches, individuals are believed to perceive rewards and costs as outcomes. Unlike these exchange theorists, however, Thibaut and Kelly do not have in mind economic or material outcomes, when talking about rewards and costs. They do not reduce their analysis to material allocations of exchanged resources. Rather the individual's reflection of “each person's values and sentiments” and the individual's perception of interaction are taken into account (Thibaut and Kelly, 1991, v). Individuals need “outcomes such as instrumental support, affection, sexual fulfillment and emotional closeness” (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 179).

Thibaut and Kelly analyze exchange between individuals by using matrices, with which they record all possible outcomes individuals may obtain in an exchange. Comparing the optimal with the actual exchange result, their aim is to analyze why differences between the optimal and the actual outcome occur (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 29). As interdependence theory tries to explain the actors' choices compared to their alternatives, it has an affinity to game theory, which is applied primarily in economic research. Game theory “is intended to solve the problem of choice between alternative strategies, in favour of the optimal decisions in two-person bargaining situation” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 26).¹² Norms and values are considered as possible explanations for outcome differences. Individuals either do not *want* to obtain the outcome which is optimal for them, or they simply do not perceive the opportunity of obtaining this outcome. By accounting for individuals' perception of exchange, Thibaut and Kelly differentiate between objective and subjective interdependence. An individual might not always perceive the objective interdependence within interaction (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 25). This objection is also brought forward by Heath, who criticizes the assumption in exchange theory that individuals are always able to “make comparisons about the overall rates of exchange” (Heath, 1976, 111).

“[Exchange theorists] assume that individuals will take advantage of their bargaining power and thus obtain an improved bargain. [...] After all, the individual may not realize that he is in a strong bargaining position, or he may not have the wit to take advantage of it” (Heath, 1976, 105).

¹²Game theory will be treated in the discussion of the cooperative bargaining model (see Section 3.5).

The individuals' reflection on the interaction involves the assessment of the quality of their outcomes. Therefore, individuals need standards of the "adequacy or acceptability of their outcomes" (Heath, 1976). Thibaut and Kelly differentiate between two kinds of standards for making such evaluations: the comparison level *CL* and the comparison level for alternatives *CLalt*. *CL* is an intra-individual comparison, *CLalt* is an inter-individual comparison. On the *CL*, individuals assess their outcomes in the light of what they think they deserve. Their expectation is based on previous personal experience or experience shared with others like peers or the partner. The *CLalt* is a standard indicating the lowest level of outcomes an individual accepts compared to the rewards available in alternative relationships (Thibaut and Kelly, 1991, vi). The *CLalt* "is the standard the member uses in deciding whether to remain in or to leave the relationship" (Thibaut and Kelly, 1991, 21). Alternative social relations are the condition of the power of individuals. Power is defined as the ability to influence exchange outcomes and/or the other's behavior (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 35,37). In addition to alternatives, the level of commitment is another central determinant of power. The commitment level is equivalent to Emerson's emotional investment or the principle of least interest and states that the less committed to the relation a person is, the greater will be their/his/her influence on the outcomes.

"Highly committed individuals need their relationships, feel connected to their partners and have a more extended, long-term time perspective regarding their relationships" (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 180).

The level of commitment is related significantly to alternative relations. If individuals only have poor alternatives to their relationships, they will be more committed (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 182). Alternatives can be anything which pulls the individual away from the relationship, for example another sexual partner as well as non-romantic friendships, hobbies, or a social network (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 179). Personality traits such as self-esteem and autonomy also influence the level of commitment.¹³

¹³Rusbult and Buunk (1993) propose to integrate social norms and moral prescriptions as forms of investment into future research. Commitment might dependent on individual norms or might be dictated by external individuals (family, religious institutions, cultural norms) (Rusbult and Buunk, 1993, 185). The separation between individual and cultural or social norms is perceived as fuzzy.

3.2.5 Concluding remarks

“If a gift is not returned this is seen as a sign of inferiority and loss of status follows – the cost of not returning a gift is social inferiority. Inferiority is a cost because as has been mentioned ‘esteem he gives the other he forgoes himself. A secondary mechanism may develop where someone gives to others gifts which they cannot repay as a mean to asserting his superiority over them’” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 179).

Power is a central concept in most of the approaches in social exchange theory – except for Homans (1964), who considers power relations as a subset of exchange relations, in which one individual simply gets less than the other (Baldwin, 1978, 1229). Theorists like Blau (1964), Emerson (1976), and Thibaut and Kelly (1991) perceive exchange relations as interdependence relations. Imbalances in dependence are related to imbalances in power. According to Blau, social exchange produces power differences if the individuals are not able to reciprocate. In Emerson’s power-dependence relation, one individual’s dependence is the other individual’s power.

Hence, power is viewed as a social relation rather than an individual property. Although dependence lies at the heart of all of these definitions of power, their connotations differ. For Emerson, power is simply the amount of resistance which can be overcome. Thibaut and Kelly (1991) define power as the ability to influence the others’ behavior and/or outcomes. The powerful person is able to manipulate the gain-cost ratio of the exchange, and the other persons’ behavior. Blau (1964) also defines power as the influence of a person whose wishes others have to follow. But in contrast to Thibaut and Kelly, he highlights the role of overinvestment as a power mechanism. If the others cannot reciprocate someone’s overinvestment, he or she has power over them and is able to achieve a better gain-cost ratio for him- or herself. Thus, the mechanisms of purchasing power differ. According to Thibaut and Kelly as well as Emerson, less dependence enables the advantaged person to achieve more profit. Blau argues that the advantaged person indirectly brings others to follow his or her wishes by overinvesting in the relationship. Here, power is exercised in a much more subversive way, namely by a benevolent who resorts to the norm of reciprocity internalized by his subjects.

Although the approaches differ in some respects, the theorists agree about the conditions which lead to power. These are (1) alternative social relations, (2) resources, and (3) motivational investment (Emerson), commitment (Thibaut and Kelly), or interest (Homans, Waller and Hill 1951), which can be summarized under the prevalent concept of the “principle of least interest”. Although alternative social relations and resources are often treated as equivalent important power bases, it has to be clarified that both conditions are interrelated with each other. Resources can be used to expand alternative social relations. Social relations are sources of resources. Consider the following example: in a couple one partner becomes unemployed. Not only are his resources, especially income and social status, reduced, but he is also excluded from a social network, namely his former colleagues. At the beginning he tries

to maintain the relation to his colleagues, i.e. plays squash and goes for a beer from time to time. Outside the working context he sees friends on a regular basis, he goes out for cultural activities and dinner. However, through unemployment his resources are minimized, and he finds himself socially isolated when staying at home all day long. Since he does not have as much money as before and a lower status in his position as someone who relies on social benefit, he cannot afford many activities with his friends any more. Due to his exclusion from work life, his former colleagues increasingly forget about him. This example shows the extent to which alternative social relations are interrelated with resources. The event in our example, namely unemployment, includes both factors. On the one hand, unemployment means a reduction of resources; on the other hand, it implies a decrease of alternative social relations. Emerson as well as Thibaut and Kelly state that dependence constitutes potential power. According to the latter, the actual use of power is reliant on the actors' reflection and perception of interdependence. This perception is biased by social norms and values, which are part of the social institutions and social structure of a given society. Exchange theory explicitly relates social exchange to the emergence of social structures. Blau in particular attempts to link individual behavior to wider society and proposes a solution to the problem of agency and structure (Collins, 1992) – terms he does not use himself, however. His main assumption is that within dyadic interactions, social structures are produced and reproduced as a result of the exchange of various resources. This assumption already offers a link to gender theoretical approaches. But before discussing these theories and linking them to rational choice theory, other rational choice approaches dealing with power in social relations will be outlined. These approaches are resource theory, equity theory, and bargaining theory. These theories are more or less related to general social exchange theory. Resource theory is an application of exchange theory to couples. Equity theory highlights the role of norms and perception in social exchange relations. Bargaining theory focuses on the dynamic processes of social exchange. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, only resource theory will be operationalized in the analysis along with social exchange theory. The discussion of equity theory and bargaining theory will nevertheless deepen social exchange theoretical assumptions, and broaden the understanding of interaction in intimate relationships.

3.3 Resource theory

“Blood and Wolfe’s approach to measuring marital power relations through questions about who makes major decisions has been criticized by many, but – to paraphrase Churchill’s famous pronouncement on democracy – few viable alternatives are known” (Szinovacz, 2000, 855).

Resource theory is an application of general social exchange theory to intimate, originally to marital relationships. In their analysis of power in American marriages in the mid-1950s, Blood and Wolfe (1960) formulated the assumptions of resource theory. They defined power

as decision-making and asked American wives who made the decisions in their relationship concerning eight items such as place of holiday, choice of dwelling, her employment, choice of doctor, and expenditure for food (Centers et al., 1971, 264f.). The main result and, building on this empirical evidence, the main assumption of resource theory is simple: the more resources a person has, the more power he or she will have in the relationship. In Blood and Wolfe's model, the most important resources are education, income, and occupational status – resources generally available to the husband, who is therefore more often in a powerful position than his wife.¹⁴

Nye links these findings to social exchange theory. Resources can be regarded as equivalent to rewards: the more rewards a person provides in a relationship, the more power he or she will have. However, since Blood and Wolfe limit their study to resources, Nye defines their theory as an incomplete exchange theory (Nye, 1978, 229f.). Neither the costs of exchange, nor resources such as love or status were taken into account (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976, 355). Furthermore, the meanings of resources, which are diverse and might not be equal between or even within couples, are not considered. Safilios-Rothschild (1976) points out that the meanings of resources are determined by the individual's access to the resources, that is by the individual's alternative social relations.

Heer (1963) establishes the relation between exchange theory and resource theory by including alternative relationships. Blood and Wolfe only account for a comparison between the husband's and the wife's resources. They state that “the greater the gaps between the value to the wife of the resources contributed by the husband and the value to the husband of those contributed by the wife, the greater the husband's power, and vice-versa” (Heer, 1963, 138). Heer includes available resources outside the marriage and rephrases the above assumption.

“According to the revised theory, the greater the difference between the value to the wife of the resources contributed by her husband and the value to the wife of the resources which she might earn outside the existing marriage, the greater the power of her husband, and vice-versa” (Heer, 1963, 138).

Individuals compare the value of the resources within the marriage with the value of the resources outside the marriage. The person who has got a higher amount of resources can benefit to a larger extent from alternative social relations and will therefore have more power in the relationship (Rodman, 1967, 323). With the integration of alternative social relations, the principle of least interest has to be taken into account as well. Heer states that “the partner with less interest is the one for whom the discrepancy between actualized and potential return for contributed resources is greater” (Heer, 1963, 138). The partner obtaining higher rewards in other relations will be less interested in the relationship.

¹⁴In their study, Blood and Wolfe also controlled for cultural factors, which were not significant in their model. Rodman (1967), analyzing decision-making power in a country comparison with countries such as France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and the United States, found an impact of cultural norms on power within marriages.

Interest in the relationship might not only be determined by other sources, but also by what Emerson (1976) called emotional investment. With regard to emotional investment, love becomes a central resource. The one who loves less has power within the relationship. Because women often have to face disadvantages in the labor market and therefore have lower incomes and lower employment statuses than their husbands, they have a power disadvantage and are more dependent on their husband. Separation is therefore often too costly, so that women stick to the partnership. The only situation in which she is able to gain power is when she loves him less (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976, 356).

Although resource theory is similar to social exchange theory, the power concepts of these two theories differ. In resource theory, the main determinant of power within relationships is the ratio of the partners' resources. Alternative social relationships and the principle of least interest play important but secondary roles. They serve as indirect determinants of power by affecting the meaning of the partners' resources and, as a consequence, manipulating the resource ratio. In contrast, exchange theorists perceive resources, alternative social relations, and the principle of least interest as interrelated and equivalent power conditions.

Since resource theory primarily considers the amount of resources the partners contribute to the relationship, the theory is criticized to be materialistic and to neglect the importance of emotional gains and costs (Heath, 1976, 108ff.). Disregarding a person's material dependence on the partner, he or she might consider emotional satisfaction as a sufficient outcome of the relation. Nevertheless, Heath points out that this person will still be dependent on the other e.g. if he or she has a lower salary or a lower social status.

“The wives may in fact get far more satisfaction from emotional support than they get from their husband's financial contributions, but this will not alter the fact that some wives are more dependent financially on their husband than are others and hence have less power” (Heath, 1976, 109).

This argument supports Thibaut and Kelly (1991) in distinguishing between objective and subjective interdependence. A person may not perceive his or her dependence, even though he or she actually depends on the other. Hence, social exchange theory understands social relations and power in a much broader way than does resource theory.

3.4 Justice and fairness – equity theory

Even though rational action is assumed to dominate in social relations, norms play a central role in social exchange theory. As discussed in the previous chapter, the norm of reciprocity underlies exchange. A given resource has to be reciprocated with an equivalent return; in Lévi-Strauss' words: “to give is to receive” (Lévi-Strauss, 1964, 77). Since individuals return resources, trust and friendship can emerge within interaction. According to Nye, “without reciprocity, social life would appear to be impossible” (Nye, 1982, 18).

In addition to the norm of reciprocity, exchange theorists introduce another concept: the concept of justice, fairness, or equity – terms which can be used interchangeably within the framework of social exchange theory. Justice is a term used predominantly by Homans. In his first four propositions, which he states in his work “Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms”, Homans mainly focuses on the frequency of reward and cost and the degree of value individuals attach to them. Individuals aim at profitable exchange, which involves an intra-individual comparison (Ehek, 1974, 130). Individuals compare their gains to their costs. In the fifth proposition, he introduces the concept of distributive justice, and thus an inter-individual comparison. Justice means that the rewards and costs of two individuals in an exchange relation should be distributed in a fair ratio to each other. An exchange is fair if the individual’s relative costs or investments are covered by the relative rewards or profits. The “greater the investment, the greater the profit” (Homans, 1964, 75). Fair exchange is defined by the individuals’ “ability, effort, and productivity”, which are “canons for the ‘fair’ distribution of rewards and profits in the group” (Ehek, 1974, 144). A person who has more ability and thus a higher productivity should have a higher reward than a person with fewer abilities and a lower productivity. Hence, in Homans’ theory justice does not result in the equality of rewards. Instead of equality, equity constitutes the main concept within the theory of distributive justice. Exchange is not necessarily equal but should be fair according to the ratio of rewards and costs.¹⁵ As Ehek puts it, Homans theory of justice leads to a justification of inequality (Ehek, 1974, 144). To vulgarize his concept: justice is, when people get what they deserve, that is what they invest.

Distributive justice underlies every interaction. It becomes “a value itself exchanged”. Efforts will “be made by the participants in a social exchange to maintain a standard of distributive justice” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 162). Hence, the norm of inequality is accepted by all actors of society (Ehek, 1974, 149). But what is a fair or an unfair exchange? The variable value of an exchange resource is very hard to define and to measure because as opposed to a situation of economic exchange, the value of exchanged items is rather subjective in social exchange (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 163). In accordance with his behavioral perspective on social exchange, Homans defines justice as an individual’s “natural sentiment”. Blau, in contrast, stresses the social dimension underlying an individual’s feeling of justice or fairness. He ascribes fairness to social norms. Since equity exists as a social norm, inequity provokes “disapproval operating against anyone who deals unfairly with those under his power” (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 305). The value of a resource depends on society’s need for this resource, and on the level of investment required to supply the return (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 305). The values of resources are thus socially determined. The concept of equity has also been applied to Emerson’s power-dependence relations. The person exercising power and the

¹⁵An equal exchange only exists if exchange partners invest a comparable level of costs and receive comparable gains.

power-disadvantaged person may both consider the relationship as fair because the first generally invests more in the relationship than the latter (Osmond, 1978, 52). The giver is accepted to be the power holder and receive a higher reward since he or she makes more investments in the relationship than the receiver. Overinvestment does not only imply making debts, but also taking the risk of not being reciprocated by the other's acknowledgment of his or her power. For Emerson, equity is one exchange rule among others, such as rationality (Emerson, 1976, 353).

In social psychological theory, equity is defined as an essential factor for partners relationship quality (Sprecher, 1992). Equity theory assumes that people try to act in such a way that outcomes are equitably distributed for all partners. Individuals are dissatisfied if inequity is present – even if they are overbenefited (Hatfield et al., 1982). Since equity theory will not be used in the analysis in this study, its assumptions will not be further discussed. However, it seems helpful to highlight an aspect which problematizes the application of equity theory in most studies. In equity theory, individuals' *perception* of inequitable exchange is crucial. Hence, only the subjective interdependence of individuals in a relationship is taken into account. However, according to Blau and Chadwick-Jones, the perception of equity is socially determined. Social norms and values shape individuals' perception of social exchange and related outcomes (see Section 3.2.4). Considering the fact that social norms are related to social differences and power imbalances, power relations have an indirect effect on individuals' perception of inequity in a society. Since women are generally considered to have less ability, effort, and productivity than men, a social relation implying an unfair outcome for her might be perceived as equitable. Furthermore, Morgan and Sawyer (1979, 75) argue that power may have an impact on equity in the way that the equity norm is used as a justification of inequality. While the powerful person justifies his overbenefit with equity, the weak person invokes equality (Morgan and Sawyer, 1979, 75).

3.5 Game theory and the cooperative bargaining model

While exchange theory, including resource and equity theory, sees power as an outcome of an interaction between at least two individuals, researchers often emphasize the analysis of interaction itself for an understanding of power. Scanzoni and Polonko (1980) argue that power should be considered as a process rather than an outcome. Since interacting individuals negotiate their outcomes, power is considered as bargaining power. Like Emerson's power-dependence relations, bargaining power is dynamic and changes over time. Its definition is similar to that of Thibaut and Kelly (1991): "Bargaining power is simply the capability to bring about modifications in the behavior of Other while at the same time being able to minimize Other's efforts to bring about modifications in one's own behavior" (Scanzoni and Polonko, 1980, 42). The one who influences the other within bargaining situations has bargaining power. Unlike social exchange theory and resource theory, game theory and coopera-

tive bargaining theory as its derivate stress the dynamic process of long-term interaction and the role of cooperation for relationships. Although so far the focus of this study has been on power imbalances, cooperation between partners should not be disregarded. When we talk about power imbalances, we also have to talk about power balances. Individuals are not fighting against each other all the time, nor do they always try to oppress their partner. On the contrary, both cooperation and noncooperation are crucial aspects in long-term relationships in particular.

Among social exchange theorists, it is primarily Thibaut and Kelley who have a dynamic perspective on power by focusing on the strategies and behavioral influence of two individuals in a bargain. Their theory therefore displays similarities to game theory (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 26). According to Chadwick-Jones (1976, 26), game theory “is intended to solve the problem of choice between alternative strategies, in favour of the optimal decisions in two-person bargaining situation”. Camerer (2003) defines game theory as “a mathematical derivation of what players with different cognitive capabilities are likely to do in games”. Game theory assesses the strategies individuals apply e.g. to the allocation of welfare. Similarly to exchange theory, it assumes that individuals act rationally in the way that they try to maximize rewards and minimize costs (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 26f.). Within interaction, individuals follow their preferences. Individual preferences are expressed through utility functions. An individual prefers one action to another if the expected reward is higher in one action than in the alternative (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 28). Since the preferences of individuals differ (Ott, 1999, 48), competition takes place. However, game theorists like Emerson do not exclude altruism from bargaining processes.

Since interdependence exists between the players, one player’s rewards depend on the rewards of the other player. Therefore the players are interested in the welfare of the others (Chadwick-Jones, 1976, 50). The individuals will then cooperate – especially in repeated games because, like in exchange relations, interdependence increases with the number of times the individuals bargain. Furthermore, game theorists differentiate between noncooperative and cooperative games. Whereas in cooperative games the players make binding agreements, in noncooperative games players have to guess what the others will do (Camerer, 2003). Hence long-term relationships are repeated cooperative games, in which individuals are able to make binding agreements and increase their welfare through cooperation.

In game theory, cooperation is conceptualized by the “Nash Bargaining Equilibrium”.¹⁶ The Nash equilibrium is reached, when the product of individual gains is maximized, that is when one person cannot increase its gains without reducing the gains of the others – given that bargaining strategies do not change (Ott, 1999, 50).

“Cooperative solution concepts, including the Nash bargaining solution, explicitly assume that the equilibrium distribution is Pareto optimal. Cooperative game theory begins

¹⁶For the Nash bargaining approach see Lundberg and Pollack (1996, 146).

by assuming that players can communicate freely and make binding, costlessly enforceable agreements; the analysis focuses on the formation of coalitions [...] and on the distribution of the benefits of cooperation among players” (Lundberg and Pollak, 1994, 133).

The cooperative bargaining model, an application of game theory to the household level, is based on the Nash equilibrium. The interactions between the members of a household can be understood as a repeated game. Sen (1993) points out that since individuals have different preferences, not only cooperation but also conflicts concerning the allocation of welfare may occur. If conflict occurs, household members will start to bargain. Since cooperation maximizes the welfare of each household member in the long run, everybody is interested in cooperative solutions (Ott, 1999, 49).

Reciprocity is a central norm in long-term bargaining situations where resources are allocated or – to refer again to social exchange theory – exchanged between the members of a household. They pursue reciprocal strategies when negotiating with each other. However, like in exchange theory, bargains might have unreciprocal outcomes. Since cooperation is needed to maximize the welfare in the household, every individual has the potential to threaten with noncooperation (Bahr, 1982, 50). Like in exchange theory, alternative social relations and individual resources play a crucial role. The attractiveness of alternatives outside the family defines the “threat potential” of the partners within the family (Ott, 1997, 50). Ott points out that the utility of the best alternative again depends on the individual’s resources, especially income (Ott, 1997, 51). The partner with the higher threat potential will have a better bargaining position and thus the opportunity to change the others’ behaviors in his or her favor. This person has bargaining power.

“The more attractive an individual’s opportunities outside the family, the more strongly that individual’s preferences will be reflected in the intrafamily distribution of resources” (Lundberg and Pollak, 1993, 992).

The individual’s threat potential involves a threat point. If the individual’s utility reaches or falls below the threat point, they/he or she will leave the relationship. For spouses, this means divorce. In addition to divorce, Lundberg and Pollak (1993) interpret the threat point in another way. In their separate sphere bargaining model, they define a noncooperative equilibrium as a threat point. “Within existing marriage, a noncooperative equilibrium corresponds to a utility-maximizing strategy in which each spouse takes the other spouse’s strategy as given” (Lundberg and Pollak, 1993, 993). Such a scenario corresponds to a noncooperative game. But how can partners maintain welfare production and allocations in a long-term perspective without negotiating? With regard to intra-household production and allocation, they simply do not interact anymore. According to Brines and Joyner (1999) and Lundberg and Pollak (1993), the individuals’ specialization in separate spheres replaces bargaining processes within the partnership. These specialization patterns are provided by gender identities and

related gender norms. The traditional division of housework and labor, where he works in the labor market while she maintains the household and cares for the children, makes negotiations and bargaining unnecessary. As the partners' spheres are separate, they never come into conflict with each other. Instead of leading to divorce, the relationship can be maintained.¹⁷ Hence gender identities are crucial guidelines in the noncooperative equilibrium. The separate sphere bargaining model developed by Lundberg and Pollak (1993) can be related to doing gender theory. Women and men choose a position in the household in which they can behave according to their identities as men or women. In their approach the authors integrate gender as a structural category into rational choice theory. However, the noncooperative equilibrium is not the only factor with a gender dimension. Ott (1997) emphasizes that women are often more dependent on their partner since they are generally in charge of child care and therefore reduce their work in the labor market. Her lower income is then related to lower bargaining power in the relationship. Recent research has also shown that even if women do not reduce their investment in employment, they are nevertheless in charge of the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989), that is housework and child care. Working both in the labor market and at home diminishes the leisure and recreation time of female partners.

Concluding with this last rational choice theory, we have seen that all in all only few rational choice approaches consider the importance of gender for the interaction of individuals. Thibaut and Kelly (1991) highlight the influence of social norms, and thus gender norms, on individuals' perception of interaction and exchange outcomes. Brines and Joyner (1999) and Lundberg and Pollak (1993) introduce the role of gender norms and gender identities in non-cooperative games. These theoretical arguments point out that individuals do not interact in a social vacuum but that relationships are embedded in a gendered social structure, which implies gender asymmetries. However, rational choice assumptions neglect structural categories such as gender. In order to comprehend partners' interaction and their arrangements in the household, gender theory therefore has to be considered as well.

The two approaches – rational choice and gender theories – are generally regarded as "mutually exclusive" (Bittman et al., 2003, 187). However, as mentioned above, theoretical work by Thibaut and Kelly (1991), Lundberg and Pollak (1993) and Ott (1997) indicates that the dimension of gender has to be taken into account when dealing with power in couples. By focusing on the emergence of social structure, Blau proposes a link to gender theory and doing gender theory. Gender theory defines gender as a social institution and a baseline category for the organization of social life (Lorber, 2003). The social structure (Risman, 2004) and the physical environment (Goffman, 2001) are gendered. Doing gender theory (West and Zimmerman, 1991) highlights the everyday reproduction of gender in this gendered setting. Here

¹⁷Parsons already emphasized the advantage of the traditional division of labor because of its stabilizing effect on intimate relationships (Hare-Mustin, 1988).

individuals do not only act according to social structure and institutions, but their actions also include a feedback loop on them. The relation between agency and structure can be covered by Giddens (1984) and his structuration theory.

In the following chapter, central assumptions of doing gender theory and gender theory will be presented. Since doing gender theory can be better understood if contrasted with older theoretical approaches to gender, first of all gender role theory will be briefly presented and criticized. Then, doing gender theory and, finally, gender theory will be explained. Following these sections, rational choice theory and gender theory will be brought together.

3.6 Beyond gender roles – doing gender and gendered social structure

As we saw in the sections on rational choice theory, gender has to be integrated into the theoretical framework of an analysis on power within couples. Doing gender theory is an adequate theory for this kind of study since it highlights the interaction between partners and has therefore often been used to explain gender arrangements in couples – especially with regard to the division of housework and child care. Furthermore, doing gender theory allows for the consideration of social structure. In order to better understand the main assumptions of doing gender theory, a presentation of a rather “old fashioned” theory, namely gender role theory, is useful. Gender role theory will be discussed to contrast with doing gender theory, which goes beyond the consideration of gender as a simple social role.

For explaining gender role theory, the assumptions of the general role theory should be summarized in brief. One of the major contributions to role theory is Goffmann’s early work (1959). For an illustration of interaction, Goffman (1959) uses the metaphor of a theater, where individuals perform their roles on stage in front of an audience. The role is determined by two aspects. First, a role is “the typical response of individuals in a particular position” (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 27). Individuals “act” in positions such as doctor, patient, child, or mother. Second, individuals adapt their roles to a specific contexts of social actions (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 27). For example, in an interaction between a patient and a doctor in a hospital, both individuals adapt their role in order to make it conform to their position and the context. When both meet again, this time in a supermarket, their social roles will certainly change. Like on stage, the position and the context of the play are crucial information for the individual’s choice of his or her social role. Social roles are learned early in life and are maintained through out the life course (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 16f.). They incorporate well-integrated sets of individual attitudes and behaviors (Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, 1163). To use the theater metaphor again, a role functions as a script which indicates how individuals have to act and interact with each other in these specific roles. A central assumption of role theory is that individuals choose a certain script and certain roles according to the expectations of the audience. Behavior which is not role adequate will be sanctioned by the audience.

Role theory has been applied to gender, where a gender role is defined as “the social manifestation of maleness and femaleness in an uncharted configuration of social expectations” (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 27). In gender role theory, individuals behave according to their gender role, which is either male or female. A gender role incorporates a specific set of attitudes, which are, e.g. traditional or nontraditional (Coltrane, 2000, 1216).

“Viewed as a social role, gender is enacted or played out according to scripts that are carefully taught and repeatedly rehearsed until behavior governed by one’s gender role script becomes so natural as to be seen as an integral part of oneself – second nature, as it were” (Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, 1163).

In the literature, the application of role theory to gender has been criticized sharply. According to West and Zimmerman (2002, 16f.), role theory defines gender as an ahistorical and static unity, as a “frozen description” (Ferree, 1990, 867). Changes throughout the life course and contradictions and struggles between individuals’ social roles are neglected. In the light of ambiguous social settings and positions, the consideration of gender roles as stable units is difficult to maintain (Ferree, 1990, 868). Furthermore, gender role theory describes complementary “male” and “female” roles, which are considered as necessary to the integrity of social settings (Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, 1163). In doing so, gender role theory neither allows for critical reflections on gender and related inequalities, nor does it assume that individuals have influence on the social setting through their action. In addition, because social roles are limited to specific positions and contexts, the omnirelevance of gender is not considered (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 27). West and Zimmermann (2002) point out that roles are always situated identities (doctor, nurse, patient, teacher, pupil) rather than master identities such as gender identities. Gender is crucial in every social setting and many social roles such as nurse or secretary are already gendered (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 6). This is neglected by the concept of gender roles.

“Supposedly dichotomous, internally consistent, and complementary, ‘sex roles’ were presumed to be internalized early in life and expressed by individuals in a variety of social settings. The absurdity of a parallel concept, ‘race roles’, they suggested, should alert us to the invisibility of social structure in this framework” (Ferree, 1990, 867).

Finally, using gender as an internalized role, the association of gender with the social structure is made invisible. But the consideration of social structure is crucial when one wants to understand gender and related social inequalities. Doing gender theory goes beyond gender role theory by highlighting the interactional as well as the structural implications of gender. These will be discussed in the following sections.

3.6.1 The interactional implication of gender

“In this way, as individual member of society, we actively replicate gender hierarchies in social interactions” (Cooke, 2006, 446).

The doing gender approach developed from symbolic interaction theory, where interactants strive to “create meaning out of their behaviors and the behaviors of others” (Zvonkovic et al., 1996, 92). Like gender role theory, doing gender theory assumes that behavior is oriented towards the expectations of others (Bittman et al., 2003, 190). However, in addition to the fulfilment of expected behavior, individuals also feel the need to make sense to each other. “To make cognitive sense out of the world, individuals behave in ways that they can explain to others, and this leads them to follow other’s expectations, including those related to gender” (Bittman et al., 2003, 191). These two conditions constrain people to act in normative ways. This is compatible with Goffman’s theater metaphor. The actor feels the need to explain his or her role to the audience, to make sense of his or her performance, in order to avoid misunderstandings or irritation in the audience. Since gender is not identical with the self, men and women have to be persuaded or reminded to be male or female (Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, 1164). Hence, individuals “work” to “be” a gendered member of society. They *do* rather than *are* gender. These aspects are at the center of doing gender theory, which does not only focus on the interactional level of gender, but also takes into account social structure.

Doing gender theory focuses on the construction of gender and gendered identities. The social setting in which gender is done is the interaction between individuals, who are oriented towards gender production (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 4f.). In interaction people reproduce gender differences, i.e. the dualism “male” or “female”. In order to illustrate this, Gildemeister (2008) uses the metaphor of a house, which is not just there, but which has been constructed. The doing gender approach asks for the construction plan. At the center of the construction is interaction, defined as a construction process itself. Interaction implies constraints for the actors and incorporates generative mechanisms (Gildemeister, 2008, 173).

Gender as a social construct embodies “cultural meanings of masculinity and femininity” (Lorber, 2003, 66). Within interaction, the behaviors of individuals are always accountable according to male and female “natures”, which are socially perceived as different with regard to biology. However, biological criteria and gender are not identical concepts and therefore have to be differentiated. The differentiation between sex and gender goes back to Judith Butler, who defined sex as the biological and gender as the social sex, the social and cultural product of biological differences. Cases of transsexuals and transvestites show that gender is not “naturally” attached to a biological substrate but has to be learned by individuals (Lorber, 2003, 61). “Individuen werden *sexed*, aber nicht *gendered* geboren und müssen erst lernen, männlich oder weiblich zu sein” (Lorber, 2003, 66).

While Butler defines sex as a biological constant, gender theorists argue that sex is also socially constructed. According to West and Zimmerman (2002, 4), society agreed upon criteria for being male (penis) or female (vagina), which are applied to the newborn child directly after birth. Once classified, the individual is either male or female – an attribution which usually does not change during the whole life course. Sex thus determines the attribution of socially defined biological criteria to individuals.

However, since biological criteria are not exposed, individuals do not perceive them directly. The individual is just assumed to be either masculine or feminine. These assumptions are made according to “insignia” such as suit and tie or skirt and high heels (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 8f.). “From an ethnomethodological viewpoint, sex is socially and culturally constructed rather than a straightforward statement of the biological ‘facts’” (West and Fenstermaker, 2002, 65). Therefore, West and Zimmermann extend Butler’s sex-gender difference and add sex category as third concept. Individuals have to make themselves understandable for others and at the same time try to make sense of others. They apply existing categories involving certain attributes to each other. The categorization relies on an “if-can” test in everyday life: “if people *can be seen* as members of relevant categories, *then categorize them that way*. That is, use the category that seems appropriate unless discrepant information or obvious features rule it out” (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 9). The guidelines for these classifications are normative concepts in society. In the case of gender, these are the concepts of male and female “natures”. Since sex category is an expression of the underlying sex, which usually cannot be verified in everyday life without problems, sex and sex category might not be identical. In the case of transvestites, for example, sex and sex category are different.

Individuals not only expect to be categorized as male or female by others, but they also presume that others are displaying their sex categories (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 11). Gender displays, which are necessary for identifying an individual as a member of one category or another, establish the assignment to one sex category with the above-mentioned insignia (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 28). By using the term gender display, West and Zimmermann refer to Goffman (2001). Gender display is defined as “highly conventionalized behaviors structured as two-part exchange of the statement-reply type, in which the presence or absence of symmetry can establish deterrence or dominance” (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 7). In Goffman’s view, these gendered expressions are optional performances: less serious activities, which are only presented in specific locations. West and Zimmerman (2002, 7) criticize Goffman’s term, because it is limited to special spheres of society and segregated “from the serious business of interaction”. Since gender is done within interaction, where others have to perceive us as either female or male, it is not plausible that gender displays are optional as proposed by Goffman. West and Zimmerman (2002, 7) emphasize that individuals do not have “the option of being seen by others as female or male”.

To summarize, sex category is different from gender. Gender is the normative gender *behavior*, e.g. being feminine in addition to the fact that a person is perceived as female (sex

category). The process of doing gender leads to gender-appropriate or gender-inappropriate behavior (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 12). “We contend that gender is an accomplishment – ‘the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions, attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category’” (Fenstermaker et al., 2002, 29). Gender construction begins with the assignment of children to one sex category, according to their genitalia, their sex. The sex category is then transformed to a gender status through gender markers or gender display such as name or clothes (Lorber, 2003, 56).

In doing gender theory, the differentiation of two sexes is related to an asymmetry between feminine and masculine natures, in which femininity is subordinated and masculinity dominates. By “doing gender, men are also doing dominance and women are doing deference” (West and Zimmerman, 2002, 21). Work done by men is valued more highly because men do it rather than women. Men are the norm; women are the deviation from this norm. “Das Leben jeder Person, die sich im Status ‘Frau’ befindet, ist ‘wie die Nacht zu seinem Tag – so war die Vorstellung schon immer’.” (Lorber, 2003, 81-82) Gender is done e.g. when he earns the higher income and is considered as the main breadwinner, while she, even if employed, assumes the “second shift” (Hochschild, 1989), and takes care of the household and the children. However, Goffman (2001) highlights that in contrast to other subordinated categories such as migrant or black, women enjoy special privileges, for instance when he lights her cigarette, opens the door for her or helps her into the car. However, these actions are based on the concept of femininity as being helpless and weak. They are expressions of the lower status of women as compared to men.

The social distributions of various resources such as merit, privilege, autonomy and also power are organized through gender (Litton Fox and McBride Murry, 2000, 1164). For example, with regard to household arrangements, doing gender creates power-imbalanced relationships. Recent research has shown that it is generally the woman who assumes time-consuming and annoying tasks such as housework, child care, or the care of household members in need of care (Bittman et al., 2003; Blaisure and Allen, 1995; Hochschild, 1989). In interactions, partners produce and reproduce their gender identities in everyday life. They feel disturbed in case these identities are challenged or even destroyed. In their studies, Brennan et al. (2001) and Hochschild (1989) showed that in the case of a violation of the partners’ gender identities, for instance if the female partner has a higher income, she does not define herself as the breadwinner, neither does she assume decision-making. In contrast, *because* she is the main breadwinner, she assumes a greater share of housework (Bittman et al., 2003; Greenstein, 2000). By doing more housework, she does not only cope with the violation of her gender identity, but also with the violation of her partner’s identity. In intimate relationships, doing gender is a team performance. If one spouse fails to engage appropriately with his or her part, this may reflect negatively on the partner (Tichenor, 2005, 194). Gallagher and Smith (1999) found that men in particular are more likely to stress the male breadwinner role in the case

of unconventional asymmetries. If he becomes unemployed or retires, he does not assume more housework, but reduces his share of housework (Greenstein, 2000). Thus, partners compensate for behavior which does not correspond to their sex categories.

These examples show that individuals are sensitive to their gender identities and that they feel the need to cope with the violation of their identities. Since the allocation of resources is related to gender, individuals produce and reproduce a gender hierarchy when doing gender (Cooke, 2004, 446). Due to taking over a greater share of housework and child care, women have less time for leisure or other activities. They often have fewer financial resources than their partners because they are less active in the labor market. Hence gender inequality is reproduced by doing gender, often with women being disadvantaged.

When talking about a gender hierarchy which implies social positions for men and women in society, we already deal with the structural implication of gender. Although interaction is the setting for doing gender, the interaction between individuals is embedded within and restricted by social structure. At the same time, social structure is affected and might be changed by interaction. Giddens' structuration theory (1984) is useful for understanding this interplay between interaction and structure. His theory will be applied to the subject of this study and will be used for explaining the structural implication of gender.

3.6.2 The structural implication of gender

“Gender is obviously much more than a role or an individual characteristic. It is a mechanism whereby situated social action contributes to the reproduction of social structure [...]” (West and Fenstermaker, 2002, 66).

West and Zimmermann (1991) define gender as normative gender behavior. Doing gender implies an ongoing categorization of the social world. Individuals not only categorize others as either male or female, they also feel the need to be perceived as members of one of the two categories. Hence, individuals interact according to their sex categories and (re)produce gender behavior. In order to understand why the gender dualism is stable over time, one has to consider social structure with its normative concepts of male and female “natures”. Gender theory does not consider gender as a social constant or social role generated through socialization. In contrast, gender is an emergent feature of social structure (Coltrane, 1989, 473).

To better understand the relation between interaction or agency and social structure, Giddens' duality of structure will be briefly explained. In his structuration theory, Giddens (1984) conceptualizes the relation between agency and structure. He defines structure as rules and resources rather than a patterning of social relations and social positions (Giddens, 1984, 16f.). Rules and resources are “structural properties” of social systems. Structure exists only in the “instantiation” of practices and as “memory traces” orienting the conduct of agents. Hence, human practices imply both structure and agency. Social institutions are the practices

which last longest and extend in geographical space (Giddens, 1984, 17). Since structure only exists in its realization through agency, it is not “external” to agents, but “internal” (Giddens, 1984, 25). The duality of structure is at the center of structuration theory. Duality of structure means that structure enables and constraints the actions of individuals, but individuals create structure through their actions in return (Risman, 2004, 433).

“According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practice they recursively organize” (Giddens, 1984, 25).

Coming back to gender, individuals respond to social structure and generate social structure at the same time when doing their genders. In interactions, individuals permanently update their actions through structural arrangements and knowledge, which are related to patterns of behavior and action (Giddens, 1984, 180f.). Simultaneously, they alter these arrangements and knowledge through their actions. Here, gender is the link between interaction and social structure. In order to illustrate this, we shall return to Giddens’s example of the construction of a house. Individuals construct the house according to a construction plan. This plan not only implies architectural rules and norms for the construction, but also norms about the stratification of household members in that house. Thus the plan says on which level the rooms for parents, children, and grandparents should be, what sizes the rooms for each family member should have and which rooms should have extras like a private bathroom. If we think of the households of former times, where servants lived within the household, this example becomes even clearer. Servants were usually given relatively small rooms in the attic or in the basement. The construction process generates a social stratification of the household members. To apply this example to the duality of structure: we can assume that this social stratification existed already before starting the construction process. The construction process uses a plan whose norms and ideas imply the stratification. On the other hand, by changing something in the construction process, e.g. by providing better conditions to servants, the construction process has a feedback effect on social stratification.

Hence, when talking about doing gender, we are dealing with an interplay between agency and structure. But what exactly is gender in the process of doing gender, in the construction process? In our example, gender is defined as the construction plan, which tells individuals what to do and how to do it. West and Zimmerman (1991) define gender as normative behavior. In addition, they call it a “mechanism” for the reproduction of social structure (West and Fenstermaker, 2002, 66). Coltrane (1989) defines gender as an emergent feature of the social structure. We can gather from the outlines above that gender is a link between agency and structure. But what theoretical concept is most adequate to cover gender and its relation to agency and structure?

Risman (2004) proposes to consider gender as social structure itself. The definition of gender as social structure allows the consideration of individual factors for gender differences. Risman emphasizes the importance of integrating individual and structural theories of gender.

Whereas individual approaches ask for the biological and social factors of individual gender differences, structural theories focus on the interactional production of gender. In order to bring individual-oriented and structure-oriented theories together, integrative approaches regard gender as a “socially constructed stratification system”. Risman (2004, 446) argues that by conceptualizing gender as a social structure “we can analyse the ways gender is embedded at the individual, the interactional, and the institutional dimension of our society”. As a social structure, gender exerts an independent influence on social life. Gender is “linked to and derives power and legitimation from other structures, but also stands apart from these structures” (Tichenor, 2005, 193).

I agree with Risman that the consideration of gender on a broader level, which does not limit gender to interaction, is important in order to understand the mechanisms of doing gender and to cover the broader dimension of doing gender. Furthermore, the integration of individual approaches and structure-oriented approaches is especially fruitful for this study since gender theory will be linked with rational choice theory. However, treating gender as structure does not measure the dynamics between agency and structure. If gender and social structure are combined in one concept, the different layers and mechanisms of the process will be accounted for. Furthermore, if we see gender as a structure which is separate from other structures, we neglect the interrelation of different systems of categorization, which produce inequalities between e.g. white and black women.

Instead of defining gender as social structure, I prefer to talk about a gendered social structure. In order to emphasize the interplay between agency and structure, I opt for defining gender as a social institution, where social institution is defined according to Giddens (1984) and Berger and Luckmann (2007). As mentioned above, social institutions are crucial in Giddens’ understanding of the relation between agency and structure. Social institutions are human practices which extend over time and space. Like social structure, social institutions are internalized by agents. According to Berger and Luckmann (2007), social institutions imply typologies and classifications. They are produced and reproduced through interaction. Gender is a crucial classification which significantly reduces complexity within society. It creates a social reality *sui generis* and objectivates gender differences. The following section will discuss broadly the definition of social institutions and explain further in what sense gender can be perceived as a social institution.

3.6.3 Gender as social institution

“For instance, ‘believing’ that women and men are fundamentally different leads people to ‘see’ them as different even when “the facts” show their commonalities. For gender to be constituted differently, and potentially ‘dismantled’, its complex and multifaceted character must be made visible. Framing gender as a social institution is a step toward this end” (Martin, 2004, 1261).

Human action is crucial in order to generate and maintain social institutions. Berger and Luckmann (2007) define social institutions as specific patterns in which repeated human action becomes cast and is reciprocally typified. These patterns can themselves be reproduced through human action. Habitualization constitutes the key concept for the institutionalization of action. As soon as habitualized action is reciprocally classified through types of actors, institutionalization takes place. Hence, classifications and typologies of habitualized action are central to social institutions. Through generated social institutions, human activity is under social control (Berger and Luckmann, 2007, 58).

Similarly to Berger and Luckmann (2007), Giddens (1984) defines institutions as enduring features of social life. These features consist of those human practices which last longest and extend farthest in geographical space.

“The most deeply embedded structural properties, implicated in the reproduction of societal totalities, I call *structural principles*. Those practices which have the greatest time-space extension within such totalities can be referred to as *institutions*” (Giddens, 1984, 17).

In Giddens’ concept, social institutions are internalized within actors. In contrast to Berger and Luckmann (2007), he sees time-space distancing as a central factor for the institutionalization of human practices. Since institutions, like structure, are internalized, they constrain but also facilitate behavior. This two-sided effect of institutions – constraining and enabling – is also found in Berger and Luckmann’s theoretical concept.

In addition to these general aspects of social institutions, Martin (2004, 1256ff.) identifies a number of different characteristics of institutions. Social institutions imply social positions and relations with particular expectations, rules, norms, and procedures. Since institutions are internalized, constituted, and reconstituted by agents and thus in a way materialized, institutions are displayed as personalities. Institutions are incorporated into the identities of individuals. Since human action is continuously undergoing slight changes, social institutions change over time. Old institutions vanish and new ones are constituted. Furthermore, according to Berger and Luckmann (2007), institutions are maintained by a legitimating ideology produced by elites for whom these institutions are useful. They are generated through power and generate power themselves. Hence institutions involve advantaged and disadvantaged positions. Power differences and dynamics are at play in the course of institutionalization

processes. In addition, Martin (2004) relates the role of the state to social institutions. Aspects of institutions are put into law. Coming back to gender, this means that laws “both reflect and create gender inequality when they lend state authority to gender institution practices by assigning women to an inferior status as citizens and workers” (Martin, 2004, 1259).

In her approach, Martin (2004) considers the practice or the doing of gender at the center of gender, which she considers as a social institution. Gender as a social institution is constantly being transformed through practice, while practice is related cyclically to social structures. This cyclical practice is at the core of institutions. In this sense, institutionalization is the creation of conditions which make cyclical practice possible (Martin, 2004, 1260). Similarly to Martin (2004), Lorber (2003) defines gender as a social institution, as a baseline category which is used by society for organizational purposes (Lorber, 2003, 57). Society constructs similarities and differences between men and women and formulates different roles and duties (Lorber, 2003, 58). Gender is the guideline when it comes to questions of e.g. dividing housework, caring for children, and allocating resources. Further categories in addition to gender include race, age, and religion. Society organizes itself according to such categories – they impact common values, inheritance, legitimate leadership, and symbolic products such as art, music, and history (Lorber, 2003, 57).

Like every social institution, gender has a material basis. Its basis is the social status or social position assigned to women and men by society (Lorber, 2003, 60) and, to apply Giddens notion of structured properties, consisting of certain rules and resources. This basis is transformed through cultural and social practices with qualitatively different patterns and constraints (Lorber, 2003, 60). Cultural and social practice – the agency of individuals – is influenced in return by its material basis. Thus the material basis of gender is shaped through doing gender and at the same time influences doing gender. Regarding the interrelation between the material base of gender as a social institution and doing gender, gender is a feature of the duality of structure.

While Lorber (2003) defines social positions as the material basis of gender, Goffman (2001) goes one step further and also considers the physical world as a setting which directs individuals in doing their gender. In contrast to West and Zimmermann’s approach, where individuals have to reproduce gender over and over again, Goffman’s *institutional reflexivity* stresses the independent effect of the social arena on interactions. By using institutional reflexivity as his core concept, he emphasizes the organization of the physical world, e.g. the separation of public toilets, beauty salons, and billiard rooms, and its impact on agency. Institutional reflexivity describes the interface between interaction and social structure. It reflects social structure iconically and establishes the link between agency and structure (Knoblauch, 2001, 41). Geographical separations of the world into spheres for men and women, e.g. the separation of public toilets or the workplace and the home, are central to institutional reflexivity (Knoblauch, 2001, 40).

Thus doing gender is not only fundamentally interactional, but also institutional in character. Features of the social setting in which interactions take place include e.g. public toilets or the workplace. These are presented as natural consequences of the differences between man and woman, when in fact they are products of doing gender. Doing gender, or what Goffman (2001) calls genderism, does not develop in confrontation with the social world but within a social world which is organized in a way that leads to the evocation of these genderisms. Every physical environment can provide means that can be used for the presentation of gender and the confirmation of gender identity (Goffman, 2001, 147-148). Therefore gender differences are not only produced within interactions but also regulated through partnership, family, and settings in which socialization takes place, e.g. the workplace and the home. Institutional reflexivity itself serves as a reproduction mechanism of gender differences, at the same time as providing explanations for these differences (Goffman, 2001, 107). Hence practices and social organization produce “differences that allocate resources, privilege, and opportunities” (Martin, 2004, 1263). The material base of gender implies asymmetrical social positions, an unequal allocation of resources, and an organization of the physical world which separates men and women geographically. By doing gender, power relations are constituted.

“Power is exercised as a process, part and parcel of the perpetual flux of situated practices of social actors. Structured relations of power involving domination and subordination are produced and reproduced through these practices. Just as members of society routinely and continually construct the ‘normal appearances’ of their everyday lives, they will simultaneously, and in similar ways, be constructing power relations” (Davis, 1991, 74).

Like rational choice theorists such as Blau (1964) and Emerson (1976), Giddens (1984) locates power in a relationship between individuals where the powerful individual gets others to comply with his or her wants (Davis, 1991, 73). Here power is defined in terms of agency. “Action depends upon the capability of the individual to ‘make a difference’ to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events” (Giddens, 1984, 14). And like rational choice theorists, he defines resources as power bases which are mobilized to accomplish goals and manipulate interaction in a desired way. “Access to resources in interaction is a medium to effectuate capability on one hand, and to organize asymmetry on the other” (Wolffensberger, 1991, 103). Hence, power is a feature of the duality of structure.

“Resources (focused via signification and legitimation) are structured properties of social systems, drawn upon and reproduced by knowledgeable agents in the course of interaction” (Giddens, 1984, 15).

Since power is a feature of the duality of structure, power is never a fixed status or a static relationship. Rather power is a process and a product of the interplay between agency and

structure. Power relations therefore always change. In addition, Davis (1991) emphasizes that power relations are complex and that power is never absolute.

“Despite this asymmetry, however, power relations are always reciprocal, involving some degree of autonomy and dependence in both directions. Power is never a simple matter of ‘haves’ and ‘have nots’. Such a conception can only lead to an overestimation of the power of the powerful, closing our eyes to both the chinks in the armor of the powerful as well as the myriad ways that the less powerful have to exercise control over their lives [...]. Investigating power will therefore also involve uncovering the ‘dialectic of control’: ‘how the less powerful manage resources in such a way as to exert control over the more powerful in established power relationships’ (Giddens 1984: 374)” (Davis, 1991, 73).

Although asymmetrical social positions exist, disadvantaged individuals also attempt to purchase power. Since intimate relationships encompass different areas of partners’ lives, an individual might have power in some areas but might be powerless in others. For instance, even if gender theorists consider women as disadvantaged by definition, the female partner nevertheless tries to make use of her resources, e.g. money, to purchase power. At the same time, she might do her gender by renouncing the purchase of power in another area of the couple’s life. This is just one example illustrating the complexity of power in intimate relationships. Considering power as similar to a zero-sum game (one partner is completely powerful and the other is not powerful at all) is misleading. Heath (1976, 25) also emphasizes that power is not always exploitative. Power has to be detected in different dimensions of a couple’s life since a partner might have power in one dimension but not in another. In order to highlight that power is not necessarily allocated to only one partner but that it may vary between different dimensions, the term power *allocation* will be used.

We have seen that power processes are complex, and as a matter of fact cannot be explained by either rational choice theory or gender theory. An analysis benefits from a combination of the two approaches, which are perceived as complementary rather than exclusive theories. In the next chapter both theoretical approaches will be brought together.

3.7 Bringing together rational choice theory and gender theory

So far this chapter has presented and discussed two main theoretical fields: first, rational choice theories comprised of social exchange theory, resource theory, equity theory, and the cooperative bargaining model; and second, gender theory. In the context of all these theories the role of power within relationships, especially intimate relationships, was discussed. Similarities between rational choice theories and gender theory were mentioned throughout the previous sections. We saw that social norms do not only play a crucial role in gender theories, but also in rational choice approaches. Furthermore, rational actors do not interact in a social vacuum, but their social positions shape their interaction.

In this study rational choice theory and gender theory therefore provide the theoretical background of the empirical analysis of power allocation within couples. But how exactly can a link between rational choice and gender theories be developed? For those readers who skipped the detailed explanations of the theories, their main assumptions should be summarized before answering this question.

Social exchange theorists define social relations in which two individuals exchange valued resources as power relations. Imbalances in the individuals' ratio of resources, in their access to alternative sources, i.e. to other social relations, or in their interest in the relationship produce power asymmetries. The person with a higher amount of resources, more alternative exchange relations, or less interest in the relation is thus powerful. He or she can manipulate the gain-cost ratio of the exchange partner. Similarly to social exchange theory, resource theory and the bargaining model define resources, alternative social relations, and interest in the relationship as power bases.

Gender theory considers gender on an interactional as well as a structural level. Gender is defined as a social institution which links agency and structure. The doing of gender reproduces gender and has an impact on social structure. Social structure, in return, is the material basis of gender and therefore constrains interaction. Gender as a social institution implies power relations. Women and men are given different social positions by society, leading to women being generally disadvantaged and men advantaged. These differences are reproduced in interaction. Thus doing gender also implies the doing of power relations. Power always has an interactional and a structural component. Hence gender and power are features of the duality of structure (Giddens, 1984). They are products of and means to the interaction between individuals.

The link between both theoretical approaches lies in the role of social structure which is not only crucial in gender theory, but can also be found in rational choice theories, e.g. in the works by Thibaut and Kelly (1991), Ott (1992), Lundberg and Pollak (1993) and Blau (1964). According to the later, social exchange between at least two individuals produces and reproduces social structure. The individuals maintain certain social positions which determine the nature of the exchange process and its outcomes. Giddens' (1984) assumes an interplay between agency and structure. Social structure is internal to agents who realize structure through agency.

Social exchange is embedded and framed by social structure. Since social structure is gendered, social exchange is framed by gender and reproduces gender at the same time. Gender norms, which are part of gender as a social institution, frame the exchange between individuals and their perception of the exchange situation. Within exchange situations, it is not only rational for individuals to attain the best gain-cost ratio in terms of allocating resources, but also in terms of maintaining their gender identities. Violating these identities is a high cost individuals try to avoid. One example for this bounded rationality is the unequal division of labor in couples. Partners exchange paid and unpaid work with leisure time. The partner who

works more in the labor market is rewarded with leisure time. The other provides this leisure time by taking over more unpaid work in the household. The relation between paid and unpaid work and leisure is, however, not gender-neutral. In dual-earner couples, where both partners spent an equal amount of time working in the labor market, women are less rewarded with leisure time than men. Women are generally responsible for the “second shift” (Hochschild, 1989), while men often only “help out” with housework. Gender norms become even more obvious in case gender identities are violated. When he loses the position as breadwinner, women increase their amount of housework (Greenstein, 2000).

Another example for gendered social exchange are power relations – the subject of this study. Gender frames power processes and sets the context within which power relations are perceived and evaluated by individuals (Szinovacz, 1987, 664). Remember that power bases are an individual’s power *potential*. Especially Thibaut and Kelly (1991) point out that social norms shape individuals’ perception and use of their power potential. They may either renounce to use their potential to purchase power outcomes or even do not perceive this potential at all. With regard to gender, this means that, because having power fits less to women’s than to men’s gender identities, women use and perceive their power potential less than men. Even if women have more power bases than their partner, they will not purchase power outcomes.

What does this mean for partners’ power allocation? According to rational choice theories, power bases – resources, alternative social relations, and commitment – are related to power outcomes. But this relation is different for male and female partners. Since gender shapes partners’ interactions, the relation between power bases and power outcomes is less strong for women than for men. In order to maintain their gender identities, women either do not use or do not perceive their power bases to purchase power outcomes. Furthermore, in case gender identities are violated on one level of partners’ lives, e.g. the division of labor in the household, partners allocate power to men in order to cope with this violation. These are two hypotheses which illustrate how the combination of rational choice and gender theories is applied to the subject of this study, namely couples’ power allocation. Section 4 summarizes the theoretical argumentation and explains the hypotheses presented above together with all other hypotheses which will be tested in the empirical analysis.

To sum up, within social exchange relations, the actions of individuals and their power relations are shaped by gender and related gender norms. The idea of social norms is not new in the context of rational choice theories, which also account for social norms such as reciprocity and distributive justice. In exchange or bargaining situations, individuals try to achieve the outcome which they perceive as the best outcome for themselves. Thus, they act rationally within these situations. However, what is the best outcome is not only determined by a simple gain-cost calculation made in a social vacuum. Individuals’ perceptions and decisions to use their power potential are embedded in a gendered setting. By allocating power, individuals try to maintain their gender identities. Power bases are therefore linked to power outcomes –

but less for women than for men.

Returning to the duality of structure, we saw that agency has an impact on social structure and vice versa. Gender is the link between agency and structure and, as a social institution, implies power relations. Due to the dynamic interplay between agency and structure, power itself is a dynamic process. Power relations are not static but change over time. Emerson (1976) in particular points out that power relations should not be treated ahistorically. However, power does not only change within society, but throughout individuals' life courses as well. The life course is structured by transitions, which have a considerable impact on the lives of individuals and on the interconnected lives of partners in an intimate relationship. In the final sections of this chapter, power relations will be discussed from a life course perspective. The relation between social structure and the life course, gender and the life course, and finally between power and transitions in couples will be explained.

3.8 Power and transitions – the life course perspective

The dynamic character of power relations has been highlighted in some of the theoretical approaches explained throughout the previous sections. In his structuration theory, Giddens (1984) discusses the interplay between agency and structure. Since agency has an impact on structure, and vice versa, social structure and human practice may change. The cooperative bargaining model considers bargaining processes, in which cooperation is believed to be established over time (Ott, 1999). Emerson (1976) stresses the dynamic character of exchange relations, which are understood to be affected by time and historical context. These theories indicate that the consideration of a dynamic perspective on power is crucial. As a feature of social structure and social relations, power is not static. While power relations change within society, they also change throughout the individual's life course. Since transitions have a high impact on an individual's life, partners' power may be changed through transitions as well – either through events which affect directly the life courses of both partners (e.g. marriage or childbirth), or through events which are part of one partner's life course, and which indirectly affect the other's life.

When talking about the life course, the role of the modern welfare state for the life courses of individuals needs to be discussed as well. Welfare state policies structure life courses according to specific ideologies. The German welfare state implements rather traditional gender ideologies and does gender on an institutional level. Welfare state policies may therefore indirectly affect the impact of transitions on power within couples in Germany. Before further explaining this assumption, the relation between life courses, social structure and welfare state policies will be discussed in the first place.

3.8.1 Life courses, social structure and the welfare state

Life course theorists such as Mayer and Müller (1994) do not consider life as a continuous flow of experiences within a certain time but as a succession of transitions and trajectories. A trajectory is defined as a pathway, a sequence of linked states within a range of behaviors or experiences, e.g. going to high school or being employed. The change from one state to the other is defined as a transition. Elder (1985) points out that transitions are embedded in trajectories giving them form and meaning. Transitions thus structure the life courses of individuals. The interplay between transitions and trajectories over time produces the dynamics of the life course (Elder, 1985).

From the perspective of sociology, life courses are embedded in social structures and are produced through them. Life courses are not “life histories of persons as individuals but [...] patterned dynamic expressions of social structure” (Mayer, 2004, 165). Instead of single individuals, it is populations that are the focus of life course analysis. Populations or cohorts are influenced through what Mayer (2004, 165) calls the “institutional fabric of society across lifetime”. For example, the size of one’s cohort or the actions of the preceding and succeeding cohorts influence the individual life course. The dynamics of union formation and marriage “through which one’s own chances to find a partner are shaped change over time depending on the behavior of others searching at the same time” (Mayer, 2004, 165). Individuals’ lives are linked to the life courses of other people (parents, partners, children, work colleagues) and influenced by the dynamics of the social group of which they are members (Mayer, 2004, 166). Furthermore, life courses are shaped through historical events such as war, economic depressions or youth bulge. They become collective life histories of a whole cohort (Mayer, 2004, 166).

In addition to the effects of the cohort itself and historical events, social institutions such as education, family, labor market, or retirement regulate the individual’s life. Each institution thereby applies specific norms to which individuals have to adapt. The norms of the educational system differ from those of the labor market or from those of the family. In each institution, individuals act in accordance with the predominant norms.

“Institutions not only reproduce the social structure of a society, but they also carry with them the incorporated norms. Hence, institutions have the potential to structure the life-course, and also – as supporters, providers and preservers of norms – they are backing individuals decision-making and self-interpretation [...]” (Heinz and Krüger, 2001, 33).

Individual life courses are to be seen as part and product of societal as well as historical processes. Kohli (1985) explains the development of the individual life course to a social institution as a phenomenon of modernization¹⁸ and the emergence of state policies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The dispersion of waged labor and an increasing life

¹⁸Zapf (1992) defines modernization as structural changes in the economic, political, social and cultural subsystems of Western societies; these subsystems are interdependent.

expectancy, which made possible the planning of lives in the first place, were premises for the implementation by the national state of the pension system and the educational system (Kohli, 1985, 4ff.). These policies of an emerging welfare states¹⁹ were attached to a chronological age generalized for all members of society. The educational and pension systems standardized the (male) life course and structured the so-called “normal biography” into three phases: preparation for work (education), work, and recovering from work (retirement). The normal biography as a generalized and standardized life course pattern is organized around the employment system.

With the emergence of the modern welfare state and its policies, individual life courses were no longer determined by the destiny of a whole class but became the object of individual organization. Responsibilities of social security once provided by traditional associations such as class and family were taken over by the modern welfare state (Kohli, 1985; Mayer, 1995). The life courses of individuals were institutionalized and standardized. According to Brückner and Mayer (2005, 32), institutionalization means “the process by which normative, legal or organizational rules define the social and temporal organization of human lives”. Standardization refers to “processes by which specific states or events and the sequence in which they occur become more universal for given populations or that their timing becomes more uniform” (Brückner and Mayer, 2005, 32).

As a consequence of these modernization processes, traditional ties between individuals were loosened. Pre-industrial family economies were replaced by the bourgeois family with the man as the breadwinner, working in the labor market, and the woman as the housewife and mother, working in the private sphere of the home. Although a gendered division of labor also existed in the pre-industrial family economy (women working primarily in and around the house, men working in the fields), this division was not as rigid as in the bourgeois family. During harvest, for example, all family members, men as well as women, worked in the fields. Furthermore, since work was not paid, the valorization of work did not depend on the fact if it was done by men or women.

Through modernization, and more specifically industrialization, a geographical division between paid work in the labor market and unpaid work in the home emerged. Cooke (2011, 10) argues that the divide between paid labor in the labor market and unpaid labor in the home was more “than a physical distance between employment and home”, but also created tensions between “reciprocity and redistribution”. These tensions were addressed by state policies which gendered paid and unpaid work (Cooke, 2011, 10). “Men were assumed to be the independent workers, although states frequently imposed further restrictions on immigrant men. Women were assumed to be responsible for the unpaid work that sustained families and communities (Cooke, 2011, 2).”

Interestingly, through modernization, individuals’ lives were not only standardized and institutionalized, but also individualized. The term individualization refers to a process, in which

¹⁹For a detailed overview of explanations concerning the emergence of the welfare state see Lessenich (2000).

individuals gain “greater control over their lives” and pursue “a wider variety of life designs and life trajectories” (Brückner and Mayer, 2005, 33). The relation between social structure and agency was discussed in Chapter 3.6.2. Giddens (1984) defines social structure and agency as interrelated. Applied to the life course this means that social structure not only shapes individuals’ lives, but that social structure and life courses are reproduced and also changed through individual agency. Mayer (2004) gives an example for changes in the life course.

“This can either happen through “simple” aggregation processes or through immediate or intermediate institution formation. An example of the latter would be that a growing proportion of fully employed mothers exert electoral pressure to change schools into institution that take care of children for most of the day” (Mayer, 2004, 166).

Individualization, which was an outcome of modernization and the modern welfare state in the first place, has a feedback effect on life courses and social structure. Since the 1970s modern institutions such as the normal biography itself, but also the bourgeois family, have gradually been dissolving. Employment careers have become irregular and frequently interrupted. Various alternatives to the bourgeois family such as cohabitation, patchwork families, or living apart together families are increasingly prevalent (Peuckert, 1991).

Life course theorists refer to these processes with terms such as *de-institutionalization* or *de-standardization* (Beck, 1986; Geissler, 1996; Kohli, 1985). De-standardization means “that life states, events and their sequences can become experiences which either characterize an increasingly smaller part of a population or occur at more dispersed ages with more dispersed durations” (Brückner and Mayer, 2005, 32). It is argued that individuals enter the labor market, get married, form families, and retire at increasingly varying ages. De-institutionalization means that “states, stages, events, and transitions, which at earlier times were clearly differentiated, are being reintegrated or fused” (Brückner and Mayer, 2005, 32). One example would be the de-institutionalization of marriage with the rise of non-marital unions.

In life course research, the question whether lives have become more individualized and thus de-standardized and de-institutionalized is discussed widely. While some authors support the assumption of de-standardization and de-institutionalization (for example Beck (1986) and Beck-Gernsheim (1994)), others criticize the argumentation by showing in empirical studies that de-standardization processes have not taken place (for example Brückner and Mayer (2005) and Mayer (1995)). In their cohort study, Brückner and Mayer (2005) found no evidence for an increase of age variance in the the timing of education, training and work. In contrast, the authors found a homogenization of the life courses of men and women.

Although the life courses of men and women have become more similar regarding the timing of schooling, training, and work, Heinz and Krüger (2001) highlight that they still differ with regard to family formation and the basic structure of the life course. Whereas the life courses of men are organized around employment, women have to simultaneously handle their work in the labor market and in the household (Heinz and Krüger, 2001). Their life is structured

through transitions such as childbirth, which does not affect the life courses of men in a comparable way. Brückner and Mayer (2005, 48) also observed that gender differences persist across cohorts.

“Sie [die Frauen] müssen sowohl mit den Normen und Handlungsbedingungen der Institution Familie als auch den Anforderungen der Institution Erwerbsarbeit zurechtkommen. Dies unterscheidet den weiblichen Lebenslauf von dem der Männer, die ihre Biographie in der Tat um das Erwerbsleben herum organisieren können und sich dabei weitgehend auf die Institution Familie stützen” (Heinz, 1993, 16).

Disregarding individualization processes, the modern welfare state still has an impact on individual life courses (Heinz, 1993). “Die Freiheiten der Lebensplanung und Lebensführung sind jedoch nicht freischwebend, sondern vorstrukturiert durch institutionelle, insbesondere sozialstaatlich vorgehaltene Optionen” (Leisering et al., 2001, 11). Of course, individuals are not forced to apply for social benefits, they are not forced to marry or to invest in private pensions, but they are benefited by the state if they do so.²⁰

Institutional mechanisms particularly influence the lives of individuals in transitions. According to Heinz (1991), the life course consists of a sequence of transitions differentiated through social and economic circumstances. These circumstances regulate transitions in the individual’s life and serve as major reference points for a person’s life planning (Heinz, 1991, 12). In transitions, institutional mechanisms of regulation meet individual strategies of action (Heinz, 2000, 4). “We assume that life perspectives and variations in the life course are developed and negotiated by reference to transitions which link various areas and stages of life” (Heinz, 1991, 10). Since transitions entail social risks, they are framed institutionally through law, contracts, certificates, selection, and bargaining processes with so-called gatekeepers (Heinz, 2000, 4f.). When applying for social benefits, for example, individuals establish contact with institutions of the welfare state through face-to-face relationships with gatekeepers, who decide about the access to the transition. The institutions of the modern welfare state “define compensatory transitions, formulate criteria and selection procedures which may also create specific social risks” (Heinz, 1991, 12).

Ideologies concerning gender and family still underlie modern welfare state policies today. As Cooke (2011, 2) points out, in the past, state policies generally legitimated and supported heterosexual families and defined different activities for men and women. This generated gender inequality.

“Women’s unpaid work limited their ability to be men’s economic equal in the market, and men’s responsibility for paid work limited their ability to provide equal unpaid support to families and communities” (Cooke, 2011, 2).

²⁰Women’s lives are structured through transitions such as childbirth, which does not affect the life courses of men in a comparable way. Hence, partners might not want to get married for various reasons, but they will have disadvantages, e.g. with regard to taxation, if they decide against marriage.

Even though these policies were initially implemented as early as 200 years ago (Cooke, 2011, 11), modern welfare state policies affect individuals' life courses by continuing to apply such criteria of the normal biography (Leisering et al., 2001, 12) – especially the German welfare state. Cooke (2011, 11) sees one reason for the lack of institutional change in “path dependence”. She argues that due to “star-up costs, learning effects, and coordination challenges”, subsequent policies coordinate rather than change initial policy choices.

Transitions in life courses are linked to welfare state policies and, more precisely, to gender policies. This “institutional doing gender” will be discussed further. Since German data is used in the empirical analysis of this study, the explanation will focus on the policies of the German welfare state.

3.8.2 Gender policy regimes and the institutional doing gender

“Implicit assumptions about gender and family are codified in the welfare, labor, and taxation policies of nations [...]” (Treas and Widmer, 2000, 1413).

Gender is an important structural category for decoding institutional life course patterns (Krüger, 2001, 514). Gender is used for the definition of transitions, their criteria and related selection processes as well as the differentiation of individual options (Leisering et al., 2001, 12). State policies implement the idea of the normal biography, which is primarily a *male* biography. The normal biography is organized around the employment system and therefore has to be supported by the family. The family, or more specifically women's work in the household, assures the smooth functioning of men's normal life courses (Geissler, 1998). Since women are defined as being responsible for the sphere of the home, they have difficulties to meet the criteria of a normal career if they have an employment in the labor market. They struggle with the integration of the two institutions labor market and family, which incorporate different and frequently contradictory norms. Women's professional lives also depend on factors such as marital status and children, whereas men's professional lives are structured primarily by the labor market (Born and Krüger, 2001, 11). The female life course implies trajectories of economic activity which have to be combined with trajectories of non-paid work. Women either assume the “second shift” (Hochschild, 1989) or they interrupt their employment for housework and especially child care.

In the traditional bourgeois family, men occupy the position of the breadwinner, while wives work in the private sphere of the home. They are responsible for housework and child care. Although an increasing number of women have received higher education and been employed in the labor market since the 1970s, the institutions of the modern welfare state still implement the criteria of the normal biography.

“In Deutschland – [...] stärker als in anderen Industrienationen – scheinen geschlechtsspezifische Weichenstellungen des Lebensverlaufs bereits weit vor der Familiengründung angelegt – und zwar nicht nur sozialhistorisch, sondern auch institutionell. Die sich nieder-

schlagenden historisch sedimentierten Kernstrukturen unserer Gesellschaft zeigen sich nicht nur im geschlechtstypisch segmentierten Bildungs- und Beschäftigungssystem [...], sondern selbst in Institutionen sozialer Kontrolle, die geschlechtsbezogene Zuständigkeiten aufweist [...]” (Born and Krüger, 2001, 16).

Unlike other European countries such as the Scandinavian countries or France, German welfare state policy implements the ideology of the normal biography and tries to minimize the dissolution of the traditional family (Born and Krüger, 2001, 18). One consequence of the implementation of traditional welfare state policies is the relatively high gender wage gap in Germany. According to Cooke (2011, 8), West Germany’s 2000 gender wage gap is above the OECD average. Traditional gender arrangements are encouraged by taxation, employment and wage policies, and the organisation of the sphere of care (Sainsbury, 1999, 78). The German joint taxation system favors one-earner marriages and taxes (cohabiting) dual-earner couples with equal incomes more severely. “Being married and having a family carry advantages in relation to unmarried persons with a family or single persons without any obligations” (Sainsbury, 1999, 77). The scarcity of day care centers often hinders women’s careers (Mayer, 2001). As a result, German women either do not restart their work after the first child is born or very frequently continue their career in half-time positions. In addition, the labor market is highly segregated and supports the careers of men, who still receive higher incomes than women. Unemployment benefits are not paid if the unemployed person lives in the same household with an employed person. Since women are less likely to have a job than men, they are more likely to be financially dependent on their working partner than vice versa.

Geissler (1998) argues that despite these policies the employment rates of women have grown during the last decades. However, an observation Ostner (1986) made in the middle of the 1980s is still appropriate for the situation in Germany today: women’s employment rates have increased predominantly with regard to half-time positions, but not full-time positions (Scheuer and Dittmann, 2007). “Frauenerwerbsarbeit ist nicht normaler geworden – nur ihre Gestalt hat sich verändert” (Ostner, 1986). In his analysis of the division of housework in Germany, Garhammer (2000) concludes that although employed in the labor market, women still fulfil their role as caregivers and housewives. For West Germany, Drobnic and Blossfeld (2001) find a negative correlation between men’s and women’s incomes. Even when the wife “has substantial own resources at her disposal, high career resources of the husband can override her career potential and drive her out of the labor market” (Drobnic and Blossfeld, 2001, 377).

Although women’s higher employment rates have led to a shift from male breadwinner to dual-earner models, the strength of the dual-earner model depends on the “structural, political, and ideological country ‘packages’” (Drobnic and Blossfeld, 2001, 379). German welfare state policy is based on the male breadwinner regime as a type of what Sainsbury (1999) calls “gender policy regimes”. Sainsbury (1999) points out that norms and values about men as supporters of the family and women as dependants within the family underlie employment and wage policies of this regime. Married women therefore have a weaker position in the labor

market than men and are primarily regarded as wives (Sainsbury, 1999, 78). Welfare state policy incorporates gender as a social structure which determines women's and men's social positions. "Nicht nur Kapital und Arbeit, Beamter, Angestellter, Arbeiter – auch Mann und Frau sind als je unterschiedlicher Stand begriffen" (Langan and Ostner, 1991, 310). Levy and Ernst (2002) define this welfare state policy as *institutional doing gender*. Since gender is used as a category which dominates the life course, Born (2001) sees an equalization of male and female life courses in rather critical terms. She assumes that structural traditionalism might lead to a further traditionalization of gender arrangements between partners.

"Vielmehr ist der Fall denkbar bis wahrscheinlich, dass die Struktur-Traditionalität der Lebensform in lebenslaufbiographischer Perspektive längerfristig auch auf die Beziehungsgestaltung zwischen Partnern in Richtung einer Traditionalisierung übergreift; und dieses vermutlich selbst bei jenen Partnern, die ihre Beziehung mit einem modernen, individualisierten, auf Gleichheitsvorstellungen beruhenden Lebenskonzept antreten [...]" (Born, 2001, 48).

Since the German welfare state does gender in particular with regard to individuals' transitions, transitions such as marriage, childbirth, unemployment, or half-time employment might affect women's and men's life courses differently. Transitions and indirectly welfare state policy might therefore have consequences for intra-household inequality and more specifically for the partners' power allocations. Hence one aim of this study is the analysis of the impact of transitions on power within couples.

3.8.3 Couples, power and transitions

"Most importantly, institutions reveal and reproduce power relations within a society [...]" (Cooke, 2011, 5).

Elder (1985) introduces the dimension of "interdependent lives" or linked lives in his approach to life course theory. In addition to social conditions, the family network plays a crucial role for individual lives (Heinz, 1991, 18). Male and female life courses are interwoven (Born and Krüger, 2001, 11). Within couples, the partners' careers, levels of education, and lifestyles have effects on each other. Decisions about e.g. changing employment, starting formational training, staying in a full-time position, joining the neighboring tennis club, or getting involved in political work always have an impact on the other's life. Hence not only transitions which both individuals experience, like marriage or childbirth, but also events in one partner's life course, like unemployment, influence both lives. Furthermore, although transitions such as child birth are experienced by both partners, they might be experienced in different ways and might have different consequences for men's and women's responsibilities and opportunities.

Transitions have an effect on partners' opportunity structures. Transitions change partners' responsibilities, gender arrangements, and life course patterns. Childbirth, for instance, has

an effect on a woman's professional life, on her responsibilities and on the partners' ratio of resources. Before childbirth already, women stop working and interrupt their careers at least for a couple of months. Especially in the first few months after childbirth they are often primarily responsible for child care. During this period of time the main responsibility for the financial situation of the family shifts to the man. As transitions significantly affect the opportunity structure of individuals and change the social context in which the couple lives, the partners are induced to negotiate their responsibilities, duties, and life course patterns. They have to make agreements about how to deal with the changes. Ferree (1990) emphasizes that "changes in the opportunity structures in which life course patterns and social responsibilities are negotiated" influence gender arrangements (Heinz, 1991, 21). In the case of childbirth the partners have to bargain about the division of child care and, related to this, (re)negotiate other arrangements in the household, predominantly the division of housework. Furthermore, the partners have to agree upon the division of work in the labor market, e.g. if or when she will re-enter and whether he will take parental leave.

Since they change opportunity structures, transitions not only have an impact on partners' gender arrangements, but also on their power relation. In her study, Gillespie (1971) analyzes the impact of life course events on power within intimate relationships (Gillespie, 1971, 456). She shows that at the beginning of the marriage, power within the couple is distributed somewhat equally. The most important event for the decline of the wife's power is the birth of the first child. Her power decreases further as the number of children grows (Gillespie, 1971, 456). "Couples making the transition to parenthood are faced with new demands that challenge the norms that regulate their day-to-day activities" (Johnson and Huston, 1998, 195). Thus, parenthood is an event which highly changes partners' life courses, and requires new arrangements and coordinations between partners (Johnson and Huston, 1998, 196). These might also change partners' power allocations.

Even though Gillespie's study from the beginning of the 1970s might be outdated by now, especially regarding changes in women's participation in the labor market, children may still constitute a power disadvantage for women in Germany today, since states shape perceptions regarding gender and family, and state ideologies guide public policy (Treas and Widmer, 2000, 1415). We have already argued that the taxation system of the German welfare state supports non-working wives. The scarcity of day care centers further discourages women from re-entering the labor market after the birth of their first child. Hence childbirth continues to be a traditionalizing factor in German couples. Children are therefore analyzed in the context of transitions and power in this study. However, childbirth will be only one of three transitions which will be considered in the empirical analysis. The other two transitions are marriage and changes in the partners' relative employment status.

In addition to child birth, Vogler (1998) and Vogler et al. (2006), for Great Britain, and Lott (2009), for Germany, have shown that there are immense differences between married and cohabiting couples with regard to control over the income and decision-making. In Germany,

married women have less often decision-making power than their nonmarried counterparts. In the UK and Germany, cohabiting couples cooperate less often than married couples. However, these analyses are cross-sectional. We do not know whether marriage has any impact on the couple's arrangements or whether self-selection processes take place, meaning that couples who have traditional arrangements in the first place are more likely to get married. In the latter case, marriage itself would not change the power allocation within the couples. According to Berger and Kellner (1965), marriage can be perceived as an expression of the relationship between two individuals rather than as an event that changes the relationship. In their article the authors describe the construction of reality in marriages. Although the individual perceives her or his world in the same way as before marriage, reality changes significantly and becomes a symbiosis with the reality of the other. Spouses construct their world through discourse within the relation, which is then a world on its own, in some ways independent from the world outside the relationship. Each partner has the impression to discover his- or herself in the relationship, and defines his or her identity and the mythology of the relationship. In order to stabilize their world, the partners surround themselves with individuals who live in the same way, i.e. with other couples. These theoretical assumptions, which Berger and Kellner (1965) have been applied only on marriages, can be extended to cohabitations. Since nowadays most couples delay marriage and practise cohabitation as a so-called "trial marriage", it can be assumed that the construction of reality takes place already before getting married. In this case marriage itself does not change the relationship but is just another expression of the social world of the partners. One aim of this study is to analyze whether differences between married and cohabiting couples are due to marriage.

While marriage and childbirth are events which affect the life courses of both partners, changes in employment status are limited initially to the individual life course. However, seen within the concept of linked lives formulated by Elder et al. (2003), the individual life course is not isolated from the lives of others. Life courses have to be considered as interdependently influencing and changing each other. Thus, changes in one partner's employment status also impact on the life course of the other partner, as well as on the relationship as a whole. Established gender arrangements such as power allocation may be challenged by changes in the distribution of the partners' paid work in the labor market. Individuals can change to a lower or a higher employment status relative to the employment status of their partner. According to rational choice theory, a higher employment status implies a higher social status and a higher income. In addition, work in the labor market provides access to social networks and, hence, also includes alternative social relations. It can therefore be expected that changing to a lower employment status reduces an individual's power – especially for men, since their gender identity is more related to paid work in the labor market than women's gender identity. The combination of rational choice and gender theories which has been developed earlier is also applied to the effect of changes in partners' relative employment statuses and their power relation.

The previous sections have outlined a life course perspective on power in intimate relationships. They argued that transitions in particular have a significant impact on the life courses of individuals and may change partners' power allocations. This section has explained that marriage, childbirth and changes in partners' relative employment status may have an impact on power within couples. This study's theoretical concept differentiates between power bases, power processes, and power outcomes (see Figure 1). Whereas rational choice theories, gender theory, and life course theories predominantly discuss power bases and power processes, the power outcomes of this study have been neglected so far. Therefore, the definition of the power outcomes will be explained in more detail in the following sections. In addition, the subjective character of the power outcomes measured in the SOEP and *pairfam* data will be outlined.

3.9 Power outcomes – decisions, control, and influence

The power outcomes are control over the income, financial decision-making, social influence, and influence on results. Control over the income is measured with the question: Who manages the income(s) in the household?, financial decision-making with: Who has the final word regarding important financial decisions?, social influence with: How often does your partner make you do things his or her way?, and influence on results with: How often does your partner get his or her way when you can't agree on something?.

In her pioneer study, Pahl (1983) analyzed money management systems in English couples. Since money is the central resource in the modern economy, control over the wages "is essential for family survival" (Ferree, 1990, 877) and implies power Pahl (1983). It is important to note, however, that managing the income does not necessarily go together with maintaining the income. Managing everyday expenses can be a burden rather than a power achievement (Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al., 2006). Whether control over the income implies power depends on the amount of money which has to be controlled. Pahl found that women often manage the income in low-income households with a restricted budget, where managing everyday expenses is in fact rather a burden. In high-income households, where control over the income implies power, it is more likely to be the man who is in charge. Thus, for this power indicator in particular it is crucial to consider the size of the household income.

However, it need not be either the man or the woman who controls the money, but partners may also pool their incomes or control them separately. Treas (1993) argues that the pooling system is associated with a collective understanding of the relationship, while the separate system stresses the autonomy of the individuals within the relationship.

"Privatized versus collectivized economic resources go to the heart of the conjugal family's identity – as a corporate unit or as a collection of individuals" (Treas, 1993, 723).

Hence, as an alternative to one partner's exclusive control the couple might also choose the pooling system, which is associated with cooperation, or the separate system, which is related to noncooperation. Beside the pooled and the separate system, partners may also apply a combination of both. Pahl (2000, 516) argues that although the joint pool is "a powerful symbol of marital togetherness" partners increasingly strike a "balance between the individual and the couple".

In addition to control over the income, research has focused primarily on decision-making, which was first analyzed by Blood and Wolfe (1960). In contrast to Blood and Wolfe, who considered decision-making in several spheres of everyday life, this study only takes into account general financial decision-making. Kirchler et al. (2000) and Sutton et al. (2003) showed that expenditure decisions are crucial, since they are "main sources of conflict and disagreement" in relationships, "particularly when one partner feels" that he or she has less to influence on spending than the other (Vogler et al., 2008).

"[...] While on the one hand, money tends to be a taboo subject which couples dislike talking about, even in private, decisions about large one off expenditures usually involve so much deliberation between partners, they tend to bring to the surface differences in underlying values or attitudes which are usually kept hidden" (Vogler et al., 2008, 118).

Similarly to control over the income, couples may make decisions together. Joint decision-making is then related to cooperation, while either her or his exclusive decision-making is related to noncooperation. Other central power outcomes are a partner's influence on the other and his or her influence on results in the case of disagreement. Both of these power outcomes have been neglected in research so far. By using these four indicators for measuring power outcomes, this study extends previous analyses of power within relationships.

In recent studies, the relation between control over the income and decision-making has been broadly discussed. In her criticism of research on money management systems, Shove (1993) defines managing or controlling the income as agenda setting for financial decision-making. The person who controls the income is in a position to pre-decide what decisions have to be made. Control over the income sets the context for financial decision-making. Hence, Vogler (1998) suggests that control over the income is defined as the second dimension of Lukes' power concept, namely latent power. Lukes (2005) defines three power dimensions: manifest power, latent power, and invisible power. Manifest power is power that is openly expressed. Latent power is the power to make achievements which do not correspond to the needs of the other, who, however, does not express his disagreement in order to avoid conflict. Invisible power is ideological power. The definition of control over the income as the second dimension of power and financial decision-making as the first dimension assumes that control over the income underlies decision-making. However, the financial power outcomes of this study will not be ranked according to a hierarchy but will be treated as equal outcomes which only differ in the quality of power. For a person, controlling money can be as powerful as financial decision-making. Ranking the power outcomes, in particular financial outcomes relative to

social influence and influence on results, might be misleading. However, since control over the income and financial decision-making are power outcomes which often go hand in hand (Lott, 2009; Vogler, 1998), their relationship will be explored in this study (see Section 9). Furthermore, Vogler (1998) argues that Lukes' third dimension of power, namely ideological power, can be detected in gender ideologies such as the male breadwinner model. Since power has an ideological basis, social inequalities are not experienced as such and arrangements reproducing inequality or inequity are perceived as legitimate (Vogler, 1998, 13). This argument can also be found in Thibaut and Kelly's approach to social exchange. Due to social norms individuals might not always perceive their best exchange outcome or, as it was explained in section 3.4, as unequitable. Gender with its norms, ideologies, and male or female identities is part of ideological power. Invisible power is defined here as the underlying ideology or the discourse, as Vogel argues relating to Foucault (1972), which constitutes power relations among people by assigning social positions to them. Ideological power can only be taken into account in this study when interpreting the results. It cannot, however, be measured directly within the framework of this analysis.

For the analysis of power within couples it is essential to differentiate between potential power and actual power outcomes, which are linked through interactions where individuals try to persuade and influence the other in order to gain control over the other. It is important to note, however, that there is a considerable overlap between these two levels of power. According to Gray-Little and Burks (1983), structural power is already taken into account implicitly in the analysis of power outcomes. Furthermore, the power outcomes mirror the negotiations within couples. Since not only one, but four measurements of outcomes are used, power allocation within couples is considered "in a graded rather than an all-or-non-way" (Gray-Little and Burks, 1983, 515). Social influence and influence on results in particular imply information about the negotiation process. The distinction between outcomes and processes is therefore often blurred. Referring to the process-outcome distinction, Gray-Little and Burks (1983) argue that a process is regarded as "a series of emergent outcomes," whereas "outcome stops process at a point in time". Process studies "identify the *how* of change, while outcome research attempts to identify *what* changes" occur (Gray-Little and Burks, 1983, 515). This study is part of outcome research since what changes is the predominant focus of the analysis. However, when interpreting the results one has to keep in mind that the distinction between the power bases, processes, and outcomes is ideal, and that the power outcomes imply the power bases and vice versa. Therefore, this study focuses on the association between power bases and power outcomes rather than on their causal relationships. However, since rational choice theories assume that power bases affect power outcomes, the power bases are defined as explanatory variables for the power outcomes.

In addition to possible overlaps between bases, processes, and outcomes, the relation between these three levels of power is conceptualized differently in various theoretical frameworks. In resource theory and social exchange theory, power bases directly affect exchange out-

comes – regardless of partners’ interaction strategies. This view is supported e.g. by Emerson (1976). His power-dependence theory “predicts that an asymmetry in dependencies” produces an asymmetry in power (Molm, 1990, 429). However, Molm (1990) emphasizes that power bases may affect outcomes indirectly through their effects on the power process. Gender theory emphasizes that partners reproduce gender in their interactions and that the relation between structural power and power outcomes might thus be different for men and women. In addition, gender arrangements such as the division of housework and child care are crucial parts of doing gender in intimate relationships and might be linked to partners’ power allocations. Since power, especially financial power, can be perceived as another arrangement, power and the division of labor might be interrelated. Hence, although the divisions of housework and child care are used as explanatory factors for power outcomes, their possible interrelation with power will also be explored in this study (see Chapter 8).

One limitation of the data is that partners’ preferences cannot be taken into account. Szinovacz (1987, 653) argues that an actors’ preferences and intentions indicate whether a power outcome is actually related to power for this person. “To make a decision or to win a conflict [...] does not indicate power exertion unless it is ascertained that the actor actually *wanted* to make this decision or to win the conflict.” A partner can just not be interested in controlling the income or in making financial decisions (Szinovacz, 1987, 653). As already mentioned, in households with a restricted budget control over the income or decision-making can be time-consuming burdens rather than power outcomes. Gender inequality is often related to the different meanings of controlling the income and making the decisions.

“...women are often left with the implementation of routine household decisions, and the husband retains his right to veto specific procedures. To carry out such routine decisions may be rather costly to the wife (e.g. in terms of time and energy) and is thus not always consistent with her personal wishes [...]” (Szinovacz, 1987, 653f.).

The problem of preference bias, implied in particular by the use of control over the income and financial decision-making as power outcomes, cannot be solved in this study. However, since the question for financial decision-making aims at “the final word regarding important financial decisions,” the preference bias might be reduced. First, decisions are restricted to what a partner evaluates as important, and second, asking about the final word also implies veto. In addition, it can be argued that money has a relatively high market value (Szinovacz, 1987, 663) and that controlling and deciding about the income are tasks which are generally evaluated as important and which are hence related to power. “In addition, the *general market value* of specific contributions constitute an important element of the spouses’ evaluation [...]” (Szinovacz, 1987, 663). The preference bias of control over the income and decision-making is also measured by considering the household budget. Controlling and deciding about a higher amount of money is more appealing than making ends meet with a restricted budget. Despite these arguments, a preference bias still remains when using control and decisions as power indicators. The other two power outcomes – social influence and influence on results

– have less preference bias, since they do not aim at household tasks, but at an aspect of the interaction between the partners, which is not related to preferences. Thus, the analysis of power over both the financial and non-financial power dimensions reduces the limitation of the data.

All of the power outcomes used in this study are subjective measures of how partners actually perceive their power allocation. This study thus analyzes partners' perceptions of power rather than their actual power allocations. This is, however, not problematic within the theoretical framework of this study. Lukes' third power dimension is concerned with underlying ideologies or discourses, which have a high impact not only on partners' interaction, but also on their perceptions. Furthermore, by considering gender norms working behind the back of individuals within every interaction, gender theory can also be applied to partners' perceptions, which are shaped through gender.

Note that the chosen power outcomes differ in their degrees of subjectivity. Regarding social influence and influence on results, the partners were asked to evaluate the other's influence on themselves, but they did not report their own influence on the other. Hence the partners' perceptions of their power cannot be compared. Of course a similar perception of power does not provide information about the objective situation but expresses to a much higher extent the relationship ideology shared by both partners. Nevertheless, a comparison of perceptions allows the consideration of agreement and disagreement in the relationship. Since we have to rely on the perception of only one partner for social influence and influence on results, the aspect of subjectivity is even more crucial. The question regarding financial decision-making is also highly subjective since both partners were asked to say who has the final word regarding *important* financial decisions. What decisions are considered as important is defined by the individual. Only control over the income is a rather objective measure in the sense that it concerns a concrete arrangement, namely the management of income(s), e.g. the organization of bank accounts. However, the question does not directly ask for a specific practice and interviewees may also have other things in mind when answering the survey question. The group of couples where the partners' response behaviors differed shows that the question can obviously be understood in different ways. Nevertheless, control over the income will be treated as a rather objective indicator since organizing the finances can be understood as a household arrangement.

In order to account for a perception bias, the perceptions of the male and the female partners will be analyzed separately. Moreover, since both partners gave information on control over the income and financial decision-making, incongruence between the answers given by the male and the female partners occurs. Rather than treating this incongruence as a methodological problem, Szinovacz (1987, 657) suggests considering the differences between partners' response behaviors as a "meaning of evidence", as their "personal definition of the situation". She further suggests combining self-reported data with evidence from observations or behavioral self-reported data in order to reveal "dissonance bias if the marital reality deviates from

their expectations” (Szinovacz, 1987, 657). Unfortunately, in this analysis, a “reality check” of the partners’ perceptions of power cannot be provided due to data limitations. However, the study will compensate for this disadvantage by analyzing in more depth the partners’ perceptions of financial power in the cases of congruence as well as incongruence. Furthermore, in order to achieve a clear presentation and interpretation it will not always be made explicit that perceived rather than actual power outcomes are analyzed. In order to make the interpretation as simple as possible, outcomes will often be treated as such. However, the reader is now aware that we actually deal with a subjective evaluation of partners’ power allocations, even though it is not explicitly mentioned. Since information for both partners is available for control over the income and financial decisionmaking, the issue of perception will be addressed specifically if there are differences between the models for the male and the female partners. As mentioned above, the issue of perception will be analyzed in a separate chapter, where couples with and without identical response behaviors will be considered further.

The reader has to keep in mind that, when talking about power in the following chapters, we are actually talking about perceived power. As mentioned above, the perception of the partners’ power might be shaped by the partnership ideology. For instance, the ideology of equality, which dominates many couples (Vogler, 1998, 16), might be the reason for the partners saying that they share everything in the household economy. In addition, the perception of power might not only be shaped by the partners’ ideology but also by social desirability. Since subjective measures are used, which cannot be checked by a comparison with the “objective” situation, information might be biased due to what people think they should answer. Their answers may depend upon the common opinion dominating in society and especially in the social environment in which they live.

This might be a reason for the high number of couples stating that they cooperate with regard to financial issues. Only a very small group of couples says that one partner is decision-maker or controls finances alone. This small variance is a limitation of the data available. Unfortunately, neither this data limitation nor the general problem of social desirability can be solved in this study. Future research will have to explore other power measures which also take into account more “objective” aspects of power and which allow for the comparison between partners’ perception of power and their actual arrangements. In this study, the analysis has to rely on more or less subjective measures of power. Thus, it will not claim to draw conclusions upon “objective” power allocation in couples.

3.10 Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented different approaches which can be applied to power allocation within couples. These approaches are rational choice theory, gender theory, and life course theory. We have seen how rational choice and gender theory can be combined to form one

theoretical framework. Rather than considering them as exclusive theories, they will be used as complementary theories to analyze power within couples. Rational choice and gender theory provide explanations of power. Rational action is embedded in gender, which can be perceived as a social institution, as omnipresent in partners' interaction. Gender frames their interaction and gender differences are reproduced through interaction. Gender sets the context for individuals' perceptions of power. Individuals follow rational choice when doing their genders. Intimate relationships are complex relations, and various dynamics are at work at the same time. Explaining partnerships with only one theory is underestimating the complexity of these relations. Furthermore, power is not an absolute property. Power is relational, and an analysis of power is not about the question of *possessing* power or *not possessing* power. Since power can be detected in different dimensions of partners' lives, an individual might have power to some degree in one area of the partners' arrangements, but not in the other areas.

In addition, power is a dynamic process and power relations change throughout partners' life courses. Transitions have high impacts on the individual's life course and affect power as well. Since transitions are moderated by the welfare state, in our example by the German welfare state, social policies which imply a rather traditional perspective on the family also have an impact on individuals' life courses. Hence, the institutions of the welfare state reproduce gender differences. This is the institutional doing gender. Transitions have a different influence on the life courses of men and women and different consequences for male and female partners' power. Note that the impact of welfare state policies will not be directly measured in this study. However, when interpreting the results, the reader should keep in mind that the German welfare state has a rather traditional understanding of the family, which has an impact on men's and women's life course patterns. Finally, when talking about power relations, we are not only talking about exclusive power possessed by either male or female partners. We are also talking about sharing power and cooperation between partners. The cooperative bargaining model in particular highlights the role of cooperation between partners. Hence, the terms *power relation* and *power allocation* emphasize that power is never an absolute property of one partner and that cooperation and power balances are also part of power relations.

4 Objectives and hypotheses

4.1 Objectives

The intra-household context is an essential area of social life. It determines the lives of family members not only within, but also outside the household. The transfer of resources, the division of housework, or power allocation within households influence e.g. chances and perspectives in the labor market or in vocational training. In order to fully cover social inequality and poverty in a given society, inequality between family members has to be taken into ac-

count (Haddad and Kanbur, 1990, 866). Since power is a crucial dimension of inequality in cohabiting and married couples, this study will investigate partners' power allocations.

Reviewing the literature in the field, it is no exaggeration to say that research on power in partnerships and within households is underrepresented in recent empirical research in Germany. Until now, little work has been done which would be able to illuminate the household context in order to reveal social inequality between married and cohabiting partners. Apart from a small number of quantitative studies on power (Lott, 2009; Ludwig-Mayerhofer, 2000; Ludwig-Mayerhofer et al., 2006), German research has focused primarily on the division of housework tasks and child care. The first aim of this study is a broad analysis of power allocation within couples. Since earlier results point to an interrelated impact of partners' power bases and gender ideologies (Lott, 2009), power bases as well as gender will be taken into account when analyzing power. Rational choice theories and gender theory propose explanations for the allocation of power in couples. Individual bases, alternative social relations, and emotional commitment possible factors associated with power outcomes. But, because gender frames partners' interaction, the association between power bases and power outcomes might be stronger for men than for women. So far German researchers have not analyzed systematically the impact of these factors by using a theoretical framework which combines rational choice and gender theories. Hence the first research question addressed by this thesis is: which factors are associated with power allocation within couples?

In recent studies, the concept of power has usually been reduced to one or two aspects of power, primarily income management and decision-making. However, intimate relationships are complex. Power works on different levels and cannot be studied adequately by using only one or two indicators. For instance, money management has nothing to do with power if one or both partners are not interested in managing money, which they might perceive as a simple household task. Zelizer (1994) and Wimbauer (2003) point out that money has different values and meanings. It can be perceived as hugely important and powerful by some individuals. For others, in contrast, money might be almost meaningless. As outlined in Section 3.9, this study will take into account social influence and influence on results as additional power dimensions beside money management and decision-making. Here the power concept of Grau (2001) will be applied. In her definition of power within intimate relationships, Grau formulates five power aspects: control over resources, social influence, influence on results, interest, and alternatives. In the context of this thesis, however, Grau's power concept will be altered. Whereas Grau defines all power aspects as power outcomes, alternatives and interest will be considered as power bases (and analyzed as independent variables), in accordance with social exchange theory and resource theory. Furthermore, decision-making, which Grau does not take into account, will be added to the list of power outcomes. With the exception of control over resources, which can be translated as money management, and decision-making, research has not accounted for the other power factors so far. All in all, four outcomes of power will be analyzed in this project: social influence, influence on results, control over

resources, and decision-making. This operationalization of power allows a comparison of different power levels and gives deeper insights into the complex nature of power within intimate relationships.

Power is part of the interaction between partners and therefore a dynamic process. In order to understand the mechanism of power allocation, the consideration of these processes is essential. Sprecher and Felmler (1997) underline the importance to consider the allocation of power in intimate relationships in a longitudinal analysis. Especially status passages which have a high impact on the individual's life course (Behrens and Rabe-Kleberg, 2000; Heinz, 1991, 1993, 2000), may change couples' power. Recent research has demonstrated that there are immense differences between married and unmarried couples as regards their money management and decision-making. In this context it is interesting to analyze whether self-selection processes take place. Maybe married couples already had traditional power allocations before marriage. In this case, marriage would not be a factor which changes power within partnerships, but an expression of the couples' (traditional) world. In Germany, children still constitute a traditionalizing factor, which means that after childbirth, women often continue their careers only in half-time positions or do not re-enter into the labor market at all (Scheuer and Dittmann, 2007). Thus, childbirth may decrease the female partner's power. In this context it is also interesting to investigate whether the first child changes the power allocation or whether women's power disadvantage occurs if there is more than one child in the household. Furthermore, Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001) have demonstrated that male partners' incomes have a negative effect on female partners' participation in the labor market in West Germany. An increase or decrease in partners' incomes may thus affect their power as well. Employment or unemployment are the events that produce the most rapid changes not only in partners' ratio of incomes, but also in social status and often the access to alternative social relations (networks, private activities with colleagues, etc). Hence, unemployment may have a high impact on power allocation within couples. In addition to unemployment, changes to a lower level of employment are also significant for couples' power. Recent studies have shown that women's full-time employment is related to power to a larger extent than their half-time employment. Since most women in West Germany are employed in half-time positions or change to half-time positions after giving birth, the impact of changing from one employment level to the other has to be taken into account. According to rational choice theory, it can be expected that changes to a lower employment status or to unemployment reduce power. Despite the importance of panel analysis for understanding power relations, recent research has focused predominantly on the cross-sectional study of power. Criticizing this situation, Sprecher and Felmler (1997) provide a longitudinal analysis of power balances in dating couples in the United States. However, longitudinal studies on power within couples have not been conducted in Germany so far. The role of transitions has not been taken into account either. This study will, therefore, offer an analysis of power allocation within couples integrating a life course perspective, which focuses on power in three main transitions: marriage,

children, and changes in the ratio of partners' employment status. Do transitions affect power allocation in intimate relationships? In the following chapter, the hypotheses of this study will be outlined in more depth.

4.2 Hypotheses

The theoretical background of this study consists of rational choice theories and gender theories. These two approaches will be considered as complementary theories. According to rational choice theory – namely social exchange theory and resource theory – individual resources, alternative social relations, and less commitment to the relationship constitute significant power bases related to power outcomes.

1.1 The partner with more power bases has more power outcomes.

According to the principle of least interest, less relative commitment to the relationship is associated with power.

1.2 The partner who is less committed to the relationship has more power outcomes.

Gender is a social institution, which frames interaction between individuals. Gender is omnipresent in partners' interaction and affects the relation between power bases and power outcomes. Since power is more related to the male than the female gender identity, the relation between power bases and power outcomes is stronger for men than women.

2.1 Power bases are stronger related to power outcomes for men than for women.

Gender role attitudes are considered as cultural resources that partners bring into the relationship. It can be expected that in couples where partners have traditional attitudes towards gender, the male partner will have more power. Since recent research has shown that men's attitudes are more important than women's attitudes for gender arrangements within couples, the relation between attitudes and power outcomes is expected to be stronger for male than female partners.

2.2 In couples where partners have traditional gender role attitudes, male partners have more power outcomes.

2.3 Male partners' gender role attitudes are more important for power than female partners' attitudes.

Pahl (1983) found that there are gender differences regarding the family budget. She observed that in households with a low income women are more likely to be in charge of managing the income. On a restricted budget this is a time-consuming and annoying task not related to power at all. In households with a higher income, men often assume control over the finances. The different meanings of controlling the income in low- and high-income households, as a burden on the one hand and power on the other hand, will be taken into account as well.

3.1 In households with a low income, the female partner manages the income.

3.2 In households with a higher income, the male partner controls the income.

Furthermore, it is assumed that gender arrangements such as the division of housework and child care are associated with power. Housework and child care are time-consuming tasks which do not have the same value as work in the labor market. "Housewives may feel dependent on their husbands not because the wives' services are intrinsically unimportant, but because their market value is comparatively low" (Szinovacz, 1987, 663). Hence, housework and child care are negatively related to power in general. However, according to doing gender theory the relation between power and housework and child care depends on whether the division of labor conforms to feminine and masculine gender identities. For women, housework and child care are time-consuming burdens unrelated to power. If the female partner has a greater share of housework and child care, she does not assume the powerful position in the household. However, housework and child care are positively related to his power in the case of "unconventional asymmetries" (Szinovacz, 1987, 666). Unconventional asymmetries are traditional arrangements, e.g. the male partner performing more work in the household. Possessing power would then be a coping strategy for the violation of his gender identity.

4. His greater share of housework and child care is positively related to his power outcomes.

Finally, we assume that life events have an impact on power within couples. In line with the assumption that partners' ratio of employment statuses is related to power, changes in the ratio of partners' employment statuses influence their power relation. According to rational choice theory, changes to a lower employment status diminish power, while changes to a higher status increase power. A higher employment status implies a higher social status, more resources, and more alternative social relations. But again, since gender frames power relations, the impact of changes in employment status may be stronger for men than women. The role of the breadwinner is rather related to the male than the female gender identity.

5.1 Changes to a lower employment status decrease power outcomes. Changes to a higher employment status increase power outcomes.

5.2 Changes in employment status affect men's power outcomes stronger than women's outcomes.

Marriage and childbirth are transitions in the life courses of both partners, but their impact is different for men's and women's lives. The German welfare state encourages traditional gender arrangements in intimate relationships, e.g. through the joint taxation system and the overdue investment in day care centers. Thus, marriage and children traditionalize partners' arrangements and decrease female partner's power.

5.3 Marriage decreases female partners' power.

5.4 Children and especially young children decrease female partners' power.

However, one could also argue that, in contrast, children are a power base for women. Since female partners are more likely to be responsible for child care, they can use their children as a power base in bargaining situations.

5.5 Children, particularly young children, increase female partners' power.

Furthermore, previous studies in English-speaking countries have shown that marriage increases cooperation between partners. As opposed to cohabitation money, marriage money is joint and cooperative. Furthermore, it is often argued that children are an investment in the relationship and may express the partners' serious involvement in the relation. Hence, children and marriage both increase cooperation with regard to financial power outcomes.

5.6 Marriage and children increases partners' cooperation.

These hypotheses will be tested in the empirical analysis of this study. But before coming to the results, the data, sample, and variables used in the analysis will be presented. Furthermore, the selection of methods for the analysis will be explained.

5 Data, samples, and variables

5.1 Data

The data used is the German Socio-economic Panel Study (SOEP) and the Partnership and Family Study (*pairfam*). The SOEP is a representative panel study of German households, which started in 1984 in the Federal Republic of Germany (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 16). In June 1990, the survey was expanded to include the territory of the German Democratic Republic (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 19). Foreigner groups are oversampled in both German regions. The aim of this study is the collection of micro data on persons, households, and families in order to measure change and stability in living conditions. The SOEP covers issues such as population and demography, education, training and qualification, household production, basic orientations (preferences, values, etc.), and satisfaction with life in general and certain aspects of life in particular. Currently, over 12,000 households and 32,000 persons are interviewed every year. In face-to-face contact, the interviewers try to obtain information from each household member aged 17 or older (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 21). The household members are asked to fill out a personal questionnaire. In addition, one household member is given a household questionnaire covering information on housing, housing costs, and different incomes (e.g. social transfers like social assistance or housing allowances) (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 21). Once in the survey, the individuals are followed up on even in the case of residential mobility or leaving the household. As soon as children reach the age of 16, they are considered in the survey. Third persons who enter the household are

also taken into account (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 22). Temporary drop-outs from a household are followed “until there are two consecutive temporary drop-outs of all members or a final refusal” (Haisken-DeNew and Frick, 2005, 22).

The *pairfam* started in 2008 and focuses on family and partnership issues. It is an annual survey starting with about 12,400 randomly selected respondents of the three birth cohorts 1991-1993, 1981-1983, and 1971-1973 (Huinink et al., 2011). The *pairfam* has a *multi-actor design*, i.e. every respondent, or anchor, is asked for permission to interview his or her partner, children or parents. In contrast to the SOEP, partners do not necessarily live together in one household. The first wave of the *pairfam* includes around 3.700 partners. The anchor population is comprised of people who live in private households in the Federal Republic of Germany and “who have sufficient mastery of the German language to follow the interview” (Huinink et al., 2011, 90). The aim of this study is to provide insights into couple and family development from a life course perspective, which combines economic, sociological, and psychological approaches (Huinink et al., 2011, 87). The content of the questionnaire can be distinguished into three modules, namely core modules, regular extended modules, and irregular extra modules (Huinink et al., 2011, 87). Core modules, which cover information on decision-making processes, are repeated annually. Regular extended modules rotate over the different waves, while irregular extra modules are used only once, e.g for the life history calendar (Huinink et al., 2011, 91).

5.2 Samples

The samples of the SOEP and *pairfam* include only couples. Children and other household members as well as singles are excluded from the data set. In the SOEP sample, each unit contains one individual to which the information of his or her partner have been added. Kenny et al. (2006, 18) define this data structure as a *pairwise structure*, where “there is one record for each individual but both partners’ scores occur on each record as well”. In the *pairfam* sample, each unit contains one dyad, which means that one unit contains information on both partners. (Kenny et al., 2006, 16) refer to this structure as a *dyadic structure*. Since the dependent variables of the analysis were measured in the SOEP in 2004, 2005, and 2008 (at least one of the two dependent variables), the SOEP sample encompasses three waves. The sample is balanced.²¹ It excludes couples where one partner or both partners did not respond to the survey questions used as indicators of the power outcomes. Since the second wave of the *pairfam* was not available at the time of the data analysis, the *pairfam* sample includes only the first wave (2010). Note that the second research question can therefore be answered only for the power outcomes in the SOEP. Furthermore, in order to have the same sample for each of the two dependent variables in the SOEP and the *pairfam*, the sample includes only

²¹The sample is balanced with regard to the dependent variables. All partners responded to control over the income and decision-making in all waves. Hence, only couples who did not split up within the observation period are taken into account.

couples where both partners answered both survey questions.

In order to analyze the first research question “What factors are associated with power?”, which is a cross-sectional research question, this study uses methods which do not control for unobserved heterogeneity (see Section 6.5). We can assume that different ethnic groups have different gender role attitudes. Unfortunately, these are not measured in the SOEP. Because it cannot be controlled for different gender role attitudes, couples where at least one partner has a migration background are not considered in the cross-sectional analysis. Migration background is defined as being an immigrant, having or having had a non-German citizenship, or having at least one parent who is either non-German or who was born outside Germany (Frick and Lohmann, 2010). In the panel models, in contrast, these couples are included because the chosen methods allow for the consideration of unobserved heterogeneity and account for a possible bias due to gender role attitudes.²²

In addition to the ethnic background, the fact whether one partner is from East Germany might also have an impact on power allocation within couples. We know that there continue to be differences between East and West Germany, particularly in gender role attitudes, the full-time employment of women, and other gender arrangements. Hence, in the multivariate analysis, it will be controlled for East Germany. In Chapter 11, models are estimated separately for the East German and West German samples. Since partners interact in a gendered setting, the power bases and power outcomes may be related to each other differently for male and female partners. In addition, since the chosen indicators of the power outcomes are subjective measures, the study measures partners’ perception of power rather than their “objective” power allocations, so that the analysis has to differentiate between male and female respondents.

5.3 Dependent variables

Power is defined as (1) control over the income, (2) decision-making, (3) social influence, and (4) influence on results. For money management, interviewees were asked “How do you and your partner (or spouse) organize the income that either you or they or both of you receive?” in the 2004, 2005, and 2008 SOEP. Control over the income is coded with 1 = ‘Separate’, 2 = ‘I do it’, 3 = ‘Partner does it’, 4 = ‘Pool’, and ‘Partially separate’. Although the partially separate system may be meaningful in the theoretical sense in that a combination of the pooled and separate system expresses the partners’ search for “a balance between the individual and the couple” (Pahl, 2000, 516), the results of the multivariate analysis are very similar for the separate and the partially separate system. For this reason the category “partially separate” is added to the first category “Separate”. Financial decision-making was measured in the SOEP with the question “Who has the last word in your relationship/marriage when making

²²Of course, gender role attitudes also differ within the group of people with the same ethnic background. However, the variance is much lower when limiting the sample to people of only one ethnic group than considering different ethnic groups. For this reason, the bias due to gender role attitudes can be reduced for the SOEP, but not completely eliminated.

important financial decisions?”. The variable is coded as 1 = ‘I’, 2 = ‘Partner’, and 3 = ‘Both’. In the *pairfam*, social influence is observed with the question “How often does your partner make you to do things his or her way?” Influence on results is measured with “How often does your partner get his or her way when you can’t agree on something?” Both variables are coded with 1 = ‘Never’, 2 = ‘Seldom’, 3 = ‘Sometimes’, 4 = ‘Often’, and 5 = ‘Always’. Due to the small number of observation in the first and the last category, ‘Never’ will be added to the category ‘Seldom’ and ‘Always’ to the category ‘Often’. Table 1 gives an overview over the power indicators in both data sets. The reference category for control over the income is ‘Separate’. The separate system is chosen as reference category, because it is – in contrast to the joint pool – an unambiguous arrangement. The joint pooling system may also imply arrangements, where one partner still has more responsibility than the other (Vogler and Pahl, 1993). The label “joint” blurs this inequality. The reference category for decision-making is ‘Both’, because the majority of couples states that they make important financial decisions together. The reference category for social influence and influence on results is ‘Sometimes’. It is chosen because of two reasons. First, the majority of partners says that their partner has sometimes influence. And second, using the middle category facilitates the interpretation of findings for the categories ‘Seldom’ influence and ‘Often’ influence.

Dependent variables			
	Data source	Questions	N
Control over money	SOEP 2004, 2005, 2008	How do you and your partner (or spouse) organize the income that either you or they or both of you receive?	2,988 (couple-years)
Decision-making	SOEP 2005, 2008	Who has the last word in your relationship/ marriage when making important financial decisions?	1,992 (couple-years)
Social influence	<i>pairfam</i> 2010	How often does your partner make you to do things his or her way?	3,167 (couples)
Influence on results	<i>pairfam</i> 2010	How often does your partner get his or her way when you can’t agree on something?	3,167 (couples)

Table 1: Dependent variables of the analysis

Since both partners answered the survey questions concerning who manages the money and who makes final decisions, partners’ response behaviors may differ in the SOEP (Tables 2 and 3). Partners’ responses differ mainly for decision-making. If the male partner said that his partner makes the financial decisions, almost 33% of the female partners said that they make decisions together. If he indicated that he makes the decisions, it was around 48% of the female respondents who reported joint decision-making. For control over the income, the difference between her and his responses is smaller. If male partners said that they or their partners control the income, around 18% of the female partners said that they pool their

earnings. The regression models will therefore control for whether the partners gave identical answers. Furthermore, the problem of differences in partners' perception of power is met by estimating heckit models (see Chapter 10). In order to facilitate the descriptive analysis, results will be presented for female partners' responses only. The multivariate analysis will account for male partners' answers as well. The problem of different response behavior in couples does not occur in the *pairfam* data, since partners are only asked to evaluate the other's influence.

Her answers	His answers			
	Separat	I	Partner	Pool
Separat	93.58	5.83	3.26	3.84
I	0.00	3.88	73.91	0.99
Partner	2.04	72.82	4.35	1.40
Pooled	4.38	17.48	18.48	93.78
N	1,964	206	368	3,438

Note: Column percentages not weighted; Female and male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 2: Partners' response behaviors for control over the income

Her answers	His answers		
	I	Partner	Both
I	1.40	65.38	2.23
Partner	50.35	1.92	2.98
Both	48.25	32.69	94.79
N	286	208	3,490

Note: Column percentages not weighted; Female and male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 3: Partners' response behaviors for financial decision-making

5.4 Explanatory variables

The factors which will be considered for the explanation of power allocation within couples are derived from social exchange theory, resource theory, and gender theories. In Tables 4 and 5, all the variables used in the analysis are listed.

Individual resources According to social exchange theory and resource theory, individual resources matter for power. The main individual resources which will be taken into account are individual income and education. In the SOEP, net individual labor income is measured on a monthly and on a yearly basis, but only income per year is imputed and will therefore

be used in the models. Pensions (old age, disability, and civil service pensions, widow and orphan pensions, company pensions, private pensions) and social benefits (unemployment benefit, unemployment assistance, subsistence allowance, old-age transition benefit, maternity benefit, student grants, military/community service pay, alimony) are not considered in this analysis. The reason for the limitation of money earned in the labor market is that according to Zelizer (1994, 2005), money has different meanings and values. It can be assumed that money which was actively earned through employment has a higher value than money which an individual receives from the state. Earnings are more likely than social benefits or pensions to be related to power. The *pairfam* takes into account net income per month, which is a combination between open answers and estimations. In the models, income is defined as the partners' relative income (in percent), whereas the woman's proportion $e_{f/fm}$ of the sum of both incomes $e_f + e_m$ will be integrated in the models.

$$e_{f/fm} = \frac{e_f}{e_{fm}} = \frac{e_f}{e_f + e_m} \quad (5.1)$$

Note that the study only takes into account couples where at least one partner has a net labor income above zero. In the multivariate analysis, couples where neither partner has a personal income drop out of the analysis. These are predominantly couples where both partners are retired. However, the number of observations is relatively low: there are 119 couples for control over the income, and 85 couples for decision-making. These couples are considered in the descriptive analysis which does not deal with the ratio of partners' incomes. For the descriptive analysis, income ratio will be introduced as a categorical variable with 1 = '0-25%', 2 = '25-50%', 3 = '50-75%', and 4 = '75-100%'. In their study on relative earnings and marital disruption, Heckert et al. (1998) relate the different categories of income ratio to different types of couples. If the woman earns 0-25% of the sum of both incomes, the couple is traditional; if she earns 25-50%, the couple is new-traditional; if she earns either 50-75%, the couple is non-traditional; and if the female partner makes 75-100% of the total income, the couple is reverse-traditional. The division of housework and child care is similarly categorized for the descriptive analysis. Note that this typology is applied to the partners' arrangements. The labels are not related to the partners' gender role attitudes. In order to simplify the interpretation of the multivariate analysis, however, relative income, housework, and child care are introduced as continuous variables.²³

Level of education, employment status and age were observed in both data sets. Like income, education is introduced as the partners' ratio of education. The degree of education has been used. The generated variable is a categorical variable with 1 = 'She has a higher level of education', 2 = 'He has a higher level of education', and 3 = 'Same levels of education'. Relative age is used as 1 = 'She is older', 2 = 'He is older' and 3 = 'Same age'. Relative employment

²³In the multivariate analysis, income, housework and child care have also been introduced as categorical variables. Because results point into a similar direction, the continuous variables have been chosen.

status is introduced with 1 = ‘He full-time, she part-time/not working’, 2 = ‘She full-time, he part-time/not working’, 3 = ‘She part-time, he not working’, 4 = ‘He part-time, she not working’, and 5 = ‘Same status’. Since full-time employment is the highest status, the first two categories indicate whether one of the partners is employed full-time, while the other has a lower status. Couples are measured separately if one of the partners is employed part-time, whereas the other is not working, resulting in both partners having relatively precarious statuses. ‘Same education’, ‘Same age’, and ‘Same status’ constitute the reference categories of the explanatory variables.

Household income Since household income is crucial for the financial power outcomes, especially control over the income, household income is integrated in the models based on the SOEP. Household income is defined as annual net household income, which is equivalence-scaled for children aged fourteen or younger. In the descriptive analysis, household income tertiles are used. Like income and his share of housework and child care, household income is introduced as a continuous variable in the multivariate analysis.²⁴

Alternative social relations In addition to resources, the alternative exchange relations available to a person determine his or her bargaining position in the relationship. In the SOEP, alternative social relations are measured as the frequency of meeting friends and the frequency of engaging in cultural activities. Note that the frequency of meeting friends was only measured in 2005. The variables are coded with 1 = ‘Every week’, 2 = ‘Every month’, 3 = ‘less’, and 4 = ‘Never’. In the *pairfam*, the frequency of meeting friends and the frequency of going to restaurants, bars, or cafés were used as proxies for the partners’ relative alternative social relations. The categories of the variables are 1 = ‘Daily’, 2 = ‘At least once a week’, 3 = ‘At least once a month’, 4 = ‘Seldom’, and 5 = ‘Never’. All variables are coded as 1 = ‘She more’, 2 = ‘He more’, and 3 = ‘Same frequency’. The latter is the reference category in the regression models.

Principle of least interest The partner who is less committed has more power in the relationship. The partners’ emotional commitment is observed in the *pairfam* with the following two items: “I hope that the relationship lasts for a long time” and “I’m looking forward to a long-term future with my partner”. The variables are coded from 1 = ‘Not at all’ to 5 = ‘Absolutely’. In the SOEP, the question “How important is the relationship for you?” is used as a proxy for commitment to the relationship. The variable is coded with 1 = ‘Very important’, 2 = ‘important’, 3 = ‘less important’, and 4 = ‘unimportant’. Partners’ relative commitment of all three variables is measured with 1 = ‘She more’, 2 = ‘He more’, and 3 = ‘Same commitment’. ‘Same commitment’ is the reference category of all the variables in the models.

²⁴Like the ratio of income, housework and child care, household income has also been used as categorical variable. Again, results point into a similar direction.

Gender role attitudes In addition to the socio-economic factors, this study will also account for cultural resources. These are partners' attitudes towards gender roles. However, these attitudes are only observed in the *pairfam*. The indicators are “Women should be more concerned about family than about career”, “Men should participate in housework to the same extent as women”, and “Marriage is a life-long union which should not be broken”. The variables are coded from 1 = ‘Completely disagree’ to 5 = ‘Completely agree’. Since the categories measure the degrees of agreement from 1 to 5, it is assumed that the distance from one category to the next is the same for all the categories. The variables are therefore introduced as continuous variables in the models. The model for her perception of his influence uses her gender role attitudes, while the models for his perception of her influence introduces his attitudes. It is to be expected that an individual's perception is shaped primarily by his or her ideology. Unfortunately, the SOEP measures neither gender role attitudes nor proxies which could be used for these attitudes.

Gender arrangements The study will also account for couples' gender arrangements, such as the division of housework and child care. In the SOEP, the division of housework and child care is observed as the partners' working hours during the week and at the weekend. Working hours during the week are especially important for measuring gender equality. Tasks during the week encompass everyday duties which cannot be postponed to the weekend. Especially child care at the weekend is often combined with leisure activities, for example going to the zoo or shopping. In addition, housework and child care done during the week has to be reconciled with employment or other daily duties. As suggested by Cooke (2004), the model ought to include the male partner's relative share of the total working hours of both partners $h_{m/fm}$. Controls are constituted by her absolute working hours h_f and the total working hours h_{fm} . Relative working hours are introduced for child care and housework. Partners without children are assigned a zero.

$$h_{m/fm} = \frac{h_m}{h_{fm}} = \frac{h_m}{h_f + h_m} \quad (5.2)$$

Similarly to the relative income, the ratio of housework and child care will be introduced as categorical variable with 1 = ‘0-25%’, 2 = ‘25-50%’, 3 = ‘50-75%’, and 4 = ‘75-100%’ in the descriptive analysis. They will be used as continuous variables in the multivariate analysis. In the *pairfam*, the partners were asked to evaluate who had a greater share of housework and child care. The variables are coded with 1 = ‘Completely partner’, 2 = ‘For the most part, my partner’, 3 = ‘Split about 50:50’, 4 = ‘For the most part, me’, and 5 = ‘Completely me’. In order to simplify the variables, the fourth and the fifth category are coded with 1 = ‘She more’, the first and the second with 2 = ‘He more’, and the third category with 3 = ‘Same work load’. In the models for the female partners' perceptions of their partners' influence, her information on the division of housework and child care is used. Accordingly, the models for

his perception introduce his information concerning the division of labor. Couples without children are assigned a zero. Similarly to gender role attitudes, it can be assumed that a partner's perception of the division of housework is associated primarily with his or her perception of influence.

Status passages Since only the SOEP allows a panel analysis, transitions are considered for the financial power outcomes, i.e. control over the income and decision-making. Transitions are measured with the status variables marriage, number of children, age of the youngest child, and relative employment status. Marriage is coded with 0 = 'Cohabitation' and 1 = 'Marriage'. The numbers of children have the categories 0 = 'No child', 1 = 'One child', 2 = 'Two children', and 3 = 'Three or more children'. Age of the youngest child is coded with 1 = 'One to three years', 2 = 'Four to six years', 3 = 'Seven to seventeen years', and 4 = Full age. Cohabitation, no child and youngest child one to three years old are used as reference categories. Partners without children are coded as zero. In order to obtain more detailed information on the partners' relative employment statuses than in the cross-sectional analysis, the variable is coded as 1 = 'He full-time, she part-time/not working', 2 = 'She full-time, he part-time/not working', 3 = 'She part-time, he not working', 4 = 'He part-time, she not working', 5 = 'Both employed part-time', 6 = 'Neither partner employed', and 7 = 'Both employed full-time'. In the regression models, both employed full-time is used as a reference category. It can be assumed that most couples start with both working in full-time positions and then change to a different arrangement, when one partner gives up working or reduces his or her workload. This change is of special interest for this study which analysis the impact of changing to a lower status on the power relation.

5.5 Controls

The covariates for the analysis can be grouped into two levels: the individual and the couple level. On the individual level, controls are age, age squared and years of education of both partners. Remember that it is necessary to control for the absolute hours of housework and child care when introducing the relative amount of working hours. The same applies to relative age and relative education. The study will therefore control for age and age squared of both partners. For the women, age ranges from 19 to 81, for the men from 22 to 92. Age is introduced as a continuous variable into the models. The years of education of the male and the female partners will also be introduced as continuous variables. For the men and the women, years of education ranges from 0 to 18. The controls on the individual level are observed in both the SOEP and the *pairfam* samples.

It is also controlled for the partners' cohorts. Since gender norms and attitudes toward gender norms have changed over time, differences between the cohorts have to be taken into account. Since the 20th century, rapid social change has taken place in Western societies on

the political, economic, social, cultural, and personal levels (Zapf, 1992). In addition to democratization, industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization, family life and the position of women in society started to change in the mid-1960s (Peuckert, 1991). With the general expansion of education, the participation of women in higher education and the labor market has increased (Beck-Gernsheim, 1994). Marriages and birth rates have decreased, while the number of divorces has grown (Levy and Ernst, 2002). Patterns of family life, which used to be highly standardized in West Germany, especially in the 1950s and at the beginning of the 1960s, have become diverse and increasingly individualized. The model of the bourgeois family with the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the housewife has been challenged. Alternatives to the nuclear family, for example cohabitations, dual-earner couples, “living apart together” couples, and patchwork families have emerged. Arguing that family has not lost its importance, but that its appearance has changed, Beck-Gernsheim (1994) defines the emerging family structures as “postfamiliale Familie”. These changes have gone hand in hand with changes in gender norms (Klages, 2001). Nevertheless, despite these developments gender inequalities have not vanished into thin air. As discussed earlier, recent studies on the division of housework (Levy and Ernst, 2002) and the professional lives of partners in dual-earner couples (Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2001) have shown that traditional patterns and related disadvantages for women still exist in Germany today. The increase in women’s participation in the labor market is accounted for predominantly by an increase in part-time employment. Furthermore, German welfare state policies still implement the male breadwinner model.²⁵

The male and the female partners’ birth cohorts are used as controls in the multivariate analysis. In the context of the SOEP, it seems helpful to control for the following birth cohorts: for individuals in a relationship and aged 32 in 2008, and for individuals in a relationship and aged 32 in 1984. 1984 constitutes the first, 2008 the last wave of the SOEP. These would be the birth cohorts 1952 or older, 1952 until 1976, and 1976 or younger. The initial idea was that at the age of 32, partners are likely to have finished their education and acquired experience in the labor market. Hence, for them power bases such as economic resources and employment status are likely to play a role within their interaction. Furthermore, in order to take into account older partners, the analysis ought to have added a fourth cohort, comprising individuals aged 32 in 1952. These were born in 1920.

But due to the small number of observations in some of these cohorts, the oldest cohort cannot be taken into account at all and the cut-off points for the other cohorts had to be changed to 1950 and 1965. Thus, the study controls for the birth cohorts 1 = “1950 or older”, 2 = ‘1950 to 1965’, and 3 = “1965 or younger”. The oldest cohort will be used as a reference category. As mentioned above, the *pairfam* covers the cohorts 1991-1993, 1981-1983, and 1971-1973. Since the number of observations in the youngest cohort is too small (around 9% of the sam-

²⁵Note that the changes described above have taken place predominantly in West Germany. Again, this makes a comparison between East and West German couples necessary.

ple), this cohort will not be considered in the multivariate analysis. A dummy variable will control for the other two birth cohorts and is coded with 0 = '1971-1973' and 1 = '1981-1983'. In the panel models, it has to be controlled for period effects (see Section 6.5). For control over the money, the control variable is coded with 0 = '2004 and 2005' and 1 = '2008', and for decision-making with 0 = '2005' and 1 = '2008'. As outlined above, for the SOEP, it will also be controlled for the female partners' total hours of housework and child care. These variables are used as continuous variables.

Covariates on the couple level are number of children, type of relationship, and duration of the relationship. In the SOEP, number of children and type of relationship are used as controls in the cross-sectional models. Again, type of relationship is coded with 0 = 'Cohabitation' and 1 = 'Marriage'. Number of children are also coded with 0 = 'No child', 1 = 'One child', 2 = 'Two children', and 3 = 'Three or more children'. In the *pairfam* sample, type of relationship has the categories 1 = 'Living apart together', 2 = 'Cohabiting', and 3 = 'Married'. The variable for number of children has the same categories as the variable in the SOEP sample. In the *pairfam*, individuals were asked directly how long they had been with their current partner. The information was gathered on a monthly basis. For the SOEP, duration of the relationship has to be generated. This was done in three steps. First, retrospective spell data was used for information on the duration of the marriage. Second, for cohabitations, the analysis counted the years in which one person had the same partner ID. In order to avoid bias, all left-censored cases were erased. Third, the annual information on both the marriages and the cohabitations was integrated into the same variable. An interaction term between duration of the relationship and type of relationship should account for differences in duration between married and cohabiting couples. In the *pairfam*, duration is measured in months. In the SOEP, the annual information is used since duration had to be generated with the partner ID for the cohabiting couples. In the descriptive analysis based on the SOEP sample, duration of the relationship is coded with 1 = 'up to 7 years', 2 = 'Seven to fourteen years', and 3 = 'Fifteen years or more'. These categories had to be chosen due to the small number of couples who had been together for a relatively short period of time.²⁶ In the multivariate analysis, duration of relationship is used as a continuous variable for both the SOEP and the *pairfam* sample.

Furthermore, in the SOEP sample, the analysis controls for East Germany with 0 = 'West' and 1 = 'East' and the partners' response behaviors with 0 = 'unequal responses' and 1 = 'identical response behaviors'. The control constitutes of information on whether the household was sampled in East or West Germany. However, since around 7% of the partners initially lived in the GDR and later moved to West Germany, the information on whether the individual was living in East or West Germany in 1989 will be used to differentiate between Eastern and Western couples in the comparison chapter (Chapter 11).²⁷ Since the male partners' percep-

²⁶As a reference to "The Seven Year Itch", a play written by Axelrod (1953), the cut-off point was chosen at a duration of seven years for the first category.

²⁷Only around 3% of observed partners lived in West Germany and moved to East Germany.

tions of power will not be taken into account, only the women's residences in 1989 will be considered. However, less than 5% of the couples observed are comprised of one partner from East and the other from West Germany. The limitation of her former residence is therefore not problematic. Note that the analysis was also conducted for the sample of the female partners, which was split into households sampled in East and West Germany. The results of the regression analysis are comparable to the findings for the female partners who were living in the GDR in 1989. Since the indicator of the place of residence in 1989 is more precise, the analysis will use this indicator. Even though gender role attitudes are taken into account in the *pairfam* sample, the study will control for East Germany and migration background in the multivariate analysis. Since the *pairfam* is not a household-based survey, the analysis will use only the information on whether the anchor or the partner was born in West or East Germany. The variables are coded with 0 = 'West' and 1 = 'East'. Furthermore, the variables for the migration backgrounds of the anchor and the partner have the categories 0 = 'No migration background' and 1 = 'Migration background'.

Explanatory variables and controls SOEP					
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Her share of income	5500	31.57	28.13462	0	100
Household income	5976	22066.21	10523.42	1760	98825.63
She higher education	5756	.29	.45	0	1
He higher education	5756	.32	.47	0	1
Same education	5756	.38	.49	0	1
She older	5976	.19	.39	0	1
He older	5976	.71	.45	0	1
Same age	5976	.10	.30	0	1
He full/ she part, not working	5976	.51	.50	0	1
She full/ he part, not working	5976	.06	.25	0	1
She part/ he not working	5976	.03	.16	0	1
He part/ she not working	5976	.03	.16	0	1
Same status	5976	.37	.48	0	1
She more friends	5930	.21	.41	0	1
He more friends	5930	.15	.36	0	1
Same freq friends	5930	.64	.48	0	1
She more activities	3984	.14	.35	0	1
He more activities	3984	.15	.36	0	1
Same freq activities	3984	.71	.45	0	1
She more committed	5976	.13	.34	0	1
He more committed	5976	.09	.29	0	1
Same commitment	5976	.77	.42	0	1
His share of housework	5694	24.65	23.20	0	100
His share of child care	5474	12.95	19.50	0	100
Her absolute hours housework	5694	2.60	1.67	0	18
Total hours housework	5694	3.45	1.82	0	19
Her absolute hours child care	5474	4.16	5.74	0	24
Total hours child care	5474	5.26	6.86	0	48
Cohabiting	5976	0.23	.42	0	1
Duration of relationship (years)	5976	15.17	10.38	0	57
Her years of education	5976	11.98	3.24	0	18
His years of education	5976	12.36	3.22	0	18
Her age	5976	40.98	11.43	19	81
His age	5976	43.74	11.88	22	91
Her cohort	5976	2.43	.71	1	3
His cohort	5976	2.28	.75	1	3
Number of children	5976	1.04	.99	0	3
Age of youngest child	5976	1.48	1.41	0	4
East	5976	.289826	.45	0	1
Location 1989	5952	1.67	.47	1	3
Location she lived 1989	5976	1.65	.49	0	3
Location he lived 1989	5976	1.68	.48	0	3
Response behaviors control	5976	.90	.31	0	1
Response behaviors decision	3984	.90	.30	0	1

Note: Sample without migration background; Female and male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 4: Variables in the SOEP sample

Explanatory variables and controls <i>pairfam</i>					
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
She more hope for long relation	3167	.09	.29	0	1
He more hope for long relation	3167	.09	.28	0	1
Same hope for long relation	3167	.82	.39	0	1
She more visual long future	3167	.15	.35	0	1
He more visual long future	3167	.14	.35	0	1
Same visual long future	3167	.71	.45	0	1
She higher education	3167	.32	.47	0	1
He higher education	3167	.21	.41	0	1
Same education	3167	.46	.50	0	1
She older	3167	.17	.38	0	1
He older	3167	.72	.45	0	1
Same age	3167	.11	.31	0	1
She higher employment status	2749	.06	.24	0	1
He higher employment status	2749	.56	.50	0	1
Same status	2749	.38	.48	0	1
She more friends	3167	.30	.46	0	1
He more friends	3167	.21	.41	0	1
Same freq friends	3167	.49	.50	0	1
She more activities	3167	.23	.42	0	1
He more activities	3167	.27	.45	0	1
Same freq activities	3167	.49	.50	0	1
She more housework (her response)	2621	.66	.47	0	1
He more housework (her response)	2621	.04	.20	0	1
Same share housework (her response)	2621	.30	.46	0	1
She more housework (his response)	2710	.64	.48	0	1
He more housework (his response)	2710	.03	.17	0	1
Same share housework (his response)	2710	.33	.47	0	1
She more child care (her response)	3068	.44	.50	0	1
He more child care (her response)	3068	.34	.48	0	1
Same share child care (her response)	3068	.014	.12	0	1
She more child care (his response)	3084	.43	.50	0	1
He more child care (his response)	3084	.34	.47	0	1
Same share child care (his response)	3084	.01	.10	0	1
Number of children	3167	2.03	1.04	1	4
Her age	3167	29.53	6.96	11	74
His age	3166	32.20	7.59	14	72
Duration of relationship (months)	3167	99.74	71.21	0	389
Type of relationship	3167	2.42	.76	1	3
Anchor cohort	2874	.43	.50	0	1
Anchor migration background	3167	.21	.41	0	1
Partner migration background	3167	.13	.33	0	1
Anchor east	3167	.20	.39	0	1
Partner east	3167	.19	.39	0	1
Her years education	3160	12.12	4.28	0	20
His years education	3151	12.48	3.84	0	20

Note: Anchor and partner respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 5: Variables in the *pairfam* sample

6 Method

The methods applied in the empirical analysis are the multinomial logistic regression model, the bivariate probit model, the heckit model, and the hybrid model, which is a combination of a fixed effects and a random effects model. Before discussing these models in detail, it will be explained in brief why they were chosen.

In order to tackle the first research question – What factors are related to power in couples? –, pooled multinomial logistic regression models were estimated. Even though a cross-sectional sample would be sufficient for answering this question, the advantage of panel data is deployed. This advantage is very simple: pooling data enlarges the sample and the estimation of coefficients becomes more precise (Brüderl, 2010, 965). Since some items of the dependent variables, e.g. her or his decision-making and her or his control, have relatively few observations, enlarging the sample contributes to a more efficient estimation of the model and the full use of the data. However, when using pooled data, observations for one individual over time will be correlated. This problem is termed auto-correlation or the “serial correlation problem” (Angrist and Pischke, 2009, 294). The serial correlation problem is comparable to correlations between children of the same school or class.

“Children in the same school or class tend to have test scores that are correlated, since they are subject to some of the same environmental and family background influences” (Angrist and Pischke, 2009, 294).

For a correction for this correlation, which Angrist and Pischke (2009) term the Moulton problem, observations have to be clustered by classes. Not only are test scores correlated between students of the same class, but also for one student over time. In order to correct for this auto-correlation, the pooled multinomial logistic regression model is adjusted for auto-correlation by clustering, each individual being treated as one cluster (Brüderl, 2010, 977). In the process of correcting for auto-correlation, robust standard errors are estimated.²⁸

However, if panel data is used, one could ask why there was no estimation of random effect multinomial logistic regression models, which can also be applied in a cross-sectional analysis. Like pooled regression models, random effects models measure inter- as well as intra-individual variation (Brüderl, 2010, 973). For random effects models as well as pooled regression models, it is assumed that the error terms – the unit specific error term α_i and the idiosyncratic error term ϵ_{it} – are not correlated with the explanatory variables x (Brüderl, 2010, 972). If there is a correlation between α_i and x , β -coefficients are biased in both models due to unobserved heterogeneity. The problem of unobserved heterogeneity is discussed further in Section 6.5. At this stage it should be noted that both methods have the same disadvantage: they do not control for unobserved heterogeneity. In contrast to the multinomial

²⁸Angrist and Pischke (2009, 313) problematize the use of clustered standard errors. The fewer the clusters, the more biased the standard errors are. Thus, the standard errors in finite samples will never be absolutely correct. We have to be aware of this problem which cannot be solved in this study.

logistic regression model, however, the random effect multinomial logistic regression model is mathematically more complex and its estimation time-consuming. Furthermore, the random effect multinomial logistic regression model is not supported by commercial software such as STATA²⁹. Since both methods have similar advantages and disadvantages, this study uses the simpler model, namely the pooled multinomial logistic regression model. Note that due to unobserved heterogeneity, random effect as well as pooled regression models do not account for causal relationships. Kühnel and Krebs (2010) problematize measuring causality, particularly with multinomial logistic regression models (see Section 6.2). These are used nevertheless. Of course, it is valid to question the ultimate utility of a descriptive rather than a causal regression analysis, as Morgan and Winship (2007) do in “Counterfactuals and Causal Inference”. The authors discuss the use and contribution of regression models, which do not account for causality, arguing that researchers are predominantly interested in causal relationships. Beside the more general question of which method actually accounts for causal relations (fixed effects models reduce the problem of unobserved heterogeneity (Brüderl, 2010), but are not, of course, as reliable as experimental research with a random assignment (Angrist and Pischke, 2009, 11ff.)), the first research question aims at the relation between x and y rather than at causal effects of x on y . The main aim of the study is the analysis of the power outcomes and the related factors. Multinomial logistic regression models are sufficient for the purpose of this study which also deals with follow-up problems. Three particular problems are related to the analysis of the power outcomes. First, since previous studies have shown that the financial power outcomes are correlated (see Chapter 2), their interrelation has to be taken into account. This is done in two steps. Control over the income is used as an explanatory variable for decision-making, and vice versa. Then, bivariate probit models are estimated to analyze to what extent the error terms between control and decision-making are correlated under the control of the chosen covariates. In addition, the bivariate probit model allows an analysis of the question whether the factors are related to a higher extent to control over the income or to decision-making (see Chapter 9). Which factors are more helpful in order to explain the financial power outcomes?

Second, as discussed in the context of the theoretical explanation of power outcomes (see Section 3.9), the financial power outcomes, particularly control over the income but to some extent also decision-making, can be considered as household arrangements and may therefore be interrelated with the division of housework and child care. In order to measure the possible interrelation, bivariate probit models were estimated to test the correlation of error terms between division of labor and the power outcomes (see Chapter 8). What kind of relation exists between division of labor and the financial power outcomes?

Third, it was also discussed above that the partners’ perceptions of their power allocation are

²⁹In STATA, estimation has to be done using GLLAMM. However, for the dependent variables of this study, the models did not converge.

measured rather than the actual power allocation (see Section 3.9). Since both partners gave answers to the same survey questions, their response behaviors differ in around 10% of the cases. Thus, multinomial logistic regression models are estimated separately for the male and the female respondents. In order to analyze the group of couples where the partners displayed identical response behaviors, a selection model was estimated. A heckit model accounts for partners with identical responses regarding control over the income or decision-making (see Chapter 10.1). Do results differ for the group of couples with identical response behaviors as compared to the findings of the separate models for the men and the women? Furthermore, in order to account for patterns of different response behaviors, logit models were also estimated (see Chapter 10.2). Are there specific factors related to the couples where e.g. she says “I do it” and her partner disagrees?

Thus, the goal of the first part of the study is a broader analysis of the power outcomes and related factors (see Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10). This study provides answers not only to the question of which factors are related to power, but also to the questions of what kind of relation exists between the financial power outcomes, of whether the financial power outcomes and other gender arrangements are interrelated, and of whether differences in partners’ response behaviors matter. The last point in particular should not be neglected in an analysis of power allocation in couples.

For the second research question – Do transitions have an impact on couples’ power allocations? – panel models are estimated, because the causal relationship between a transition and a power outcome is of interest. As described above, in contrast to pooled multinomial logistic regression models, the fixed effects model is more suitable for analyzing causal relationships. Fixed effects models account for time-constant unobserved heterogeneity and therefore provides unbiased estimates (at least as long as time-invariant bias is concerned). A causal relation is defined as the effect of changes of x on y .

Even though the second research question would best be investigated using a fixed effects model, the application of a general fixed effects model would not be feasible in this study. Since multinomial logistic regressions cannot be estimated with fixed effects, logit models have to be estimated for each category instead. For logit models with fixed effects for $k - 1$ categories, the base category has to be defined. In the first part of the empirical analysis, these are the separate system and joint decision-making. However, these categories cannot be used as reference categories in the logit models with fixed effects models due to data limitations. The observations are not sufficient for estimating these models, since fixed effects models only account for observations which change over time.

The solution to this problem is the use of a hybrid model, which combines random effects with fixed effects (Allison, 2009, 23ff.) (see Section 6.6). For this method, time-variant variables are split into intra-individual (within) and inter-individual (between) components (Brüderl, 2010, 983). β -coefficients of within component are identical to coefficients of a

fixed effects model (Allison, 2009, 24). It is a disadvantage of the hybrid method that it does not control for unobserved heterogeneity of time-invariant variables. Coefficients of between components might be biased when x is correlated with the unit specific error term. However, since the focus of this study is on time-variant variables, the hybrid method is a suitable method for causal inference. The hybrid model does not exclude observations which do not vary over time, which means that the number of observations is sufficient for estimating the model. Note, however, that we still deal with a relatively small number of observations in some categories. This problem which is due to data limitation cannot be solved in this study. Future research will have to explore richer data. This study won't therefore present the final answer to the research question, but will be a first step towards a dynamic analysis of power relations.

Another method of operationalizing the effects of transitions on the power outcomes is the introduction of lagged explanatory variables in a multinomial logistic regression model. In a model of this kind, marital status, number of children, age of the youngest child, and ratio of partners' employment statuses would be used as lagged effects, i.e. marital status in $t - 1$ and $t - 2$ etc. However, lagged variables were not employed because of two main disadvantages. First, a multinomial logistic regression model with lagged explanatory variables does not allow for the control of time-variant unobserved heterogeneity. However, this is a major advantage of the hybrid model. Second, modeling transitions as lagged effects is not as straightforward as using fixed effects for answering longitudinal research questions. Like the fixed effects model, the hybrid model measures changes of x and y . Thus, in contrast to lagged effects, which only measure the relation between the dependent variable in t and a status in $t - 1$, the hybrid model is a suitable method for the analysis of change. Since the model measures the effect of changes in x on y , this model is more appropriate for investigating causal relationships.

It is important to note that the interpretation of causal effects in this analysis has to be treated with caution. Estimates might still be biased through time-variant unobserved variables. Furthermore, one could object that control over the income was only observed in 2004, 2005, and 2008 and decisionmaking in 2005 and 2008. Gaps in 2006 and 2007 might be problematic for estimating the models. However, Woolridge (2002, 448) stresses that the estimation of fixed effects in an unbalanced panel with missing years is not problematic at all. Regression packages which allow for fixed effects make an appropriate adjustment for this loss. Furthermore, it could be criticized that two observations are not sufficient for a longitudinal study. Rogosa (2005, 172) points out that two waves do not provide estimates of parameters for modeling longitudinal data if one is interested in an analysis of growth, development, and learning. For these issues, which focus on systematic change over time, individual growth curves are more adequate. Rogosa (2005, 172) considers growth curves as "the natural foundation for modeling the longitudinal data", for which more than two points in time have to be observed. Although two observations in time may not be sufficient for modeling growth curves, they

nevertheless allow an estimation of the “amount of change between t_1 and t_2 ” (Rogosa, 2005, 176). Since the second research question does not focus on the development of the power outcomes over a longer period of time but on the prompt impact of transitions on the power outcomes, analyzing the amount of change will be sufficient for this study. However, Rogosa (2005, 176) also stresses that the amount of change may be deceptive since “observations over alternative time intervals may yield contradictory information”. Due to the limitation of the data, this problem cannot be overcome in the empirical analysis. Again, this study should be considered as a first step towards the analysis of partners’ power from a dynamic perspective.

As mentioned above, both partners answered survey questions regarding control over the money and decision-making. While most of the partners gave identical answers, a number of couples did not respond in the same way. Section 10.1 analyzes the couples where the partners had identical response behaviors. One could now argue that partners’ perceptions of power are interrelated and that one partners’ perception affects the other’s perception. In this case dyadic analysis is an efficient method. Kenny et al. (2006) wrote a very clear introduction to dyadic data analysis. According to their description and the examples they choose to illustrate dyadic data, the interrelation of partners in one couple has to be taken into account, e.g. in an analysis of individual subjective well-being in couples. Treating one partner as a unit of analysis would be misleading because the subjective well-being of one partner depends on the subjective well-being of the other. Kenny et al. (2006) refer to that phenomenon as *nonindependence*.

“Perhaps the most fundamental concept in dyadic data analysis is that of nonindependence. Two members of a dyad are not simply two independent individuals. Rather, they share something in common that we refer to as *nonindependence*” (Kenny et al., 2006, 4).

Dyadic data analysis accounts for nonindependence by employing multilevel analysis, structural equation modeling, or the actor-partner interdependence model. All of these methods allow for the consideration of nonindependence. This study, however, does not apply dyadic analysis because of two reasons. First, I argue that partners’ perceptions are not necessarily interrelated. And second, a dyadic analysis makes sense if the correlation of individual characteristics are taken into account. Remember the research design for financial power outcomes: explanatory variables are integrated as the ratio of resources, alternative social relations, and division of housework. In addition, we have type of relationship, number of children and age of the youngest child in the household. Thus, each explanatory variable already implies information on both partners. The dependent variables also imply characteristics of the relationship – how the partners control their earnings and how they make financial decisions. Hence the unit of analysis is the couple. Using dyadic data analysis would make sense if the dependent variable implied information on an individual level, e.g. subjective well-being, educational level, or health. In this study the individual characteristics of the partners are only relevant if

the partners give different answers to the survey questions. In this case we can and, indeed, have to distinguish between male and female partners. Separate models and selection models are adequate and sufficient methods which account for this problem.

For non-financial power outcomes, dyadic data analysis is not applied, because no obvious reason has been found to expect partners' perceptions to be correlated. While we have to assume that dependent variables are interrelated for instance in the case of partners' life-satisfaction (The happiness of one partner constitutes the happiness of the other.) or health (Because they pursue the same life style and share the same food, the partners' health may be similar.), it is less straightforward to assume that partners' perceptions of the other's influence are interrelated. Of course, one could argue that partners share their lives and therefore act rather as a unity than as two separate individuals. We already met and criticized this concept earlier when discussing Becker (1981) and his perception of the family (see Chapter 3.1). While partners' lives are certainly interrelated in many aspects of their relationship, it is rather exaggerated to go as far as to assume that their perceptions of the other's influence are correlated. An individual's perception of his or her relationship depends on many factors, e.g. his or her personality, former relationship experiences, or expectations. Furthermore, partners may share ideas, values and relationship ideologies, but often their ideas about how relationships should be as well as their values and ideologies differ. If this was not the case, we would not deal with conflict in relationships. For the perception of influence, this means that both partners' may feel that the other has strong influence in the relationship, both may not perceive the other's influence at all, or one partner may have the impression that the other has strong influence, while the other perceives his or her partner's influence as weak. Because partners' perceptions of influence are independent rather than nonindependent, separate models for female and male partners will be estimated for the non-financial power outcomes as well.

Before presenting the findings of the analysis, the methods used in this study should be presented in brief. The following sections will give summaries of Pearson's chi-squared test for descriptive results, the multinomial logistic regression model, the bivariate probit model, the Heckit model, the fixed effects model, and the random effects model together with the hybrid method.

6.1 Descriptive analysis

The descriptive analysis of this study consists of contingency tables with usually two categorical variables. In order to test if there is a relationship between the rows and the columns of a given table, the chi-squared test is used. As the sample size is big enough, the chi-squared test is preferred over both Fisher's exact test and the likelihood ratio test, which are usually conducted for smaller sample sizes. The chi-squared test can be used without reservations for tables whose cells have a number of observations greater than five each (Field, 2009).

Pearson’s chi-squared test In order to test if there is a relationship between two categorical variables, Pearson’s chi-squared test can be used. The idea of this test consists in “comparing the frequencies you observe in certain categories to the frequencies you might expect to get in those categories by chance” (Field, 2009, 688). Thus, observed frequencies are compared to the frequencies in the model. The chi-squared indicates the deviation between the observations and the model. The equation is similar to the basis of the sums of squares. The extension of this basic model consists in the standardization of the deviations by dividing the sum of squares by the model scores.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{observed_{ij} - model_{ij}}{model_{ij}} \quad (6.1)$$

where i represents the rows in the table and j represents the columns (Field, 2009, 688). One assumption of the chi-squared test is about the independence of the data, which means that the test cannot be used for a repeated-measures design (Field, 2009, 691). Since a pooled sample is used in the descriptive analysis, the chi-squared test is done for contingency tables on a yearly basis.

6.2 Binary, multinomial and ordered logistic regression models

If the dependent variable is a binary (two categories, generally 0 and 1) or categorically-scaled (2+ categories) variable, a logistic regression model has to be estimated instead of an ordinary least squares regression (OLS). The assumptions that are made for a linear regression are not fulfilled for discrete dependent variables (Best and Wolf, 2010, 829). Let us take the example of a binary dependent variable. A linear relation between an explanatory variable x and the dependent variable y is not possible when y is either 0 or 1. In a linear regression, values range between $-\infty$ and $+\infty$ (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010). Furthermore, for discrete dependent variables, homoscedastity is not given. The variance of the residuals of estimates of y is not constant and depends on the categories of x . In addition, for given values of x , residuals can only have up to two values and are thus not normally distributed. For each x value there are only n residuals of n categories of y . The range of values of discrete variables is not $-\infty$ and $+\infty$, but 0 or 1.

The solution for these statistical problems is the transformation of y in the way that the range of values is $-\infty$ and $+\infty$. It is necessary to develop an equation that relates y to OLS or to a model “that satisfies the classical linear model assumptions” (Woolridge, 2002, 532). Woolridge (2002) calls this transformation the latent variable model. This is realized in three steps (Best and Wolf, 2010). (1) Instead of y , the probability of $Y = 1$ is considered. $P(y = 1)$ varies between 0 and 1. (2) In order to make the range infinite, not the probability per se, but the ratio of probability between $y = 1$ and $y = 0$ is considered. The ratio of probability is also called Odds.

$$O = \frac{P}{1 - P} \quad (6.2)$$

Odds may range between $0; +\infty$. In order to erase the restriction of 0, the logarithm of Odds is taken. Each observation i has its log odds. The logit values vary between $-\infty; +\infty$ symmetrically around 0. The logit can be combined with the OLS, because the logit is linearly dependent on X .

$$\text{Logit} = \ln\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{i1} = \epsilon_{i1} \quad (6.3)$$

Log odds are interpreted like coefficient of an OLS regression in the sense that a negative coefficient represents a negative relation and a positive coefficient a positive relation (Best and Wolf, 2010, 831). However, log odds cannot be interpreted as linear effects because of the connection with non linear probability. Since logit models are nonlinear, “the magnitude of change in the outcome probability for a given change in one of the explanatory variables depends on the levels of all of the explanatory variables” (Long and Freese, 2003, 151). Another way to interpret logit coefficients is to transform log odds into odds through the exponential transformation of β coefficients.

$$O = \frac{P}{1-P} = \exp(\beta_0) + \exp(\beta_1 X_{i1}) + \exp(\epsilon_{i1}) \quad (6.4)$$

Since the aim is to compare the odds of one group to the odds of another group, odds ratios (OR) are estimated. Odds ratios indicate a factor change. For example, $e_i^\beta = 2$ means that the odds for $y = 1$ are doubled.

$$OR = \frac{\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 [X_1 + 1])}{\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X)} \quad (6.5)$$

For multinomial dependent variables such as control over the income ($k = 4$) and decision-making ($k = 3$), multinomial logistic regression models are estimated (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 856). Instead of estimating a binary logistic regression model for each category K of the dependent variable, k binary logistic regressions are run.

$$Pr(Y = k) = \frac{\exp(\beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k} X_1)}{1 + \exp(\beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k} X)} \quad \text{for } k = 1, 2, \dots, K \quad (6.6)$$

The sum of probabilities has to be 1 with each combination of categories. Since $k - 1$ regression functions already imply all the information, only $k - 1$ equations are formulated. In addition, the sum in the denominator of each equation also implies the numerator of the other equations. The equation for the multinomial logistic regression model for $Y = 1, 2, \dots, K - 1$ is:

$$Pr(Y = k) = \frac{\exp(\beta_{0k} + \beta_{1k} X_1)}{1 + \exp(\beta_{01} + \beta_{11} X) + \exp(\beta_{02} + \beta_{12} X) + \exp(\beta_{01-k} + \beta_{11-k} X)} \quad (6.7)$$

The probability for the category K is calculated as one minus the sum of probabilities for all the other categories (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 857). This category K is the reference

category. The coefficients for each category are compared to the reference category. From a formal point of view, any category can be chosen as the reference category. Note that by exponentiating the multinomial logit coefficients, relative risk ratios are obtained instead of odds ratio. The exponentiated multinomial logit coefficient provides an estimate of relative risk. However, relative risk ratios are commonly interpreted as odds ratio. Since most readers and researchers are more familiar with the interpretation of odds, the coefficients of this study will also be treated as odds ratio.

If the categories of the dependent variable follow an order, like the dependent variables for social influence with the categories “never”, “seldom”, “sometimes”, “often”, and “always”, an ordinal logit model has to be estimated. Since it cannot be assumed that the distances between the categories are equal, estimating a simple OLS regression may lead to incorrect conclusions (Long and Freese, 2003, 151). The interpretation of ordered logit models is easier than that of multinomial logistic regression models, since in the ordered logit regression model each predictor variable has only one coefficient (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 882). In addition, the interpretation of coefficients is similar to the linear regression (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 880). In the ordered logit model, the value range of k categories of the dependent variable is divided into $k - 1$ dichotomies. For each dichotomy a binary logit model is estimated. As in the multinomial logistic regression model, $k - 1$ equations are formulated for k categories.

$$\begin{aligned}
 Pr(Y > 1) &= \frac{\exp(\alpha_1 + \beta X)}{1 + \exp(\alpha_1 + \beta X)} \\
 Pr(Y > 2) &= \frac{\exp(\alpha_2 + \beta X)}{1 + \exp(\alpha_2 + \beta X)} \\
 &\dots \\
 Pr(Y > K - 1) &= \frac{\exp(\alpha_{K-1} + \beta X)}{1 + \exp(\alpha_{K-1} + \beta X)}
 \end{aligned} \tag{6.8}$$

Note that only the constants $\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \dots, \alpha_{k-1}$ differ, whereas β -coefficients have the same values. Thus, it is assumed that the change of the explanatory variable of +1 has the same effect on the dependent variable, whether the dependent variable is dichotomized between the first and the second, the second and the third, ... or between $k - 1$ and k (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 864). This assumption is called the *parallel regression assumption* for ordered regression models and the *proportional odds assumption* for ordered logit models (Long and Freese, 2003, 165). The parallel regression assumption implies that $\beta_1 = \beta_2 = \dots = \beta_k - 1$ (Long and Freese, 2003, 166). This assumption can be tested either with an LR test or with a Wald test by Brant (1990). The Wald test tests the parallel regression assumption for all explanatory variables as well as for each variable individually. If the significance test statistic provides evidence that the parallel regression assumption has been violated, methods other than or-

dered logit models should be used. Beside a generalized ordered logit model³⁰, a multinomial regression model would offer a solution to the problem of nonparallel regressions. If the parallel regressions assumption is violated in the empirical analysis of this study, a multinomial regression model will be estimated. A multinomial logistic regression will be preferred to a generalized ordered logit model because it will be applied in the first part of the analysis and the reader will already be familiar with this method and its interpretation. Furthermore, the multinomial logistic regression is a more commonly used model in social research.

The maximum-likelihood method In contrast to OLS, where the β -coefficients are estimated with least squares, the maximum-likelihood method is used for the estimation of the β -coefficients of the logistic regression (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010). Whereas for least squares the sum of squared variance is minimized, the maximum-likelihood method estimates x -values, so that they approach the observed values as closely as possible. The probability of the sample – the likelihood – is maximized. This is done with iterations, whereas the evaluation of a model is done with the likelihood-value. The bigger the likelihood the better the model.

The model fit In order to evaluate the model fit, McFaddens pseudo R-squared is used (Best and Wolf, 2010, 843). Like the R-squared of OLS regression, McFaddens pseudo R-squared is the difference of the sum of squared residuals, which are explained by the model, and the overall sum of squared residuals (Kohler and Kreuter, 2006, 286). In order to obtain the pseudo R-squared, the logarithm of the probability of the estimated model is divided by the logarithm of the probability of the totally unconditional model, in which all β -coefficients are zero except the constant α .

$$R_{MF}^2 = \frac{\ln L_0 - \ln L_K}{\ln L_0} \quad (6.9)$$

In addition to the pseudo R-squared, it is helpful to estimate a likelihood-ratio-test which compares the logarithm of the probability values for the totally unconditional model with the probability values for the full model (Best and Wolf, 2010, 842). For the likelihood-ratio-test, the χ_L^2 -value is used. Comparing the totally unconditional model with the full-model neutralizes the effect of the group size of covariats. If the difference between the two models is large, covariates contribute to the explanation of the dependent variable. In this way, the null hypothesis stating that the regression coefficients are equal to zero in a given population is tested. χ_L^2 estimates the absolute difference between the totally unconditional model and the full model (Backhaus et al., 2006, 447ff.). It is important to note that both models are based on completely identical observations due to the fact that the restricted model is nested

³⁰For the generalized ordered logit model see Clogg and Shihadeh (1994), Fahrmeir and Trutz (1994) and McCullagh and Nelder (1989)

in the full model and is thus a special case of the full-model (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010).

$$\chi_L^2 = -2(\ln L_0 - \ln L_K) \quad (6.10)$$

The likelihood-ratio-test can also be used for each explanatory variable of the model. This follows the logic of the χ_L^2 -test, whereas the full-model is compared to a restricted model with one covariate missing. The explanatory power of the missing covariate for the dependent variable is estimated (Kohler and Kreuter, 2006).

$$\chi_{\text{Diff}}^2 = -2(\ln L_{\text{ohne}} - \ln L_{\text{mit}}) \quad (6.11)$$

In this study, the contribution of explanatory variables to the explanation of the dependent variable is tested with a likelihood-ratio-test. In order to facilitate the test, explanatory variables are grouped according to the theoretical background. I.e. relative income, education, age, and labor status are grouped as *resource variables*, the frequencies of meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities are grouped as *alternative variables* and division of housework and child care are grouped as *gender arrangement variables*.

Causality It is necessary to highlight a difficulty of logistic regression models. This difficulty is related to the nonlinearity of logit models and the consequences of this for estimated β -coefficients. Since logit models are nonlinear, the effect of the change of an explanatory variable on the dependent variable is not constant (Kühnel and Krebs, 2010, 885). Thus, in a logit model with several explanatory variables the relation of one explanatory variable to the dependent variable depends on the value of the other explanatory variables. If an explanatory variable x which has an effect on y is not integrated in the model, the conditional effects of β -coefficients do not aggregate to coefficients of the model with x . Kühnel and Krebs (2010) conclude that due to this problem causal interpretation only makes sense if *all* explanatory variables, which have an influence on y , are specified. Since estimating such a *complete* model with all of the imaginable variables related to y is rather unrealistic for the purpose of this study, the multinomial logistic regression model cannot adequately measure causality. “It is difficult to control for all factors related to both independent and dependent variables, but it is of course even more difficult to control for all variables that are important for explaining the dependent variable.” (Mood, 2010, 72) Note that causal inference is a problem also of linear regression models, because they do not account for unobserved heterogeneity.

It is important to keep in mind that causality is not the focus of the first part of the study. The first research question concerns the association between factors and power outcomes rather than the causal relationship between them. Note, however, that logistic regression also needs to be applied in the context of the second research question. Even though the hybrid method accounts for time-invariant parameters, the interpretation of results as causes still has to be treated with caution as outlined above. Fixed effects account for time-invariant, but not for time-variant unobserved heterogeneity.

Interpretation of results Odds ratios will be used for the interpretation of results, where the predominant focus of the analysis lies on the direction and significance of the effect. Differently to log odds, odds ratios allow a direct empirical interpretation of frequencies. Moreover, if odds ratios are used, equal changes of the dependent variable in the whole value range change the ratio of probability by the same factor (Kuehnel and Krebs, 2010, 861).

In addition to odds, this study uses conditional effect plots for the interpretation of continuous explanatory variables, and predicted probabilities for the interpretation of dichotomous explanatory variables. This is recommended by Best and Wolf (2010), who problematize the use of odds ratio. The authors argue that the interpretation of a ratio of probability is hard to understand. Moreover, the relation between odds and probabilities is not linear. A given odds ratio might therefore stand for different ratios of probability if the basic probabilities are different (Best and Wolf, 2010, 852). Because a more accurate interpretation of results is achieved with conditional effect plots and estimated probabilities, they will be used in this study in addition to odds ratios.

Allison (1999) points to the problematic comparison of logit coefficients (log odds as well as odds ratio) across groups if these groups differ in their degrees of residual variation. Chapter 7 will estimate models separately for the male and the female respondents. Although the main focus of the analysis is not the comparison between men and women, possible differences in perceptions of power and their relation to the power bases and gender arrangements need to be taken into account. Moreover, the main purpose of Chapter 11 is a comparison between East and West German couples. Though comparisons of odds across groups are often carried out, this practice has been criticized. Allison (1999) stresses that the main problem of comparing logit coefficients or odds across groups is that, as stated above, coefficients of nonlinear regressions, unlike linear coefficients, are confounded with residual variation, i.e. unobserved heterogeneity (Allison, 1999, 186). If unobserved heterogeneity is not the same in all of the groups, the estimation of coefficients is biased (Auspurg and Hinz, 2011, 63). In this case the effect size of the coefficients cannot be compared across models, samples, or groups. One solution for this problem is the estimation of averaged marginal effects (AME). AME “express the average effect of x_1 on $P(y = 1)$ ” (Mood, 2010, 75). Since they provide the additive effect of x on the probability of $y = 1$, they can be interpreted like coefficients in a linear regression model. AME “are not (at least not more than marginally) affected by unobserved heterogeneity that is unrelated to the explanatory variables” in the model (Mood, 2010, 78). They can be compared across models, groups, samples and years. The disadvantage of AME, however, is that they are only “a solution for the problem of comparing substantive effects” because they measure the effect on an aggregate level (Mood, 2010, 78). Thus, Allison (1999, 191) stresses that averaged effects are suitable if the main purpose is a predominantly descriptive analysis. Subject-specific coefficients, such as marginal effects or discrete change (Long and Freese, 2003), are more appropriate for causal inference. Nevertheless, they do not

solve the problem of unobserved heterogeneity in inter-group comparisons (Mood, 2010, 78). What to do now? As stated above, the interpretation will mainly focus on the direction and significance of the effects. Mood (2010) stresses that unobserved heterogeneity affects the size of the coefficients, but not the direction and the significance of the effects.

“Recall that even if we do not know the *size* of the impact of unobserved heterogeneity unrelated to the explanatory variables, we always know the *direction* of the impact: it can only lead to an *underestimation* of the effect that one would estimate accounting for the unobserved heterogeneity” (Mood, 2010, 72).

Comparing effects in their direction and significance is less problematic and the problem of group comparisons in logit models can therefore be neglected for this study. The AME are nevertheless estimated as a robustness check for odds ratio or, more precisely, relative risk ratios (RRR). If the AME and RRR differ in the direction and/or the significance of the effect, the AME will be reported as well.

6.3 Bivariate probit model

In some cases, researchers may want to formulate systems of equations if they can assume that the dependent variables they are analysing are interrelated. In order to illustrate a system of this kind, Greene (2003, 715) brings up an example from literature in the field, where the author investigated the presence of courses in gender economics and the presence of women’s studies programs on campus. If the error terms of the equations for economics courses and women’s studies programs are correlated, the estimation of separate models is inefficient and may even lead to a bias of estimators (Brüderl, 2000, 632). Therefore, the analysis estimates models which allow the correlation of error terms. The most common model for binary dependent variables which is supported by commercial software and easy to estimate is the bivariate probit model.³¹ The bivariate probit model is formulated as (Greene, 2003, 710):

$$\begin{aligned} y_1^* &= x_1' \beta_1 + \epsilon_1, y_1 = 1 \text{ if } y_1^* > 0, 0 \text{ otherwise} \\ y_2^* &= x_2' \beta_2 + \epsilon_2, y_2 = 1 \text{ if } y_2^* > 0, 0 \text{ otherwise} \end{aligned} \quad (6.12)$$

It is assumed that the error terms are normally distributed. Under the null hypothesis that ρ equals zero, the model consists of independent probit equations which can be estimated separately (Greene, 2003, 712). The likelihood ratio test as well as the Wald test are used for testing $H_0 : \rho = 0$. The Wald test indicates whether the correlation coefficient ρ is significantly different from zero. If ρ is significantly different from zero, one bivariate probit model should be estimated instead of two separate models. In contrast to simultaneous equation models, identification is not necessary.³² Even $x_1 = x_2$ can be the case (Brüderl, 2000,

³¹For STATA, the bivariate logit model is only supported by GLLAMM.

³²The simultaneous equation model allows for the “control” for endogeneity and self-selection. It is an application of the structural equation model. In some studies, researchers even refer to simultaneous equations

635).

In this study, the bivariate probit model will be used for two purposes. First, the interrelation between the two financial power outcomes, control over the income and decision-making, will be tested. Recent studies have shown that control over the income and financial decision-making often go hand in hand. Not only does the bivariate probit model allow an analysis of the correlation between these outcomes, it also renders possible an investigation of whether the explanatory variables explain one outcome better than the other. Second, the interrelation between the financial power outcomes and division of labor will be tested. The previous chapters have already argued that the power outcomes, especially control over the income, could be another household arrangement. If this was the case, treating the division of housework and child care as explanatory variables for power could be misleading. The bivariate probit model will facilitate an analysis of the question if the power outcomes and division of labor are interrelated under the control of chosen covariates.

6.4 Heckit method

The heckit method is a model used for sample selection correction. Woolridge (2002, 562) gives a typical example which analyzes the effect of education and work experience on wages for married women. However, whether married women have an income depends on their participation in the labor force. A certain group of women has no earnings at all, which means that wages are only observed for a subset of the population (Woolridge, 2002, 560). Hence married women with earnings are a selective group. Greene (2003, 782) provides another example where the desired number of working hours in the labor market is regressed on income and various household characteristics. Similarly to the previous example, desired working hours are only observed for those individuals who participate in the labor market. In order to obtain unbiased estimators for the effect of education and experience on wages or the effect of income and household characteristics on desired hours, it is necessary to control for the group of individuals who do not participate in the labor market. This is done by adding a selection function to the regression equation of primary interest (Greene, 2003, 782). The equation that determines the sample selection is a probit equation formulated as

$$z_i^* = w'\gamma_i + \nu_i, \quad (6.13)$$

and the equation of interest is

$$y_i = x'\beta + \epsilon_i. \quad (6.14)$$

In the heckit model, y_i is only observed if z_i^* is greater than zero (Greene, 2003, 782). It is assumed that ν_i and ϵ_i have a bivariate normal distribution with zero means and a correlation

models as synonyms of structural equation models. For further information on simultaneous equation models see Greene (2003, 378ff.).

p . It is required that x be a subset of w and w has some elements not included in x (Woolridge, 2002, 560). This means that the primary equation has to have an *exclusion restriction*. This was referred to as identification in the former section. In contrast to bivariate probit models, identification is necessary in heckit models. For the later, a variable “that affects selection but does not have a partial effect on y ” (Woolridge, 2002, 562) is needed. The model is formulated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Selection mechanism : } z_i^* &= w_i' \gamma + \nu_i, z_i = 1 \text{ if } z_i^* > 0 \text{ and } 0 \text{ otherwise;} \\
 \text{Prob}(z_i = 1 | w_i) &= \phi(w_i' \gamma) \text{ and} \\
 \text{Prob}(z_i = 0 | w_i) &= 1 - \phi(w_i' \gamma). \tag{6.15}
 \end{aligned}$$

Regression model : $y_i = x' \beta + \epsilon_i$ observed only if $z_i = 1$
 (ν_i, ϵ_i) bivariate normal $[0, 0, 1, \sigma_\epsilon, \rho]$.

The usual t statistic as a test of $H_0 : \rho = 0$ indicates if there is a selection problem. Under H_0 , there is no sample selection problem. If H_0 has to be rejected, the usual standard errors of the regression model reported are not exactly correct (Woolridge, 2002, 562). Similarly to the bivariate probit model, the Wald test is used to detect, whether the error terms ν_i and ϵ_i of the two equations are significantly correlated.

In the empirical analysis in this study, the heckit model accounts for the selectivity of the couples where the partners displayed identical response behaviors. It can be assumed that the partners who gave identical responses to the survey questions differ from those partners with different response behaviors, for example regarding relationship quality, frequency of conflicts, or emotional involvement. If this is the case, the partners with identical response behaviors are a selective group. In the selection equation, the partners’ response behaviors are regressed on the explanatory variables of the regression model. In the heckit model, the dependent variables y_i , control over the income and decision-making, are only observed if the partners have identical response behaviors. The additional variable included in the selection equation is satisfaction with family life, which is assumed to be correlated with response behavior, but not with the dependent variables.³³ Since the dependent variable of the regression model has to be either continuous or binary, heckit models with defined reference categories are estimated for each category of the dependent variables.

6.5 Fixed effects model

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Angrist and Pischke (2009) discuss the “serial correlation problem”, which occurs when panel data is used for pooled cross-sectional models. The authors propose several ways to solve this problem, one of which is clustering observa-

³³Binary logit models show that satisfaction with family life is correlated with the partners’ response behaviors but not with control over the income or decision-making.

tions. However, in social research we generally have to face a much broader problem, which is often termed unobserved heterogeneity. Characteristics which can be assumed to be time-invariant but which vary from one person to another, e.g. personality traits or intelligence, are often unobserved (Allison, 2009). If these time-invariant unobservables are correlated with the explanatory variables in which the researcher is interested, the estimation parameters are biased. Furthermore, the self-selection of individuals in certain states or groups also strains estimation. Due to specific and time-invariant characteristics, some individuals are more likely to marry or go to Catholic schools than others (Morgan and Winship, 2007, 18). Under the assumption that the explanatory variables x do not correlate with unobserved heterogeneity, the β -coefficients of our regression model will not be biased. However, unobserved heterogeneity is a common occurrence in social research. Experimental designs can solve this problem through the random assignment of individuals to treatment groups. In non-experimental research, it is necessary to apply methods which deal with the problem of the correlation between x and the error term, which implies unobserved heterogeneity.

Panel data provides a solution for the problem of unobserved heterogeneity (Halaby, 2004, 513). The design of the data allows breaking down the error term of the regression equation into two parts, namely ϵ_{it} and α_i . The latter measures the amount of variability between individuals in the impact of the unmeasured time-invariant variables. The first error term measures the amount of variability within an individual across time periods in the impact of the unmeasured time-variant variables. Allison (2009) proposes two longitudinal methods frequently applied to panel data. These are random effects and fixed effects models. Random effects models have to make rather strong assumptions which are difficult to maintain in the majority of regression models. It is assumed that the unobservables are uncorrelated with (or, more strongly, statistically independent of) all the observed variables. Thus, one major assumption is that the explanatory variables X_{it} are uncorrelated with the time-invariant error term α_i . This is termed the random effects assumption. Furthermore, it is assumed that the explanatory variables are not correlated with the time variant effect ϵ_{it} . This is called the exogeneity assumption (Halaby, 2004, 511). Greene (2003) discusses the classification of endogenous and exogenous variables. In “a model of supply and demand, the weather variable in a supply equation seems obviously to be exogenous in a pure sense to the determination of price and quantity, whereas the current price clearly is ‘endogenous’ by any reasonable construction” (Greene, 2003, 381). While the exogeneity assumption has to be made for fixed effects as well, Halaby (2004, 513) stresses that fixed effects models, in contrast to random effects models, permit identification without the random effects assumption.

In a fixed effects model, unobserved time-invariant variables may have any kind of association with the observed variables. “Unless you allow for such associations, you haven’t really controlled for the effects of the unobserved variables. This is what makes the fixed effects approach so attractive.” (Allison, 2009, 3). A fixed effects model with y as the dependent

variable in a time period t for the individuals i is defined as follows:

$$y_{it} = \beta_t + \beta_1 X_{it} + \gamma_1 Z_i + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it} \quad (6.16)$$

where β_t may vary across time and X_{it} is a vector of time-variant predictors. Z_i is a vector of time-constant predictors. As stated above, α_i is a time-invariant unit specific effect that measures unobserved heterogeneity, and ϵ_{it} is “a transitory idiosyncratic disturbance” unique the i th unit at a time t Halaby (2004, 510). If we have two periods, we will have the following two models:

$$y_{i1} = \beta_1 + \beta_1 X_{i1} + \gamma_1 Z_i + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{i1} \quad (6.17)$$

$$y_{i2} = \beta_2 + \beta_1 X_{i2} + \gamma_1 Z_i + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{i2} \quad (6.18)$$

In fixed effects models the difference of the predictors is regressed on the differences in the criterion:

$$y_{i1} - y_{i2} = (\beta_1 - \beta_2) + (\beta_1 X_{i1} - \beta_1 X_{i2}) + (\epsilon_{i1} - \epsilon_{i2}) \quad (6.19)$$

where α_i and $\gamma_1 Z_i$ are “differenced out” of the equation (Allison, 2009, 9), so that the possible correlation between α_i and X_{it} is no longer a problem. By accounting for differences between the predictors and the criterion, the model controls for unobserved time-invariant variables. Hence, fixed effects are a more suitable method than random effects because the first permit the identification of unbiased estimators – at any rate regarding unobserved heterogeneity. Therefore, authors like Halaby (2004) and Brüderl (2010) favor the fixed effects model particularly for causal inference since it reduces the problems of unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity and self-selection bias. It is a general advantage of panel designs as opposed to cross-sectional designs that the exogeneity assumption can be relaxed. (Halaby, 2004, 514) explains that for a static comparison of two groups at one point in time a treatment group $x = 0$ and a control group $x = 1$, at one point in time, it has to be assumed that the mean levels of $\epsilon_{it|x=0}$ and $\epsilon_{it|x=1}$ are the same at the specific point in time. When a panel design is applied, the “only” assumption is that the difference in the means of time-variant error terms remain stable over time. Under a strict exogeneity assumption, the fixed effects estimators are unbiased (Woolridge, 2002, 442).

The fixed effects logit model So far, the fixed effects model has been represented as a linear model. However, fixed effects can also be estimated for nonlinear models, i.e. for binary logit models (Brüderl, 2010, 986ff.). Here, unit specific error terms are added to the logit equation

$$P(y_{it} = 1) = \frac{\exp(x'_{it}\beta + \alpha_i)}{1 + \exp(x'_{it}\beta + \alpha_i)} \quad (6.20)$$

Like in linear fixed effects models, estimations for β -coefficients are consistent in the case of time-constant unobserved heterogeneity. If the dependent variable is measured at two points

in time, a fixed effects logistic regression model is estimated using a conventional logistic regression (Allison, 2009, 47). Only two steps are necessary to run an ordinary binary logistic regression model for one of the response variables: (1) All cases without changes in the dependent variable over time have to be dropped, and (2) all time-varying predictors have to be recoded as difference scores. If the dependent variable was observed at more than two points in time, it is impossible to estimate a conventional logistic regression model since “coefficients from such a regression will be biased away from zero” (Allison, 2009, 47). In this case conditional maximum likelihood will have to be used.

In this study, we are not dealing with binary but with multinomial dependent variables. Since the estimation of a fixed effects multinomial logistic regression model is not available in commercial software, Allison (2009) proposes to decompose the categories of the dependent variable into dummies with a defined reference category, and to estimate one fixed effects logistic regression model for each category. Unfortunately, it is infeasible to define reference categories due to the data limitations. At any rate, this is the case for the separate system and joint decision-making, which were used as reference categories for the multinomial logistic regression models, the bivariate probit models, and the heckit model. Thus, the dependent variables of the fixed effects logistic models of this study would have to be coded as 1 for a specific category and 0 for all other categories. This kind of model allows the observation of the causal effects of explanatory variables on changes *to* a state, but it does not enable us to know *from* which state this change occurs. This is certainly a disadvantage of the fixed effects model. A solution for this problem is the application of the hybrid model, which will be outlined in Section 6.6.

Period effects Brüderl (2010) points out the importance of controlling for period effects. This is not achieved in fixed effects models, but it is important in order to obtain unbiased estimates. The model is called “two-way FE model” because it implies fixed effects both for persons and periods. The consideration of period effects is realized by integrating dummy variables for each period. The fixed effects model now is:

$$y_{it} = \mu_t + X'_{it}\beta + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it} \quad (6.21)$$

where μ_t are the period effects. The author problematizes the use in the same model of variables for both age and period effects. The fixed effects model often does not converge since it already controls for the time-invariant variable cohort. Cohort is time-invariant, and age and period are collinear (Brüderl, 2010, 982). To avoid this so-called APC problem, the model allows the combination of several period effects to one category which have similar mean values for the dependent variable.

6.6 The random effects model and the hybrid model

The advantage of the fixed effects model is that the model accounts for unobserved heterogeneity by allowing a correlation between the explanatory variables and time-invariant unobservables. Even though the fixed effects model is usually favored in economic and social research, it has one major disadvantage: the effects of time-invariant variables cannot be measured. If the researcher is interested in these variables and it can be assumed that the unobserved effect is uncorrelated with all the explanatory variables, a random effects model will be a more appropriate method (Woolridge, 2002, 441). The random effects model is defined as

$$y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{it} + \gamma_1 Z_i + \nu_i + e_{it} \quad (6.22)$$

where ν_i is individual-specific and constant over time, which means that it is constant within one individual but different between individuals. e_{it} varies within and between individuals. It is assumed that ν_i and e_{it} are independent from each other and from X_{it} and Z_i . This means that we make the so called random effects assumption that unobserved heterogeneity is independent of the causal variable. “If the random effects assumption is violated, the least-squares estimator suffers from heterogeneity bias” under a panel design in the case of a cross-sectional and/or endogeneity bias (Halaby, 2004, 511). How are β -coefficients estimated in a random effects model? While fixed effects models subtract the unit specific mean from the observed value, random effects models use generalized least squares (Woolridge, 2002, 451). The unit specific mean is then related to the general mean of all the observations in the sample. This means that if there is insecurity as to the correctness of the unit specific mean, the random effects model will take into account the information of all the other observations. The relation between the unit specific mean and the general mean is established by the weight λ .

$$\begin{aligned} y_{it} - \bar{y}_i &= \beta_0(1 - \lambda) + \beta_1(x_{it1} - \lambda\bar{x}_{it1}) + \dots \\ &+ \beta_k(x_{itk} - \lambda\bar{x}_{itk}) + (\nu_{it} - \lambda\bar{\nu}_{it}) \end{aligned} \quad (6.23)$$

The values of λ rank from zero to one. Woolridge (2002, 451) points out that in practice λ is never zero or one. Observations whose unit specific mean is close to the general mean have a weight closer to one, while observations, whose unit specific mean is far from the general mean, have a weight closer to zero. This means that for observations with unit specific means identical to the general mean, the estimator will be an FE-estimator. For observations whose specific means are not identical to the general mean estimates will be close to the pooled OLS estimators. λ can be perceived as the weight between cross-sectional and longitudinal effects. λ indicates the extent to which the RE-estimators are similar to the FE-estimators. Thus, if the unobserved variables are independent from the predictors, the estimates will be the same as if these unobserved variables were included. If this is the case, the estimation of the random

effects model will be similar to that of the fixed effects model. However, as mentioned above, this will almost never be the case. In order to have both advantages – reliable within estimators and the inclusion of time-invariant variables – Allison (2009) proposes an attractive solution: the hybrid model.

“This approach, which involves mixing estimators that have the desirable properties of fixed effects of time-varying explanatory variables with random effects estimators for time-invariant explanatory variables, goes to the heart of resistance many researchers show to fixed effects estimations” (Halaby, 2004, 530).

Hybrid model The basis of the hybrid model is a random effects model in which firstly all time-variant variables are centered around their person-specific means (Allison, 2009, 23). In addition, person-specific means for each time-variant variable are added to the model. Thus, time-variant variables are transformed in deviation from their person-specific means (within) and in person-specific means (between) (Brüderl, 2010, 976). The hybrid model is defined as

$$y_{it} = (x_{it} - \bar{x}_i)' \beta + \bar{x}_i \gamma + z_i' \delta + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it} \quad (6.24)$$

where z_i is the vector for time-invariant variables (Brüderl, 2010, 977). The estimations for the within-components (β) are identical to the estimations for the fixed effects model. Estimations for the between-component (γ) are between-estimators and biased in the case of time-constant unobserved heterogeneity.³⁴ The random effects model makes the assumption that α_i does not correlate with x_{it} . If this assumption is correct between-estimators will not be biased and “the deviation coefficient should be the same as the mean coefficient for each variable (apart from sampling variability)” (Allison, 2009, 25). Like for the pooled multinomial logistic regression model, robust standard errors are used (Brüderl, 2010, 977). The hybrid method can also be used for logistic regression models with fixed effects. Since commercial software does not provide the means to estimate fixed effects multinomial logistic regression models, Allison (2009) actually favors the use of the hybrid model over the fixed effects model if there is a multinomial dependent variable. I agree with Allison’s argument, contending that a hybrid model should be favored since the dependent variables of this empirical analysis have more than two categories. However, the random effects multinomial logistic regression model is complex and its estimation time-consuming. The models often do not converge, as is the case in this study. Therefore, hybrid models will be used for binary response variables with defined reference categories.

The main advantage of the hybrid model for this study is not the consideration of time-invariant variables. These are not the focus of the analysis. Rather, since the hybrid model also accounts for time-invariant observations, reference categories can be defined even when

³⁴Hausman and Taylor (1981) introduce an instrumental variable approach, which relaxes the random effects assumption on time-invariant variables. For further information see Halaby (2004, 531ff.).

using the restricted data of this analysis. Thus, in contrast to fixed effects logit models, the hybrid model allows the use of the separate system and joint decision-making as reference categories for the financial power outcomes. Note, however, that for the estimation of within estimators, only observations which change over time are taken into account. Thus, although the hybrid model converges disregarding the small number of observations in some categories of the dependent variables, the number of observations is still small for some of the within-estimators. Unfortunately, this problem can only be solved by using different data. Future research will have to explore different data sets in order to analyze the influence of transitions on partners' power outcomes. The *pairfam*, for instance, is an extensive data set which will be very useful for future research on relationship dynamics.

Model fit As mentioned above, random effects models measure between and within variation (Brüderl, 2010, 973). Two error terms are measured: ϵ_{it} , the idiosyncratic error term for each individual at each point in time (between variation), and α_i , the time-invariant unit specific error term (within variation). In order to detect how much of the total variation is due to between variation, rho is measured. Rho is the ratio of between variation to the total variation in the model.

$$rho = var(\alpha_i) / (var(\alpha_i) + var(\epsilon_{it})) \quad (6.25)$$

The likelihood ratio test tests the null hypothesis that there is no variation on the individual level ($var(\alpha_i) = 0$). If this is the case, it will be possible to estimate a logit model. If the test is significant, the null hypothesis can be rejected and random effects can be favored over a logit model.

7 Resources, social relations, and gender arrangements – which power bases are associated with financial power?

The first aim of this study is to analyze what power bases and gender arrangements are related to the power outcomes. The focus of this chapter will be on the financial power outcomes. These are defined as control over the income and decision-making. According to rational choice theory, the power bases are the partners' resources, alternative social relations, and commitment. In addition to rational choice theory, gender theory highlights the relation of household income and other household arrangements, such as the division of housework and child care, to power. In order to answer the first research question for financial power, the analysis will be done in two steps.

First, a descriptive analysis will provide general information on the distribution of the dependent variables (power outcomes) in the population and on the relation between power bases

and power outcomes. The descriptive analysis will also give an overview of the variables used as explanatory variables later in the analysis. In order to limit the complexity of the results, only the female sample will be used. Therefore we need to keep in mind that the focus of the descriptive analysis is the female partners' perception. It is important to note that in order to simplify the interpretation the issue of perception is not always highlighted in the presentation of the results. Second, the relation of the power bases, household income, and gender arrangements to power will be explored in detail using multinomial logistic regression models. A multinomial logistic regression model was estimated for each dependent variable – control over the income and decision-making – with either the separate system or joint decision-making as reference categories. Since partners were interviewed separately, models were also estimated separately for the female and the male partners. As discussed in the previous chapters, his and her perception of power will be compared. Due to the large number of explanatory variables used in the multinomial logistic regression models, controls will be disregarded in the interpretation of the results. Tables depicting the controls of the estimated models can be found in the Appendix (Tables A.1, A.2, A.3 and A.4). However, before discussing the regression models, the descriptive findings will give answers to a very general question: how many couples use the different ways of controlling money and making financial decisions?

7.1 General overview

7.1.1 Marriage and cohabitation

It is a general and also striking characteristic of the partners' control over financial resources that the pooling system seems to be the most widespread management system (Table 6). Almost 60 percent of the couples said that they pooled their incomes. The separate system is used by one third of the partners who live together in one household. His or her exclusive control over the income is quite rare. Cooperation is even more common when it comes to decision-making power. Almost 90 percent of the female partners state that they make financial decisions together with their male partners.

This first results supports Burgoyne (1990), who carried out a qualitative study on married couples. She found that in many couples the discourse of equality dominates “[...] [C]ouples almost invariably articulate discourses of equality, arguing that marriage should be based on equal sharing and that all money should be shared equally, regardless of who contributes what to the household.” (Vogler, 1998, 16) This ideology of equality can also be detected in this survey. Most couples perceive that they make financial decisions together and that they pool their income.

There are no gender differences between his and her control over the income. The male partners decide only slightly more often than the female partners. Since we know that the power bases are distributed inequally in the population, e.g. women have a lower income and em-

ployment status, this finding suggests that this unequal allocation of power bases does not translate into a general power disadvantage for women – at least not in their perceptions.

However, according to previous studies (Lott, 2009; Vogler, 1998), there are differences in couples' control over the income between marriages and cohabitations. Indeed, if one considers the type of relationship, the picture is a little different (Table 6). Whether a couple is married or cohabiting matters for control over the income. According to the chi-squared test, the relation between marriage and cohabitation and control over the income is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Marriages and cohabitations differ predominantly with regard to the separate system, defined as noncooperation, and the joint pool, defined as cooperation. According to the female respondents, the separate system is much less likely to be used in the married couples. Only 21 percent manage their money separately or partly separately. However, more than half of the female partners (66 percent) say that they pool their earnings with their partners. In the cohabitations, the reverse can be observed: nearly 70 percent of the cohabiting couples separate their incomes, while less than a third (27 percent) uses the joint pool. Regarding decision-making, the male partners are slightly more often perceived to have exclusive decision-making power in the marriages. In the cohabitations, the frequencies of his or her exclusive decision-making are more or less equal.

Interestingly, there is no difference between married and cohabiting couples for decision-making. The majority of the women say that they make their decisions together with their partners – regardless of whether they are married or not. Chapter 3.9 discussed the subjectivity of the financial power outcomes. It argued that control over the income is closer than financial decision-making to an objective arrangement in the relationship. The large contrast between the cohabiting and the married couples with regard to controlling the finances supports this assumption. This difference indicates that the interviewees indeed seem to have in mind a specific practice, e.g. the organization of bank accounts, when answering the survey question. The answers for control over the income are more responsive to the type of relationship. But how can the different patterns of controlling the income in the marriages and the cohabitations be explained?

In %	Financial power outcomes		
	general	married	cohabiting
<i>Control over income</i>			
Separated	31.50	21.54	67.75
She	5.31	6.03	2.72
He	5.05	5.85	2.14
Pool	58.14	66.58	27.39
N	2,988	2,293	695
<i>Decision-making</i>			
She	4.51	4.37	5.11
He	6.49	6.87	4.92
Both	89.00	88.76	89.97
N	1,992	1,582	410

Note: Column percentages weighted with cross-sectional weight; N not weighted; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 6: Financial power outcomes in marriages and cohabitations

Three main reasons for an explanation of the differences between marriages and cohabitations come to mind. First, gender role attitudes or partners' gender ideologies might underlie the way of controlling the finances. As Elizabeth (2001, 389) puts it, cohabitation "can be strategically deployed to indicate resistance to some, but not necessarily all, of the conventions of marriage". Regarding the control of finances, cohabiting couples seem to refuse the convention of pooling incomes. Vogler (1998) points out that the 50:50 ideology is frequently implemented by cohabiting couples. 50:50 not only means that partners share equally, but also that they contribute equally. In order to implement the rule of equity, partners have to differentiate between her and his money. The separate system is therefore much more useful than the joint pool. Furthermore, studies have shown that cohabiting couples, who are living in a "trial marriage", make fewer investments in the relationship than married couples. The sharing of earnings can be perceived as an investment cohabiting couples hesitate or fear to make. Hence, cooperation is much less frequent than in marriages. However, this attitude might change with the duration of the relationship. Do couples who cohabit for a longer period of time still separate their earnings? Or do they increasingly resemble married couples?

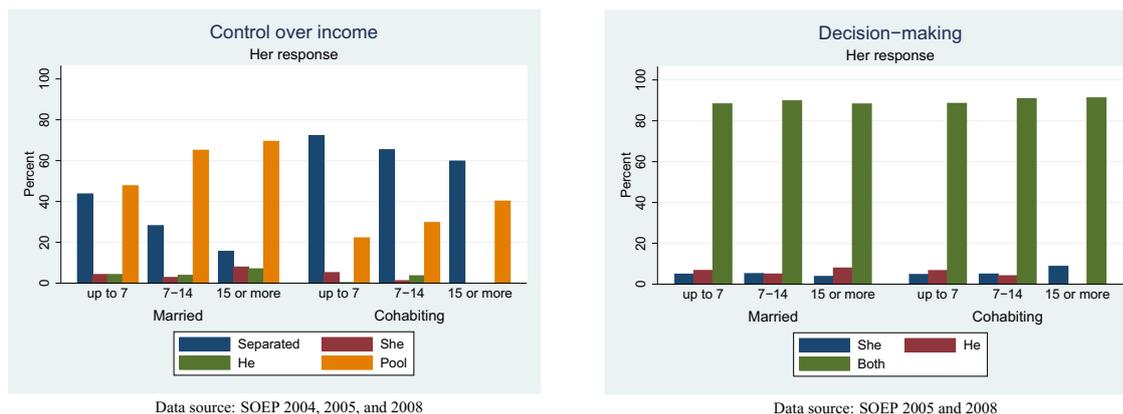


Figure 4: Financial power outcomes and the duration of the relationship

Thus, second, the difference between cohabitations and marriages might be due to the duration of the relationship. Cohabitations still last for a much shorter period of time than marriages do. They often function as “trial marriages” and end through one of two events: marriage or dissolution. The number of cohabiting couples who never get married is still relatively small. Figure 4 gives a general idea about duration of the relationship and control over the resources in the marriages and the cohabitations. The separate system is used less often and the joint pool more often if the partners have been together for a longer period of time. The relation even seems to be linear. The increase of the joint pool and the decrease of the separate system can be observed especially in the marriages. In the cohabitations, this tendency is also present, but the separate system continues to dominate in couples which have been together for 14 years or more. Thus, power allocation within couples becomes more traditional over time – but primarily in marriages. Furthermore, one partner’s exclusive control is most common in marriages but less common in cohabitations of a long duration. Can this result also be found for decision-making power? Here, we observe stronger gender differences: she has less and he has more power in marriages of a longer duration. Interestingly, this relation is reversed in the cohabitations: she has more and he has less power if the partners have been cohabiting for a longer period of time. This also shows that arrangements in marriages are more often traditional and in cohabitations more often reverse traditional. However, the chi-squared test indicates that the relation between duration of relationship and type of relationship is significant for control over resources ($p < 0.001$), but not for decision-making. The interpretation that cohabiting couples implement non-traditional or reverse-traditional arrangements more often than marriages do should be taken with a pinch of salt.³⁵

³⁵Note that one has to be cautious to interpret the findings as developments over time. The self-selection of couples in different groups of duration might step in.

A third and final reason for the difference between married and cohabiting couples could be the fact that the gender wage gap in marriages is usually greater than that in cohabitations. The mean value of the relative earnings of the female partners is around 28 percent in the marriages and around 42 percent in the cohabitations. The gap is even larger if the median is taken into account. The married women earn approximately 23 percent and the unmarried women 43 percent of the total income of both partners. Heckert et al. (1998) have developed a typology to characterize partners' distribution of earnings. They differentiate between "traditional arrangements", where she earns up to 25 percent of the total income, "new-traditional arrangements", where she has a share of 25 to 50 percent of the total earnings, "non-traditional arrangements", where she earns 50 to 75 percent, and "reverse-traditional arrangements", where she earns 75 to 100 percent of the total income. This typology can be applied to various other arrangements within couples, e.g. the division of housework. In this sense, married couples predominantly have new-traditional patterns of earnings, while cohabitations almost always have a non-traditional allocation of incomes. Note that Heckert's typology is related only to relative earnings of partners. Here, the use of these labels does not refer to specific gender role attitudes or to gender ideology.

7.1.2 Relative income and household income

Since we know that the income gap between partners is wider in marriages than in cohabitations, the analysis of the relation between relative income and power outcomes was done separately for cohabiting and married couples. As mentioned above, the mean of the relative earnings of the female partners is around 28 percent in the marriages and around 42 percent in the cohabitations.³⁶ Taking into account the median, one finds that the married women earn approximately 23 percent and the unmarried women 43 percent of the total income. According to the typology developed by Heckert et al. (1998), married couples predominantly have new-traditional patterns of earnings, while cohabitations are predominantly non-traditional with regard to their incomes.

The results in Figure 5, however, do not support the assumption that the specific patterns of the marriages and the cohabitations are related to the relative earnings of the partners. Control over the income generally differs between the cohabitations and the marriages – independent of the couples' income ratios. In the cohabitations, the separate and the partly separate systems are the dominant forms of financial arrangements. Cohabiting couples thus follow more often the 50:50 rule of equal sharing and equal contributions (Vogler, 1998). It is often argued that due to this norm of equity cohabitations imply a higher inequality particularly for individuals with a very low income. These persons have disadvantages in the separate system because they are limited to the smaller amount of their own earnings and do not have access to the much larger income of their partner. But the analysis indicates that cohabiting couples

³⁶According to the t-test, the mean values of marriages and cohabitations are significantly different from each other.

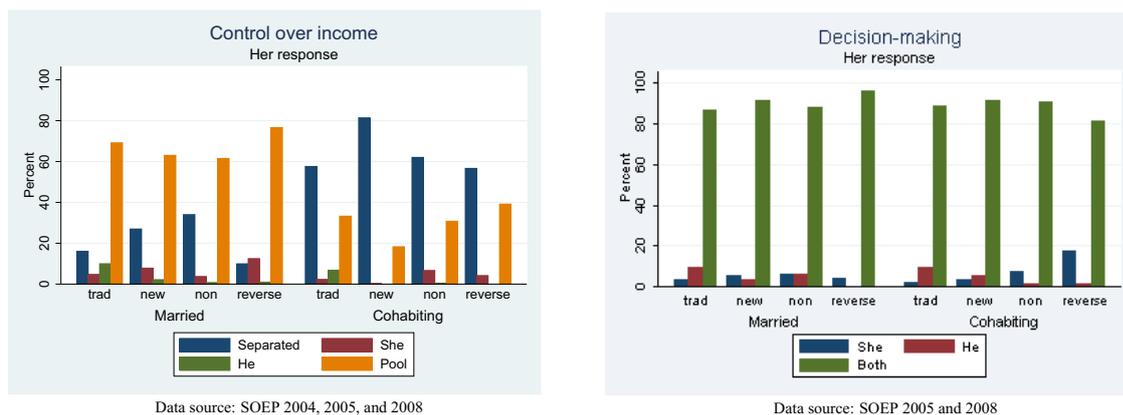


Figure 5: Financial power outcomes and partners' income ratio

often abandon the equity rule if there are large differences in income. In cohabitations with traditional or reverse-traditional income patterns, financial inequalities are more likely to be balanced out by the joint pool.

Two characteristics of marriages can be observed: the joint pool is most common in the traditional couples, but less common in the reverse-traditional couples. Inequalities in earnings are only balanced in the marriages if the male partner earns much more, not if the female partner is the main breadwinner. This indicates that rather his income than her income is still perceived as the family income.

Surprisingly, the separate system is often used in the married and most often used in the cohabiting couples if the partners' earnings follow a new-traditional pattern. However, the separate system might have different implications for unmarried and married women. While almost two thirds of the unmarried women work in full-time positions, half of the married women work in part-time positions. One could argue that in addition to a lower relative income, the value of money (Zelizer, 2005) also depends on women's employment status. Since married women more often have part-time employments, it is more likely that their incomes are considered as the "secondary" and less important incomes. This money is often used for expenses for the household and children. Most other expenses are usually covered by the men's "primary" incomes (Roy, 2006). In cohabitations, where almost two thirds of the women work in full-time positions, the female partners' income is more likely to be comparable to their male partners' earnings. Here both incomes might have the value of primary incomes, even though the woman's income is lower. This interpretation of the separate system has two implications for power in marriages and cohabitations: in cohabitations, the separate system might affect women's control over finances less because the value of their money is comparable to that of their partners' earnings. In marriage, however, the separate system excludes women from control over the "primary" income. Here, female partners only have control over the "secondary" and thus less important money.

According to rational choice theory, it is to be expected that money is related to power. In point of fact, the partner with the higher income has exclusive control over finances. This is especially true for marriages with a reverse-traditional distribution of incomes: in almost 20 percent of the married couples, the female partners have sole control over the income. Her control is used nearly as often as the separate system.

The person with the higher income also has more decision-making power regarding financial issues – or, more precisely, is perceived to have decision-making power. The positive relation between share of income and decision-making exists predominantly in the traditional and reverse-traditional couples – particularly if they are cohabiting. The unmarried women and men are more likely to possess decision-making power than their married counterparts. Furthermore, in the cohabitations with a non-traditional distribution of earnings it is the female partner who perceives herself as often having decision-making power. In the marriages, in contrast, the men are more often perceived to have power. The same holds true for couples with non-traditional income patterns. Again, this finding supports the assumption that gender role attitudes or gender ideologies underlie power allocation within couples and their perceptions of power. The financial power outcomes differ between the married and unmarried couples: the female partners are perceived to have a power advantage in the cohabitations rather than in the marriages.

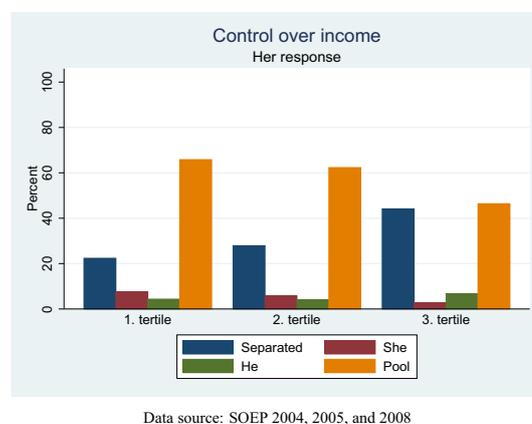


Figure 6: Control over the income and household income

According to findings by Pahl (1983) and Lott (2009), it is to be expected that there is gender inequality regarding the control over finances in different household income groups. For lower income groups, we assume that women are more likely than men to manage the money. In these households, control over the income is a burden rather than a power factor. In order to highlight this difference the term “management” instead of “control” will be used for low income households. In the higher income group, the male partner is expected to control the money.

Figure 6 shows that there is a tendency that it is more often the female partners who manage the money in the lowest income group, whereas in the highest income groups it is more often the male partner who controls the money. These results support previous findings. In households with more financial resources, he is less and she is more likely to control money, while she is in charge of money management in low-income households. However, one could argue that women have a higher relative salary in the lowest income group but earn less money than their partners in the highest income group. The relation observed between household income and control would then be due to the partners' relative earnings. If we take into account the distribution of the partners' incomes in the household groups and the mean values (Table 7), we see that actually the opposite situation is the case: she earns slightly more in the highest income group and less in the lowest income groups.³⁷ Around 57 percent of the female partners in the lowest income group have a relative income lower than 25, as opposed to only 35 percent in the highest income group. Thus, according to rational choice theory we would expect that she is more likely to control the income in the highest income group and less likely in the lowest income group. However, as we saw in Figure 6, the relation between control and household income is the other way around – despite her relative income. Hence, in addition to the positive relation between power bases and power outcomes, gender inequality constitutes a further factor with regard to household income.

Income ratio (her share), in %	Household income (tertiles)		
	1st	2nd	3rd
Traditional (0-25%)	57.72	50.43	35.41
New traditional (25-50%)	17.47	27.56	41.40
Non traditional (50-75%)	8.48	13.02	14.75
Reverse traditional (75-100%)	16.33	8.99	8.43
Mean	29.90	30.63	34.82
N	822	973	955

Note: Column percentages weighted with cross-sectional weight; N not weighted; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 7: Partners' relative incomes in household income groups

³⁷The same tendency can be observed in household income quintils. She earns more in the highest quintil. Furthermore, her share of income is greater in the highest income group compared to lower incomes groups both in the sample for control over money as well as for decision-making. Weighted and unweighted results point into the same direction for tertiles as well as quintiles.

7.1.3 Education and age

Other resources this study focuses on in addition to income are education and age. As the results show (Figures 7 and 8), she is slightly more likely to control the income if she is older and has a higher level of education. There is also a tendency that the separate system is more likely and the pooling system less likely to be used if the female partner is older and has a higher level of education. Thus, an unconventional asymmetry in education and age is related to the separate system, i.e. noncooperation. Conventional asymmetries are defined as traditional arrangements in relationships, in this case meaning that he is older and has a higher level of education. Note that the chi-squared test is significant for both education and age ($p < 0.001$).

The results for decision-making also support resource theory: the person with the higher level of education is perceived to have decision-making power. This is especially true for the male partner's power. If he has a higher level of education, women are more likely to perceive him to make the decisions. Moreover, if both partners have the same level of education, he is also slightly more likely to be perceived as the decision-maker. The chi-squared test is significant for decision-making and relative education ($p < 0.001$). For ratio of age, the results are not as explicit. One can observe only a tendency that his higher age is positively associated with decision-making. In her perception, he is also slightly more likely to be the decision-maker if both partners are the same age. According to the chi-squared test, the relation between relative age and decision-making is significant ($p < 0.001$).

Thus, relative age and education are also crucial for the financial power outcomes. This confirms the assumptions made in the context of rational choice theory. His higher level of education is predominantly associated with his decision-making in the female partner's perception. Furthermore, unconventional asymmetries (she is older and has a higher level of education) are related to noncooperation.

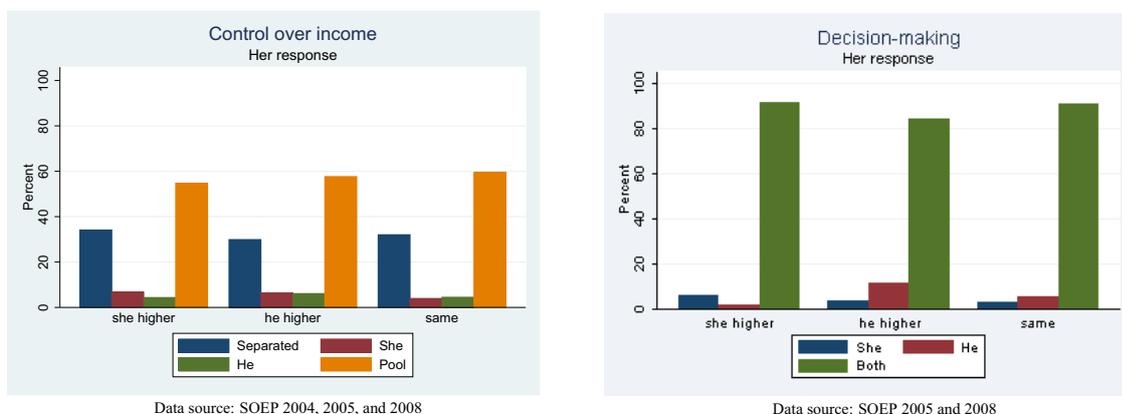


Figure 7: Financial power outcomes and partners' education ratio

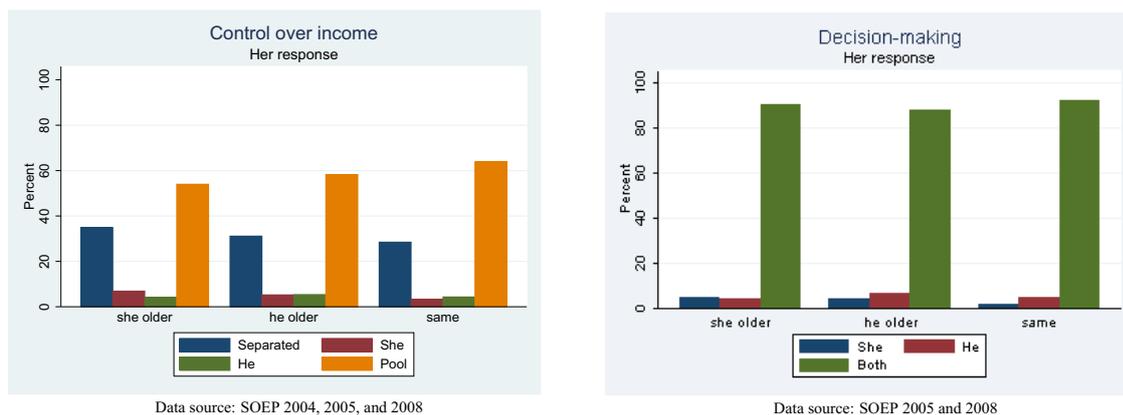


Figure 8: Financial power outcomes and partners' age ratio

7.1.4 Alternative social relations

Alternative social relations – the frequency of meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities – are less related to power. Only minor tendencies for exclusive control and decision-making power can be observed. According to the results shown in Figure 9, alternative social relations seem to be negatively associated with control over the financial resources. She is less and he is more likely to have exclusive control if she meets friends more often, and especially if she engages in more cultural activities. If he is more socially and culturally active, this tendency is much weaker. Note that the relation with control is only significant for the frequency of meeting with friends. A general pattern for decision-making power cannot be observed (Figure 10). The male partner has generally more power than his partner – disregarding whether he has more cultural activities. The chi-squared test is not significant for the relation between meeting with friends and decision-making power.

Although the chi-squared tests indicate that the relation between alternative social relations and financial power outcomes is significant ($p < 0.001$), it is difficult to discern clear patterns – particularly for decision-making.

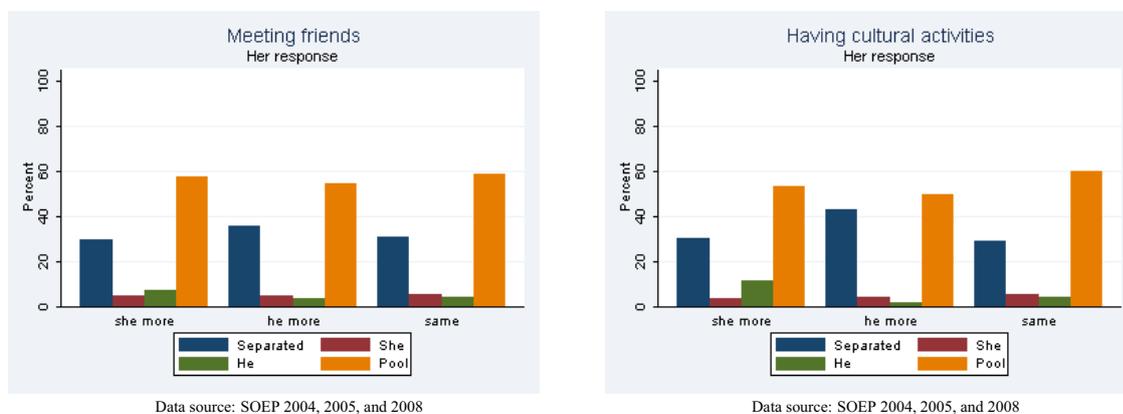
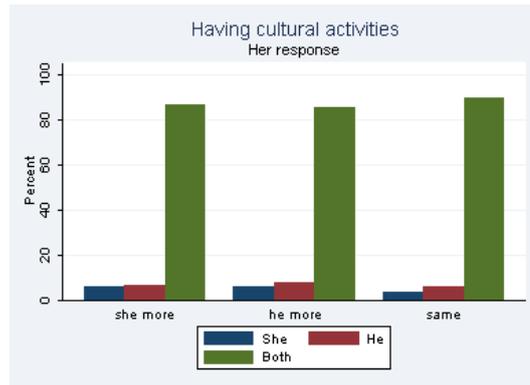


Figure 9: Control over the income and alternative social relations

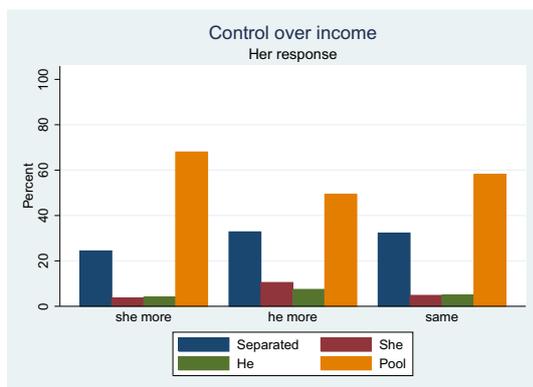


Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

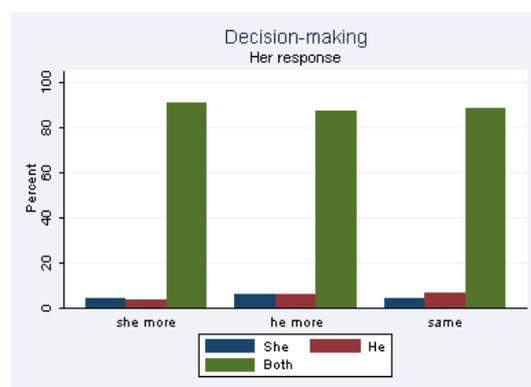
Figure 10: Decision-making and partners' cultural activities ratio

7.1.5 Commitment to the relationship

Although the differences between the male and the female partners' power with regard to commitment are minimal, the partners' interest in the relationship should nevertheless be discussed in brief to get a general idea of this power basis. Three tendencies are noticeable and have to be mentioned: First, regarding control over the income, cooperation is most common if she is more committed to the relationship, and less common if he is less committed. In addition, there is a tendency that the partner who is more committed is more likely to have control over the income. The relation between control and commitment is significant ($p < 0.001$). Interestingly, if the partners are equally committed to the relationship, the male partners are more likely than the female partners to be perceived to make the financial decisions alone. Note, however, that the chi-squared test is not significant for decision-making.



Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008



Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure 11: Financial power outcomes and partners' commitment ratio

7.1.6 Division of labor

This section will apply the typology of partners' relative earnings to the division of housework and child care. This means that couples where he does up to 25% of the housework or child care are characterized as “traditional”, couples where his share is 25 to 50% as “new-traditional”, couples where he shares 50 to 75% of the work as “non-traditional”, and couples where he does 75% and more as “reverse-traditional”.

Generally speaking, the results in Figure 12 indicate that a greater share of housework is negatively related to the perception of power – to control over the resources as well as to decision-making. This is especially the case in reverse-traditional arrangements. Here, the female partner is more likely to be perceived to have control over the income and financial decision-making power. In traditional arrangements, he is slightly more likely than his partner to be perceived to have power if he only does up to 25% of the housework. In new-traditional and non-traditional arrangements, she has is slightly more likely to have control over the finances.

The division of housework corresponds to the couples' financial arrangements: the pooling system is most likely to be used in couples with a traditional division of housework. The separate system is associated with a non-traditional or reverse-traditional division. These findings support the interpretation that the joint pool is implemented in couples with a more traditional gender ideology, predominantly marriages, and the separate system in couples with a more progressive gender ideology, predominantly cohabitation. The relations between his share of housework and the financial power outcomes are significant ($p < 0.001$).

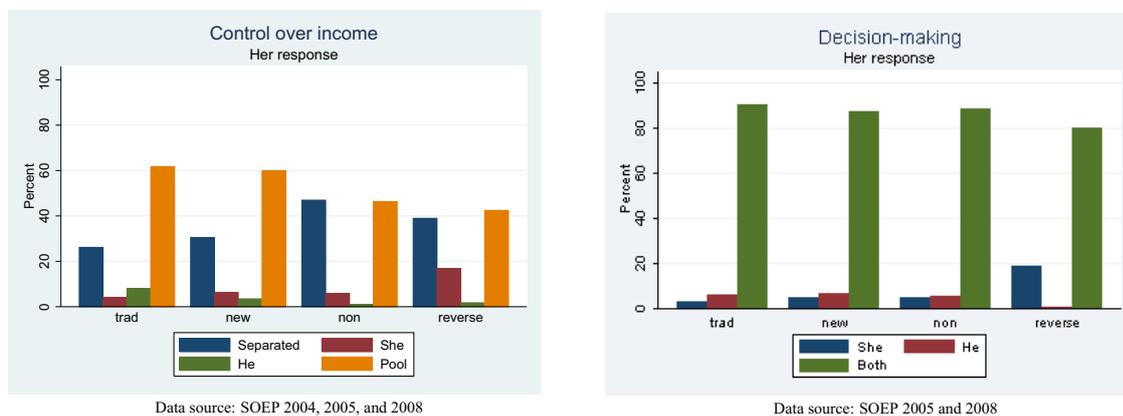


Figure 12: Financial power outcomes and the division of housework

In contrast, according to the chi-squared test the relation between child care and financial power is only significant for control over the income ($p < 0.001$). However, no clear pattern can be found for this relation (Figure 13). The female partner predominantly has power in reverse-traditional couples. The male partner is more likely to control the finances in new-traditional couples. Thus, one can observe a slight tendency that child care is negatively related to control over the income. However, fewer hours of child care are associated predom-

inantly with her power, but not with his power. In contrast to the division of housework, the joint pool is more common in the couples with a non-traditional or reverse-traditional division of child care. The separate system is used more often in the couples with a traditional division of child care. This finding contradicts the results for and the interpretation of the division of housework.

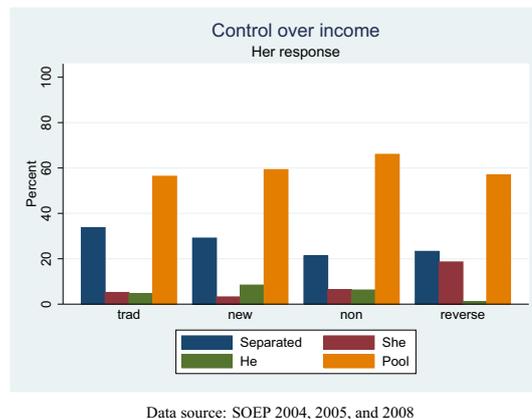


Figure 13: Control over money and the division of child care

7.1.7 Summary

It is a striking result that most of the female partners stated that they pooled their incomes and made the financial decisions together with their partner. Thus, most of the couples cooperate with regard to financial arrangements. One reason for this finding could be an underlying ideology of equality. Partners want and perceive their relationship to be equal – especially with regard to financial decision-making.

In contrast to financial decision-making, however, control over the income is affected by the type of relationship. Cooperation is dominant in the marriages, while noncooperation prevails in the cohabitations. The married couples are likely to pool their incomes and the cohabiting couples predominantly separate their earnings. In line with this finding, Singh and Lindsay (1996) state that married partners engage in “marriage money”, which they define as joint and cooperative. In contrast, “cohabitation money” is characterized by being separated (Elizabeth, 2001, 390). While in marriages a discourse of equality seems to underlie the sharing of resources, in cohabitations a discourse of equity underlies the way the partners control their finances. Cohabiting couples often apply the rule of equal contribution, the 50:50 rule.

Even though the separate system may imply the idea of equality in the sense of equal contributions, researchers perceive the separate system to reproduce gender inequalities if the earnings of the partners differ. In their study of the separate and partly separate systems, Vogler et al. (2008, 140) argue that by applying the rule of equity in a relationship, the partners “allow market forces into the relationship”. Since power in these couples is based

on each individual's earned income (Vogler et al., 2008, 139), gender inequalities existing in the labor market emerge in the relationship if the separate system is being used. Elizabeth (2001) is also critical of the separate system. She states that in the case of disparate incomes "the continued use of the principle of equal contributions will result in one partner (typically women) paying a much higher proportion of their income towards the couples' joint expenses, whilst also leaving this person with far less money to spend on their personal needs after they have paid their dues" (Elizabeth, 2001, 408).³⁸ Furthermore, Pahl (2005) highlights the fact that women are predominantly responsible for child care and thus expected to pay for children. Pahl argues that women's incomes are reduced when children are born, while they are expected, however, to cover the costs for children. If the couple organizes their finances separately, women are worse off than their partners.

"Individualisation in money management can then be a route to inequality, so long as women's earnings are lower than men's and women are responsible for paying for children and childcare" (Pahl, 2005, 381).

However, this study has shown that in the case of an extreme inequality in income, cohabiting couples in particular are more likely to pool their incomes, and less likely to use the separate system. Thus, partners with very different incomes perpetuate inequality by using the pooled system. This finding supports Pahl's (1999) and Vogler et al.'s (2006) studies. Note, however, that it is not clear what concrete practices, e.g. regarding financial decision-making, are concealed underneath the label "pooled". Singh and Lindsay (1996) characterize marriage money as joint but also nebulous. Vogler (2005) argues that equality is often a myth and that the joint pool covers up inequalities between the partners. In order to better understand what the pooling of incomes actually means, it is crucial to investigate whether the joint pool is also associated with joint decision-making, or whether one partner has decision-making power if earnings are pooled. Section 9 will therefore reveal how control over the income and financial decision-making are related to each other.

Income is positively associated with control over the income (particularly in the cohabitations) and related even more strongly to decision-making power. Education and age are positively related to perceived control and decision-making, particularly for men. He is relatively often the decision-maker if his level of education is higher. The ratio of age and education only matters for the female partner's exclusive control. She is more likely to control the income if she has a higher level of education and is older than her partner. Although these findings confirm the assumptions of exchange theory, the power bases are related differently to the power outcomes of male or female partners. Furthermore, an unconventional allocation of education

³⁸Furthermore, in their qualitative study, Ashby and Burgoyne (2008) were able to show that if the partial pool was used, the partner with the lower share of the income was less likely to feel that he or she had the right to spend money on him- or herself. Knudsen and Waerness (2009) also problematize the separate system, arguing that new gender inequalities may emerge because housework and child care are no longer recognized as part of the common provision.

and age (she has a higher level of education and is older than her partner) are associated with noncooperation.

Moreover, differences between the genders continue to be present: in marriages, he is more likely to be perceived to have decision-making power if he earns less than his partner. Furthermore, the female partner is more likely to manage the money in the lowest income group, while the male partner controls the finances in the highest income groups.

Cultural activities and meeting with friends are negatively related to control over the financial resources. One interpretation for this result, which is contradictory to the theory, is that alternative social relations are used for coping with a loss of power – especially by the male partner. Commitment to the relationship seems to be less related to the power outcomes.

The division of child care and especially the division of housework are negatively related to exclusive control over the income. Especially for the female partner, less housework and child care is a power advantage. In the couples with a traditional division of housework, cooperation is most common. In the couples with a non-traditional or reverse-traditional division of housework, noncooperation is dominant. This finding also holds true for the results for relative age and education. Unconventional arrangements are related to noncooperation. The joint pool (cooperation) is associated with traditional gender arrangements, whereas the separate system (noncooperation) can be defined as a progressive arrangement. Interestingly, the relation between division of child care and cooperation and noncooperation is the opposite: couples with a non-traditional division of child care cooperate, whereas couples with a traditional division of child care do not cooperate.

To sum up, exchange theory seems to be verified with regard to income, education, and age. For alternative social relations, the assumption that more alternatives are related to power has to be rejected. Division of labor is related to power within the couples. However, housework and child care are perceived as a power disadvantage (especially for the female partners) rather than as a means of coping with the violation of the partners' gender identities. As expected, there is gender inequality with regard to the budget to be controlled.

Surprisingly, the general frequencies of his and her exclusive power are very similar. There is no observable gender inequality for the distribution of the power outcomes. This is a contradictory finding since we know that female partners in the general population have fewer power bases. For example, they often have incomes or employment statuses which are lower than those of their partners. If we assume (and, in the cases of income, age and education, know) that the power bases matter for the power outcomes, we would expect male partners to possess power outcomes more often than female partners. However, this is not the case. Apparently other mechanisms are at work beside the allocation of resources. The descriptive analysis has already pointed to the limitation of rational choice explanations of partners' power allocations. Another reason for this finding could be a perception bias of power allocation.

The following sections will analyze further the relation between power bases, gender arrangements, and power outcomes. They will outline the multinomial logistic regression models for control over the income and decision-making power separately for the male and female samples. Hence, not only the relation between power bases and power outcomes but also partners' perceptions of power will be the focus of the following analysis.

7.2 Bases and outcomes – are they related?

For each power outcome, a multinomial logistic regression model was estimated. The main predictors of the dependent variables – control over the income and decision-making – were presented in the above section. These are relative income, household income groups, relative education, relative age, alternative social relations, relative commitment, and division of housework and child care. Partners' relative employment statuses were not discussed in the descriptive analysis but will be introduced in the multivariate models. The findings for each power outcome will be presented and discussed in separate sections. A summary will bring together the results for control over the income and financial decision-making.

In order to detect outliers in the regression models, leverage and residual values were estimated for each category of the dependent variable. Outliers are observations with an extreme y value and an extreme combination of x values. The plots of the values, which can be found in the Appendix (Figures A.1, A.2, A.3 and A.4), show that the variance of the values is rather high for the categories “her control”, “his control”, “her decision-making” and “his decision-making”. However, clear characteristics of the outliers with very high leverage values and residuals higher than 2 cannot be found. Only for the model for her control, those observations are outliers with a relatively low household income, her high share of income, and his relatively high share of housework. The logit model explains these cases rather poorly. Hence, we have to keep in mind that for the above-mentioned categories the variance of observations is rather high.

The test statistics for the full model and for the limited models can be found in 8. Comparing the pseudo R-squareds of the male and female samples and for control over the income and decision-making, we see that the chosen factors explain control over the income better for the female respondents than for the male respondents. In contrast, the pseudo R-squareds for decision-making are slightly higher in the male than in the female sample. Nevertheless, the differences are rather small and the pseudo R-squareds for control over the income and decision-making in each group are comparable. In only one case does the model fit differ to a great extent between control and decision-making. If it is not controlled for the partners' response behaviors, the explanatory power of the model for decision-making decreases. The pseudo R-squareds for the full model are 0.21 in the female and 0.23 in the male sample. This model includes response behavior as a control variable. Without response behavior, the pseudo R-squareds are reduced to 0.11 for the female and also 0.11 for the male respondents. While response behavior in couples seems to matter for decision-making, its explana-

tory power for control over the income is smaller. Tables 2 and 3 in Section 5.1 show that the main differences in the response behaviors of partners regard decision-making. Thus, response behavior explains a large part of the multinomial logistic regression models for decision making. This finding supports the discussion of power indicators in Chapter 3.9. Financial decision-making is a more subjective indicator than control over the income. While the latter is related to a more palpable household arrangement, the first is affected to a much larger extent by what partners perceive as important decisions. There might be differences in the priorities attributed to decisions by men and women. When interpreting the findings, we have to keep in mind that the chosen explanatory variables explain control over the income better and that partners' response behaviors have a considerable impact on the way they perceive their decision-making. Since the role of response behavior seems to be crucial for explaining power outcomes, a further analysis of the partners who gave identical responses to the survey questions will be necessary. Hence, a heckit model estimated for couples with identical response behaviors will be presented in Chapter 10.

In addition, a comparison of the model fit between the different models' estimates for each dependent variable and each sample shows that resources explain most of the dependent variables. When alternative social relations or division of labor are added, the pseudo R-squared changes only slightly. This finding is confirmed by the likelihood ratio test (LR test) (Table 9). The LR test shows that resources are highly significant for control over the income and decision-making in both the male and the female samples. In point of fact, resources contribute to the explanatory power of the model. Alternative social relations and division of labor are less significant. Alternatives are only significant in the female sample. Division of labor is only significant for control over the income.

Hence, while alternative social relations contribute to the explanatory power of the models only with regard to the female respondents, housework and child care improve the models only for control over the income. Although the LR test indicates that alternatives and labor do not ameliorate the model as much as resources, their effects will be interpreted if the coefficients are significant. However, we have to keep in mind that resources generally matter far more for the financial power outcomes than alternative social relations and household arrangements. This constitutes a first and interesting finding at this point. Resources are more essential for financial power in couples than partners' alternatives or the division of labor. One reason for the weak relation of alternatives to power outcomes could be that the chosen proxies for alternative social relations – meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities – are relatively weak.

	Complete (1)	Resources (2)	+ Alternatives (3)	+ Labor (4)
Control over income				
<i>Female respondents</i>				
Loglikelihood	-1768.7274	-1789.036	-1778.1455	-1779.6391
df	123	105	117	111
Pseudo- R^2	0.25 (0.21) ¹	0.24	0.23	0.23
<i>Male respondents</i>				
Loglikelihood	-1820.7	-1839.859	-1831.864	-1828.635
df	123	105	117	111
Pseudo- R^2	0.21 (0.19) ¹	0.21	0.21	0.21
Decision-making				
<i>Female respondents</i>				
Loglikelihood	-551.609	-562.1831	-553.1605	-560.8232
df	82	70	78	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.21 (0.11) ¹	0.19	0.21	0.20
<i>Male respondents</i>				
Loglikelihood	-553.0402	-560.8112	554.8514	-558.8158
df	82	70	78	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.23 (0.11) ¹	0.22	0.22	0.22

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; (1) Complete model, (2) Only resources with controls, (3) Resources and alternative social relations with controls, (4) Resources and division of labor with controls;
¹Model estimated without response behaviors; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 8: Test statistics for the multinomial logistic regression models – financial power

	Likelihood-ratio-test		
	for resources (1)	for alternatives (2)	for labor (3)
Control over money			
<i>Female respondents</i>			
LR chi2	144.38	21.82	18.84
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.000	0.0395	0.0044
<i>Male respondents</i>			
LR chi2	124.87	15.91	22.33
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.000	0.1954	0.0011
Decision-making			
<i>Female respondents</i>			
LR chi2	44.50	18.43	4.61
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.0067	0.0182	0.3299
<i>Male respondents</i>			
LR chi2	62.62	14.77	4.25
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.000	0.0638	0.3730

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; (1) Complete model versus model without resources, (2) Complete model versus model without alternative social relations, (3) Complete model versus model without division of labor; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 9: Likelihood-ratio-test for explanatory variables – financial power

Prior to discussing the results in detail, two remarks should be made. First, only a small number of the coefficients is significant. Coefficients are significant more often for control over the income than for decision-making. Although the effects are not significant, they will be interpreted if clear patterns are observable. Nonsignificant effects are predominantly due to a small number of observations. This is the case especially for exclusive control and decision-making, which have only few observations. If the direction of the effects indicates a clear pattern, DFbeta values will be estimated in order to detect outliers in this category (Kohler and Kreuter, 2006, 207). DFbetas will also be estimated if the effect is significant but the number of observations within the category very small.

Note that the coefficients for meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities do not point to a clear pattern. As suggested above, one reason for this could be that the chosen variables are rather inadequate proxies for what we want to measure, namely alternative social relations. The interpretation of the effects for these variables will be disregarded. The interpretation will focus on rather clear-cut but not necessarily significant effects. Conditional effect plots for the continuous variables and predicted probabilities for the binary variables will help interpret the models.

Second, one finding can already be formulated: out of all resources, money matters most for the financial power outcomes. Her share of income and household income are predominantly significant, and their effects are stable when other covariates are added. This finding is maybe not surprising since the power outcomes are control over the income and financial decision-making – both indicators are related to partners' earnings. Since financial power is measured, the financial power bases are crucial. The final empirical chapter of this study will measure power in a non-financial dimension of couples' lives. Using the *pairfam* data, partners' influence on each other and their influence on results will be analyzed. Which factors are related to the non-financial power outcomes? Does money also matter for partners' non-financial power? These questions will be answered in Chapter 13.

The following sections will outline and discuss the results for the financial power outcomes. The regression tables provide the relative risk ratios (RRR) and clustered standard errors, as well as the AME (AME) if these differ in their direction and/or significance to the RRR (Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13). Chapter 6 suggested that the interpretation of logit coefficients is problematic when comparing groups. Although a comparison between groups, in this case between the male and the female respondents, is not the main focus of this chapter, the interpretation of the results will account for possible differences between the men's and the women's perceptions of power. For a robustness check, the AME were estimated. Comparing the RRR and AME, it is noticeable that the RRR and AME are similar in most cases regarding the direction of the coefficients and the significance of the effects. Especially the RRR and AME for relative income and household income tend to have the same significance.

ref(Separate)	Control over income – Her response					
	She		He		Pooled	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	1.001 (0.01)		0.959*** (0.01)	-0.001** (0.00)	0.994 (0.00)	
Household income	0.999*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)		0.994*** (0.00)	-0.000
Same education (ref)						
She higher education	1.777 (0.67)		0.535 (0.23)		1.082 (0.22)	
He higher education	1.358 (0.52)		0.537 (0.24)		1.192 (0.25)	
Same age (ref)						
She older	0.880 (0.49)		0.923 (0.62)		0.925 (0.29)	
He older	0.360* (0.19)	-0.037 (0.02)	1.419 (0.82)		0.747 (0.22)	
Same employment status (ref)						
He full-time,she part/not work	1.592 (0.50)		1.098 (0.52)	-0.001 (0.01)	1.155 (0.19)	
She full-time,he part/not work	0.797 (0.47)		2.509 (2.66)		1.550 (0.42)	
She part-time,he not work	1.652 (1.12)		1.829 (3.30)		1.074 (0.42)	-0.014 (0.07)
He part-time,she not work	2.555 (2.03)		4.456 (3.42)		2.488* (1.15)	0.109 (0.07)
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)						
She more friends	1.353 (0.37)		1.070 (0.35)		0.827 (0.13)	
He more friends	0.636 (0.23)		0.609 (0.27)		1.004 (0.17)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)						
She more cultural activities	1.339 (0.44)		1.182 (0.45)		0.861 (0.16)	
He more cultural activities	0.734 (0.26)		0.542 (0.19)		0.754 (0.13)	
His share of housework	0.971** (0.01)	-0.001* (0.00)	0.989 (0.01)		0.986** (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)
His share of child care	0.990 (0.01)		1.018 (0.01)		1.002 (0.00)	
Same commitment (ref)						
She more committed	0.562 (0.24)		0.589 (0.24)		0.936 (0.20)	0.016 (0.03)
He more committed	0.847 (0.38)	0.005 (0.02)	0.452 (0.23)		0.717 (0.21)	
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.24					
N	2394					

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Controls not presented; Female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 10: Control over the income in her response

Control over income – His response						
ref(Separate)	He		She		Pooled	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	0.966** (0.01)		1.004 (0.01)		0.995 (0.00)	
Household income	1.000 (0.00)		0.999*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	0.999*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)						
She higher education	0.825 (0.34)		1.646 (0.58)		1.078 (0.22)	
He higher education	0.669 (0.30)		1.258 (0.46)		1.178 (0.24)	
Same age (ref)						
She older	0.958 (0.67)	0.001 (0.02)	1.002 (0.50)		0.907 (0.29)	
He older	1.001 (0.56)		0.340* (0.16)		0.764 (0.22)	
Same employment status (ref)						
He full-time,she part/not work	1.232 (0.67)		1.531 (0.49)		1.110 (0.19)	
She full-time,he part/not work	0.000*** (0.00)		0.917 (0.46)		1.143 (0.32)	0.251*** (0.06)
She part-time,he not work	2.065 (3.36)		1.040 (0.70)		0.814 (0.34)	
He part-time,she not work	4.658 (3.90)		2.183 (1.78)		2.656* (1.24)	0.129 (0.07)
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)						
She more friends	0.960 (0.33)	0.000 (0.01)	1.277 (0.34)		0.900 (0.15)	
He more friends	0.564 (0.25)		0.819 (0.26)		0.948 (0.16)	0.007 (0.03)
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)						
She more cultural activities	1.829 (0.65)	0.020* (0.01)	1.220 (0.40)		0.841 (0.16)	
He more cultural activities	0.806 (0.30)		0.862 (0.27)	0.001 (0.01)	0.789 (0.14)	
His share of housework	0.992 (0.02)	0.000 (0.00)	0.975** (0.01)	-0.001* (0.00)	0.989* (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)
His share of child care	1.023* (0.01)		0.982 (0.01)	-0.001* (0.00)	1.000 (0.01)	
Same commitment (ref)						
She more committed	0.383* (0.16)	-0.024* (0.01)	0.895 (0.31)	0.002 (0.02)	0.844 (0.18)	
He more committed	0.290* (0.18)	-0.025 (0.02)	0.546 (0.26)		0.601 (0.18)	
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.21					
N	2394					

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Controls not presented; Male respondents; **p* < 0.05, ***p* < 0.01, ****p* < 0.001; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 11: Control over the income in his perception

ref(Both)	Decision-making – Her response			
	She		He	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	1.020*		0.986	-0.001*
	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.00)
Household income	0.999		1.000	0.000*
	(0.00)		(0.00)	(0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	1.152		0.694	
	(0.43)		(0.24)	
He higher education	1.247		1.606	
	(0.48)		(0.53)	
Same age (ref)				
She older	2.222		0.636	
	(1.78)		(0.35)	
He older	2.293		0.751	
	(1.65)		(0.31)	
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	2.189*	0.030	1.189	-0.003
	(0.85)	(0.02)	(0.44)	(0.02)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.279		0.785	
	(0.22)		(0.57)	
She part-time,he not work	0.612		0.662	
	(0.50)		(0.80)	
He part-time,she not work	4.572		1.026	-0.020
	(3.66)		(0.85)	(0.04)
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.829		0.951	0.006
	(0.26)		(0.28)	(0.02)
He more friends	0.688		1.323	
	(0.27)		(0.45)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	1.255		0.654	
	(0.43)		(0.25)	
He more cultural activities	2.152*	0.047**	0.331*	
	(0.66)	(0.01)	(0.15)	
His share of housework	0.986		0.992	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
His share of child care	0.995		1.002	-0.000
	(0.01)		(0.01)	(0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.815		0.456	
	(0.41)		(0.19)	
He more committed	2.367*	0.035	0.971	
	(0.97)	(0.02)	(0.54)	
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.21			
N	1579			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Controls not presented; Female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 12: Decision-making in her perception

ref(Both)	Decision-making – His response			
	He		She	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	0.984 (0.01)	-0.002** (0.00)	1.022* (0.01)	
Household income	1.000** (0.00)		0.999 (0.00)	
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.733 (0.24)		1.421 (0.52)	
He higher education	1.356 (0.45)		1.015 (0.40)	
Same age (ref)				
She older	1.387 (0.72)		1.443 (1.07)	
He older	0.903 (0.41)	0.009 (0.03)	1.649 (0.99)	
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	1.156 (0.42)	-0.009 (0.02)	2.226* (0.91)	
She full-time,he part/not work	0.927 (0.70)		0.621 (0.35)	
She part-time,he not work	10.212*** (6.72)		0.633 (0.58)	
He part-time,she not work	1.010 (0.97)	-0.047 (0.05)	4.852 (3.97)	
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.897 (0.28)	0.010 (0.02)	0.709 (0.24)	
He more friends	0.983 (0.35)	0.013 (0.02)	0.456 (0.21)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	1.322 (0.39)		1.533 (0.54)	
He more cultural activities	0.894 (0.32)	0.000 (0.02)	2.301** (0.71)	
His share of housework	0.981* (0.01)		0.998 (0.01)	
His share of child care	1.001 (0.017)	-0.000 (0.00)	1.002 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	1.107 (0.35)		1.186 (0.45)	
He more committed	1.217 (0.57)		2.818* (1.17)	
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.23			
N	1579			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Controls not presented; Male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 13: Decision-making in his perception

7.2.1 Money matters

In both partners' perceptions, a higher relative income is related to power for control over the income and decision-making. Note that the RRR and AME are significant for the male partner's control over the income and her decision-making. The AME are also significant for his decision-making in both samples. Hence, compared to the separate system, her higher income has a negative effect on his control, whereas her higher income is positively related to her decision-making and negatively related to his decision-making.

Figure 14 and 15 show the predicted probabilities for her share of income and control over the income and decision-making. The results are similar for the male and the female respondents. If she has a very low income, the predicted probabilities are slightly higher for his control and lower for her control. With an increase in her relative income, the probabilities are higher for her control and lower for his control.

The positive relation between her power and her higher income and the negative relation between his power and her higher income can also be observed for decision-making. Here, the predicted probabilities differ for the female and the male partners' power. If she earns less, the probability that the partners perceive his decision-making is higher, and the probability that they perceive her decision-making is lower. This relation is reversed if she has between 30% and 40% of the total income. If she earns a higher income, the probability that the partners perceive her as the decision-maker is higher and the probability that they perceive him as decision-making is lower. Cooperation – both partners deciding together – barely changes with an increase of her relative income.

The relation between income and control over the income and decision-making is in agreement with rational choice theories: it is more likely that the person with the higher income controls the finances than that the separate system is used. This is also supported by the other nonsignificant effects for the ratio of partners' incomes.

For the joint pool, only the RRR are significant in both samples. They support the descriptive findings. The chance of the separate system – noncooperation – is significantly higher than the joint pool – cooperation – if she earns more. In figure 14 and 15, we see that the predicted probabilities are lower for cooperation and higher for noncooperation with an increase in her relative income. Cooperation is more probable if he earns more, while noncooperation is more probable if she earns more. Note, however, that the AME are not significant.

These findings are in line with the descriptive results, which showed that couples often cooperate in the case of unconventional asymmetries (see Chapter 7.1). Cooperation seems to be associated with a rather conventional or traditional arrangement where the female partner earns less. Noncooperation, in contrast, is associated with a rather unconventional asymmetry where she earns more. This finding indicates that the idea of the male breadwinner still prevails. If the male partner earns a higher income, his money is perceived as family income and

pooled in the household. If the female partner is the breadwinner, however, it is more likely that the incomes are separated.

One could argue that the pooling of incomes, which we have termed cooperation, implies more equality than the separate system. Especially if one partner earns less and the incomes are pooled, the unequal allocation of earnings is compensated for. However, as discussed above, the pooled system is a bit of a black box. For instance, we have no way of telling whether the partners pool the entire income or whether one or both partners set aside a part of his or her own incomes as personal spending money – this information is not provided. Hence, one should be cautious to evaluate this finding as evidence that cooperation is more equal than noncooperation. Further research will have to gather more information on the way couples manage their earnings.

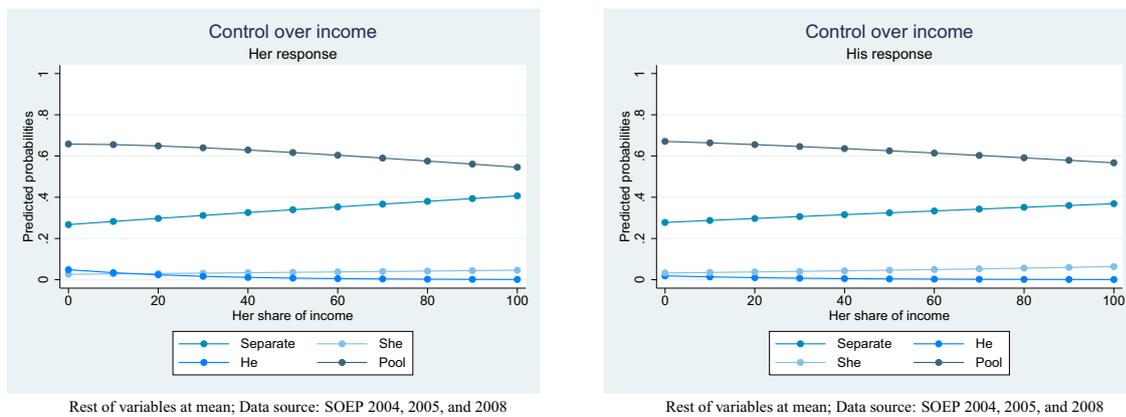


Figure 14: Control over the income and her share of income

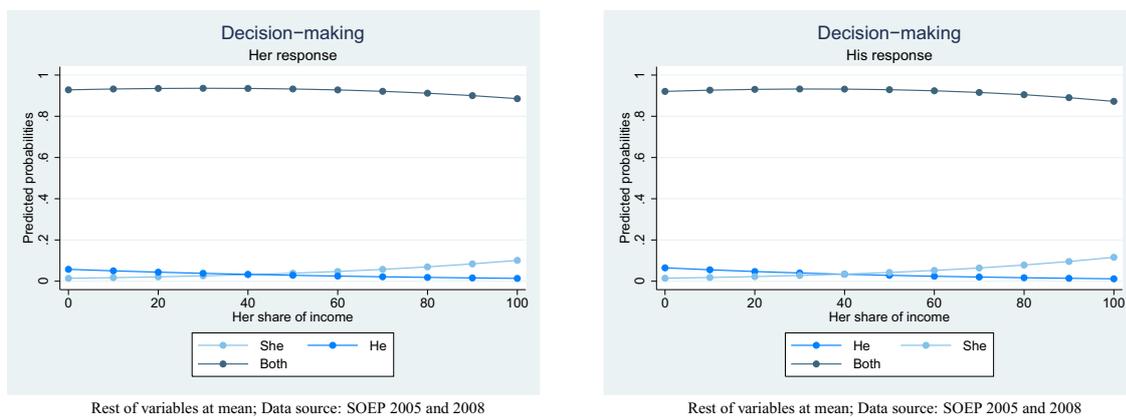


Figure 15: Decision-making and her share of income

A similar relation between cooperation and noncooperation is observable regarding the couples' household incomes. When the household income increases the chance of couples cooperating and pooling their incomes is significantly lower than the chance of noncooperation. The predicted probabilities support the above interpretation. Figure 16 and 17 nicely show that the probabilities of cooperation and noncooperation are actually reversed with an increase of household income. In households with a rather low income, the probability of cooperation is much higher than the probability of noncooperation. In households with a higher income, the opposite is the case: the probability of noncooperation is much higher than that of cooperation. Note that the AME are not significant.

It is a difference between the male and the female respondents that the point where the relation between cooperation and noncooperation is reversed is at a slightly lower amount of money in the female sample than in the male sample. Thus, female partners seem to perceive the reverse of cooperation and noncooperation "earlier" than male partners. Furthermore, the gap between cooperation and noncooperation is wider in the female than in the male sample. Male partners seem to be less sensitive to the issue of cooperation and noncooperation. One reason for this could be that male partners perceive income as family income rather than individual income. Hence, they are more likely to perceive cooperation than their partners.

Furthermore, the results confirm Pahl's study (1983). Pahl found that women have a power disadvantage in higher-income households. Indeed, the multinomial logistic regression models show that the chance of her control is lower when the household income increases.³⁹ The effects are significant. Figure 16 shows that the probability of her control is higher than that of his control in lower-income households. The probability of her control decreases with an increase of household income. In higher-income households, the probabilities of her and his control are both very low, but the probability of his control is slightly higher than that of her control.

A higher household income, in contrast, is positively related to his decision-making. Whereas the probabilities that partners perceive her or his decision-making are both very low in lower-income households, the probability that they perceive his decision-making is higher with a higher household income (Figure 17). The probability of her decision-making, in contrast, is equal to zero in higher-income households.

In addition, we observe that the male partners in the higher-income households are even more likely to perceive their control and decision-making. For the male respondents, both the AME and the RRR are significant. Thus, male partners are more likely to perceive themselves as decision-makers in higher-income households. The probability of his financial power outcomes in higher-income households is higher in the male than in the female sample. Not only

³⁹Since according to the theoretical background household income is more important for control over the income than for decision-making, an interaction term for her relative income and household income was introduced in the model for control over the income. Neither the t-value nor the LR test for the interaction term were significant.

are men more likely to decide in higher-income households, it is also more probable that they perceive their decision-making more strongly than their partner.

These results indicate that there are gender differences regarding control over the income and decision-making and the household budget, which has to be controlled and decided upon. Although the models also show, in accordance with rational choice theory, that the ratio of the partners' incomes has an effect on control, rational choice cannot explain the association between household income and control over the income. As discussed in the previous chapter, women have a greater share of income in the highest income group and a lower share of income in the lowest income group. According to rational choice theory, we would expect that she is more likely to control in the highest group and less likely to control in the lowest income group. However, other mechanisms are at work in this case. The gender theory explanation is that gender as a social institution frames partners' interaction and (re)produces inequalities between male and female partners. Since women are assigned a disadvantaged social position by society, female partners have less financial power if the budget allows a larger degree of freedom for control and decisions.

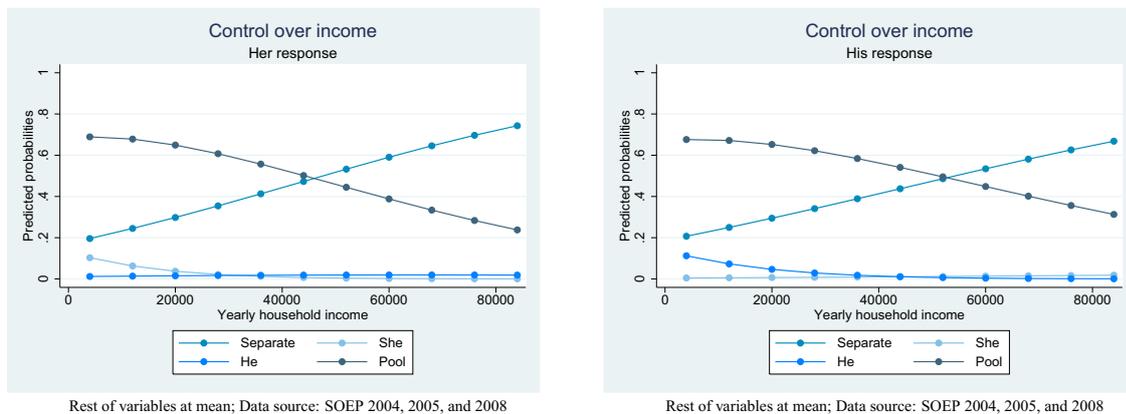


Figure 16: Control over the income and household income

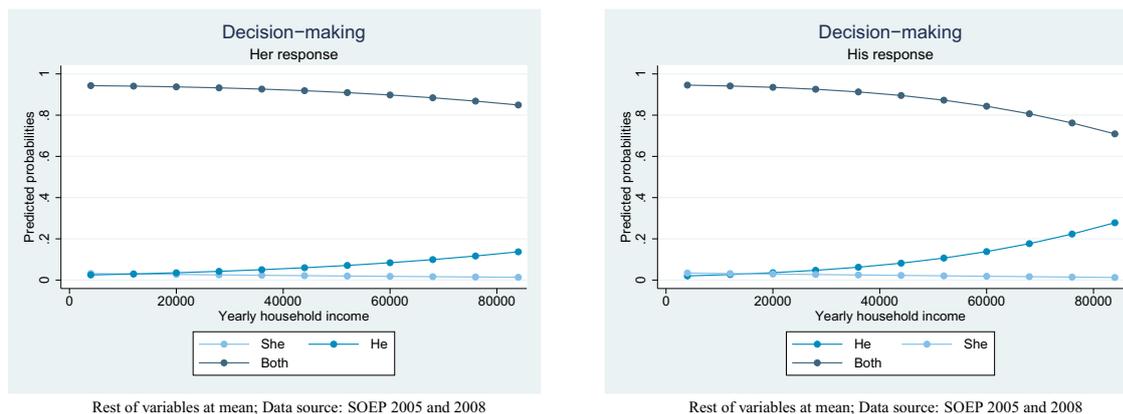


Figure 17: Decision-making and household income

7.2.2 Education and age matter – but predominantly in male partners' perception

In addition to relative income, age and ratio of education are also related to the power outcomes – however, they are significantly related only for relative age. The chance of him perceiving her control is lower if he is older. The RRR and AME are significant. However, the predicted values for control over the income show that the probabilities of her or his control do not differ for couples where either he or she is older (Table 14). If he is older, the probability that she controls money is still higher than the probability of his control. Thus, even though the effect is rather marginal, male partners seem to be more sensitive to the partners' age ratio and her control over the income.

The results for relative education are not significant. They will be presented nevertheless because the coefficients show a clear pattern for the male partners' decision-making. The chance that both partners perceive his decision-making is lower if she has a higher level of education, and higher if she has a lower level of education. This finding supports the results of the descriptive analysis (see Chapter 7.1.3). The probabilities for decision-making show that it is predominantly her higher level of education that matters for financial power (Table 14).

The findings for relative age and education are in line with rational choice theoretical assumptions. However, the association between age and education and the financial power outcomes is weak because most of the effects are not significant. Although his higher age has a significant effect, this effect is marginal. Nevertheless, the results indicate that especially male partners seem to be more concerned about the relation between the partners' relative age and financial power outcomes.

Predicted probabilities	Age ratio	
	She older	He older
<i>Female respondents</i>		
Her control	3%	3%
His control	2%	2 %
Pooled	63%	63%
Separate	33%	33%
<i>Male respondents</i>		
Her control	4%	3%
His control	1%	1%
Pooled	63%	63%
Separate	32%	33%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 14: Predicted values for control over the income and age ratio

Predicted values	Education ratio	
	She higher	He higher
<i>Female respondents</i>		
She decides	3%	3%
He decides	3%	5%
Both	95%	92%
<i>Male respondents</i>		
She decides	4%	3%
He decides	3%	5%
Both	93%	92%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 15: Predicted values for decision-making and education ratio

7.2.3 Having a lower employment status: A power advantage for female partners?

Two arrangements are most common in couples: either the arrangement where both partners have the same employment status or the traditional arrangement where the man is employed full-time while the woman is employed part-time or not working. For the analysis of the partners' relative employment statuses this means that the number of observations is relatively low for the other arrangements, for example if it is the woman who is employed full-time, and he works part-time or does not work at all. Only a small number of the arrangements of the partners' relative employment statuses are significant.⁴⁰

Predicted values	Employment status ratio			
	He full	She full	She part	He part
<i>Female respondents</i>				
Her control	4%	3%	5%	4%
His control	2%	3%	3%	3%
Pooled	65%	72%	63%	77%
Separate	30%	24%	29%	16%
<i>Male respondents</i>				
Her control	5%	3%	5%	4%
His control	1%	0%	2%	2%
Pooled	65%	68%	58%	80%
Separate	30%	29%	34%	15%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 16: Predicted values for control over the income and relative employment status

There is a positive relation between cooperation and the arrangement where he is employed part-time. Only the RRR are significant in both samples. If the male partner has a higher employment status but both partners have rather precarious positions, the chance of cooperation is significantly higher than that of noncooperation – compared to the couples with identical employment statuses. This is also supported by the predicted probabilities (Table 16). The probability of the pooled system is highest if he is employed part-time and his partner is not working. Note, however, that the AME are not significant. Furthermore, the arrangement where she is employed full-time and he has a part-time position

⁴⁰The RRR and marginal effects are highly significant and the effect size is zero for his control in the male sample if she is employed full-time. No cases were observed in this category. Another significant effect is observable in the male sample for her part-time employment and his decision-making. The RRR and marginal effects are highly significant and the effect size is rather big (10.21). The predicted probabilities are also surprisingly high. Note, however, that the number of observations in this category is extremely low. Only four men who were unemployed with a partner working part-time stated that they had decision-making power. The DFbetas for all of the observations are high. Hence, the interpretation of this effect will be disregarded.

or is unemployed is also positively associated with cooperation. In addition to his part-time employment, the predicted probabilities are also highest for her full-time employment. The AME are only significant in the male sample. The male partners in particular perceive cooperation if the employment statuses of the partners are unconventional.

These findings indicate that cooperation is likely if she has a full-time position and her partner has a lower status, or if he is employed part-time and she is unemployed. Thus, cooperation is related not only to conventional, but also to unconventional asymmetries regarding relative employment status. This is in line with the descriptive findings that partners compensate for high asymmetries in relative earnings by cooperation – if both the male and the female partner have a very low income.

Predicted values	Employment status ratio			
	He full	She full	She part	He part
<i>Female respondents</i>				
She decides	4%	1%	2%	11%
He decides	4%	3%	3%	4%
Both decide	92%	96%	95%	86%
<i>Male respondents</i>				
She decides	4%	2%	2%	12%
He decides	4%	4%	28%	4%
Both decide	92%	95%	70%	84%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 17: Predicted values for decision-making and relative employment status

Interestingly, a lower employment status is associated with her decision-making, while a higher employment status is a power disadvantage – significantly so for female partners. The arrangement where he is employed full-time and she is working part-time or unemployed is associated with the perception of her financial decision-making. The RRR are significant for the male and the female respondents, but the AME are only significant for the male respondents. The number of observations is not as low as in the other categories: in the female sample, 46 women are said to have decision-making power if their partners are employed full-time. In the male sample, the number of observations is 40. Only eight observations in the female sample and nine observations in the male sample have high DFbetas (Figure 18). Thus, the effects are less biased by outliers.

The predicted values indeed indicate that the partner with a higher status – either the male or the female partner – is generally less likely to be perceived as the decision-maker (Table 17). Whereas the probabilities of his or her control do not differ in couples where he is employed full-time, gaps between the probabilities of her or his control exist predominantly in couples

where both have precarious positions.⁴¹ Note that only the effect for her decision-making if he is employed full-time is significant. Thus, a lower employment status is a power advantage primarily for female partners. Since not only the RRR but also the AME are significant in the male sample, male partners seem to be particularly concerned with their relative employment status and her decision-making.



Figure 18: DFbetas for her decision-making and his full-time employment

Thus, a lower employment status is related to financial power – especially for female partners. While doing gender theory is able to explain the high probability of his financial power if he has a lower employment status (coping with the violation of his gender identity), the positive relation between her low status and her power cannot be measured by this approach. Hence, other mechanisms must underlie the relation between employment and power.

When we established employment status as power base, we assumed that a higher employment status would imply both a higher social status and access to social networks. Hence, within a framework grounded in rational choice theory we expected that a higher status would be positively related to power. One explanation for the finding above could be that employment status is not a power base in the first place. Work in the labor market would then be a burden rather than empowering. Having a higher work load outside the household reduces the influence in the household. But if this was the case, we would expect a similar relation between employment status and decision-making for male partners. However, the effects are only significant for the power of the female partners.

A second explanation could be that a compensation mechanism is at work. If one partner is less active in the labor market and therefore has a lower social status and less access to social networks, the partners compensate for this disadvantage by giving this person more power in the household. Note, however, that the effects are primarily significant for the partners' perceptions of women's financial decision-making. In line with the explanation above, a lower employment status would then be compensated more for women than for men.

A possibly more realistic explanation of the finding could be that a traditional separation of spheres emerges if the patterns of the partners' employments are rather traditional – especially if he works full-time. He earns the main income in the labor market while she earns only a

⁴¹The high probability of 28% of his decision-making if she is working part-time and he is unemployed could be due to the low number of observations in this category.

“second” income and/or is predominantly responsible for the household. In these separate spheres, financial decision-making would then be part of the household sphere.

Furthermore, cooperation is more likely either if she is employed full-time and her partner has a lower status or if he is employed part-time or not working. Similarly to the asymmetries in relative earnings, partners contain asymmetries in relative employment status through cooperation. Interestingly, the male partners seem to be more sensitive to relative employment status and financial power. This could be observed for both the positive relation to cooperation and to her decision-making. Thus, similarly to relative age, relative status seems to matter more for men’s perception of financial power.

But note that the results and the interpretation above should be considered with caution because the number of observations is often very low. Since outliers bias some effects and since the bias is often related to unobserved heterogeneity, the hybrid model might account for this problem. Hence, the analysis in Chapter 12 will be interesting in order to investigate in more depth the relation between relative employment status and the financial power outcomes.

7.2.4 Commitment: a question of equality

The results for partners’ commitment to the relationship and control over the income can be summarized very simply: it is not a question of who is more or less committed, but rather a question of how equal the partners’ levels of commitment to the relationship are. The chance of his control is lower than that of noncooperation if the partners are committed unequally. Note that predominantly the RRR are significant for his control. However, even though the effects are not significant, they indicate that noncooperation is generally more likely than her control, his control, or cooperation if the partners’ levels of commitment differ. Thus, noncooperation is associated with partners’ unequal levels of commitment to the relationship. This is a power disadvantage for the male partners in particular.

Regarding decision-making, the chance that she decides is significantly higher if he is more committed to the relationship. Both the RRR and the AME are only significant for the male respondents. Thus, the male partners in particular perceive her decision-making power if they are more committed to the relationship.

Hence, the principle of least interest is supported for female partners’ decision-making. Women’s financial power is perceived to be positively associated with their partners’ higher emotional commitment to the relationship. For control over the income, in contrast, the question of the equality of partners’ levels of commitment is more crucial.

7.2.5 The division of labor and financial power: doing gender in couples

Gender arrangements such as the division of housework and child care are also related to financial power within the couples. The more the male partner works in the household, the higher the chance of noncooperation regarding control over the income. Note that only the

RRR are significant. The predicted probabilities for control over the income support the above findings. The division of housework mainly affects the ratio of cooperation and noncooperation. If he has a higher share of housework the probabilities of cooperation and noncooperation are reversed (Figure 19). This finding is in line with the previous results. Noncooperation – the separate system – is related to progressive gender arrangements. Similarly to the relation with household income, the gap between cooperation and noncooperation is wider in the female than in the male sample if he assumes all housework. Moreover, the female partners perceive the start of the reverse of cooperation and noncooperation “earlier”: as soon as he has a share of around 80 percent. Again, women seem to be more concerned about matters of cooperation and noncooperation than their partners.

Interestingly, a greater share of housework is related to control differently for men and women. Both partners perceive his higher share of housework to be negatively associated with her control. The RRR and AME are both significant. Her greater share of housework is a power advantage for women. The probability that she controls is higher if he has a very low share of housework. It is less probable that she controls if he has a greater share of housework. In contrast, his higher share of housework is not related to a higher probability of his control.

His greater share of housework is negatively associated with exclusive decision-making. The effects are significant for his decision-making only in the male sample. Men are less likely to perceive themselves as the decision-makers if they have a greater share of housework. Thus, while the division of housework matters predominantly for noncooperation and her control, more housework is a power disadvantage for decision-making. Since the predicted probabilities for decision-making do not vary with his share of housework and child care, the conditional effect plots will not be presented. Thus, the division of labor mainly has an effect on control over the income.

In contrast to housework, child care is a power advantage for male partners. If he has a greater share of child care, the chance that he controls the money is higher than that of noncooperation. This is also shown by the predicted probabilities (Figure 20). The probability of his control is slightly higher if he has a greater share of child care. In contrast, the chance that she controls money is lower if he cares for the children. Interestingly, the effects are only significant in the male sample. Both the RRR and the AME are significant for his control, while only the AME are significant for her control. If they take over a greater share of child care, most of the men perceive her power disadvantage and their own power advantage. Similarly to the division of housework, his greater share of housework and child care reduces the likelihood of the female partners’ control over the income.

These findings can be interpreted as an affirmation of doing gender theory: since the male partner assumes a greater share of child care, he is more and she less likely to control money. Partners allocate financial power in order to restore their gender identities. Male partners in particular perceive her power disadvantage in the case of an unconventional division of child care. Her power disadvantage if he assumes a greater share of housework can be interpreted

in the same sense: since he does more housework, she gives up financial power. Thus, male partners perceive themselves to be more powerful if they assume a greater share of labor. At the same time, they are less likely to perceive their partner to be the decision-maker. This finding could indicate that it is predominantly the male partners who cope with the violation of their gender identities. Surprisingly, such a coping strategy is not observable for the division of housework.

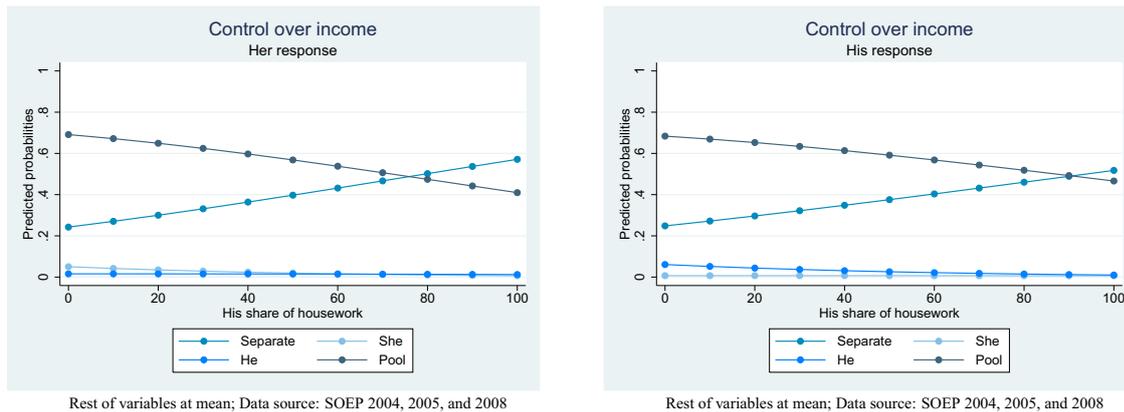


Figure 19: Control over the income and division of housework

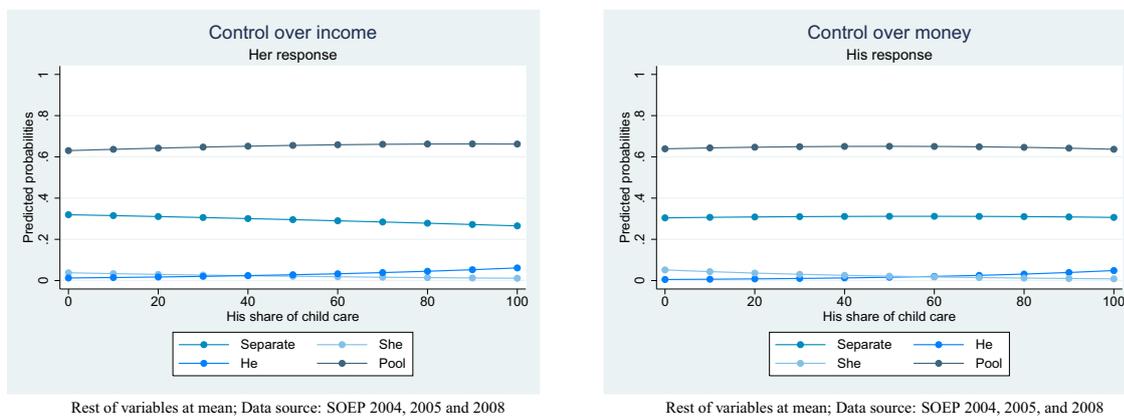


Figure 20: Control over the income and division of child care

The division of housework and child care is primarily associated with the men's perceptions of their power outcomes. While the male partners perceive a negative association between their share of housework and their decision-making power, they are less likely to perceive their partners to have control over the income if they take over a greater share of child care. At the same time, they perceive themselves as having control. Male partners seem to use financial power as a coping strategy if they take over a greater share of child care. In addition, both partners are also less likely to perceive her to be in control if he has a greater share of housework. These findings support doing gender theory. An unconventional division of labor is associated with male partners' financial power and with a power disadvantage for female partners.

Furthermore, the results also showed that an unconventional division of housework is associated with noncooperation. Women in particular seem to be more sensitive to the question of cooperation and noncooperation than men.

7.2.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter was the analysis of the association between the financial power bases and power outcomes. This was done through a descriptive analysis and multinomial logistic regression models, whose results were outlined and discussed in the preceding sections. In contrast to a descriptive analysis, regression models allow a control of the covariates, so that the relations between the explanatory and dependent variables can be explained more precisely.

According to rational choice theory, one partner's relative power bases provide power to this person. Resources are defined as the ratio of the partners' incomes, levels of education, ages, employment statuses, levels of commitment, and frequencies of meeting friends and engaging in cultural activities.

The main result of this analysis, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, is that money matters most for financial power. The partner with the higher income possesses financial power in the relationship. Other resources less related to power but also affirming rational choice theory are education and age. However, these power bases matter predominantly for male partners' perceptions of power. Her higher level of education is positively and his higher age is negatively related to power. Thus, Hypothesis 1.1 can be virtually confirmed for income and partly confirmed for education and age.

According to the principle of least interest, the partner who is less committed to the relationship has more power. However, for control over the income, the important question is not who is committed to a higher or a lower degree than the other but whether the partners are equally committed to the relationship. Noncooperation is likely if the partners differ in their commitment. Control is unlikely if their levels of commitment are different. In contrast, higher or lower levels of commitment do matter for decision-making. His greater commitment is a power advantage for her – predominantly in the perceptions of the male partners. Hypothesis

1.2 is confirmed for decision-making in the perceptions of the male partners but not for control over the income.

As regards the partners' employment statuses, the results were unexpected. Whereas we assumed that a higher status is positively related to financial power, the predicted probabilities indicate that the partner with the lower status has a power advantage. The effects are predominantly significant for the female partners' decision-making. Three explanations for this finding were proposed. First, a higher employment status is not a power base but a time-consuming burden which reduces influence in the household. Second, partners compensate for the lower employment status of one partner by giving him or her more power in the household. Third, in couples with conventional arrangements separate spheres emerge, especially if he is employed full-time and she works part-time or is unemployed. He works in the labor market, while her sphere is the household. The hybrid models in Chapter 12 will give further insights into the association between relative employment status and the financial power outcomes. Regarding partners' employment statuses, Hypothesis 2.1 cannot be confirmed. Power bases are not stronger related to power outcomes for men than for women.

Household income is also related to the financial power outcomes. This study affirms the findings of Pahl (1983) and Lott (2009), confirming Hypotheses 3.1 and 3.2. In lower-income households, it is more probable that the female partner is responsible for money management. In higher-income households, in contrast, men are likely to have financial power regarding control and decision-making.

Regarding control over the income, it is predominantly the division of housework that matters for cooperation and noncooperation. With an increase of his share of housework, the probabilities of cooperation are lower and those for noncooperation are higher. Again, female partners seem to be more sensitive to the question of cooperation and noncooperation.

Gender is done primarily with regard to the division of child care. Men compensate for the violation of the partners' gender identities in the case of an unconventional division of child care. In couples where he has a greater share of child care, he is more likely to perceive himself as having power. Surprisingly, male partners do not cope with the violation of their gender identity if they assume more housework. They are less likely to have financial power, especially decision-making power, if they assume more housework. However, less housework and child care are a power disadvantage for women. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is confirmed in part. An unconventional asymmetry of labor, especially of child care, is associated with male partners' financial power, while less housework and child care is a power disadvantage for female partners.

Doing gender can be observed for child care but not for housework. One explanation for this finding might be that housework encompasses various tasks which belong to the "female" sphere of the household (e.g. cooking and cleaning) or to the "male" or "neutral" sphere of the household (e.g. work in the cellar, garage, or garden). If the male partner predominantly assumes tasks in this latter sphere, he might not feel his gender identity to be violated. Child

care, in contrast, traditionally is part of women's work and thus a violation for the partners' identities if he assumes most of the child care. In future research, information on specific household tasks should be taken into account in order to cover the different *meanings* of housework.

Finally, the results indicate that unconventional asymmetries, e.g. regarding the division of housework and the allocation of earnings, are associated more often with the separate system than with the joint pool. Furthermore, a higher household income is related to noncooperation. This finding supports the descriptive results and their interpretation, according to which the separate system is more likely to be used in couples with a progressive than with a traditional gender ideology. However, similarly to a large gap between the income of the partners, asymmetries in their relative employment statuses are contained by the partners through cooperation.

With regard to response behavior, it is hard to find a general pattern. Only two remarks can be made. When we compare the perceptions of male and female partners, it emerges that female partners are more sensitive to questions of cooperation versus noncooperation – especially in couples with unconventional asymmetries. Male partners, in contrast, are more sensitive to the allocation of power bases regarding age, employment status, and commitment. Furthermore, the division of child care and household income seem to be more important for financial power from men's perspectives. Hence, while the question of whether or not couples cooperate is more important for female partners than for male partners, male partners are more concerned with relative resources and household income. This finding suggests a rather stereotypical understanding of gender role models: she cares about cooperation and he cares about the allocation of potential power. However, the above results indeed point in that direction. In the future, research will have to investigate in more depth partners' perceptions of power. This study makes a first step by analyzing only those couples where the partners' perceptions of their power allocation are identical (see Chapter 10). Will the findings of the heckit model, which will be estimated for this purpose, differ from the results above? However, before this follow-up question will be answered, two other questions have to be tackled first. In the multinomial logistic regression models, the power outcomes were analyzed separately. Since both of them deal with money, it is very likely that they are interrelated. The person who is in charge of controlling the money could also be in charge of financial decision-making, and vice versa. The relation between control over the income and decision-making will be explored in more depth in Chapter 9. Another follow-up question concerns the relation between division of labor and the power outcomes. One could argue that financial decision-making, but especially control over the income, are gender arrangements, like the division of housework and child care. Hence, theoretically, the direction of the relation is not clear. Whereas rational choice theories state clearly that power bases affect power outcomes, gender theory does not allow such an unidirectional assumption. Thus, the relationship between power and division of labor has to be analyzed further. Since it is possible that the power outcomes are interre-

lated with other gender arrangements, biprobit models will be estimated to test the correlation of the error terms of the models for the division of labor with those for financial power. The results will be presented in the following chapter.

8 The division of labor and financial power – interrelated?

In the analysis above, the division of labor – his share of child care and housework – was used as explanatory variables. The multinomial logistic regression models for control and decision-making led to the following conclusions: first, a non-traditional division of housework is related to noncooperation rather than cooperation. Second, if he has a greater share of child care, he is more likely and his partner is less likely to control the income – in his perception. Furthermore, in the case of an unconventional division of housework, she is less likely to have control. These findings were interpreted with doing gender theory. In couples with unconventional asymmetries, the partners cope with the violation of their gender identities. Third, and contradicting the previous interpretation, his greater share of housework is negatively associated with his power, especially his decision-making.

But, as mentioned above, housework and child care can be endogenous variables for control and decision-making. Control over the income and decision-making can be defined as household arrangements interrelated with the division of household labor. This might be especially true for control over the income, which can be considered as another household arrangement in addition to the division of child care and housework. One could also criticize that the problem of endogeneity is present for every explanatory variable in the models. A person might have a higher income or a higher employment status because he or she has more power and is thus able to obtain more resources through bargaining processes. However, exchange and resource theory, which are the theoretical background of this thesis, clearly assume that resources and alternative social relations determine power within interactions. This assumption is already relaxed in so far as the association between the power bases and outcomes is tested rather than causal relations. However, the theories clearly state the direction of the effect and define the power bases primarily as exogenous variables. Thus, since the hypotheses are drawn from these theories, resources and alternative social relations are considered as explanatory variables.

The division of labor, however, mainly concerns gender theory assumptions. According to doing gender theory in particular, the relation between labor and power is not clear-cut. We assume that partners do their genders in accordance with their gender identities. If these identities are violated in one dimension of a couple's arrangements, they cope with the violation by "over"doing their genders in another dimension. So far, we have assumed that male partners are even more likely to be power holders if their share of housework and child care does not correspond to their male gender identity (men "help out" in the household rather than assuming a greater share of labor). We have seen a mechanism of this kind with regard to

control over the income and child care. Unlike rational choice theory, gender theory does not define an unidirectional causal relation.

<i>Female respondents</i>	Bivariate probit models	
	Housework rho/ prob > chi ²	Child care rho/ prob > chi ²
Control over income		
She	-.100/ 0.26	-.089/ 0.36
He	-.051/ 0.61	.029/ 0.79
Pool	-.038/ 0.41	-.029/ 0.58
Decision-making		
She	.029/ 0.70	-.006/ 0.94
He	.061/ 0.36	.024/ 0.77
Both	-.036/ 0.52	-.014/ 0.82

Note: Bivariate probit models; Wald test of rho=0; Unweighted; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 18: Bivariate probit models for female respondents

Thus, we have reason to assume that power and division of housework are interrelated. The possible correlation between the power outcomes and division of labor will be tested by estimating bivariate probit models. The bivariate probit model is a multiequation model. One power outcome, e.g. her control, is defined as the dependent variable of the first equation, and division of labor, e.g. a non-traditional division of housework, is defined as the dependent variable of the second equation. The explanatory variables are the same in both equations. The simultaneous estimation of both models allows the correlation of the error terms of both equations. The Wald test is used to test the hypothesis whether the equations are independent. Since bivariate probit models can only be estimated for dummy variables, 24 models were estimated: six for control over the income and six for decision-making for men and women separately. The reference category was fixed in all of the models. The division of housework and child care were coded with 0 = ‘traditional division’ and 1 = ‘non-traditional division’. The division of labor is defined as traditional if he takes up to 25% of the total housework or child care. The division is non-traditional if his share is greater than 25% of the housework or child care. Due to the great number of regression models, the results are presented only in the Appendix (Tables A.33-A.44). A detailed presentation is not necessary since the main finding can be summarized very simply: the Wald test of all of the models shows that the correlation coefficient is not significantly different from zero. This means that the equations are independent (Tables 18 and 19). The error terms, i.e. the unobserved heterogeneity of the power outcomes and of the division of labor, are not correlated under the control of the chosen covariates. Hence, the bivariate probit models indicate that division of labor and financial power can be analyzed separately. It is thus admissible to integrate division of labor as an explanatory variable for the power outcomes. Since the main purpose of this chapter was the

analysis of the interrelation between power and labor, the coefficients of the models will not be discussed. However, three remarks should be made regarding the division of labor. Note that only significant effects are taken into account.

<i>Male respondents</i>	Bivariate probit models	
	Housework rho/ prob > chi ²	Child care rho/ prob > chi ²
Control over income		
She	-.085/ 0.30	-.147/ 0.12
He	-.156/ 0.11	.149/ 0.21
Pool	-.002/ 0.97	-.043/ 0.42
Decision-making		
She	.041/ 0.58	-.006/ 0.94
He	-.016/ 0.81	.021/ 0.79
Both	-.004/ 0.94	-.034/ 0.59

Note: Bivariate probit models; Wald test of rho=0; Unweighted; Male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 19: Bivariate probit models for male respondents

The coefficients which have a significant effect on the power outcomes show that a non-traditional division of labor is related to unconventional asymmetries in the distribution of the power bases. The chance of a non-traditional division of housework is higher if she has a higher income (Tables A.5, A.6, A.9, and A.10). Interestingly, this can be observed for housework more than child care.

Furthermore, the chance of a non-traditional division of housework is lower if he is employed full-time and she working part-time or not working at all (Tables A.5, A.6, A.9, A.13 and A.14). The chance of a non-traditional division of child care is higher if she is employed full-time and he has a lower employment status (Table A.7). Hence, in couples where the male partner has a higher employment status, a traditional division of labor is likely. Her full-time employment is related to a non-traditional allocation of household labor. However, one exception needs to be mentioned here: if she has a part-time position and he is unemployed, the chance that he assumes a greater share of child care is lower (Tables A.8, A.12 and A.16). Again, this finding could be interpreted as a coping strategy: if he does not fulfill his role as the breadwinner because he is unemployed, he reduces his share of child care. Interestingly, doing gender happens predominantly regarding child care. Coping strategies cannot be observed for housework.

Another interesting finding is that the chance of a non-traditional division of child care is lower if she is more committed to the relationship (Tables A.8 and A.12). If she is more committed to the relationship than her partner, there is a higher chance that she has a greater share of child care. One explanation for this finding could be that her “overcommitment” to the relation also translates into a higher level of caring for other family members. Her emotional investment is

thus not limited only to the relation with her partner, but includes her children as well. To sum up, the analysis shows that it is not problematic to model the relation between division of labor and power outcomes as was done in the multinomial logistic regression models. Labor and power are not interrelated, which means that the coefficients are not distorted by an endogeneity bias. This is confirmed in the bivariate probit models. The following chapter will investigate in more detail another interrelation : the interrelation between control over the income and decision-making. This will be done in two steps. First, the power outcome of one model will be introduced into the other model as an explanatory variable, and vice versa. Second, bivariate probit models will test the correlation between both outcomes. In addition, in the case of a correlation between the error terms, the bivariate probit model allows a comparison of the effects of the power bases between the power outcomes. Are the power bases related to a larger extent to control over the income or to decision-making? This question will be answered in the following sections.

9 The relation between control and decisions

9.1 Do they go together?

In the previous chapters, we have seen what power bases are associated with financial power outcomes within couples. Power outcomes are measured with control over the income and financial decision-making. Both of these power indicators are treated as power dimensions that are equally important in partnerships. However, since both of them measure power related to financial issues, control and decision-making might be interrelated. This means that it is likely that the person who controls the finances will also be the one who makes the financial decisions, and vice versa. In point of fact, my previous analysis has shown that these two indicators are related to each other (Lott, 2009). However, the relation is different for men and women. While for the male partner control over the resources is related to a large extent to decision-making, this association is weaker for the female partner. Control over the income is related to a lesser extent to decision-making for the women than for the men. This finding is in line with Pahl (1983), who argues that for women the control over resources is often a burden rather than a power advantage. This argument can be linked to the previous findings: in the multinomial logistic regression model for control over finances, we saw that she is more likely in the lowest income group to manage the money, and less likely in the highest income group to control the finances. Is there also gender inequality with regard to the relation between the power outcomes? To what extent do control and decision-making coincide?

ref(Joint Pool)	Control over income	
	Women	Men
Separat		
I decide	0.801 (0.33)	1.367 (0.41)
Partner decides	1.356 (0.40)	0.625 (0.28)
I control		
I decide	2.996* (1.38)	3.306* (1.57)
Partner decides	0.992 (0.80)	1.647 (1.26)
Partner controls		
I decide	1.950 (1.39)	0.700 (0.46)
Partner decides	3.268* (1.56)	4.864*** (2.01)
N	1579	1579
Pseudo- R^2	0.25	0.23

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: joint pool; Only selected covariats presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 20: First model for control over the income

ref(Separat)	Control over income	
	Women	Men
Pool		
I decide	1.248 (0.52)	0.731 (0.22)
Partner decides	0.737 (0.22)	1.601 (0.72)
I control		
I decide	3.741* (2.04)	2.418 (1.17)
Partner decides	0.731 (0.61)	2.637 (2.22)
Partner controls		
I decide	2.434 (1.84)	0.512 (0.35)
Partner decides	2.410 (1.22)	7.786*** (4.02)
N	1579	1579
Pseudo- R^2	0.25	0.23

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Only selected covariats presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 21: Second model for control over the income

Table 20, 21, 22, and 23 show the odds ratios of the multinomial logistic regressions for the power outcomes only. The first model estimates the chance of the three different outcome categories of control over the income, with the joint pool as the reference category (Table 20). Here decision-making is the explanatory variable. In the second model, the separate system is the reference category for control (Table 21). The third model estimates the chance of the two outcome categories for decision-making, with joint decision-making as the reference category (Table 22). In the fourth model, the separate system is the reference category for control (Table 23). Covariates are the same as in the previous models. Again, models are run separately for the male and the female samples. The gender-specific explanatory variables fit the gender-specific dependent variable: her perception of control over the finances is regressed on her perception of decision-making, and vice versa. The same is done with the male sample. Note that my previous study did the analysis only for the female respondents. This study extends previous research through allowing for a comparison between the male and the female partners' perceptions of their power allocations.

	Decision-making	
	Women	Men
ref(Joint decision)		
I decide		
Separat control	0.924 (0.35)	1.076 (0.36)
I control	3.906** (1.84)	3.118* (1.50)
Partner controls	1.469 (1.10)	0.715 (0.50)
Partner decides		
Separat control	1.275 (0.42)	0.592 (0.25)
I control	0.712 (0.49)	1.341 (1.15)
Partner controls	2.119 (1.06)	5.714*** (2.40)
N	1579	1579
Pseudo- R^2	0.22	0.25

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Only selected covariats presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 22: First model for decision-making

ref(Both)	Decision-making	
	Women	Men
I decide		
Pool	1.083 (0.41)	0.929 (0.31)
I control	4.229** (2.16)	2.897* (1.52)
Partner controls	1.591 (1.23)	0.664 (0.50)
Partner decides		
Pool	0.785 (0.26)	1.689 (0.71)
I control	0.559 (0.42)	2.264 (2.12)
Partner controls	1.663 (0.89)	9.650*** (4.79)
N	1579	1579
Pseudo- R^2	0.22	0.25

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Only selected covariats presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 23: Second model for decision-making

First of all, the results show that the power outcomes are related to each other. Comparing the male and the female samples, we see that the relation between control and decision-making is significant for both partners. For the female partners' power outcomes, the effects are even more significant (Tables 22, 23, and 20). Hence, my first conclusion that the relation between the power outcomes is stronger for men than for women needs to be rejected here. Actually, the opposite seems to be the case. The relation between control and decision-making is stronger for the female than for the male partners.

Interestingly, the men in particular perceive the power of their partners. The coefficients for the partners' control and decision-making are highly significant in the male sample in all of the models. With values between around 5 and 10, the relative risk ratios indicate a strong relation between her power outcomes perceived by men. Note that the number of observations in these categories is sufficient for an estimation of the coefficients. One explanation could be that since male partners' gender identities still conform to the male breadwinner model, he might react much more sensitively to a situation where she has power. As a reaction, he perceives her power outcomes as more strongly related to each other than his power outcomes – as if to state that “she wears the breeches”. This finding is in line with the previous result that male partners are more sensitive to financial power – at least to the allocation of power bases.

Although the coefficients are not significant, all the models indicate that the male partners' control is related not only to his, but also to his partner's decision-making. Hence, whereas he is unlikely to make the financial decisions if she controls the income, she is likely to have power in one dimension while he has power in the other dimension. Not only is the relation between both of these power outcomes stronger for the female than for the male partners, she is also more likely to make the decisions if he controls the income than vice versa.

The previous chapter discussed if the joint pool is an "equal" gender arrangement or whether one of the partners still has a power advantage. Since pooling the money can be considered a rather traditional arrangement used most often by married couples with a conventional distribution of resources and labor, we might expect that men are the decision-makers if the income is pooled. Women might then be decision-makers in more progressive forms of power allocation, i.e. if the partners separate their incomes. Surprisingly, we observe the opposite. The separate system is associated with the male partner's power and the joint pool is related to the female partners' power – in both power dimensions. Note, however, that the coefficients are not significant.

This finding is rather unexpected since we know that partners separate their earnings if she has a greater share of income. Hence we could assume that since she has more money, she is also the decision-maker. The same is to be expected for the joint pool. Since she has less money if the partners pool their incomes, she is less likely to be the decision-maker. Although the results are surprising, they are supported by a study based on British data. For British couples, Vogler et al. (2008) also found that the male partner is more likely to make the decisions if the partners separate their incomes. In order to explain the relation between financial power outcomes, future research will have to allow a much more detailed analysis of partners' power allocations.

Control over the income and financial decision-making are interrelated power outcomes. Their correlation can be tested further by estimating a bivariate probit model. This model also allows to test whether the power bases are more strongly related to one of the power outcomes. Which do the power bases explain better: control over the income or financial decision-making?

9.2 What explains what?

Power bases are associated with financial power outcomes – both with control over the income and with decision-making power. The association between both power dimensions is strong – especially for female partners.

With regard to the previous analysis, one can ask which dimension of power is explained better by the chosen power bases. In the bivariate probit models, both equations – one for control and the other for decisions – were estimated simultaneously. Three models were defined: for her control and her decision-making, for his control and his decision-making, and for shared control and decision-making. The previous section focused on partners' perceptions of their

power. Does a partner perceive him- or herself as the decision-maker if he or she sees him- or herself as in control over the income, and vice versa? The bivariate probit models for exclusive control were therefore estimated for one partner at a time: her power in her perception, and his power in his perception. Since the question of cooperation concerns both partners equally, the models for the joint pool and joint decision-making were estimated separately for the men and the women. The bivariate probit models will test the correlation between the two power outcomes. Note that the association between the power bases, the division of labor, and the power outcomes has been discussed broadly in the previous chapters. The aim of this section is a comparison between the explanatory power of the factors for the power outcomes.

According to the Wald test, joint decision-making and the joint pool are not correlated (Table A.18 together with Tables A.17 and A.19). Whether couples make the financial decisions together is not necessarily related to the question whether they pool their incomes. This is an interesting finding because it again points to the question what exactly is behind the labels “joint pool” and “joint decision-making”. In the previous chapters, we related them to cooperation - without knowing, however, what partners really do if they say that they pool their incomes and make financial decisions together. Future research will have to investigate these “black boxes” in more depth. In this study, unfortunately, no information which would allow further insights is available.

The Wald test indicates that the power outcomes are indeed correlated for the male and the female partners (Table 24). The probability of the chi-squared is even higher for the female than for the male partners. This supports the result of the multinomial logistic regression. The power outcomes are interrelated more strongly for the female than for the male partners.

As regards the power bases, the financial resources – relative income and household income – have a significant effect on control over the income (Table 24). The coefficients for decision-making are not significant. Thus, predominantly income and household budget are related to control.

The partners’ relative commitment to the relationship also significantly affects control over the income. Education, on the other hand, only has a significant effect on decision-making power.

The picture is rather mixed for the partners’ employment statuses. Note that it is primarily the arrangement where she is employed full-time and he has a lower status which has significant effects. For women, her higher status is negatively related to her decision-making power. This supports previous findings. For men, however, the chance of financial power, especially regarding control, is lower if he has a lower employment status. Note that, like in the multinomial logistic regression models, the small number of observations biases the effects. The interpretation of the other effects, although they are significant, will therefore be disregarded. We should keep in mind that whereas a lower employment status is a power disadvantage for men, a higher employment status is a power disadvantage for women. The bivariate probit

models confirm the gender difference for the relation between relative employment status and financial power outcomes.

Power bases – predominantly income, household income, and commitment – explain control over the income better than financial decision-making. Both of these power indicators are strongly interrelated especially for the female partners. In contrast, cooperation in one power dimension is not necessarily related to power in the other dimension.

Differences in the partners' perceptions of power were already discussed in the previous chapter. One main result was that female partners seem to be more concerned with the question of cooperation versus noncooperation. Male partners seem to be more sensitive to the allocation of power bases. In the next chapter, the partners' response behaviors will be analyzed in more depth. First we will attempt to answer the question if the partners who perceive their power allocation in the same way have different patterns of the relation between bases and outcomes when compared to the separate models for the male and the female respondents. In a second step, the differences in the partners' perceptions of power will be analyzed further. What associations exist between the power bases and differences in partners' perceptions of power?

	Control and decisions			
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	I control	I decide	I control	I decide
Her share of income	0.005 (0.01)	0.011 (0.01)	-0.027*** (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.230 (0.27)	-0.000 (0.28)	-0.075 (0.30)	-0.620* (0.26)
He higher education	0.055 (0.24)	0.304 (0.29)	-0.096 (0.26)	0.346 (0.23)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.356 (0.39)	-0.237 (0.41)	0.194 (0.52)	0.427 (0.39)
He older	-0.235 (0.34)	-0.238 (0.35)	0.119 (0.46)	0.403 (0.38)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.384 (0.25)	0.357 (0.29)	-0.338 (0.31)	0.030 (0.25)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.012 (0.38)	-1.209* (0.53)	-4.114*** (0.96)	-0.242 (0.47)
She part-time,he not work	0.287 (0.55)	-0.928 (0.53)	-5.786*** (0.68)	1.289** (0.46)
He part-time,she not work	1.033 (0.62)	0.661 (0.66)	0.613 (0.58)	-4.545*** (0.53)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.332 (0.21)	-0.201 (0.25)	0.450* (0.22)	0.375 (0.21)
He more friends	-0.387 (0.27)	-0.002 (0.25)	-0.199 (0.30)	0.112 (0.24)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.194 (0.26)	0.488* (0.20)	0.592* (0.27)	0.342 (0.22)
He more cultural activities	-0.240 (0.27)	0.480* (0.20)	0.279 (0.24)	0.267 (0.24)
His share of housework	-0.023** (0.01)	-0.010 (0.01)	0.009 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
His share of child care	-0.007 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.566* (0.26)	0.128 (0.35)	-0.630* (0.25)	0.167 (0.24)
He more committed	-0.174 (0.31)	0.168 (0.30)	-0.748* (0.34)	-0.118 (0.35)
Constant	-1.921 (2.67)	-2.062 (2.60)	2.873 (3.08)	-6.523* (2.59)
Chi2	8.075		4.224	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.0045		0.0399	
N	558		533	

Note: Bivariate probit models; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she/he controls and she/he decides; Basecategories: separate system and joint decision-making; Controls not presented; (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 24: Exclusive control and decisions

10 The partners' response behaviors

In the previous sections, models were estimated separately for men and women. Since both partners responded to the survey questions for control over the income and financial decision-making, responses may differ between the partners. Different response behaviors exist predominantly with regard to decision-making power.

In order to account for the partners' response behaviors, the association between the power bases and gender arrangements and the power outcomes was analyzed only for those partners who had identical views of their allocation of power. Since we can assume that the couples who responded in the same way might be different to the couples who gave contradicting information, e.g. regarding the quality of the relationship or the frequency of conflicts between the partners, it needs to be controlled for sample selection. Therefore, heckit models were estimated for each category of the dependent variables. The control variable introduced into the selection equation is satisfaction with family life. A simple binary logistic regression model shows that satisfaction with family life correlates with the partners' response behaviors. Satisfaction with family life is introduced as a dummy variable for the partners' ratio of satisfaction. The dummy measures whether partners are satisfied to the same degree. It is assumed that satisfaction with family life does not correlate with the power allocations within the couples.

It is a shortcoming of the heckit model that variables had to be excluded for the models to converge. Thus, for some of the outcome categories, especially his power and decision-making, the previous model had to be reduced and some explanatory variables could not be included in the model. Furthermore, his and her cohorts and the interaction term between type of relationship and duration of relation had to be excluded as well. This limitation of the analysis needs to be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

In order to further investigate those couples who did not respond in the same way, binary logistic regression models were estimated for (1) couples where he perceives himself as powerful but she does not agree and (2) couples where she perceives herself as powerful but he does not agree. Models were also estimated for perceived cooperation and perceived noncooperation. However, the results do not indicate a clear pattern. Thus, the findings for these couples will not be presented. Which power bases and gender arrangements are associated with a specific pattern in the partners' responses? Like in the previous analysis, it can be assumed that the partner with more power bases is more likely to perceive him- or herself as the powerful partner even if the other does not agree. Furthermore, power is expected to be used for coping with the violation of non-traditional gender arrangements such as housework and child care. Thus, expectations are similar to those formulated with regard to the theoretical background.

10.1 Perceiving power in the same way

According to the Wald test for the independence of the equations, the error terms of the equations for power and response behavior are not significantly correlated (Tables 25, 26, 29, 27, and 28). The significance of the correlation is higher only for his decision-making (Table 28), but is still above 0.05. Hence it is not necessary to control for selection bias in the analysis of the power allocation in the couples with identical response behaviors. Of course, the association between the power bases and the power outcomes is similar to previous results, although the models were changed to account for limitations in the data. Note that whereas satisfaction with family life, which is used as an instrumental variable in the selection equation, correlates with the partners' response behaviors in the binary models, the effects are only significant in the heckit model for the pooled system. This could be due to the small number of observations in some of the categories of the dependent variables. Although the chosen instrument seems to be rather weak, satisfaction with family life is used for identification. Future research will have to explore stronger instruments for the analysis of response behavior in couples.

Couples where the partners gave identical responses do not seem to be fundamentally different from couples where the partners gave different answers to the survey questions. According to the heckit models of this study, at any rate, there is no selection bias. Future research should investigate further under what circumstances partners' responses differ and how the difference in response behaviors can be explained. The heckit models point to the assumption that identical response behaviors in couples are not associated with any special characteristics of these couples compared to couples with different response behaviors, e.g. higher relationship quality or less conflict. But again, research will have to go into more detail here. It is important to keep in mind that the heckit models had to be reduced due to data limitations. Thus, more extensive data sets could be able to answer in more depth the question of similarities and differences in partners' answers to survey questions on power. In the following section, a first step into this direction will be undertaken. Binary logit models will be estimated for the different "types" of the partners' divergent response behaviors. How do the power bases explain different perceptions of power allocation within couples?

ref (Separat system)	Same response	
	She controls	Responses
Her share of income	0.003 (0.00)	0.006* (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)		
She higher education	0.179 (0.16)	-0.193 (0.11)
He higher education	0.136 (0.17)	0.032 (0.11)
Same age (ref)		
She older	0.325 (0.27)	0.066 (0.18)
He older	-0.367 (0.22)	0.030 (0.16)
Same employment status (ref)		
He full-time,she part/not work	0.132 (0.14)	-0.111 (0.11)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.237 (0.30)	-0.377* (0.17)
She part-time/ he not work	-0.095 (0.35)	-0.195 (0.24)
He part-time,she not work	0.958** (0.34)	-0.383 (0.28)
His share of housework	-0.016** (0.01)	-0.004 (0.00)
His share of child care	-0.008 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)		
She more committed	-0.379 (0.32)	-0.335** (0.12)
He more committed	-0.567* (0.23)	0.051 (0.14)
Satisfaction family life		1.603 (0.92)
Constant	2.900* (1.17)	0.053 (0.08)
<hr/>		
Athrho		
Constant	-0.485 (0.84)	
Chi2	0.33	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.5646	
N	2112	

Note: Heckit model; Logit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: her control; Reference category: separate system; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 25: Her control – identical responses

ref(Separat system)	Same response	
	He controls	Responses
Her share of income	-0.025* (0.01)	0.003 (0.00)
Household income	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)
Same employment status (ref)		
He full-time,she part/not work	0.001 (0.32)	-0.250* (0.12)
She full-time,he part/not work	1.130*** (0.33)	-0.361 (0.18)
She part-time,he not work	1.171 (0.61)	-0.293 (0.26)
He part-time,she not work	0.678 (0.35)	-0.242 (0.24)
His share of housework	0.003 (0.01)	0.001 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)		
She more committed	-0.283 (0.81)	-0.371** (0.12)
He more committed	-0.674 (0.67)	-0.113 (0.14)
Satisfaction family life		0.782 (0.83)
Constant	-1.849 (2.08)	0.086 (0.10)
<hr/>		
Athrho		
Constant	-0.488 (2.39)	
Chi2	0.04	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.8382	
N	2214	

Note: Heckit model; Logit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: his control; Reference category: seperate system; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 26: His control – identical responses

ref(Joint decision)	Same response	
	She decides	Responses
Her share of income	0.011** (0.00)	0.005* (0.00)
Household income	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)		
She higher education	0.247 (0.13)	-0.105 (0.09)
He higher education	0.105 (0.15)	-0.292** (0.09)
Same employment status (ref)		
He full-time,she part/not work	0.501*** (0.14)	0.063 (0.09)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.507* (0.23)	-0.186 (0.15)
She part-time,he not work	-0.223 (0.30)	-0.205 (0.24)
He part-time,she not work	0.698* (0.29)	0.402 (0.22)
His share of housework	-0.005 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)
His share of child care	-0.001 (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)
Satisfaction family life		0.606 (0.74)
Constant	1.237 (1.02)	0.247*** (0.06)
<hr/>		
Athrho		
Constant	-0.092 (0.40)	
Chi2	0.05	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.8203	
N	3074	

Note: Heckit model; Logit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: her decision-making; Reference category: joint decision; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 27: Her decision-making – identical responses

ref (Joint decision)	Same response	
	He decides	Responses
Her share of income	-0.008** (0.00)	0.004* (0.00)
Household income	0.000** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)		
She higher education	-0.122 (0.14)	-0.124 (0.09)
He higher education	0.366*** (0.09)	-0.233** (0.09)
Same employment status (ref)		
He full-time,she part/not work	0.006 (0.10)	0.056 (0.09)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.062 (0.17)	-0.195 (0.16)
She part-time,he not work	0.511* (0.24)	-0.161 (0.25)
He part-time,she not work	-0.144 (0.23)	0.311 (0.21)
His share of housework	-0.008** (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)
His share of child care	-0.005 (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)		
She more committed	-0.008 (0.13)	-0.148 (0.09)
He more committed	0.081 (0.13)	0.031 (0.13)
Satisfaction family life		0.548 (0.77)
Constant	-1.253 (0.79)	0.261** (0.09)
<hr/>		
Athrho		
Constant	-1.829 (1.00)	
Chi2	3.33	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.0680	
N	3082	

Note: Heckit model; Logit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: his decision-making; Reference category: joint decision; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 28: His decision-making – identical responses

ref (separat system)	Same response	
	Joint pool	Responses
Her share of income	-0.003* (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same age (ref)		
She older	-0.078 (0.12)	-0.019 (0.12)
He older	-0.117 (0.11)	0.034 (0.11)
Same employment status (ref)		
He full-time,she part/not work	0.032 (0.07)	-0.181* (0.09)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.203* (0.10)	-0.173 (0.13)
She part-time,he not work	0.131 (0.16)	-0.139 (0.20)
He part-time,she not work	0.540** (0.19)	-0.016 (0.20)
His share of housework	-0.006** (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)
His share of child care	0.001 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)		
She more committed	-0.035 (0.09)	-0.233** (0.08)
He more committed	-0.158 (0.12)	-0.103 (0.10)
Satisfaction family life		1.572* (0.73)
Constant	1.306* (0.60)	0.122* (0.06)
Athrho		
Constant	-1.800 (2.23)	
Chi2	0.65	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.4198	
N	4644	

Note: Heckit model; Logit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: joint pool; Reference category: seperate system; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 29: Joint pool – identical responses

10.2 Different perceptions of power allocation within couples

Table 30 shows that partners differ most in their responses regarding perceived cooperation and noncooperation. For control over the income, the dominant group is comprised of couples where she says that they do not cooperate and he says that they do cooperate. Thus, the male partners more often perceive the use of a joint pool than the female partners. The number of couples where one perceives cooperation and the other noncooperation is especially high for decision-making. Interestingly, the number of couples where he says that he is the decision-maker while his partner does not agree is also high. Thus, the male partners are more likely to perceive themselves as the decision-makers.

	Contradictions	
	%	N
<i>Control over income</i>		
She I/ he other	13.2	46
He I/ she other	17.6	56
She non coop/ he coop	42.5	136
He non coop/ she coop	26.7	86
<i>Decision-making</i>		
She I/ he other	13.6	82
He I/ she other	23.2	142
She non coop/ he coop	29.7	182
He non coop/ she coop	33.5	206

Note: Column percentages and N unweighted; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 30: Contradicting responses

According to Tables 31 and 32 the results are similar to the earlier findings. Interestingly, compared to the couples with identical response behaviors, relative income has no significant effect on divergent response behaviors regarding control over the income (Table 31). However, if the female partner has a higher level of education and he is more committed to the relationship, the chance that she perceives herself as being in control is higher compared to his disagreement. Hence, her education and his commitment are related to her perception of her power rather than her share of the income.

Unlike control over the income, income has a significant effect on divergent perceptions of decision-making (Table 32). If she has a higher income, the chance that he perceives himself as the decision-maker is lower than for her disagreement – compared to couples where the partners' response behaviors are identical. Moreover, he perceives himself as the power holder if the household income is higher. Surprisingly, the chance that he perceives himself as the decision-maker compared to her disagreement is lower if he has a higher employment

status, namely full-time employment.

Hence, the partner who has more power bases is more likely to perceive him- or herself as the decision-maker. This finding confirms rational choice theory. In contrast to the previous models, income is less related to partners' divergent perceptions of power. Her share of income has a negative effect only for his decision-making. For the female partners' perceptions of power, her education and his commitment are crucial. Beside these few findings, the above models do not contribute much new information for an understanding of partners' response behaviors. The findings are more or less comparable to the previous results.

Future research should further explore patterns of response behavior. This analysis merely aims to make a first step towards a deeper investigation of divergent response behaviors. For the subject of this study and the data which was used, the general conclusion is that partners' response behaviors do not have an impact on the relation between power bases and power outcomes. This is shown in the heckit models and the logistic regression models in this chapter. So far, it was controlled for East Germany in all models. We know that there are still differences between gender ideologies in East and West Germany and that East German couples have more progressive gender role attitudes than their West-German counterparts. The following chapter will explore in more detail the differences and similarities between the two German regions. Are there differences between East and West Germany regarding power allocation within couples?

	Contradicting responses			
	(1) She "I"	(2) He "I"	(3) She "separate"	(4) He "separate"
ref(Partner disagrees)				
Her share of income	0.991 (0.01)	0.999 (0.01)	1.003 (0.01)	0.997 (0.01)
Household income	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	3.291** (1.42)	1.605 (0.69)	1.242 (0.32)	2.127 (0.90)
He higher education	1.023 (0.48)	1.842 (0.76)	1.106 (0.31)	1.191 (0.50)
Same age (ref)				
She older	1.070 (1.05)	0.564 (0.43)	0.911 (0.40)	1.093 (0.59)
He older	0.459 (0.33)	0.471 (0.25)	1.224 (0.48)	1.011 (0.48)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	4.570* (3.25)	5.880** (3.79)	0.754 (0.23)	1.498 (0.63)
She full-time,he part/not work	1 (.)	1 (.)	0.479 (0.23)	3.752* (1.94)
She part-time,he not work	16.82** (17.57)		0.292 (0.32)	3.707 (3.21)
He part-time,she not work	1 (.)	8.366* (8.21)	0.460 (0.39)	1 (.)
Same requ of meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	1.345 (0.62)	1.512 (0.44)	1.788* (0.43)	0.817 (0.29)
He more friends	1.241 (0.62)	2.265* (0.80)	0.705 (0.24)	0.727 (0.25)
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	1.393 (0.80)	3.601*** (1.40)	1.029 (0.30)	0.932 (0.36)
He more cultural activities	3.177* (1.63)	2.864* (1.17)	0.874 (0.24)	0.505 (0.25)
His share of housework	1.027 (0.02)	0.996 (0.02)	1.012 (0.01)	1.002 (0.01)
His share of child care	1.026*** (0.01)	1.021* (0.01)	0.989 (0.01)	1.006 (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	1.384 (0.62)	0.627 (0.26)	1.140 (0.33)	1.334 (0.58)
He more committed	4.428**	0.861	0.625	2.133*
<i>Pseudo – R²</i>	.251	.202	.053	.117
N	3858	3888	4374	4194

Note: Logit models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; (1) she says "I control", he disagrees; (2) he says "I control", she disagrees; (3) she says "separate", he disagrees; (4) he says "separate", she disagrees; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 31: Different response behaviors – control over the income

	Contradicting responses			
	(1) She "I"	(2) He "I"	(3) She "joint"	(4) He "joint"
ref(Partner disagrees)				
Her share of income	1.001 (0.01)	0.971*** (0.01)	0.992 (0.01)	0.994 (0.01)
Household income	0.999 (0.00)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	1.130 (0.42)	0.907 (0.27)	1.258 (0.30)	1.044 (0.27)
He higher education	2.148* (0.83)	1.461 (0.40)	1.384 (0.31)	1.866* (0.52)
Same age (ref)				
She older	4.535 (4.25)	2.056 (1.10)	1.808 (0.73)	0.948 (0.42)
He older	5.118 (4.52)	1.874 (0.91)	1.892 (0.70)	1.582 (0.59)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	1.003 (0.38)	0.528* (0.16)	0.801 (0.20)	0.813 (0.23)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.967 (0.57)	0.756 (0.58)	2.017* (0.67)	0.727 (0.34)
She part-time,he not work	1.066 (0.82)	15.90*** (11.12)	3.215* (1.83)	0.427 (0.32)
He part-time,she not work	0.907 (0.88)		0.305 (0.24)	0.502 (0.29)
She more friends	1.230 (0.37)	2.139** (0.54)	1.581* (0.34)	1.558* (0.33)
He more friends	1.538 (0.54)	1.425 (0.44)	1.163 (0.27)	1.937** (0.47)
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	1.645 (0.54)	2.717*** (0.70)	2.219*** (0.47)	0.955 (0.24)
He more cultural activities	3.090*** (0.97)	2.177** (0.62)	2.052** (0.46)	0.984 (0.25)
His share of housework	0.975** (0.01)	0.986 (0.01)	0.990 (0.01)	0.996 (0.01)
His share of child care	0.972** (0.01)	0.979* (0.01)	0.985 (0.01)	0.979*** (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.690 (0.28)	2.161** (0.62)	2.103*** (0.46)	0.718 (0.19)
He more committed	0.824 (0.39)	0.742 (0.30)	1.106 (0.33)	0.697 (0.26)
<i>Pseudo – R²</i>	.167	.154	.076	.074
N	2916	2870	3008	2994

Note: Logit models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; (1) she says "I decide", he disagrees; (2) he says "I decide", she disagrees; (3) she says "joint decision", he disagrees; (4) he says "joint decision", she disagrees; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 32: Different response behaviors – decision-making

11 Power in East and West – a comparison

Even after more than 20 years of reunification, there are still differences between East and West Germany. Although women's participation in the labor market decreased in East Germany after reunification, East German women are still more active in the labor market than their West German counterparts (Künzler et al., 2001; Reichart and Pfister, 2002, 102). This also shows in the gender employment gap. Basing her analysis on 2007 OECD data, Cooke (2011) explains that West Germany is above the average gender employment gap of OECD countries, while East Germany is far below average. These differences may be due to differences between East and West Germans in gender role attitudes. Recent studies have shown that West-German couples have more conservative attitudes than East Germans, for instance toward women's professional lives (Treas and Widmer, 2000) and effects of maternal employment on infants (Adler and Brayfield, 1992). Künzler et al. (2001, 102) point out that a continuous modernization regarding gender role attitudes is observable in East Germany, while changes in attitudes appear to have stalled in West Germany, at least by the late 1990s. In their study on sex-role attitudes in reunified Germany, Bauernschuster and Rainer (2010, 15) actually observe an increase in the gap between the attitudes of East and West Germans after reunification. They suggest that this pattern may be explained by an emerging social identity of East Germans as a reaction to a disillusion with "the process of growing together".

"East Germany was confronted with unemployment, which was virtually absent during the socialist regime, and even more, unemployment rates in East Germany reached double the level of West Germany. Disillusioned by reality, East Germans began to identify themselves as a social group" (Bauernschuster and Rainer, 2010, 15).

The findings of this study indicate that gender role attitudes or gender ideologies underlie power allocation within couples. This section will account for gender role attitudes by comparing East and West German couples. Note that attitudes have not been measured directly. But since we know that these attitudes differ between East and West, differences in East and West Germans' power allocation can, at least partly, be ascribed to differences in their gender role attitudes. Since traditional gender ideologies are more present in West than in East Germany, it is expected that East German couples will be more responsive to the ratio of resources and power outcomes. Furthermore, it is assumed that gender inequality with regard to household income is less likely to be present in East German than in West German couples. In addition, coping with the violation of traditional gender identities should prevail in West rather than East Germany. Since the focus of this chapter is a comparison between East and West German couples, only the female partners' perceptions of power will be analyzed in order to simplify the presentation and interpretation of the results. Note that the analysis takes into account the information whether the woman was living in East or West Germany in 1989. Thus, the role of socialization in either East or West is the focus of this chapter. This seems appropriate when talking about gender role attitudes. Since less than 5 percent of the couples

in the data are comprised of one East German and one West German partner, the term “East German couple” and “West German couple” will be used in the discussion even though only the responses of the female partners will be analyzed.

In %	Financial power	
	West	East
Control over income		
Separated	31.47	31.50
She	5.58	4.69
He	6.57	1.26
Pool	56.38	62.56
N	1,959	1,011
Decisions-making		
She	4.34	5.01
He	7.53	3.74
Both	88.14	91.25
N	1,306	674

Note: Column percentages weighted with cross-sectional weight; N not weighted; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 33: Control over money and decision-making in East and West

When comparing East and West (Table 33), three main results can be formulated: First, the pooling system is more likely to be used in East than in West Germany. Second, East and West Germany differ in the extent of his or her exclusive control over the financial resources. In the West German couples, there is a slight tendency toward the male partner having exclusive control. In the East German couples, he hardly ever controls the financial resources on his own. Instead, the female partner is more likely than her partner to have exclusive control over the income and decision-making. These tendencies can be observed both in the marriages and in the cohabitations, as shown in Figure 21. In West Germany, in contrast, married men are slightly more likely than the female partners to have control over the finances and decision-making power. Third, regarding the joint pool and the separate system, cohabitations and marriages are more similar in East than in West Germany. Although the East German cohabitants are also more likely than married couples to separate their earnings, the gap between these two types of relationships is smaller than in the West German couples. Note, however, that the chi-squared test is only significant for control over the income ($p < 0.001$).

Gender role attitudes may be one reason for the differences in financial power between the East German and the West German couples. Partners’ cooperation is higher in East Germany.

If one partner has exclusive control, it is more likely to be the female than the male partner. In West Germany, financial arrangements are more traditional. He is more likely than his partner to have exclusive control. The cohabitations and the marriages differ to a larger extent in West than in East Germany regarding cooperation and noncooperation. In the previous chapters, it was shown that the pooling system is associated with conventional asymmetries in relationships, while cohabitations are related to unconventional asymmetries. This tendency is more dominant in the West German than in the East German couples. An explanation for this difference could be a reaction of cohabiting couples against more traditionally-oriented spouses in West Germany. Cohabiting couples might want to set themselves apart from traditional forms of relationships. Since gender role attitudes are less traditional in East Germany in the first place, East German cohabiting couples may not feel the need to set themselves apart from marriages.

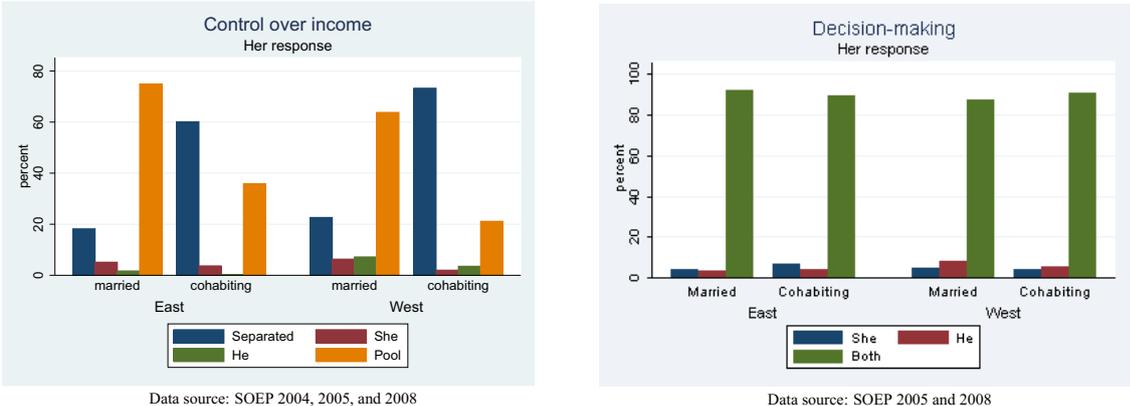


Figure 21: Financial power outcomes in East and West Germany

The following multivariate analysis will elaborate in more detail if differences between East and West Germany are significant. As mentioned above, the effects of the power bases on the power outcomes might be contained by traditional patterns in the West German couples. Furthermore, it is expected that the East German men are less likely than the West German men to do their male gender identities according to traditional gender roles. Thus, the effect of housework and child care should be positive for the men’s power in West Germany and negative or at least less significant in East Germany. In addition, gender inequality with regard to household income should be higher in the West German than in the East German couples. Due to sample size problems especially for his and her control and decision-making in East Germany, the previous models had to be limited. The interaction term between duration of the relationship and type of relationship had to be excluded. Furthermore, birth cohorts were included as dummy variables. Note that the direction of the coefficients of crucial independent variables like income, education, employment status, and division of labor do not change.

However, although the model is limited, the number of observations is still very low in the East German sample. While the reference groups are of sufficient size (around 600 observations for joint decision-making and 364 for the separate system), 36 women said that they controlled the income and only 16 women said that he controlled the income. Regarding decision-making, 30 women responded that they were the decision-makers and 30 women said that their partners made the decisions. Due to the small number of observations in the East German sample, the results and the interpretation of the multivariate analysis need to be considered with caution. Especially for his control, the results indicate only a tendency of associations between the power bases and outcomes but cannot be considered as robust and reliable effects. This chapter is thus an attempt to take regional differences into account, rather than a definitive answer. The analysis will be sufficient to provide a general impression of power relations in West and East Germany, allowing provisional answers to the question whether East and West German couples differ with regard to the association between power bases and division of labor and power outcomes. Both the relative risk ratios (RRR) and the average marginal effects (AME) are provided if they differ in their direction or significance (Tables 35, 36, 37, and 38). The tables for the control variables of the models can be found in Appendix (Tables A.20 and A.21).

Predicted values	Education ratio	
	She higher	He higher
<i>West</i>		
Her control	5%	3%
His control	1%	1%
Pooled	65%	70%
Separate	29%	26 %
<i>East</i>		
Her control	3%	2%
His control	0%	0%
Pooled	68%	64%
Separate	30%	34%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 34: Predicted values for control and education ratio

First of all, only a small number of effects is significant for both East and West Germany. Since the number of observations in some of the categories is small especially in the East German sample, predominantly the significant coefficients will be taken into account. The analysis above has shown that some of the categories of the partners' relative employment status have only a small number of observations. Their interpretation will therefore be disregarded. Neither will the effects for alternative social relations be taken into account, although

they are significant. Their effects are mixed and no clear patterns are observable.

The main result of the analysis can be formulated as follows: money matters in the West German couples, and education matters in the East German couples. In East Germany, her higher level of education is positively related to her control. The effect is significant. Surprisingly, according to the RRR and AME, the chance of his control is lower than that of the separate system if he has a higher level of education. Whereas a higher level of education is a power advantage for the female partners, it seems to be a power disadvantage for the male partners. Note that according to the predicted probabilities he is not likely to have control in East Germany at all – disregarding the partners’ relative levels of education (Table 34).

Surprisingly, relative income matters less for the East German than for the West German partners (Figures 22 and 23). The effects are only significant in West Germany, where her higher income is positively related to her decision-making and negatively related to his decision-making. Furthermore, her higher income is negatively associated with his control. The results for West Germany are in line with the earlier findings. The predicted probabilities indicate that the women in the West German couples are increasingly likely to control money with an increase in their relative incomes (Figure 22). The probability of his control is slightly higher if she has no income at all. The same tendency can be observed for decision-making (Figure 23). The probability that she decides is lower if she has a small share of the income, and higher if her share of the income is larger than his. Note that the effects for his and her decision-making are both significant while only the coefficient for his control is significant. Thus, her relative income is related predominantly to his control.

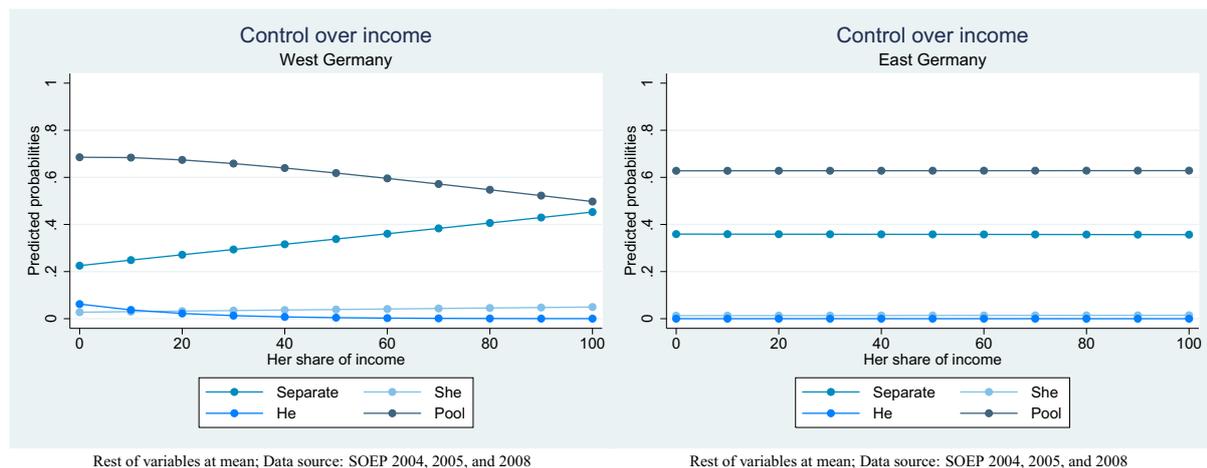


Figure 22: Control over money and relative income in East and West

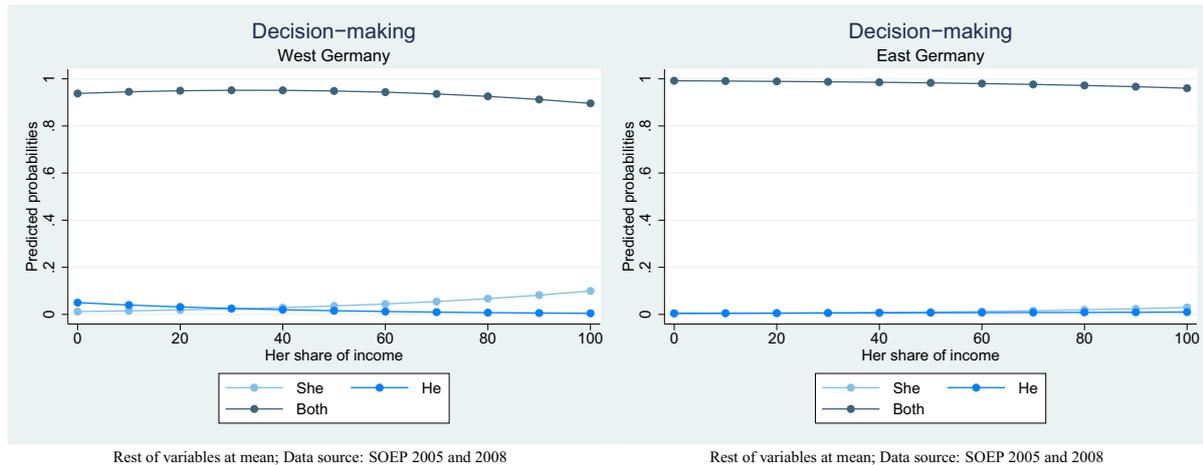


Figure 23: Decision-making and relative income in East and West

Household income is significantly related only to the chance of her control. Both in East and West Germany, the chance that the female partners control the finances is lower than for the separate system if the household income is higher. The predicted probabilities indicate that this tendency is slightly more pronounced in the West German than in the East German couples (Figure 24). If the household income is extremely low, she is more likely in West Germany than in East Germany to control. Furthermore, the probability of his control is slightly higher in higher-income households. Thus, gender inequality regarding household income can be observed predominantly in the West German couples. Furthermore, the predicted probabilities indicate that cooperation and noncooperation are reversed in higher-income households in both West and East Germany, but at a lower income level in East Germany than in West Germany. Also, the gap between cooperation and noncooperation in higher-income households is wider in the East than in the West.

Regarding gender arrangements, the RRR and AME indicate that for the East German couples the division of housework is significantly related to the power outcomes. In the East German sample, the division of housework has a significant effect both on control over the income and decision-making – but only on the female partners’ power. The probability that she controls and decides is slightly higher if he has a smaller share of housework (Figures 26 and 27). Note, however, that the probabilities are extremely low. Nevertheless, the significant effects indicate that her higher share of housework is a power advantage for the women in the East German couples. Cooperation, i.e. joint decision-making, is most probable in the couples with an unconventional division of housework. Similarly to household income, cooperation and noncooperation are reversed “earlier” in East than in West Germany. Again, the gap between cooperation and noncooperation is wider in the East German than in the West German households when she does most of the housework.

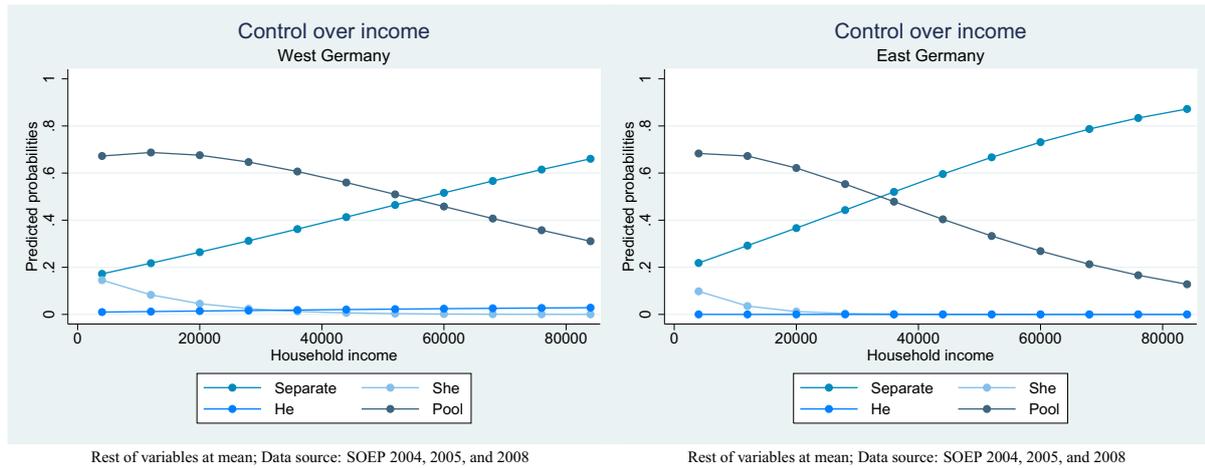


Figure 24: Control over money and household income in East and West

In the West German relationships, only the division of child care has a significant effect on power. Interestingly, the positive association between his greater share of child care and his control can only be observed in the West German couples. Figure 25 shows that the predicted probabilities in West Germany are indeed higher if he has a greater share. In the East German couples, child care has no effect on the predicted probabilities for control. Hence, the coping strategy which may underlie the relation between child care and control over the income is present in the West German couples only.

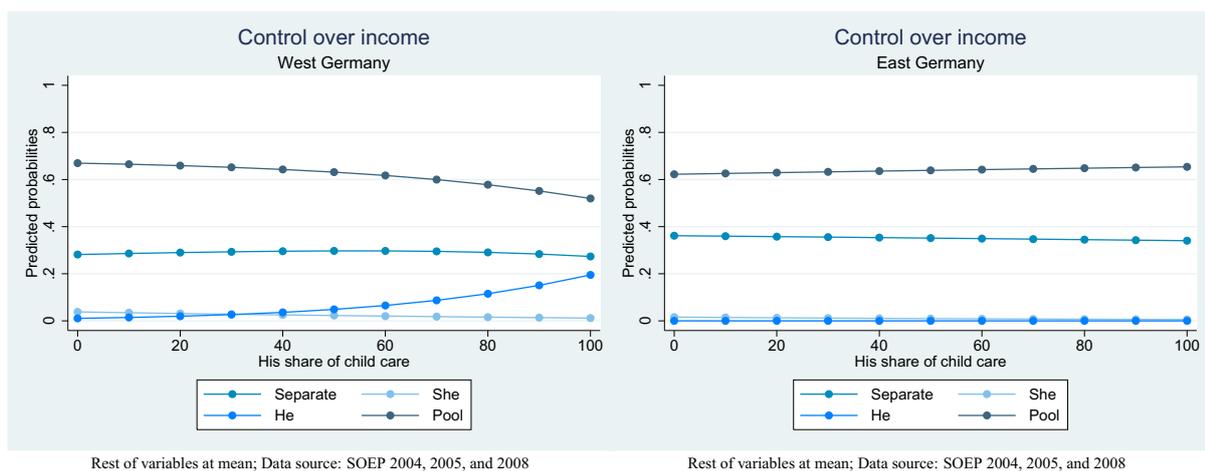
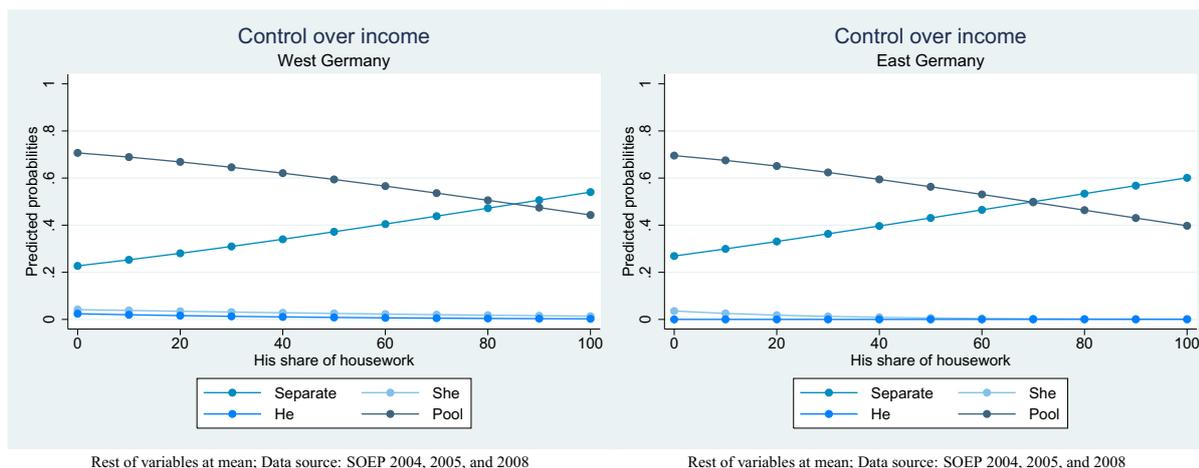


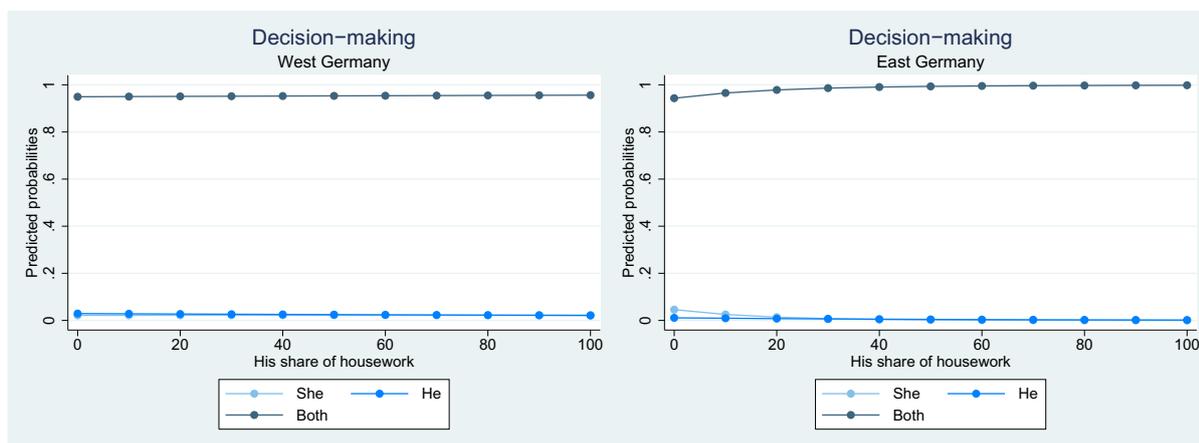
Figure 25: Control and child care in East and West



Rest of variables at mean; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Rest of variables at mean; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Figure 26: Control and housework in East and West



Rest of variables at mean; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Rest of variables at mean; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure 27: Decision-making and housework in East and West

To sum up, the multivariate analysis indicates that the expectation that power bases matter more for East than for West German couples was not confirmed. Rather different power bases are related to the power outcomes. While relative income is crucial for the West German women, the partners' relative levels of education matter more in the East German relationships. The relations between these power bases and the power outcomes are as predicted by rational choice theory. The partner with more resources is more likely to have power. However, the two other assumptions formulated above were confirmed. Gender inequality regarding household income is more pronounced in the West German than in the East German couples. The female partners are more likely to manage the income in the West German than in the East German lower-income households. Doing gender can be observed predominantly in the West German couples regarding the division of child care. If they assume a greater share of child care, the men are more likely to control the income. Thus, the positive relation

between his child care and his control found in the earlier analysis is present only in the West German couples.

Not only the significant effects of household income and the division of child care on financial power, but also the descriptives indicate that power allocation within the couples is more traditional in West than East Germany. The male partners are slightly more likely to have power in West Germany, while the women are more likely to have financial power in East Germany. Furthermore, the marriages and the cohabitations differ less in East than West Germany with regard to cooperation and noncooperation. Since rather non-traditional gender role attitudes dominate in East Germany, cohabiting partners may not feel the need to set themselves apart from married couples – at least, less so than their West German counterparts. Furthermore, it was found that although the East German couples are slightly more likely than their West German counterparts to cooperate, they are more likely not to cooperate in the case of unconventional arrangements, i.e. if their household income is higher and he has a greater share of housework.

Nevertheless, the differences between East and West are less pronounced than expected. Power bases matter in both the East German and the West German couples. Interestingly, the financial power bases matter most for financial power in the West German couples. In contrast, the non-financial power bases are related to the financial power outcomes in East Germany.

As we have seen for marriages and cohabitations, gender ideologies and gender role attitudes seem to explain the differences in financial power allocations between East and West. This was shown in both the logistic regression models and this chapter's descriptive analysis. But note that the presented results may be biased and unreliable due to the small number of observations. Future research will need to explore in more depth the role of gender role attitudes by using more extensive data on financial power allocation within couples and best by directly measuring these attitudes.

Control over income – West Germany							
ref(Separate)	She		He		Pooled		
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME	RRR	AME	
Her share of income	0.999 (0.01)		0.941*** (0.01)		0.990 (0.01)		
Household income	0.999** (0.00)		0.999 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.999** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	
Same education (ref)							
She higher education	1.451 (0.68)		0.595 (0.27)		0.969 (0.24)		
He higher education	1.074 (0.48)	-0.003 (0.02)	0.670 (0.33)		1.236 (0.30)		
Same age (ref)							
She older	1.237 (0.86)		0.819 (0.60)		0.755 (0.30)		
He older	0.413 (0.28)		1.071 (0.68)		0.605 (0.23)		
Same employment status (ref)							
He full-time,she part/not work	2.064 (0.84)		0.948 (0.62)		1.153 (0.25)		
She full-time,he part/not work	1.693 (1.30)	-0.017 (0.03)	11.719* (12.89)	0.068 (0.03)	2.946** (1.20)	0.115 (0.07)	
She part-time,he not work	3.251 (2.70)		0.000*** (0.00)		1.579 (0.83)	0.331*** (0.09)	
He part-time,she not work	3.588 (3.78)		3.382 (3.29)		2.452 (1.78)		
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)							
She more friends	1.770 (0.59)	0.032* (0.01)	1.154 (0.42)		0.812 (0.17)		
He more friends	0.743 (0.33)		0.540 (0.29)		1.023 (0.22)		
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)							
She more cultural activities	0.943 (0.43)	0.004 (0.02)	1.278 (0.54)		0.794 (0.19)		
He more cultural activities	0.544 (0.23)		0.553 (0.22)		0.677 (0.15)		
His share of housework	0.980 (0.01)		0.970 (0.02)		0.987 (0.01)		
His share of child care	0.989 (0.02)		1.030* (0.01)		0.998 (0.01)		
Same commitment (ref)							
She more committed	0.856 (0.47)		0.658 (0.32)		1.530 (0.41)	(0.09) (0.04)	
He more committed	0.867 (0.50)	0.013 (0.02)	0.564 (0.35)		0.576 (0.25)		
Constant	6.537 (22.60)		3.104 (13.26)		37.829 (85.17)		
Pseudo- R^2	0.27						
N	1588						

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Controls not presented; Female respondents, West Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 35: Control over the income in West German couples

Control over income – East Germany						
ref(Separate system)	She		He		Pooled	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	1.001 (0.01)		0.975 (0.03)		1.000 (0.01)	
Household income	0.999** (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	0.999* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.999* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)						
She higher education	4.747** (2.72)		0.708 (0.74)		1.454 (0.51)	
He higher education	1.594 (1.23)		0.127* (0.12)		1.102 (0.44)	
Same age (ref)						
She older	0.622 (0.65)		1.061 (2.55)		1.003 (0.56)	
He older	0.245 (0.22)		1.099 (1.63)		1.023 (0.53)	
Same employment status (ref)						
He full-time,she part/not work	2.203 (1.12)		3.218 (3.28)		1.380 (0.37)	
She full-time,he part/not work	0.574 (0.55)		0.000*** (0.00)		0.760 (0.28)	0.091 (0.08)
She part-time,he not work	0.373 (0.51)		26.634 (66.74)		0.706 (0.46)	
He part-time,she not work	1.787 (2.67)	-0.017 (0.05)	16.485 (27.32)		3.964* (2.37)	
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)						
She more friends	0.623 (0.33)		0.167 (0.24)		0.798 (0.21)	
He more friends	0.641 (0.41)		0.666 (0.62)		1.146 (0.38)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)						
She more cultural activities	1.997 (1.34)		0.425 (0.50)		0.992 (0.35)	
He more cultural activities	1.457 (1.03)		1.409 (1.94)		1.124 (0.33)	
His share of housework	0.957** (0.02)	-0.001* (0.00)	1.033 (0.02)		0.986 (0.01)	
His share of child care	0.990 (0.02)		0.930** (0.03)		1.001 (0.01)	
Same commitment (ref)						
She more committed	0.208* (0.16)	-0.039 (0.03)	0.442 (0.45)		0.503 (0.19)	
He more committed	0.334 (0.26)		0.000*** (0.00)		0.827 (0.37)	0.131 (0.08)
Constant	0.422 (2.01)		0.000 (0.00)		0.101 (0.21)	
Pseudo-R2	0.26					
N	792					

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Controls not presented; Female respondents, East Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 36: Control over the income in East German couples

ref(Joint decision)	Decision-making – West Germany			
	She		He	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	1.022 (0.01)	0.001* (0.00)	0.977** (0.01)	
Household income	1.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.698 (0.35)		0.745 (0.32)	
He higher education	1.459 (0.67)		1.829 (0.73)	
Same age (ref)				
She older	2.459 (2.97)		0.760 (0.51)	
He older	3.336 (4.07)		0.953 (0.44)	0.003 (0.03)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	3.258* (1.77)	0.048 (0.03)	0.999 (0.47)	
She full-time,he part/not work	1.296 (1.21)		1.563 (1.37)	
She part-time,he not work	0.628 (0.80)	0.007 (0.05)	0.000*** (0.00)	
He part-time,she not work	20.631** (19.04)	0.104* (0.04)	1.854 (1.71)	-0.001 (0.05)
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.633 (0.27)		0.803 (0.30)	0.003 (0.02)
He more friends	0.513 (0.27)		1.044 (0.50)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.639 (0.31)		0.638 (0.31)	
He more cultural activities	1.837 (0.80)		0.364 (0.19)	
His share of housework	1.001 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.997 (0.01)	
His share of child care	0.969 (0.02)		1.001 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	1.179 (0.73)		0.660 (0.35)	
He more committed	2.415 (1.39)		0.802 (0.44)	
Constant	414.428 (1501.52)		0.426 (1.49)	
Pseudo- R^2	0.24			
N	1049			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: Decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Controls not presented; Female respondents, West Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 37: Decision-making in West German couples

ref(Joint decision)	Decision-making – East Germany			
		She		He
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Her share of income	1.022 (0.01)		1.008 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)
Household income	1.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	2.180 (1.38)		0.508 (0.36)	
He higher education	1.503 (1.13)		2.094 (1.62)	
Same age (ref)				
She older	1.623 (2.21)	-0.006 (0.07)	1.479 (1.77)	
He older	0.837 (0.89)		1.307 (1.55)	
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	2.498 (1.35)	-0.003 (0.02)	1.999 (1.26)	
She full-time,he part/not work	0.063 (0.09)	-0.616*** (0.12)	0.291 (0.36)	0.019 (0.06)
She part-time,he not work	0.321 (0.56)		1.082 (1.30)	
He part-time,she not work	0.000*** (0.00)		0.000*** (0.00)	
Same freq of meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	1.117 (0.61)		1.193 (0.68)	
He more friends	2.087 (1.29)	0.044* (0.02)	72.801 (1.70)	
Same freq of cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	5.133** (3.23)	0.061* (0.03)	0.350 (0.43)	
He more cultural activities	3.229* (1.75)	0.080*** (0.02)	0.326 (0.31)	
His share of housework	0.940** (0.02)	-0.002* (0.00)	0.980 (0.02)	
His share of child care	1.007 (0.01)		0.999 (0.02)	
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.423 (0.37)		0.293 (0.21)	
He more committed	2.870 (2.29)		1.443 (1.57)	
Constant	2986.075 (16513.97)		9.886 (47.34)	
Pseudo-R2	0.31			
N	521			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: Decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Controls not presented; Female respondents, East Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

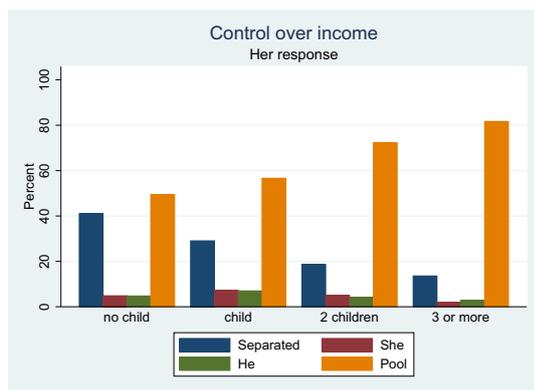
Table 38: Decision-making in East German couples

12 The role of transitions – marriage, children, and changes in employment status

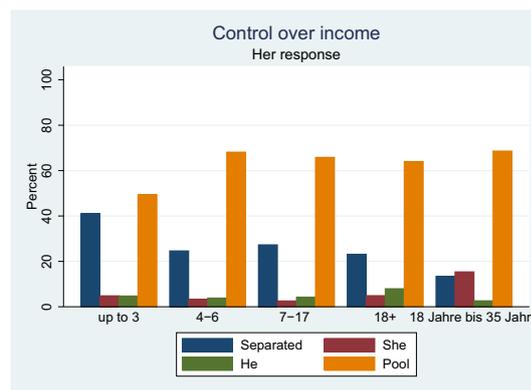
The second major aim of this study is to investigate if transitions, namely marriage, childbirth, or changes in employment status, have an impact on power allocation within couples. Transitions are crucial for the life courses of individuals. Transitions structure not only the lives of the individual, but also the linked lives of partners in intimate relationships.

The analysis above showed that marriages and cohabitations differ predominantly in the control over the income. The joint pool is most likely to be used in marriages. The separate system is dominant in cohabiting couples. Although most couples make the decisions together, the male partner is slightly more likely in married than in cohabiting couples to have decision-making power. The findings above have also shown that the differences between married and cohabiting couples actually continue in long-term relationships. These differences between cohabitations and marriages might be due to gender role attitudes and gender ideologies. Cohabiting couples often apply the 50:50 rule of equitable contributions and benefits. Therefore, the partners need to differentiate between his money and her money. In addition, cohabiting partners may hesitate to make investments in the relationship since they cannot be sure of the stability of the relationship. Cohabiting partners do not feel secure about the relationship itself, which they therefore consider as a “trial marriage”.

Since self-selection can be the reason for the differences between cohabitations and marriages, it is interesting to investigate if marriage itself has an impact on power within couples. If partners who have gotten married are fundamentally different in their characteristics from cohabiting partners, e.g. in their gender role attitudes or personality traits, power should not change through marriage. But if we assume that marriage implies a gender or relationship ideology and that marriage is a step toward a greater commitment of the partners and promotes a long-term perspective, marriage does change the allocation of financial power within couples. If it is assumed that cohabiting partners are cautious to make commitments to and investments in the relationship, cooperation might increase through marriage. Furthermore, since marriage is a more traditional relationship type than cohabitation, marriage might decrease women’s financial power.



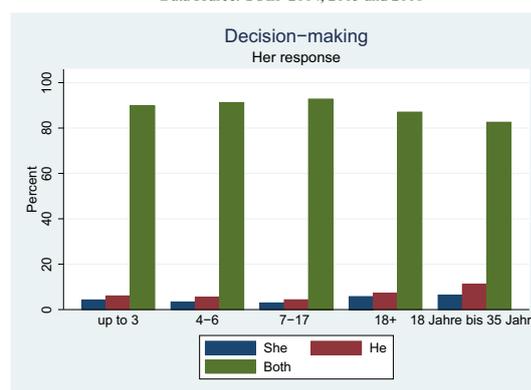
Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008



Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005 and 2008



Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008



Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure 28: Number of children

Figure 29: Age of youngest child

In addition to the type of relationship, children affect power within couples as well. The following main result can be formulated for the number of children (Figure 28): the more children a couple has, the more likely the partners are to use the joint pool, i.e. the more they cooperate. This finding, however, could be due to the duration of the relationship and will need to be tested in the regression models, which allow an integration of both number of children and duration of the relationship at the same time. For his or her exclusive control over the income if the couple has one child and less likely if they have three or more children. The results for decision-making power are somewhat contradictory and do not point to a general pattern. She is more likely to be perceived as the decision-maker if the couple has three or more children. He is more likely to be perceived as having the final say if the couple has two children.

For the age of the youngest child, results are rather hazy. Partners use the separate system less if the youngest child is aged 18 years or older (Figure 29). Cooperation, however, remains relatively stable. Interestingly, the female partner is more likely to have exclusive control if the youngest child is of full age. In this case her control is even more likely than noncooperation. She has less power if the youngest child is younger than 7 years. For decision-making power, again, the data does not point to a general pattern. The female respondents perceived a

power advantage for both partners if the children were of full age. His decision-making power is perceived slightly more often than hers.

Hence, cooperation is more common if the couples have children. Findings indicate that cooperation actually increases and noncooperation decreases with the number of children. Noncooperation is also less likely if the youngest child is of full age. Children of full age are a power advantage for the female partners: she is more likely to have exclusive control if the youngest child is of full age. By contrast, he is more likely to make financial decisions in the same case. However, these descriptive findings do not tell us whether children *change* the partners' power allocations. Again, it will be interesting to analyze whether self-selection occurs or whether children indeed change power allocation within couples. Again, self-selection could underlie the differences between the couples with or without younger or older children. Couples with children are more willing to share and cooperate than couples without children. Furthermore, the multinomial logistic regression models and the bivariate probit models show that, surprisingly, the relation between employment status and decision-making is rather negative – especially for the female partners. The female partners are more likely to be powerful if they have a lower status than their partners, and are less likely to possess power if they are employed full-time. One explanation of this could be that a higher employment status implies a greater workload and less leisure, which is a power disadvantage for the partner with a higher employment status. Another interpretation, which has not been discussed so far, could be that female partners relinquish their power because they are the breadwinners. Not making use of their power potential would be a coping strategy for the violation of their gender identities. But this does not explain the positive relation between her lower status and her financial power. Another explanation that has been suggested is the possibility that partners' lower status is compensated for by giving them more power in the household. Again, this interpretation does not explain why the positive relation between lower status and financial power is stronger for the female than for the male partners. Finally, in couples with conventional asymmetries – he works, she stays at home – separate spheres could emerge, whereas financial decision-making is part of the household sphere. In order to explore in more depth the role of employment status, panel models were estimated. Panel models allow the analysis of change within couples and are adequate to answer the second major research question: Do transitions in couples affect partners' power allocations?

In %	Changes in financial power	
	2004-2005	2005-2008
Control over income		
<i>Female respondents</i>		
no change	3218	3110
change	854 (21%)	962 (23%)
<i>Male respondents</i>		
no change	3176	3126
change	896 (22%)	946 (23%)
Decision-making		
<i>Female respondents</i>		
no change		3392
change		680 (17%)
<i>Male respondents</i>		
no change		3306
change		766 (19%)

Note: Column percentages in parentheses; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 39: Overall changes in financial power outcomes over time

The ideal model for the second research question is a fixed effects model (FE). But a FE model could not be estimated since the number of observations is not sufficient if the separate system and joint decision-making are used as reference categories. Therefore, a hybrid was used, where the mean values of the time-variant independent variables are introduced in a random effects model. Unlike FE, this method does not disregard those observations which do not change over time. Thus, the number of observations of these models is sufficient to define the separate system as a reference category. The interpretation of the coefficients of the time-variant variables is similar to that in a fixed effects model. Since the hybrid model allows the control of unobserved heterogeneity, the unrestricted sample can be used. This sample includes the couples where one or both partners have migration backgrounds. The controls for the hybrid models are her share of income, household income, his share of housework, his share of child care, and duration of relationship. Previous models showed that especially relative income and household income have a significant effect on the power outcomes. Hence, their integration as control variables is necessary. Since the effect of marriage and children could also be due to the duration of the relationship, it was also necessary to control for the duration of the relation. Control variables can be found in Tables A.22 and A.23. Since the hybrid model accounts for unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity, outliers should be less problematic. However, in order to tackle the problem of outliers nevertheless, leverage and standardized residuals are plotted for the corresponding logit models. The directions and significances of the effects of logit models and those of the hybrid models are predominantly

similar, so that the first can be used for predicting leverage values and standardized residuals. In the Appendix, Figures A.5, A.6, and A.7 show that the variance of observations especially for her control and her decision-making is relatively high. Note that clear patterns of outliers with a high leverage value and a residual value higher than 2 are rarely present.

Changes in outcomes			
<i>Female respondents</i>			
From separated to	Pooled	She	He
	20.92	2.75	1.65
From joint decision to		She	He
		3.62	5.29
<i>Male respondents</i>			
From separated to	Pooled	He	She
	20.30	2.42	2.23
From joint decision to		He	She
		6.78	3.54

Note: Row percentages not weighted; Female and male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 40: Changes of the separate system and joint decision-making

Before outlining the hybrid models (Tables 44 and 45), we will need to answer the question to what extent couples change over time in their control over resources and decision-making. The overall changes in the financial power outcomes in the unrestricted sample, which is used for the panel analysis, is shown in Table 39. Between 20 percent and 24 percent of all the couples in the unrestricted sample change in their control over resources from 2004 to 2005 and from 2005 to 2008. For decision-making power, there are fewer changes in general. 17 percent to 23 percent of the couples change the way they make financial decisions. Table 40 gives more detailed information on the frequencies of couples who change from one specific category to another. Since the separate system and joint decision-making are used as reference categories in each of the hybrid models, changes from the separate system to her control, his control, or the joint pool, and changes from joint decision-making to either her or his decisions are considered. The frequencies of transitions within couples are provided in Table 41. Around 15 percent of the couples get married. Most of the couples, around 17 percent, change from a situation where both partners are employed full-time to an arrangement where he works full-time and she is either working part-time or not working at all. Regarding children, most of the couples change from one to two children, and the youngest child predominantly changes to age category seven to seventeen years.

Changes in marital status, children, and employment status				
<i>Relative employment status</i>				
From both full-time to	he full, she lower	she full, he lower	she part, he lower	he part, she lower
	17.05	7.16	0.42	0.42
<i>Number of children</i>				
Changes to	one child	two children	three and more	
	4.43	9.29	1.65	
<i>Age of youngest child</i>				
Changes in age from	4 to 6 years	7 to 17	full age	
	21.02	28.57	8.61	
<i>Type of relationship</i>				
From cohabitation to	marriage			
	14.97			

Note: Percentages not weighted; Not all categories presented for relative employment status; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 41: Frequency of couples experiencing a transition

Table 42 shows that all of the hybrid models are significant, which means that the random effects logit models are not similar to the binary logit models. Furthermore, rho indicates that the within-person variation in the models is higher for decision-making than for control over the income. Especially for her control and his control, the variance between persons is higher than the variance within persons. In these models, 94 to 97 percent of the variances are due to variation between persons, depending on the model. For decision-making, in contrast, 36 to 55 percent are due to variation within persons over time. The highest amount of within variation is present for his decision-making in the male sample.

Since only a small number of the coefficients is significant, the likelihood ratio test was done only for the model for joint control for the female respondents, and for his and her decision-making for both the male and the female respondents (Table 43). The test indicates that marriage and children contribute to the model's explanatory power for joint decision-making. However, adding relative employment status does not significantly improve the model. We need to keep this in mind when interpreting the results, particularly for changes in employment status.

12.1 Marriage

When partners get married, the chance of their noncooperation regarding the control over the finances decreases. Noncooperation decreases primarily in favor of cooperation. The chance that the partners cooperate increases through marriage. Not only the chance of cooperation is higher if the partners are married, but also the chances both of the female partner's and of the male partner's control. Note, however, that the number of observations and the extent of change within these categories are relatively small, which means that both the effect size and the standard error are quite large. Regarding decision-making, the effects, although not significant, indicate that marriage increases the chance of her decision-making, and decreases

the chance of his decision-making.

This study does not confirm the hypothesis that marriage decreases female partners' control because it traditionalizes the relationship. In contrast, where financial decision-making is concerned, both partners perceive a power gain for the female partners when couples get married. Note that effects are significant for control over the income only. For control, the main finding is that cooperation increases when partners get married.

	Loglikelihood	Rho	
Control over income			
<i>Female respondents</i>			
She controls	-434.10	.97	***
He controls	-410.26	.94	***
Pooled	-1685.78	.81	***
<i>Male respondents</i>			
She controls	-472.34	.96	***
He controls	-364.65	.96	***
Pooled	-1668.44	.81	***
Decision-making			
<i>Female respondents</i>			
She decides	-599.40	.64	***
He decides	-805.82	.58	***
<i>Male respondents</i>			
She decides	-607.88	.55	***
He decides	-875.66	.45	***

Note: Hybrid models; Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0, Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 42: Test statistics for hybrid models

According to the results above, married and cohabiting couples differ in the way they control their finances. This difference could be due either to self-selection (married couples are different compared to cohabiting couples) or to a shift in control over the income *through* marriage. The hybrid model indicates that marriage itself changes the way partners control their money. Until they get married, partners tend to separate their incomes: they do not cooperate. When they get married, they change from noncooperation to cooperation: the joint pool. Note that one needs to be cautious to interpret the effects as direct causal relations. Nevertheless, we can reject the objection that the difference between marriage and cohabitation is only due to self-selection. The effects point to a change in power through marriage.

12.2 Children

The number of children has a significant effect only on the chance of the joint pool. Like marriage, children increase the chance of cooperation – especially two and more children. This

	Likelihood-Ratio-Test		
	for marriage (1)	for children (2)	for employment status (3)
Joint pool			
<i>Female respondents</i> LR chi2	4.36	12.72	7.10
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.0367	0.0468	0.3110
She decides			
<i>Female respondents</i> LR chi2			10.23
<i>Prob > chi2</i>			0.1152
<i>Male respondents</i> LR chi2			6.63
<i>Prob > chi2</i>			0.3561
He decides			
<i>Female respondents</i> LR chi2			10.29
<i>Prob > chi2</i>			0.1130
<i>Male respondents</i> LR chi2			4.63
<i>Prob > chi2</i>			0.5923

Note: Hybrid models; (1) Complete model versus model without relationship status (centered), (2) Complete model versus model without number of children (centered) and age of youngest child (centered), (3) Complete model versus model without relative employment status (centered); Male and female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008 (control over income), SOEP 2005 and 2008 (decision-making)

Table 43: Likelihood-ratio-test for groups of explanatory variables

can be observed for control over the income and decision-making – with one exception: the individuals perceive a power gain of their partners if the couple has three or more children. Note, however, that the effect is significant only for the male sample. Hence, the male partners primarily perceive their partners as the decision-makers if the couple has three or more children.

The age of the youngest child has no significant effect on the financial power outcomes and the effects are rather mixed. However, there is a tendency that very young children (up to three years old) are associated with either control, his control, or cooperation. If the children are very young, noncooperation is unlikely. The same tendency is observable for financial decision-making in most cases.

Like marriage, children and very young children increase the chance of cooperation. When children get older, the chance of noncooperation increases. The results do not point to a power advantage for one of the partners if the couple has children. This does not confirm the assumption that children have a negative effect on women's bargaining power.

12.3 Relative employment status

Similarly to previous results, the hybrid models for control over the income and decision-making show highly mixed results for relative employment status – particularly for control over the income. In the analysis above, the low number of observations and outliers in some of the categories were problematic for the interpretation of the effects. Now there are not

only fewer people observed in the categories of relative employment status but the number of people changing from one category to another is even smaller (see Table 41). Future research will need to investigate in more depth the relation between status and power by using more extensive data.

For control over the income, the effects are not significant, or if they are, they are biased due to a very low number of observations. Nevertheless, two tendencies should be pointed out. First, the chance of a change from the separate to the pooling system increases if couples change from an employment situation where both partners are employed full-time to a difference in statuses. Second, partners perceive themselves as less likely to obtain control over the income when they give up their full-time employment whereas the other partner remains employed full-time.

Interestingly, as seen in the models above, unconventional asymmetries in partners' employment statuses increase the chance of a perception of the female partner's decision-making. Again, male partners in particular seem to be sensitive to relative employment and power. At any rate, the effect is significant only for the male respondents. The chance that men perceive a switch from joint decision-making to her decision-making is significantly higher if she stops working full-time and he remains in his full-time position. Thus, a change to a conventional arrangement increases the chance of the female partner's decision-making.

Furthermore, changes to any difference between the relative employment statuses of the partners decrease the chance that men perceive themselves as the decision-makers – significantly so if she gets employed part-time and he becomes unemployed. The nonsignificant effects also indicate that men are more likely to be perceived as the decision-makers if the partners have identical employment statuses. Women, in contrast, appear to be perceived as the decision-makers if asymmetries emerge. Note, however, that according to the likelihood ratio test relative employment status does not improve the explanatory power of the model. Nevertheless, changes to a traditional arrangement significantly increase her decision-making power.

The above findings in the multinomial logistic regression model are confirmed by the hybrid models. Female partners are perceived to assume financial decision-making when they switch to a lower employment status – in the men's perceptions, at any rate. Section 7.2.3 formulated explanations for the positive relation between a lower employment status and decision-making. One explanation is that employment status is not a power base, but a burden. However, the increase in power when partners switch to a lower employment status is particularly pronounced for the female partners. If a higher status was a burden, the effect of a lower status on decision-making should be the same for the men and the women.

I opt for the following explanation, which was also formulated in Section 7.2.3: In the case of conventional asymmetries, i.e. if he is employed either full-time or part-time and she is unemployed, a traditional separation of spheres emerges. The traditionalization of partners' arrangements also shows in the higher chance of cooperation, i.e. the use of the joint pool.

His sphere is the labor market, where he earns the “family income”. Her sphere is the household, where she makes financial decisions among other household tasks. However, the status of decision-making as a power outcome can be questioned if we assume that it is a simple household task. As regards decision-making, the analysis also indicates that the male partners are more likely to perceive themselves as decision-makers if both partners are employed full-time, whereas the female partners are more likely to perceive themselves as powerful in the case of asymmetries.

12.4 Income, household income, and child care

Although this chapter focuses on the effects of marriage, children, and relative employment status on financial power, a number of covariates should also be taken into account. In the preceding sections we saw that relative income, household income, and to some degree his share of child care are all related to the financial power outcomes. Do the effects remain more or less stable if we consider them from a dynamic perspective? This section only accounts for the significant effects of the power bases and gender arrangements.

Relative income has a significant effect only on the chance of his control. In both the male and the female samples, the chance that couples switch from noncooperation to his control decreases if her share of income increases. Furthermore, the chance that couples switch from noncooperation to cooperation decreases if the household income increases. These findings support the analysis above. Surprisingly, an increase in her income increases the chance of his decision-making power in the female sample. This result contradicts the above findings, which also showed a negative relation between her income and his decision-making.

Interestingly, the positive association between his share of child care and his perceived decision-making is also significant in the hybrid models. The chance of the perception of a switch from joint decisions to his decision-making increases if his share of child care increases. The chance that she is considered as the decision-maker decreases the more he assumes child care. In contrast to the above models, however, it is significantly the woman who perceives him to have a power advantage and herself to have a power disadvantage if he assumes a larger amount of child care.

The power outcomes and the division of labor are less significant from the dynamic perspective than in the multinomial and the bivariate probit models. Nevertheless, relative income, household income, and division of child care have significant effects on financial power outcomes. The results predominantly support the findings above. The female partners’ higher relative income is a power disadvantage for the male partners – especially for their control over the income. A higher household income increases the chance of noncooperation. Furthermore, his greater share of child care increases the chance of the male partner’s decision-making power.

	Control over money					
	She controls		He controls		Joint pool	
	Her answer (1)	His answer (2)	Her answer (3)	His answer (4)	Her answer (5)	His answer (6)
ref(Separate system)						
Married	40.74* (70.61)	25.36* (40.45)	91.93* (165.41)	195.6* (486.30)	3.239** (1.33)	3.960*** (1.64)
No child (ref)						
One child	0.886 (1.55)	0.405 (0.56)	1.056 (1.71)	1.949 (5.40)	4.785** (2.55)	2.672 (1.41)
Two children	1.213 (2.80)	0.280 (0.50)	2.449 (4.67)	16.49 (51.61)	6.568** (4.33)	8.752** (5.79)
Three and more	4.218 (13.09)	3.346 (9.05)	3.023 (9.75)	1324.0 (5857.96)	3.044 (3.19)	9.750* (10.19)
Age of youngest 1-3						
4-6	0.691 (0.77)	0.746 (0.61)	1.019 (0.91)	1.032 (1.22)	0.820 (0.25)	0.817 (0.24)
7-17	0.720 (1.11)	1.012 (1.18)	0.499 (0.64)	0.590 (1.05)	0.626 (0.26)	0.783 (0.33)
Full age	0.140 (0.26)	1.458 (2.07)	0.829 (1.37)	1.291 (3.14)	0.632 (0.36)	1.367 (0.79)
Both full-time (ref)						
He full-time,she part/not work	0.922 (0.86)	0.915 (0.73)	1.013 (0.94)	10.91 (14.17)	1.299 (0.38)	1.051 (0.31)
She full-time,he part/not work	2.333 (3.19)	0.725 (0.77)	4.720 (9.22)	0.779 (1.93)	2.105 (0.85)	1.406 (0.56)
She part-time,he not work	9.522 (19.36)	0.552 (0.88)	23.17 (55.94)	8698.0** (30383.24)	1.663 (1.01)	1.716 (1.04)
He part-time,she not work	70.36 (175.88)	13.21 (25.17)	10.24 (18.37)	3.570 (8.60)	2.345 (1.48)	1.211 (0.76)
Both part-time	6.606 (10.23)	3.014 (3.87)	0.680 (1.22)	780.8* (2389.34)	1.331 (0.58)	1.386 (0.62)
Both not working	0.476 (1.39)	0.166 (0.44)	2.423 (5.08)	103.6 (328.96)	0.480 (0.38)	0.611 (0.48)
N	1561	1571	1560	1519	4343	4344

Note: Hybrid models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: (1) and (2) she controls, (3) and (4) he controls, (5) and (6) joint pool; Basecategories: separate system; Controls not presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table 44: Hybrid model for control over the income

ref(Joint decision)	Decision-making			
	She decides		He decides	
	Her answer (1)	His answer (2)	Her answer (3)	His answer (4)
Married	1.301 (1.07)	0.605 (0.45)	2.759 (2.37)	0.925 (0.64)
No child (ref)				
One child	0.241 (0.28)	0.248 (0.25)	0.479 (0.42)	0.199* (0.16)
Two children	0.285 (0.38)	0.727 (0.89)	2.414 (2.61)	0.263 (0.25)
Three and more	0.294 (0.50)	32.80 (59.20)	3.788 (5.21)	0.525 (0.62)
Age of youngest 1-3				
4-6	1.233 (0.71)	0.602 (0.33)	0.657 (0.27)	1.127 (0.43)
7-17	3.394 (2.69)	2.007 (1.50)	0.816 (0.50)	1.288 (0.72)
Full age	2.484 (2.63)	2.862 (2.78)	1.491 (1.21)	1.832 (1.34)
Both full-time (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	2.320 (1.26)	2.726* (1.37)	0.780 (0.35)	0.581 (0.23)
She full-time,he part/not work	1.550 (1.10)	0.581 (0.36)	0.313 (0.25)	0.578 (0.38)
She part-time,he not work	6.131 (6.11)	0.599 (0.54)	0.131* (0.13)	1.086 (0.83)
He part-time,she not work	5.775 (5.46)	2.237 (2.07)	0.732 (0.56)	0.374 (0.25)
Both part-time	1.317 (1.00)	1.421 (0.94)	0.167* (0.14)	0.362 (0.24)
Both not working	16.03** (16.41)	1.728 (1.66)	0.962 (0.85)	0.592 (0.48)
N	2961	2938	3050	3049

Note: Hybrid models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: (1) and (2) she decides, (3) and (4) he decides; Basecategories: separate system; Controls not presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table 45: Hybrid model for decision-making

12.5 Summary

The question of cooperation or noncooperation is crucial with regard to marriage. The chance of noncooperation decreases in favor of either his or her power but particularly in favor of cooperation when couples get married. It was expected that marriage implied a power disadvantage for women, since one could argue that marriage traditionalizes the relationship. Since cooperation – the joint pool – is related to rather conventional gender arrangements, e.g. regarding the partners' relative employment status and relative income and his share of housework (see the descriptive findings in Chapter 7), a traditionalization of the relationship could indeed take place when couples get married. However, this form of traditionalization does not mean a power loss for female partners. Hypothesis 5.3 must be rejected. Instead, Hypothesis 5.6 is confirmed for marriage. Marriage increases the chance of cooperation.

An increase of cooperation in couples who have gotten married was also observed by Burgoyne et al. (2007). In their qualitative panel study, they found that couples moved to pooling their incomes due to pragmatic reasons, e.g. having to meet major expenses, and ideological reasons, e.g. sharing within marriage. Treas (1993), moreover, stresses that married couples often choose the pooled system because they want to reduce transaction costs. Compared to separate accounts, the pooling of income “requires less coordination, leads to fewer disagreements, and makes monitoring of the many exchanges of married life easier” (Treas, 1993, 724). Furthermore, the ideology of sharing dominates in married couples because sharing implies expectations about the continuity of the marriage. Bargaining is often perceived as “antiethical to commitment to permanence of the relationship” (Treas, 1993, 725). Furthermore, married partners often make plans for the future, for example regarding the purchase of a house or family formation. We have seen that children constitute another factor which decreases the chance of noncooperation between partners.

Marriage is a commitment to the relationship (Swensen and Trahaug, 1985). The individuals either make a commitment to the institution “marriage” or to the other person. In the first case, marriage is instrumental, while in the latter, marriage is intrinsic. Whether the reasons for getting married are intrinsic or instrumental, both partners decide to make the same commitment at the same time and express the same commitment through getting married. It can therefore be assumed that the partners are more or less equally committed to the relationship if they get married. In the above analysis, we also saw that an equality of commitment is associated with cooperation in the relationship.

According to cooperative bargaining theory, it was assumed that children and particularly young children are a power disadvantage for female partners, since they are still more likely than men to be responsible for child care. However, the results do not support this assumption. Hypotheses 5.4 and 5.5 have to be rejected. Children do not increase or decrease the chance of only one partner's power outcomes. Instead, children decrease the chance of noncooperation, while increasing equally the chances of cooperation and of the male or the female partner's power outcomes. Thus, Hypothesis 5.6 is confirmed for children.

When partners have children, their relationship changes in many ways. Acting as autonomous individuals in the relationship is inefficient because the partners have to make agreements upon various questions related to children and child care. Partners with children do not make plans only for themselves, but they have to think of their children as well. Blumstein and Schwartz (1983, 175) highlight that when “humans carry out a collective enterprise such as having and rearing a child, they must lay plans about unknown events far in the future” (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983, 175). Furthermore, children themselves can be perceived as an investment, which in turn fosters further investments in the relationship and cooperation. One could argue that the results for relative employment status question the status of decision-making as an indicator of power. Female partners’ changes to a lower employment status increase the chance of her decision-making – in his perception, at any rate. Thus, Hypothesis 5.1 has to be rejected. A higher status is not related to financial power. Hypothesis 5.2 could also not be confirmed. Relative employment status is not stronger related to men’s than to women’s power. However, changes in her employment status have a stronger effect on his perception of her power.

One explanation for this finding is that decision-making is not related to power. But if this was true, the relation between relative employment status and power should be the same for men, which is not the case. Of course, another explanation might be that employment status has different meanings for men and women. While a higher status is a burden for women, it is a power advantage for men. At any rate, a lower status does not have a positive impact on his power. Two other interpretations appear to be reasonable for explaining the increase in her power if changes to traditional arrangements emerge. First, if conventional asymmetries in the partners’ relative employment status appear, separate spheres develop. While he is more active than her in the labor market, she is more responsible than him for the household and, thus, for related financial decisions. Second, since it is mainly the men who perceive the increase of their partners’ power, the traditional arrangement goes hand in hand with men’s perception of their partner as “wearing the breeches”. This perception is not necessarily related to partners’ actual power allocation, but belongs to the “traditional package” of couples where men are the main breadwinners. Future research is needed to analyse power dynamics in more depth and to test both explanations.

Even though German welfare state policies shape transitions and support the male breadwinner model, there is no evidence that marriage or children lead to power disadvantages for women. In contrast, these events seem to be expressions of the partners’ relationship ideology and their commitment to each other. They increase the chance of cooperation between the partners and transform “cohabitation money” into “marriage money” (Singh and Lindsay, 1996). But marriage money is nebulous and cooperation a black box which does not give information on specific arrangements in relationships. Partners may feel the need to respond to the survey question with the statement that they do everything together since this expresses their ideology of marriage. Nevertheless, inequalities may still be hidden behind the label

“cooperation”. Future research will therefore need to look behind the curtain of the joint pool and joint decision-making and consider specific practices related to these arrangements. This study has indicated that cooperation is related to traditional arrangements, where e.g. the woman has a greater share of housework. Thus, an increase in cooperation within couples does not necessarily mean equality between the partners.

So far, the analysis has focused on the financial power outcomes. The previous chapters showed that financial resources are related predominantly to financial power, but also that the power bases are related differently to male and female partners’ perceptions. In addition, East and West Germany differ in their patterns of power bases and power outcomes. The final empirical chapter of this study will tackle the non-financial power outcomes. This is done in a descriptive analysis and a multivariate analysis based on the *pairfam* data. The advantage of this data set is its large extent of information on gender role attitudes and partners’ commitment to their relationships. This advantage will be used in the following section, which focuses predominantly on the relation between social influence and influence on results as power outcomes, and partners’ gender role attitudes and their commitment to the relationship as major power bases.

13 Social influence and influence on results – further insights into power

The above chapters broadly discussed financial power. We have seen that partners’ relative incomes in particular are associated with the financial power outcomes. The partner with the higher income is more likely to have power in the financial dimension of the couple’s life. However, there are also gender differences regarding the relation between power bases and power outcomes. Most interestingly, a lower employment status is a power disadvantage primarily for women. If she changes to a lower employment status but her partner remains employed full-time, she is more likely to have decision-making power. Furthermore, men seem to be more concerned about the allocation of power bases than women. There is gender inequality with regard to household income. The more money there is in the household, the less likely will the woman be and the more likely will the man be to have financial power. Doing gender was observed especially for the division of child care. If he assumes a greater share of child care, he is more likely to be perceived as having financial power. However, the issue of cooperation is also important when we look at power allocation. Partners’ cooperation regarding the finances is related to unconventional arrangements in couples. Couples are likely to cooperate if he has a greater share of housework and if she earns a higher relative income. The chance of cooperation increases when partners get married and when children are born.

Control over the income and decision-making are a central part of partners' power allocations. In intimate relationships, financial issues are crucial for the partners' material well-being. Their power relation and, as we have seen for marriage and cooperation, their relationship ideology are expressed through their financial arrangements. However, the financial dimension is only one dimension of power in relationships. The partners' power relation is expressed not only through their management of the finances, but also through their interaction and the way they influence each other. This chapter will therefore extend the above analysis of power by taking into account the non-financial power outcomes. These are social influence and influence on results. Social influence covers the influence one partner has on the other's behavior. Influence on results comprehends to what degree one partner gets what he or she wants.

Whereas the SOEP has been used for the analysis of financial power, the *pairfam* will be used to investigate social influence and influence on results. The advantage of the SOEP is the quality of the socio-economic factors, especially income, which are the most important factors for financial power. The disadvantage of the analysis above is that gender role attitudes, which can be assumed to have an effect on couples' gender arrangements, could not be considered. In addition, only one proxy for partners' commitment to their relationships was used, namely the importance which the individuals contribute to the relationship in general.

The *pairfam* data are very interesting because they provide specific information about partners' emotional dimensions of their relationships, i.e. their commitment to the relationship. This is measured with two indicators, among others: first, the expression of the hope that the relationship will last for a long time, and second, the visualization of a long-term future with the partner. Furthermore, the partners' gender role attitudes were measured and will be used in the analysis of power. Hence, the following sections will focus less on socio-economic factors and more on the role of partners' commitment and gender role attitudes. Since gender role attitudes are introduced and it can be controlled for migration background and East Germany, the sample does not have to be restricted like in the cross-sectional analysis of financial power.

Another advantage of the *pairfam* data is that in addition to cohabiting and married couples, living apart together couples (LAT) can also be taken into account. For the study of financial power, the limitation to cohabiting or married couples made sense because financial issues arise predominantly if partners are living together in one household. In order to study social influence and influence on results, however, cohabitation is not essential. Thus, considering LAT-couples will be enriching for the following analysis. In addition, the sample based on the *pairfam* data includes only couples where one of the partners (the anchor) is not older than 37 years. The SOEP sample, in contrast, takes into account couples where both partners belong to older cohorts.

The main advantages of using another data set are (1) taking into account different types of power, i.e. social influence and influence on results, (2) highlighting the emotional and ideological dimensions of couples' lives, that is partners' commitment and their gender role

attitudes, and (3) the consideration of LAT couples. Using different dependent and explanatory variables and a different sample provides further insights into power allocation in intimate relationships.

Similarly to the analysis above, the descriptive results will give a general overview of the distribution of the dependent variables and first ideas about their relation with commitment and gender role attitudes. Are partners' relative commitment and gender role attitudes related to the power outcomes?

In a second step, multinomial logistic regression models will provide further answers to the first research question of this study: Which factors are related to power allocation in couples? Again, the main point of interest is the emotional and ideological dimensions of couples' interaction. Thus, the first question to be answered is whether commitment to the relationship and partners' gender role attitudes are related to the power outcomes if it is controlled for various factors. The second research question is whether power bases such as resources, alternative social relations, and household arrangements further explain power outcomes.

13.1 General overview

When answering the survey questions on social influence and influence on results, almost half of the partners opted for the middle ranged category, namely "sometimes" (Tables 46 and 47). The extreme categories "never" and "always" have only a small number of observations. Around 15 percent to 35 percent of the interviewees said that their partners "seldom" or "often" makes them do things, they would not otherwise have done. For influence on results, the frequencies are very similar (Tables 48 and 49). The individuals did not tend to give extreme answers to the survey questions on the partners' influence in the relationship.

Surprisingly, the facts whether couples live together or not and whether they are married or not do not seem to matter for the perception of social influence and influence on results. Differences between the married, cohabiting, and living apart together couples are barely perceptible.

In %	His social influence			
	general	married	cohabiting	LAT
Never	3.71	3.12	3.61	5.59
Seldom	22.08	22.27	21.79	21.84
Sometimes	49.2	48.81	50.72	48.58
Often	22.41	22.97	22.06	21.15
Always	2.6	2.83	1.82	2.85
N	3,167	1,859	768	540

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 46: His social influence on female partners

In %	Her social influence			
	general	married	cohabiting	LAT
Never	1.96	2.14	1.16	2.33
Seldom	12.33	10.93	12.77	16.02
Sometimes	48.17	47.85	50.27	46.7
Often	33.8	35.58	33.13	29.27
Always	3.74	3.5	2.67	5.69
N	3,167	1,859	768	540

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 47: Her social influence on male partners

One interesting observation in the comparison between the perceptions of the male and the female partners is that the men are more likely than the women to perceive their partners to “often” have social influence. The female partners, in contrast, are more likely to say that their partner “seldom” has social influence. The same is observable for influence on results. The male partners perceive a stronger influence of their partner on them and are more likely to perceive their partner as getting what she wants. Two explanations for this finding appear plausible: either women have more power in relationships than men, or male partners are more concerned about power issues than female partners are. The latter interpretation is in line with the male partners’ perceptions of the financial power outcomes. The men perceived the interrelation between control and decision-making to be stronger for their partners than for themselves. This finding was interpreted in the way that men perceive her as “wearing the breeches”.

In %	His influence on results			
	general	married	cohabiting	LAT
Never	3.08	2.51	3.09	4.75
Seldom	25.7	24.98	24.62	29.13
Sometimes	55.81	57.15	56.41	51.08
Often	13.65	13.59	14.67	12.65
Always	1.76	1.76	1.21	0.24
N	3167	1859	768	540

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 48: His influence on results according to female partners

In %	Her influence on results			
	general	married	cohabiting	LAT
Never	2.41	2.27	1.88	3.44
Seldom	15.06	15.16	14.13	15.84
Sometimes	55.74	55.54	56.45	55.49
Often	24.45	25.12	25.2	21.6
Always	2.35	1.92	2.34	3.63
N	3,167	1,859	768	540

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 49: Her influence on results according to male partners

13.1.1 Commitment

In order to measure the partners' commitment to the relationship, two indicators were used. The first one is the partners' hope for a long relationship. Partners were asked to comment on the statement that he or she hopes that the relation will last for a very long time. This is an excellent indicator of commitment since it expresses an individual's wishes. The second indicator is the partners' visualization of a long-term future. The partners were asked to comment on the statement that he or she counts on a long-term future. This is a rather less adequate indicator of commitment since it implies not only an individual's wishes, but also a certainty about the feelings of the other. Hence, this indicator also implies expectations regarding the commitment of the other partner. Nevertheless, both of these proxies for commitment to the relationship will be used in the following analysis.

For the partners' relative hope for a long relationship, his and her perceptions of social influence do not differ between the couples where one partner is either more or less committed to the relationship than the other (Table 50). Partners' differences in their commitment to the

relationship are related only to a small extent to the influence of one partner. Similarly to control over the income, the question of the equality of the commitment is more important. Both the male and the female respondents in the couples with equal levels of commitment perceive influence to be less strong. The partners say that the other has “sometimes” or “seldom” influence on them rather than “often”. Thus, partners are more likely to perceive power imbalances if they differ in their levels of commitment to the relationship.

For influence on results, the female partners perceive their partner to have less influence on them if he is more committed to the relationship (Table 51). Around 37 percent of the female partners said that their partners “seldom” made them do things they would not otherwise have done. If she is more committed, almost 60 percent state that he “sometimes” gets her to do things she would not otherwise have done. The principle of least interest is indeed confirmed for the perceptions of the women. If she is less committed, she has more power, and vice versa. Interestingly, in the perception of the male partners, a difference between the partners’ levels of commitment to the relationship does not seem to matter for influence on results. For the men, the question of equality matters more. The female partners are seen to have less influence if the commitment of the partners is equal.

	Hoping for long relation (in %)		
	She more	He more	Same
His social influence			
Never	3.64	2.67	3.83
Seldom	18.96	18.6	22.83
Sometimes	45.26	47.56	49.84
Often	29.17	27.91	21.02
Always	2.96	3.26	2.49
N	299	277	2,591
Her social influence			
Never	0.78	3.53	1.92
Seldom	14.8	13.95	11.87
Sometimes	41.45	40.84	49.77
Often	39.77	38.73	32.56
Always	31.9	2.95	3.89
N	299	277	2,591

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 50: His social influence and hoping for a long-term relationship

There is a gender difference with regard to influence on results. Whether the male partners get what they want depends – in women’s perception – on the ratio of commitment. Being less committed to the relationship the women perceive themselves as having a power advantage. In contrast, whether the men perceive their partners to get what they want depends on how equally committed the partners are. Thus, the female partners seem to be more concerned

	Hoping for long relation (in %)		
	She more	He more	Same
His influence on results			
Never	1.12	3.14	3.3
Seldom	19.11	37.2	25.2
Sometimes	58.5	42.43	56.98
Often	18.71	16.56	12.74
Always	2.56	0.67	1.79
N	299	277	2,591
Her influence on results			
Never	1.08	1.61	2.65
Seldom	21.37	16.2	14.2
Sometimes	48.97	49.43	57.22
Often	26.33	29.55	23.67
Always	2.26	3.21	2.26
N	299	277	2,591

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Female and male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 51: Influence on results and hoping for a long-term relationship

than the men about relative commitment.

The question whether the partners perceive an equal commitment to the relationship is crucial for social influence. A perceived equality in commitment is related to power balances for both social influence and influence on results. The only exception is the female partners' perceptions of their partners' power over them. According to the women, the men have more social influence if they are less committed to the relationship. The female partners see a power advantage for themselves if they are more committed than their partners. Note that the chi-squared test indicates that the correlation between commitment and both of the power indicators is highly significant ($p < 0.001$).

So far, the analysis has considered the partners' hope for a long relationship. This is a good indicator of the commitment to the relationship since it focuses on the individuals' wishes regarding the duration of their relationship. Another indicator is the visualization of a long-term future. As suggested above, this indicator measures commitment less effectively because the individuals not only state what they *hope* will happen but also what seems realistic to them. The individuals indicated whether they were counting on a long-term future with their partners. Tables 52 and 53 report the results for social influence and influence on results.

The results for her social influence and influence on results are rather mixed. Furthermore, the chi-squared test indicates that the correlation between the partners' ratio of looking forward to a long-term future and her influence on results is not significant. Therefore, the relation between visualization of long-term future and non-financial power will be discussed for the results of the multivariate analysis only.

	Looking forward long future (in %)		
	She more	He more	Same
His social influence			
Never	4.81	3.00	3.62
Seldom	21.78	18.41	22.92
Sometimes	45.13	45.36	50.89
Often	26.35	29.12	20.14
Always	1.93	4.1	2.43
N	468	455	2,244
Her social influence			
Never	11.11	3.26	1.86
Seldom	13.28	14.14	11.74
Sometimes	46.76	45.28	49.09
Often	35.67	33.98	33.36
Always	3.19	3.34	3.94
N	468	455	2,244

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 52: His social influence and visualizing a long-term future

	Looking forward long future (in %)		
	She more	He more	Same
His influence on results			
Never	1.86	1.24	3.73
Seldom	25.45	30.65	24.71
Sometimes	54.89	47.89	57.69
Often	16.59	17.26	12.25
Always	1.21	2.95	1.63
N	468	455	2,244
Her influence on results			
Never	1.37	1.31	2.86
Seldom	20.27	15.69	13.81
Sometimes	50.24	52.84	57.53
Often	26.45	26.69	23.55
Always	1.68	3.47	2.25
N	468	455	2,244

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 53: His influence on results and visualizing a long-term future

13.1.2 Gender role attitudes

The findings concerning the financial power outcomes point to the influence of gender role attitudes on the partners' power allocations, particularly when the East and West German couples are compared. Gender role attitudes can be defined as the "cultural" resources of partners. The *pairfam* data allows for the introduction of gender role attitudes into the analysis of the non-financial power outcomes. The female and the male partners' gender role attitudes might be related to their perceptions of influence. We would expect that partners with a rather traditional gender attitude perceive women as powerless whereas partners with a rather progressive attitude perceive women as more powerful. The partners' attitudes toward gender were measured with three indicators: the statements that women should be more concerned with family than with their career, that men should participate equally in housework, and that marriage is a life-long union which should not be broken. Partners either agreed or disagreed with the statements. The first indicator measures what Hamilton et al. (2011) define as the separate-spheres attitude, i.e. the attitude toward a separation between the public (male) and the private (female) sphere. This indicator of gender role attitudes is used more often than other indicators of attitudes (Hamilton et al., 2011, 150). While the first indicator focuses on views regarding working women, the second indicator is used to measure arrangements within the private sphere. The third indicator is added because it goes beyond the question of separate spheres by focusing on the value of marriage.

Tables 54, 55, 56, 57, A.24, and A.25 show that the results do not differ greatly between partners with different attitudes. Furthermore, the results are not clear-cut for the latter indicator, which concerns marriage as a life-long union (Tables A.24 and A.25). This indicator will be disregarded in the following presentation and discussion of the results. The tables can be found in the Appendix. Although partners with different values do not differ to a great extent in their perceptions of social influence and influence on results, there are nevertheless observable tendencies for attitudes on women's professional lives and on men's share of housework (Tables 54, 55, 56, and 57).

The results for gender role attitudes and perception of power indicate that the female partners' traditional values are positively related to her perception of his power. In line with this, the male partners' traditional values are negatively related to his perception of her power. These tendencies are observable for social influence and influence on results.

If the female partners agree that women should be more concerned with family than with their professional lives, and disagree that men should have an equal share of housework, they are slightly more likely to perceive their partners as having influence on them. The chi-squared test is marginally significant ($p < 0.05$). The same tendency can be observed for the male partners. He is more likely to perceive her as having power if he agrees that men should have an equal share of housework, and disagrees that women should be more concerned with family. Note that the chi-squared test is only significant for the attitude toward women's professional lives ($p < 0.01$). However, we need to mention one exception to this general

	Women more family (in %)			
	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His social influence				
Never	3.54	3.77		
Seldom	21.92	22.08		
Sometimes	51.24	47.92		
Often	21.48	23.11		
Always	1.82	3.11		
N	1,289	1,853		
Her social influence				
Never			2.28	1.81
Seldom			12.12	12.4
Sometimes			50.3	46.85
Often			33.00	34.43
Always			2.29	4.52
N			1,222	1,887

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 54: Social influence and attitude towards women’s carrer

pattern. If he has a traditional attitude toward women’s professional lives, he perceives his partner as having more social influence. Whereas around 2 percent of the male partners with progressive gender values said that she always had influence on them, around 4 percent of the male partners with traditional values gave this response.

All in all, the relation between gender role attitudes and perception of power seems to be rather weak. There is a general tendency that the women with traditional values perceive their partners as more powerful than themselves, while the men with progressive values perceive their partners as more powerful than themselves.

13.1.3 Summary

Most of the partners opted for the middle range category “sometimes” when commenting on the statements that (1) the partner made them do things his or her way and (2) the partner had his or her way. The first question is used as an indicator of social influence, the second one as an indicator of influence on results. Extreme categories such as “never” and “always” were rarely chosen. Interestingly, the male partners are more likely than the female partners to perceive their partners as having power. Either men are more sensitive regarding social influence and influence on results, or women are actually more likely to achieve power outcomes.

For financial power, we saw that there are significant differences between married and cohabiting couples. Surprisingly, the type of relationship – married, cohabiting, or LAT – does not seem to matter for power allocation within couples. We might have expected that social

Influence on results	Women more family (in %)			
	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His				
Never	2.73	4.16		
Seldom	26.04	24.84		
Sometimes	57.03	51.95		
Often	12.83	16.12		
Always	1.37	2.93		
N	1,289	1,853		
Her				
Never			1.88	2.82
Seldom			13.91	15.99
Sometimes			57.76	54.42
Often			24.9	23.83
Always			1.54	2.93
N			1,222	1,887

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 55: Influence on results and towards on women's career

influence and influence on results would be stronger for partners who live together in the same household since when living together partners have to make agreements about many issues, e.g. regarding leisure activities and the division of labor.

The equality of the commitment is crucial for social influence and influence on results. If partners' levels of hope for a long relationship with the other are equal, power is more often seen to be balanced. This result is in line with the above findings for the financial power outcomes. Equal commitment is related to power balances. Furthermore, if partners visualize a long-term future with their partners to equal degrees, female partners perceive him to have power less often. The principle of least interest applies only to her perception of power and the hope to have a long relationship. Women are more likely to perceive their partner as having social influence if he is less committed. They perceive a power advantage if the men are more committed.

Gender role attitudes are less important for partners' perceptions of power than commitment. There is a general tendency that female partners who have traditional values are likely to perceive the men as having power. Male partners with traditional values are unlikely to perceive female partners as having power. In general, gender role attitudes seem to be less related than partners' relative commitment to the power outcomes.

It is a disadvantage of the indicators of the non-financial power outcomes that they do not provide a relative measure of power. While the indicators of financial power give information on partners' relative power, e.g. whether he or she has more or less power or whether they share or do not share power, the indicators of the non-financial power outcomes only provide

Equal division housework (in %)				
Social influence	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His				
Never	4.32	3.6		
Seldom	19.37	22.56		
Sometimes	46.35	49.81		
Often	27.16	21.49		
Always	2.8	2.54		
N	514	2,645		
Her				
Never			1.69	2.03
Seldom			13.32	11.98
Sometimes			49.71	47.7
Often			31.64	34.58
Always			3.63	3.71
N			794	2,344

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 56: Social influence and attitude towards men’s share of housework

information on the degree of one partner’s power in the perception of the other partner. The individuals were not asked to comment on their partners’ influence relative to their own influence.

Another disadvantage of the non-financial power measures lies in the fact that since the individuals were asked to evaluate only their partners’ and not their own influence, the partners’ response behaviors cannot be verified. Regarding financial power, it was possible to account for agreement and disagreement by considering only the partners who gave identical responses. However, this is not possible for the non-financial power outcomes. To an even larger extent than regarding control over the income and financial decision-making, we deal with the individuals’ perceptions of the other partner’s power, without any possibility to take into account the perceptions of both partners.

While this problem is virtually impossible to solve, we are able to construct from the information we have a relative measure of the partners’ power. We can compare his power to her power and – similarly to explanatory variables – define categories such as “she has more power”, “he has more power”, and “both have the same power”. A measurement of this kind allows us to analyze relative power in the non-financial dimension. The following section will use the relative measures for social influence and influence on results in order to verify whether a relative measure is more helpful than absolute measures.

Influence on results	Equal division housework (in %)			
	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His				
Never	3.15	3.03		
Seldom	21.23	26.6		
Sometimes	56.28	55.74		
Often	16.5	13.07		
Always	2.84	1.56		
N	514	2,645		
Her				
Never			2.58	2.29
Seldom			19.88	13.42
Sometimes			51.35	57.36
Often			23.14	24.88
Always			3.05	2.05
N			794	2,344

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 57: Influence on results and attitude towards men's share of housework

13.2 A relative measure of non-financial power

This chapter will propose a relative measure of partners' non-financial power. So far, non-financial power has been measured in two dimensions: social influence and influence on results. Information on an individual's perception of his or her partner's power is available. Unfortunately, the individuals were not asked directly if they perceived their relationships as power-balanced or if one of the partners had a power disadvantage.

However, it will be interesting to see who has a power advantage regarding non-financial power in the relationship. Therefore, the partners' perceptions of the other's power were compared. The relative measures for social influence and influence on results provide information on whether (1) female partners are more likely than male partners to be perceived as powerful, (2) male partners are more likely than female partners to be perceived as powerful, and (3) both partners perceive the other's power to the same degree. Table 58 displays the partners' ratios of social influence and influence on results. We see that male partners are less likely to be perceived as possessing more power. In the previous section, we learnt that men are more likely than female partners to perceive their partners' social influence and influence on results. This also emerges in the relative measure of the two power indicators. Similarly to the absolute measure, the type of relationship does not matter for the partners' ratio of non-financial power.

The findings for the relative measures confirm the findings above (Table 59). The women are more likely to be perceived as possessing power. Furthermore, their higher commitment

In %	Partners' ratio of power			
	general	married	cohabiting	LAT
Social influence				
She more	40.6	41.31	39.93	39.27
He more	22.17	21.49	23.91	22.2
Same	37.23	37.2	36.16	38.54
Influence on results				
She more	38.62	37.34	39.06	41.94
He more	22.11	22.18	21.24	22.91
Same	39.27	40.48	39.71	35.15
N	3,167	1,859	768	540

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 58: Ratio of social influence and influence on results

is negatively related to their power. As regards power balances, the partners are more likely to perceive their partners' power to the same degree if both are equally committed to the relationship. Since relative measures do not provide any further insights into partners' power, the absolute indicators instead of the combined measures will be used for his and her perceptions. The advantage of the separate indicators is that the partners' perceptions can be disentangled. From the analysis in the above sections, we know e.g. that the results affirming the principle of least interest apply only to the perceptions of the female partners. If we combine his and her information into a relative measure, we will be unable to measure the differences between the perceptions of the men and the women.

The following chapter will analyze in more detail the relation between commitment and gender role attitudes by controlling for relationship characteristics. Multinomial logistic regression models are estimated in order to investigate whether resources, alternative social relations, and the division of housework contribute to the explanatory power of the models. Two research questions will be answered: Are partners' relative commitment and gender role attitudes related to non-financial power? And are the power bases and household arrangements related to non-financial power?

13.3 Commitment, values, and other power bases – factors related to non-financial power

The purpose of this section is to analyze in more detail the relation between commitment and gender role attitudes and the non-financial power outcomes. The descriptive analysis provided first ideas about the relation between those indicators. Now their relation will be tested in multinomial logistic regression models. Moreover, additional factors such as resources, alternative social relations and gender arrangements will be introduced. It has been demon-

In %	Hope for long relationship		
	She more	He more	Same
Social influence			
She more	39.64	38.59	40.93
He more	25.4	28.00	21.15
Same	34.95	33.4	37.91
Influence on results			
She more	35.9	46.12	38.11
He more	28.23	23.5	21.24
Same	35.87	30.39	40.65
N	299	277	2,591

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 59: Ratio of non-financial power and hoping for a long-term relationship

strated that these power bases, particularly income, play a crucial role for the financial power outcomes. Do they also explain non-financial power?

Multinomial logistic regression models were estimated rather than ordered logit model, since the parallel regression assumption was violated for most models. Furthermore, a generalized ordered regression model was not used because the categories “never” and “always” have only a small number observations. These categories were added to the categories “seldom” and “often”. A multinomial logistic regression model seemed appropriate if three categories were used. Moreover, it is questionable from a theoretical point of view if the categories “seldom”, “sometimes”, and “often” should be put in one order. As we saw in the descriptive analysis, most of the partners opted for the mid-category “sometimes” – maybe not because they perceive the other’s influence sometimes, but because they prefer mid-categories in order to avoid extreme answers. If the categories vary in quality, they should not be treated as linear expressions of frequencies.

Although we saw in the previous section that primarily the hope for a long-term relationship is related to the power outcomes, visualizing a long-term future will also be used. Since the partners’ perceptions of marriage as a life-long union did not show a clear-cut relation with non-financial power, they will be disregarded in the multivariate analysis. The opinions on whether women should be more concerned about their families than their professional lives and whether men should contribute equally to housework will be used as indicators of gender role attitudes. Furthermore, the partners’ relative resources and alternative social relations and the division of housework will be added. The indicators are similar to the analysis based on the SOEP data – except for the partners’ ratio of income, which was not taken into account for two reasons. First, for almost half of the couples, income ratios were not observed. If relative income is used as an explanatory variable, too many observations are lost. Second,

In %	Looking forward long future		
	She more	He more	Same
Social influence			
She more	39.64	34.37	41.97
He more	24.08	28.64	20.39
Same	35.54	36.99	37.64
Influence on results			
She more	40.17	40.58	37.87
He more	26.09	23.41	20.97
Same	33.74	36.01	41.15
N	468	455	2,244

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; LAT=Living apart together; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 60: Ratio of non-financial power and visualizing a long-term future

and most importantly, the chi-squared test of both the descriptive analysis and the multinomial logistic regression models including relative income show that the relation between income and non-financial power is not significant. This constitutes a first result of this section: while relative income matters for financial power, it matters less for non-financial power.

Unlike the SOEP data, the *pairfam* does not provide information on the number of hours the partners invest in housework and child care, but on the respondents' perceptions of both their own share of labor and of their partners' share of labor. Division of labor is introduced into the models with the indicators "She more", "He more", and "Same" for housework and child care in men's and women's perceptions.

Note that similarly to financial power, perception of power and division of labor are interrelated. But whereas the financial power outcomes are arrangements which partners can manipulate in order to cope with violations of their gender identities, it is less obvious that individuals adapt their perceptions of the other's influence to the division of housework and child care. For social influence and influence on results, it is more reasonable to expect that non-financial power will affect division of labor than vice versa. Hypothesis 4 will therefore not be tested. Finally, household income is not included in the models, since there is no assumption concerning the relation between household income and non-financial power. Furthermore, since relative income is not included in the analysis, household income does not need to be introduced as a control for the partners' financial resources.

Since this chapter focuses on the partners' perceptions of non-financial power to an even larger extent than the above analysis of financial power, the choice of explanatory variables for non-financial power will emphasize the issue of perception. This means that her gender role attitudes and her perception of the division of labor will be used for her perception of his power. For his perception of her power, his gender role attitudes and his perception of the

division of housework and child care will be included.

The analysis of the outliers shows that there is only a small number of outliers for some categories of the dependent variables (Figures A.8, A.9, A.10, A.11, A.12, and A.13). A small number of outliers with standardized residuals higher than 2 and a relatively high leverage value are found in the logit model for his social influence (sometimes), her social influence (seldom), her influence on results (seldom or often), and his influence on results (seldom or sometimes). Almost no clear patterns of outliers were observed. Only one observation should be mentioned: most of the outliers have traditional values regarding women's professional lives, but non-traditional values regarding men's share of housework. Hence, the models seem to be less suited to explain cases where the partners have somewhat contradictory attitudes. Note, however, that the number of outliers is relatively small.

Table 61 shows the model fit for the different models which were estimated. The basic model includes only commitment as an explanatory variable. Groups of explanatory variables for gender role attitudes, resources, and the division of labor were included incrementally. The pseudo R-squareds indicate that the explanatory power of all the models is very low. Nevertheless, the models are improved by adding the explanatory variables.

The likelihood-ratio tests (Table 62) indicate that the contribution of the explanatory variables differs for the male and the female partners. The partners' relative commitment and the division of labor are highly significant for the female partner's perception of her power. For the male partners' power, commitment matters less and the division of labor is not significant at all. One interpretation of this finding could be that the division of labor is an issue that concerns female partners more than male partners. This also seems to be the case for the partners' commitment. The women seem to be more concerned with the emotional dimension of the relationship and with household arrangements. Resources, in contrast, are significant for the male partner's perception of her social influence and for her influence on results. Resources seem to matter more for the men's perceptions of power outcomes than for the women's. Gender role attitudes, which can be defined as a kind of "cultural" resources, only contribute to the explanatory power for his perception of her social influence. Thus, gender attitudes seem to play a more important role for men's than for women's perceptions of influence. This finding is in line with recent studies which found that it is predominantly his gender role attitudes that affect money management systems in couples (Vogler, 1998). To sum up, the likelihood ratio test points to a rather stereotypical interpretation: women are more concerned with the emotional dimension of the relationship than their partners, who are more sensitive to the allocation of resources. Furthermore, the division of housework and child care is a concern for women only. This is obvious because it is still mainly the woman who has the responsibility for household labor.

	Commitment (1)	+ Gender attitudes (2)	+ Resources (3)	+ labour (complete) (4)
His social influence				
Loglikelihood	-2187.439	-2234.6	-2171.071	-2234.6
df	42	46	66	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.0211	0.0224	0.0283	0.0336
Her social influence				
Loglikelihood	-2055.984	-2101.504	-2101.504	-2031.497
df	42	46	66	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.0217	0.0241	0.0319	0.0333
His influence on results				
Loglikelihood	-2062.982	-2062.982	-2062.982	-2062.982
df	42	46	66	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.0234	0.0263	0.0341	0.0405
Her influence on results				
Loglikelihood	-2105.395	-2105.395	-2105.395	-2105.395
df	42	46	66	74
Pseudo- R^2	0.0217	0.0229	0.0298	0.0309

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; (1) Only commitment with controls, (2) commitment and gender role attitudes with controls, (3) commitment, gender role attitudes and resources with controls, (4) complete model; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 61: Test statistics for multinomial logistic regression models – non-financial power

	Likelihood-ratio-test			
	for commitment (1)	for gender attitudes (2)	for resources (3)	for labor (4)
His social influence				
LR chi2	32.64	3.24	27.12	23.14
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.000	0.518	0.132	0.003
Her social influence				
LR chi2	23.58	9.73	33.92	5.80
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.003	0.045	0.027	0.670
His influence on results				
LR chi2	37.04	8.38	34.55	26.43
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.000	0.079	0.023	0.001
Her influence on results				
LR chi2	10.72	5.52	28.85	4.45
<i>Prob > chi2</i>	0.094	0.238	0.050	0.814

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; (1) Complete model versus model without commitment, (2) Complete model versus model without gender role attitudes, (3) Complete model versus model without resources, (4) Complete model versus model without division of labor; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 62: Likelihood-ratio-test for explanatory variables – non-financial power

Tables 66 and 67 show the results for his non-financial power. Since the nonsignificant effects do not appear to show a clear pattern, their interpretation will be disregarded. If the average marginal effects (AME) are different from the relative risk ratios (RRR) in their direction or significance, they will also be indicated. The models confirm the descriptive results for the partners' relative commitment and gender role attitudes. If she hopes for a long relationship more than her partner, the chance that she perceives him as often exerting social influence is higher compared to sometimes. If she has a higher level of hope, the probability of him often exerting social influence is higher than that of him rarely exerting influence (Table 63). The same pattern can be observed for his influence on results. Furthermore, if her level of hope is higher than his, the chance of his rare influence on results is lower than that of his occasional influence.

For the men's perception of her social influence, in contrast, the relation is reversed (Table 68). Her greater hope for a long relationship is positively and significantly associated with her exerting frequent social influence. The predicted probabilities point into the same direction. She is most likely to often exert social influence if she is more committed than her partner. However, we need to keep in mind that according to the likelihood ratio test commitment does not explain his perception of influence.

Visualizing a long-term future displays a reversed relation between commitment and perceived power. The RRR and AME are only significant for the female partners' perceptions. The chance of the women perceiving their partners to often exert social influence and influence on results is significantly higher if the men visualize a long-term future more than their partners. The predicted probabilities confirm the RRR and AME. He is most likely to often exert influence if he is more committed than her. In contrast, if she visualizes a long-term future more than her partner, she is less likely to often exert influence. Note, however, that the RRR and AME are not significant for this effect. Visualizing a long-term future is therefore a power advantage especially for the men.

The tendencies found above are confirmed by the regression models. Particularly the female partners' perceptions of their partners' non-financial power follows the principle of least interest. Interestingly, regarding the visualization of a long-term future, a higher commitment is positively related with non-financial power for the male partners. At the beginning of this chapter, it was suggested that the relative visualization of a long-term future is a rather imprecise indicator of commitment, since it leads to partners expressing not only their wishes but also what seems realistic to them. If the male partners count on a long duration of the relationship, the women are more likely to perceive their partners' influence. One explanation already suggested is that the male partners might count on a long-term future because they are sure of their partners' high commitment to the relationship. Being certain of the other's commitment would then be related to a power advantage in the relationship.

Predicted probabilities	Hope for long relationship	
	She more	He more
<i>His social influence</i>		
Seldom	20%	20%
Sometimes	46%	55%
Often	33%	25%
<i>Her social influence</i>		
Seldom	14%	12%
Sometimes	34%	43%
Often	53%	45%
<i>His influence on results</i>		
Seldom	17%	42%
Sometimes	63%	46%
Often	91%	10%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his social influence, his influence on results; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 63: Predicted values for non-financial power and hope for a long-term relationship

In addition to the partners' relative commitment to the relationship, their gender role attitudes were introduced into the models. The results are as expected regarding the attitude that men should do more housework. The chance that he perceives her to often have influence on results is higher if he has a non-traditional attitude towards men's share of housework. Note, however, that the likelihood ratio test indicates that gender role attitudes do not contribute to the explanatory power of the model.

Surprisingly, the AME for the value of women's professional lives is significant and positive for her social influence. If the male partners stated that women should be more concerned about family than their professional lives, the chance is higher that they perceive their partner to often have social influence. According to the likelihood ratio test, gender role attitudes significantly improve the model. This result is unexpected in that his traditional attitude is positively related to his perception of his partner's influence on him. The men with traditional gender values were more likely to state that she makes him do things her way. Similar effects were observed for the relation between control and decision-making. The chance of the male partners stating that their partners controlled the income *and* made the financial decisions is higher than for the female partners. This phenomenon has already been explained by the male partners' oversensitivity in their perception of her power. Their statement that she has power in all the (financial) areas of the couple's life could be a reaction to the violation of traditional gender roles. Her power in one dimension leads to his perception of her as "wearing the breeches". The above finding supports this interpretation. Men with traditional gender values are likely to consider their partner as having influence on them. Note, however, that this interpretation was not confirmed for influence on results. The relation between his traditional values and her influence on results is negative and not significant.

Hamilton et al.'s (2011) study on marital name change in American couples provides another explanation for the positive relation between his view of women's professional lives and her social influence. The authors problematize the use of indicators of gender role attitudes, at any rate for the United States. They argue that over the last few decades the increase in the proportion of women in the labor force has led to a higher social desirability of women's success in their professional lives. It is less socially acceptable to denigrate working women (Hamilton et al., 2011, 147). Note, however, that a shift in public opinion on women's professional lives is not necessarily related to gender equality regarding e.g. the division of housework.

The positive effect of his attitude toward women's professional lives might be due to social desirability. Future research on power within couples will therefore have to take into account indicators which measure gender role attitudes in other ways. Hamilton et al. (2011) propose marital name change as an indicator. They find that name change is more strongly related than views concerning women's professional lives to sociodemographic and other gender related attitudes. Nevertheless, the gender role attitudes considered in this study are related to non-financial power. Male partners with progressive values regarding the division of housework are more likely to perceive their partners as possessing more power. Indicators concerning

women's professional lives do not seem to be valid proxies for gender role attitudes. Since the division of housework matters only for the women's perceptions of their partners' influence, the effects will only be interpreted for his non-financial power. The RRR and AME indicate that her greater share of housework is positively related to his social influence compared to the couples with an equal division of housework and compared to sometimes exercising power. In point of fact, the probability of him often exerting influence is higher if she assumes more housework than him (Table 65). But note that the probability of him often exerting influence is also higher if he has a larger share of housework. This effect can be interpreted in the sense of doing gender theory. In case men's gender identity is violated by assuming more housework, women cope with this violation by perceiving their partner as powerful.

Regarding child care, the RRR, AME, and predicted probabilities point into the same direction. Her greater share of child care is significantly and positively related to him often exerting social influence. Her greater share of child care and housework is a power disadvantage for her. In line with this finding, she is likely to perceive him to only rarely exercise power if he assumes a greater share of child care. Note, however, that the effect is not significant. Thus, a greater share of child care and housework is predominantly positively related with his social influence. The findings for his influence on results are less clear-cut. If the division of housework is unequal, the chance that he rarely exerts influence is lower than that of him occasionally exerting influence.

Regarding the partners' relative resources, the findings can be summarized as follows: Relative age has a significant effect only in his perception of her influence. Only the AME are significant. If he is older, she is less likely to often exert social influence, while she is more likely to rarely exert social influence and influence on results. Thus, his higher age matters for the male partners' perceptions: he is less likely to perceive his partner as powerful if he is older, compared to partners who are the same age.

The findings for his social influence and employment status are in line with rational choice theory. The chance that she perceives her partner to often exert influence on her is lower if she has a higher employment status. The chance that she perceives him to rarely exert influence is higher if she has a higher status than him. The same pattern is observable for her influence on results. The chance that he perceives his partner to only rarely exert influence is lower if he has a higher status than her. Interestingly, a higher employment status is a power disadvantage for the male partners' influence on results in her perception. The chance of being perceived as often exerting influence on results is significantly lower if he has a higher status. Disregarding this contradictory effect, a higher employment status is generally related to power.

Whereas alternative social relations matter less for the financial power outcomes, they have significant effects on non-financial power. Compared to couples with the same frequency of activities, both the men and the women perceive their partners to often exert social influence or influence on results if he or she meets friends more often or engages in a larger number of

cultural activities. Hence, alternative social relations are perceived as a power advantage by the male and the female partners.

All in all, the power bases are differently related to non-financial power for the male and the female partners. Relative age matters for the men’s perceptions of their partners’ power. A higher employment status is a power advantage particularly for the female partners, whereas it seems to be perceived as a power disadvantage for the men by their partners. Social activities are associated with non-financial power for both partners. With the exception of the relative employment status, the results confirm the expectations: more alternative social relations are a power advantage for both partners. His higher age is a power disadvantage for the women.

Predicted values	Visualizing long future	
	She more	He more
<i>His social influence</i>		
Seldom	25%	19%
Sometimes	53%	43%
Often	23%	38%
<i>His influence on results</i>		
Seldom	30%	22%
Sometimes	55%	54%
Often	15%	23%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his social influence, his influence on results; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 64: Predicted values for non-financial power and visualizing a long-term future

Predicted values	Division of labor	
	She more	He more
Division of housework		
<i>His social influence</i>		
Seldom	23%	19%
Sometimes	51%	46%
Often	26%	35%
Division of child care		
<i>His social influence</i>		
Seldom	20%	29%
Sometimes	49%	39%
Often	31%	31%

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Predicted probabilities; Values rounded; Rest of variables at mean; Unweighted; Dependent variable: his social influence; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 65: Predicted values for his non-financial power and division of labor

13.4 Summary

The descriptive and multivariate analyses have shown that partners' relative commitment, gender role attitudes, resources, and division of labor are related to non-financial power. However, these factors are related differently to male and female partners' perceptions of power. Thus, like for financial power, Hypothesis 2.1 cannot be confirmed for non-financial power. Power bases are not stronger related to men's than to women's power outcomes.

Relative commitment measured as the hope for a long relationship matters more for her than for his perception of his non-financial power. If she is more committed than him, she perceives him to have more power. These findings confirm the principle of least interest and Hypothesis 1.2. In contrast, female partners' higher commitment is positively related to his perception of her power.

Women with traditional gender role attitudes perceive their partners to have more power. Men with progressive attitudes, primarily regarding his share of housework, perceive female partners' power. However, the results also question the use of attitudes toward working women as a valid indicator. The models indicate a positive relation between his traditional attitude regarding women's professional lives and his perception of her power. This result could be due to the social desirability of working women. Since it is common opinion that women should work, it is not socially acceptable to denigrate in public women's participation in the work force. Another explanation for the positive effect is that especially male partners with traditional values are sensitive to her power. Even a small degree of a female partner's power could be perceived as "she wears the breeches" and could lead to an "over"estimation of her power. The analysis confirms Hypothesis 2.2. Furthermore, Hypothesis 2.3 is also confirmed. The regression models have shown that his gender role attitudes matter more than her attitudes.

Interestingly, the division of labor matters only for the female partners' perception of influence. Her greater share of child care and housework is positively related to his power in her perception. At the beginning of this section, it was suggested that rather than expecting an effect of labor on power, it is more reasonable to expect a reverse relation, i.e. power affects labor. In this sense, she assumes a greater share of housework and child care if she perceives him to be more powerful than herself. Women evaluate their greater share of housework and child care as a power disadvantage. In contrast to financial power, where it is predominantly male partners who cope with the violation of their gender identities in the case of an unconventional division of child care, doing gender can be observed for an unconventional division of housework. Women are more likely to perceive their partner as powerful when he assumes a greater share of housework.

In addition to commitment, gender role attitudes, and the division of housework, it is also resources that are associated with non-financial power. Whereas income was a crucial power base for the financial power outcomes, the partners' relative income does not matter for non-

financial power. The power bases related to non-financial power are relative age for the male partners' perceptions, and relative employment status and alternative social relations for both partners. The likelihood ratio test indicates that resources primarily improve the model for his perception of power. Men are less likely to perceive their partners as powerful if he is older than her. Relative age might be a proxy for gender role attitudes, but so might the accumulation of life experience. A higher frequency of social activities is perceived as a power advantage for both male and female partners. The results for employment status are mixed but point in the direction that a higher status is perceived as a power advantage. Hence, his age and alternative social relations in particular are associated with the non-financial power outcomes. Thus, whereas predominantly money matters for financial power, emotional, cultural, and social resources seem to be more important for non-financial power. Hypothesis 1.1 is confirmed for age and alternative social relations.

To sum up, the non-financial power outcomes are related to commitment and resources differently for men and women. The multivariate analysis indicates that for female partners' perception of social influence and influence on results, the emotional dimension of couples' lives, namely their relative commitment to the relationship, is more important than for male partners. In contrast, men's perceptions of their partners' power seems to be affected to a greater extent by resources than women's perceptions – especially by his age. Another interesting finding is that the division of labor is a topic in relationships which concerns predominantly women. Since women are still responsible for the “second shift”, they have to deal to a much larger extent than their partners with the division of housework and child care. Hence, these issues are much more important for women, who are more sensitive to the allocation of work within the household. These findings point to a rather stereotypical interpretation of the interaction between partners, in the sense that women care more about emotions and men about resources. In order to avoid such a limited view of partners' power allocations, future research should explore in more depth the relation between various factors, and their relation to partners' non-financial power. Introducing the second wave of the *pairfam* data could be the next step in this direction.

Comparing financial power and the non-financial power outcomes, the main conclusion is that money predominantly matters for financial power, whereas emotional and social resources matter predominantly for the non-financial power outcomes. Cultural resources, i.e. gender role attitudes, are related to both dimensions. Unfortunately, this relation could only be tested directly for non-financial power. However, the differences between East and West Germany point to the importance of gender role attitudes for financial power allocation as well. Doing gender can be observed particularly for financial power, but also for non-financial power. One similarity between financial and non-financial power is that male partners seem to be more concerned about the allocation of resources than women. With the exception of this, the importance of power bases and gender arrangements for the perception of power differs between men and women predominantly regarding non-financial power.

ref(Sometimes)	Seldom		Often	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Same hope long relation (ref)				
She more	0.938 (0.22)		1.581* (0.36)	
He more	0.770 (0.20)		0.952 (0.22)	0.006 (0.04)
Same visualizing long future (ref)				
She more	1.049 (0.20)		0.933 (0.19)	
He more	0.934 (0.20)		2.037*** (0.37)	
Women more family	1.083 (0.13)		1.162 (0.14)	
Men more housework	1.053 (0.16)		0.882 (0.13)	
Same education (ref)				
She higher	0.868 (0.12)		1.052 (0.15)	
He higher	1.170 (0.18)		1.044 (0.16)	-0.001 (0.03)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.888 (0.19)		1.277 (0.29)	
He older	0.866 (0.17)		1.218 (0.25)	
Same employment status (ref)				
She higher	1.436 (0.35)	0.092* (0.04)	0.618 (0.19)	-0.107* (0.05)
He higher	1.115 (0.15)		0.819 (0.11)	
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more	1.018 (0.13)	-0.001 (0.02)	1.076 (0.14)	
He more	0.823 (0.12)		1.255 (0.18)	0.052* (0.02)
Same freq activities (ref)				
She more	0.980 (0.14)	0.003 (0.02)		0.898 (0.13)
He more	1.159 (0.15)		1.212 (0.16)	
Equal division of housework (ref)				
She more	0.926 (0.12)		1.319* (0.18)	
He more	0.881 (0.30)		1.608 (0.52)	
No child (ref)				
She more child care	0.796 (0.20)		1.675* (0.40)	0.106** (0.04)
He more child care	1.586 (0.82)		1.699 (0.90)	
Equal division of child care	1.062 (0.26)	-0.003 (0.04)	1.267 (0.31)	
N	2153			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variable: Her social influence; Basecategory: sometimes; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 66: Multinomial logistic model for his social influence

ref(Sometimes)	Seldom RRR	AME	Often RRR	AME
Same hope long relation (ref)				
She more	0.578* (0.13)	-0.118** (0.04)	1.357 (0.33)	0.059* (0.03)
He more	2.085*** (0.46)		0.953 (0.28)	
Same visualizing long future (ref)				
She more	1.167 (0.22)		1.204 (0.26)	
He more	0.847 (0.16)		1.958** (0.41)	0.088*** (0.02)
Women more family	0.824 (0.09)	-0.041* (0.02)	1.085 (0.16)	
Men more housework	0.989 (0.14)		0.746 (0.12)	
Same education (ref)				
She higher	1.322* (0.17)	0.043 (0.02)	1.306 (0.22)	
He higher	1.077 (0.16)		1.353 (0.24)	
Same age (ref)				
She older	1.101 (0.24)		1.373 (0.37)	
He older	1.281 (0.24)		1.255 (0.30)	
Same employment status (ref)				
She higher	1.146 (0.27)		0.719 (0.24)	
He higher	1.137 (0.15)		0.726 (0.12)	-0.044* (0.02)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more	1.228 (0.15)		1.000 (0.16)	-0.008 (0.02)
He more	1.000 (0.14)	-0.014 (0.03)	1.433* (0.23)	
Same freq activities (ref)				
She more	1.122 (0.15)		1.252 (0.21)	
He more	1.090 (0.14)		1.313 (0.20)	
Equal division of housework (ref)				
She more	0.771* (0.10)		1.242 (0.20)	
He more	0.468* (0.16)		0.643 (0.26)	
No child (ref)				
She more child care	1.070 (0.25)		1.381 (0.41)	
He more child care	2.008 (0.98)		1.392 (0.88)	
Equal division of child care	1.188 (0.27)		0.893 (0.28)	
N	2153			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variable: Her social influence; Basecategory: sometimes; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 67: Multinomial logistic model for his influence on results

ref(Sometimes)	Seldom		Often	
	RRR	AME	RRR	AME
Same hope long relation (ref)				
She more	0.938 (0.22)	0.034 (0.03)	1.581* (0.36)	0.149*** (0.04)
He more	0.770 (0.20)	0.007 (0.03)	0.952 (0.22)	0.065 (0.04)
Same visualizing long future (ref)				
She more	1.049 (0.20)		0.933 (0.19)	
He more	0.934 (0.20)	0.018 (0.02)	2.037*** (0.37)	0.009 (0.04)
Women more family	1.083 (0.13)		1.162 (0.14)	0.049* (0.02)
Men more housework	1.053 (0.16)		0.882 (0.13)	0.050 (0.03)
Same education (ref)				
She higher	0.868 (0.12)	0.012 (0.02)	1.052 (0.15)	0.011 (0.03)
He higher	1.170 (0.18)	-0.022 (0.02)	1.044 (0.16)	-0.024 (0.03)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.888 (0.19)	0.021 (0.03)	1.277 (0.29)	-0.032 (0.04)
He older	0.866 (0.17)	0.080** (0.03)	1.218 (0.25)	-0.090* (0.04)
Same employment status (ref)				
She higher	1.436 (0.35)		0.618 (0.19)	0.051 (0.05)
He higher	1.115 (0.15)		0.819 (0.11)	0.052 (0.03)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more	1.018 (0.13)	-0.016 (0.02)	1.076 (0.14)	
He more	0.823 (0.12)		1.255 (0.18)	
Same freq activities (ref)				
She more	0.980 (0.14)	-0.021 (0.02)	0.898 (0.13)	0.067* (0.03)
He more	1.159 (0.15)		1.212 (0.16)	
Equal division of housework (ref)				
She more	0.926 (0.12)		1.319* (0.18)	-0.011 (0.03)
He more	0.881 (0.30)		1.608 (0.52)	-0.063 (0.07)
No child (ref)				
She more child care	0.796 (0.20)		1.675* (0.40)	0.008 (0.05)
He more child care	1.586 (0.82)		1.699 (0.90)	
Equal division of child care	1.062 (0.26)	-0.036 (0.03)		1.267 (0.31)
N	2153			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variable: Her social influence; Basecategory: sometimes; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 68: Multinomial logistic model for her social influence

ref(Sometimes)	Seldom RRR	AME	Often RRR	AME
Same hope long relation (ref)				
She more	0.578* (0.13)	-0.002 (0.03)	1.357 (0.33)	
He more	2.085*** (0.46)	0.045 (0.03)	0.953 (0.28)	0.042 (0.04)
Same visualizing long future (ref)				
She more	1.167 (0.22)		1.204 (0.26)	
He more	0.847 (0.16)		1.958** (0.41)	0.037 (0.03)
Women more family	0.824 (0.09)		1.085 (0.16)	
Men more housework	0.989 (0.14)		0.746 (0.12)	0.061* (0.03)
Same education (ref)				
She higher	1.322* (0.17)	0.015 (0.02)	1.306 (0.22)	-0.024 (0.02)
He higher	1.077 (0.16)		1.353 (0.24)	-0.052 (0.03)
Same age (ref)				
She older	1.101 (0.24)		1.373 (0.37)	-0.022 (0.04)
He older	1.281 (0.24)	0.076* (0.03)	1.255 (0.30)	-0.064 (0.03)
Same employment status (ref)				
She higher	1.146 (0.27)	-0.067 (0.04)	70.719 (0.24)	0.048 (0.04)
He higher	1.137 (0.15)	-0.042* (0.02)	0.726 (0.12)	0.027 (0.03)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more	1.228 (0.15)		1.000 (0.16)	
He more	1.000 (0.14)		1.433* (0.23)	-0.031 (0.03)
Same freq activities (ref)				
She more	1.122 (0.15)	-0.012 (0.02)	(0.21)	1.252
He more	1.090 (0.14)	-0.021 (0.02)	1.313 (0.20)	
Equal division of housework (ref)				
She more	0.771* (0.10)	0.001 (0.02)		1.242 (0.20)
He more	0.468* (0.16)	-0.011 (0.05)	0.643 (0.26)	0.104 (0.05)
No child (ref)				
She more child care	1.070 (0.25)	-0.006 (0.03)	1.381 (0.41)	
He more child care	2.008 (0.98)	-0.003 (0.08)	1.392 (0.88)	
Equal division of child care	1.188 (0.27)	-0.016 (0.04)	0.893 (0.28)	0.067 (0.04)
N	2153			

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR) and averaged marginal effects (AME); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variable: Her social influence; Basecategory: sometimes; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table 69: Multinomial logistic model for her influence on results

14 Conclusion and discussion

The aim of this study was to answer the questions of what factors are related to power within intimate relationships and whether transitions have an impact on power allocation within couples. Power was defined as the relative ability to influence the other person's attitude or behavior. Since power is a characteristic of intimate relationships rather than an absolute property of one of the partners, power can be detected in different dimensions of partners' lives and, therefore, is allocated between partners. Two main dimensions of partners' power allocations were taken into account in this study: financial power and non-financial power. Both of these dimensions were measured with two power outcomes each. These were control over the income and financial decision-making for financial power, and social influence and influence on results for non-financial power. A combination of rational choice theories, predominantly social exchange theory and resource theory, and gender theory were employed for an explanation of who has power in the relationship. According to rational choice theories, partners' relative resources, alternative social relations, and commitment are the power bases which are related to the power outcomes. However, since gender shapes partners' interaction and partners reproduce the gendered social structure through their actions, the relation between power bases and power outcomes may be different for men and women. Furthermore, a life course perspective was integrated in order to explain changes in partners' power allocations. Transitions which structure individual life courses and partners' linked lives may affect changes in their power relation. The main transitions were defined as changes in partners' relative employment statuses, marriage, and childbirth.

The allocation of power in intimate relationships can be imbalanced, but there is also the possibility that it is balanced between the partners. In this case, the partners cooperate regarding control over the income and financial decision-making. The analysis revealed that, in point of fact, the question whether couples cooperate or not is as crucial as the question who possesses power and who does not. In relationships with an unconventional division of housework and earnings, where he does less housework and has a higher income than her, the partners are more likely to use the separate management system, which is related to noncooperation. Noncooperation itself seems to be unconventional because it is related to traditional asymmetries with women investing more time in housework and having lower incomes than their partners. Even though the partners do not cooperate if she has a greater share of income, they compensate for relatively large income gaps by pooling their earnings – if either she or he has low earnings. In addition, the higher the household income, the less likely the partners are to cooperate. Noncooperation dominates in the higher-income households.

Furthermore, the question whether partners cooperate is also related to the partners' relative commitment to the relationship. If the partners are committed to equal degrees to the relationship, they are more likely to cooperate. Thus, the principle of least interest cannot be confirmed, at any rate not for financial power. In this case, equality is related to cooperation.

14.1 Summary of findings

As regards the question of who has power, the findings indicate that money is the most important resource for financial power. The partner with higher earnings is more likely to control money or to make the financial decisions. This can be observed for both the male and the female partners. Resources like education and age are related to power to a lesser extent, but seem to be more important for the female than for the male partners' power. For the role of alternative social relations, the descriptive results contradict rational choice theory. Alternative social relations are negatively related to control over the income. It was suggested that alternative social relations may be used as a coping strategy for a power loss at home. Since one partner possesses less influence over the finances, he or she withdraws from the household sphere.

Regarding the division of labor, the descriptives show that less housework and child care is a power advantage for female partners. However, the multivariate analysis indicates that the division of housework predominantly has an effect on cooperation versus noncooperation. As stated above, the chance that partners cooperate is negatively associated with his greater share of housework. Regarding the division of child care, the picture is a little different. Particularly in his perception, child care is positively related to his control. This association is observable in both the cross-sectional and the longitudinal analyses. An interpretation in line with doing gender theory is that the partners cope with an unconventional division of child care by allocating power to the male partner. Men in particular are sensitive to the violation of their gender roles and perceive themselves as having financial power. Interestingly, such a coping strategy is not observable for the division of housework. One explanation for this finding could be that household tasks are diverse and encompass tasks which can be described as more "female" tasks (cleaning, cooking) or more "male" tasks (work in the garage, cellar, or garden). Thus, if men have a greater share of housework, but predominantly in the "male" domain of the household, partners' gender identities are not violated. In contrast, child care is a task which is typically assumed by women. Thus, if men are responsible for child care, their male gender identities are more likely to be violated.

A rather surprising finding is the positive relation between a lower employment status and the financial power outcomes, primarily decision-making. The relation is positive for both the male and the female partners. Four explanations for this result were suggested. First, a higher employment status is simply not a power base. A higher status implies more work in the labor market and less time for leisure activities. Second, in couples with unconventional asymmetries, where the man has a higher status than the woman, separate spheres emerge, which means that she is predominantly responsible for the home, and he works in the labor market. If financial decisions are related to the home and children, women assume these tasks. Third, partners compensate for the lower employment status of one partner by allocating power to this person. However, when considering changes in the partners' relative employment status,

a lower status increases decision-making for women only. When she changes from full-time employment to a part-time position or unemployment, she becomes more likely to have financial power. Thus, changes in relative employment status are related to financial power differently for women and men. The explanations that employment status is not a power base or that the partners compensate for one partner's lower status do not resolve this gender difference. The second explanation provided above seems to be more adequate to interpret this effect: when the female partner works less or stops working, she assumes financial decision-making, which then constitutes a part of her household tasks. A fourth interpretation also seems to be plausible. Remember that men primarily perceive the increase of women's power. This result indicates that the traditional arrangement goes hand in hand with men's perception of their partner as "wearing the breeches". Perceiving women as powerful is part of the "traditional package" of couples where men are the main breadwinners. This perception is, of course, not necessarily related to partners' actual power allocation.

This study supports Pahl's findings (1983). The higher the household income, the less likely the woman is to have financial power, especially regarding control over the income. The male partner, in contrast, is more likely to make financial decisions in households with a higher income, and predominantly in his perception. Thus, there is a visible gender inequality regarding the amount of money to be controlled and decided upon.

The difference between married and cohabiting couples regarding control over the income was also observed for German couples. While married couples predominantly cooperate, cohabiting couples do not cooperate, separating their earnings. The explanation of this difference given above is that cohabiting couples have non-traditional gender or relationship ideologies. Interestingly, partners switch to cooperation when they get married. "Cohabitation money" becomes "marriage money" (Singh and Lindsay, 1996). This finding also supports earlier research. The increase of cooperation was explained by an increase of joint investments married couples have to make, e.g. in housing or children. Married partners also have to make future plans for various aspects of their lives. Furthermore, cooperation is prevalent in married couples since it implies an ideology of sharing, which implies expectations about the continuity of the relationship. In addition, marriage itself is a commitment to the relationship and an expression of the partners' feelings for each other. Thus, married partners' cooperation can be explained by both practical and emotional reasons. This explanation affirms the characterization of intimate relationships as complex relations, where practical arrangements are interrelated with the emotions of the partners. Whereas cohabiting partners keep a distance, marriage intensifies the relationship regarding both the emotional and the practical dimension of the relationship.

Like marriage, childbirth decreases the chance of noncooperation between the partners. Pursuing the "collective enterprise" of having and rearing a child (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983), the partners have to make shared investments and plans for future events. In addition, children themselves can be perceived as an investment and an expression of the partners'

commitment to the relationship.

The partners' responses to the questions for the financial power outcomes differed in around 10% of the couples. Analyzing the male and the female respondents separately, two tendencies emerge: the female partners seem to be more sensitive to questions of cooperation and noncooperation, while the male respondents were more sensitive to their power bases and gender arrangements – regarding household income, relative employment status, his share of housework, and his control and his share of child care. This observation supports a rather stereotypical perspective of relationships, where women are seen as more cooperative than men.

The analysis of the partners with identical response behaviors did not reveal any differences compared to the separate analysis of men and women. Regarding the patterns of different response behavior, it was shown that the number of couples where he says “I make decisions” and his partner disagrees is relatively high. The power bases are positively related to the perception of one partner's own financial power if the other disagrees. Again, the power bases related to the men's and the women's perceptions of their financial power differ. In the group of disagreeing couples, relative income is more crucial for the male partner's perception of his power, while her education and his commitment are essential for her perception of her own power. Again, these findings point to a stereotypical interpretation of partners' power allocations. She perceives herself as powerful if she has a higher level of education and he is less committed. In contrast, money matters predominantly for men's perceptions of their power.

Furthermore, earlier studies indicate that the financial power outcomes are interrelated (Vogler and Pahl, 1994; Vogler, 1998). In point of fact, control over the income and financial decision-making are correlated. Interestingly, the correlation is higher for the female than for the male partners. This finding contradicts the results of my earlier study, where I found that control and decisions are correlated more highly for men (Lott, 2009). However, I took into account only the female respondents. Now, also considering the male respondents, it was shown that the two financial power outcomes go hand in hand, particularly for the female partners. Interestingly, cooperation on one level of financial power does not correlate with cooperation on the other level. This finding indicates that the label “cooperation” does not elucidate what concrete practices are carried out. At any rate, joint control does not necessarily mean joint decision-making.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the pooled system is related to her decision-making. This finding is rather unexpected. We know from the above results that cooperation is related to conventional arrangements. It could therefore be assumed that women are less likely to have financial power in these relationships. In contrast, the pooling system is related to her decision-making. One could also interpret this finding as indicating that her financial decision-making is part of the sphere of the home and common in couples with traditional arrangements, e.g. in couples where he is the main breadwinner. The result for employment

status and decision-making supports this interpretation. In contrast to the joint pool, the separate system is associated with his decision-making. Researchers have criticized the use of the separate system because noncooperation extends the gender inequality of the labor market into intimate relationships. This critique of the separate system seems even more relevant because he is more likely to have financial decision-making power if the partners do not cooperate. Finally, the explanatory power of the power bases is higher for control over the income than for financial decision-making. Particularly money and household income are more strongly related to control than to decisions.

Since gender role attitudes still differ between East and West – and, according to Bauernschuster and Rainer (2010), even more so after reunification – this study analyzed power allocation in East and West German couples. Traditional arrangements are more likely to be in place in West German couples – with regard to gender inequality in higher-income households and partners' coping with an unconventional division of child care. In addition, the descriptives indicate that male partners are slightly more likely to possess financial power in West Germany. Furthermore, the difference between married and cohabiting couples in the way they control the money exists predominantly in West German couples. Since gender role attitudes are generally more progressive in East Germany, cohabiting partners may not feel the need to distinguish themselves from marriages. Furthermore, cooperation is slightly more common in East German couples. However, the expectations that the power bases matter less in East than West were not confirmed. In contrast, it can be concluded that different power bases matter in the two German regions. While relative income is related to power in West German couples, education matters more in East Germany.

For the analysis of non-financial power, the main focus was on gender role attitudes and the commitment of the partners. Married and cohabiting couples as well as partners in living apart together relationships do not differ regarding social influence and influence on results, unlike regarding the financial power outcomes. This finding is quite surprising when we assume that the frequency of negotiations and conflicts depends on whether the partners live together and whether they are married or not. Apparently, the different types of relationships do not differ in this respect – at any rate, it does not make a difference for the partners' perceptions of power.

While gender role attitudes and commitment matter for the perception of non-financial power, money does not matter at all. This is a major finding, constituting the most significant difference to the financial power outcomes. Furthermore, the power bases and gender arrangements matter differently for men's and women's perceptions of their partner's power, to an even larger extent than for financial power. The partners' commitment to the relationship and the division of labor matter for the female partner's perception, while power bases and his gender role attitudes are more strongly related to his perception of her power. Similarly to the financial power outcomes, these findings point to a stereotypical view of couples: she cares about emotions, he cares about resources. The division of labor is an issue which plays a role for

female partners only, because it is predominantly women who are responsible for the “second shift”. Thus, housework and child care are topics which concern female partners more than male partners.

However, the relation between the division of labor and non-financial power is contrary to the relation between the financial power outcomes and labor. Whereas women perceive their greater share of child care as a power advantage for their partner, his greater share of housework is perceived to be a power advantage for him. If men assume a larger amount of housework, women perceive them as powerful. Thus, female partners seem to cope with an unconventional division of housework by attributing more power to their partners.

Furthermore, if she feels more committed to the relationship than he does, she perceives his power advantage. In contrast to the financial power outcomes, where the equality of commitment is crucial for cooperation, the principle of least interest applies to non-financial power. The power bases related to social influence and influence on results are predominantly constituted by the partners’ relative age, alternative social relations, and employment statuses. Men who are older than their partners are less likely to perceive her power. A higher frequency of social activities is perceived as a power advantage by both. A higher employment status is primarily perceived to be a power advantage for both partners.

The findings for gender role attitudes, which can be defined as the cultural resources of partners, are in line with the expectations. If female partners have traditional attitudes toward women’s professional lives, they perceive their partners to be powerful. If he has non-traditional attitudes toward the division of housework, she is perceived to have power. In accordance with earlier findings, his gender role attitudes are crucial for the perception of power.

Finally, it was shown that power is a dynamic characteristic of intimate relationships and that power changes through transitions in partners’ life courses. As stated above, marriage and childbirth increase the chance of cooperation between the partners. When they marry or have a child, the partners are more likely to change from noncooperation to cooperation. In either case the increase of cooperation is due to practical reasons, since the partners have to decide about joint investments and make future plans. Cooperation, then, reduces transaction costs in intimate relationships. Furthermore, marriage and children express a relationship ideology. With marriage in particular, the partners make a statement about their commitment to each other and the long-term perspective of their relationship. Note, however, that cooperation does not necessarily mean equality between the partners, since cooperation is often associated with traditional household arrangements, e.g. a traditional division of housework. Future research will have to investigate what is behind the label “cooperation”.

Partners’ power allocations change not only through marriage and children, but also, as explained above, through changes in partners’ relative employment statuses. If the partners change to traditional arrangements where he remains employed full-time and she continues her work in a part-time position or stops working altogether, she becomes more likely to pos-

sess financial power. This effect can be interpreted in two ways. First, through her change to a lower status, separate spheres emerge, which means that he works predominantly in the labor market, while her major domain and responsibility is the home. This shift in responsibilities implies financial decision-making for women, with financial decision-making becoming part of her household chores. Second, taking over the role as main breadwinner goes hand in hand with men's perception of their partner as "wearing the breeches". Remember that it is mainly the men who perceive the increase of their partners' power. Men's perception is not necessarily related to partners' actual power allocation, but belongs to the "traditional package" of couples where they are main breadwinners. Future research is needed to further analyse partners' power relation from a dynamic perspective and to test both interpretations.

This study has addressed three aspects of the lack of research on power within couples. First, the analysis has shown that both rational choice and gender theories explain partners' power allocations. A combination of the two theories enriches the understanding of power in intimate relationships. Resources, alternative social relations, and commitment are related to power in the sense that the partner with more power bases is generally more likely to possess power outcomes. However, the relation between power bases and outcomes is different for men and women. Especially for non-financial power, power bases are related in a stereotypical way to power outcomes for male and female partners. Commitment and the division of labor are more important for female partners, while resources and gender role attitudes, which are cultural resources, matter primarily for male partners. Furthermore, regarding financial power, women are more sensitive to questions of cooperation. Moreover, doing gender processes are present predominantly for financial power. In the case of an unconventional division of child care, the partners allocate power to the male partner. This partner is especially sensitive to the violation of his gender identity if he assumes a greater share of child care.

Second, this study has accounted for two main dimensions of couples' power: financial and non-financial power. A number of differences between the two dimensions were observed. Money is the most important resource for control over the income and financial decision-making but is not related to social influence or influence on results. In addition, an equal commitment of both partners to the relationship is crucial for their cooperation regarding control over the income. For non-financial power, however, the principle of least interest can be confirmed. Whereas doing gender was observed for financial power and the division of child care, female partners attribute non-financial power to their partner if he has a greater share of housework.

Regarding the relation between the two financial power outcomes, it could be demonstrated that control over the income and financial decision-making are interrelated – more for female than for male partners, however. The separate system, which is often criticized as extending gender inequality in the labor market into partners' relationships, is related to the male partner's decision-making. The joint pool, in contrast, is associated with women's decision-making, even though pooling is associated with rather traditional gender arrangements. Un-

fortunately, the study does not reveal what exactly partners do when they say that they pool their incomes and make decisions together. Since joint control is not related to joint decision-making, cooperation regarding financial control may be different in character from cooperation in the other area. Future research will need to reveal palpable practices of partners' control and decision-making. Qualitative research may be able to provide deeper insights into cooperation and noncooperation in intimate relationships.

Third, the analysis defined power as a dynamic process and considered changes in the financial power allocations of partners. As was expected, transitions affect power within intimate relationships. Marriage and childbirth increase the chance of cooperation. When they marry and have children, partners become more likely to cooperate due to practical (joint investments and future plans) and emotional (expression of commitment and continuity) reasons. Interestingly, a woman's change to a lower employment status increase her financial decision-making power. One explanation advanced for this finding is that a traditional separation of spheres emerges in the relationship when she reduces her participation in the labor force. He works predominantly in the labor market and she works predominantly in the home. Her financial power increases because decision-making is a task related to the household domain. However, assuming that decision-making is a task which is reallocated in the case of changes in the relationship, to what extent is this task related to power?

This question points to the limitation of the data available on financial power. To what degree are the indicators of control over the income and financial decision-making related to power? Regarding control over the income measured as money management, it was stated at the very beginning of this study that the meaning of money management depends on the budget to be managed. The analysis accounted for this weakness by considering household income. Furthermore, control over the income could be merely another arrangement in the household, i.e. another part of the housework. The analysis therefore explored the interrelation between financial power outcomes and the division of housework and child care. It was shown that control and housework are not interrelated, at any rate not when accounting for all the other factors of the study. Thus, controlling the finances and assuming housework do not necessarily go hand in hand.

Whereas the weakness of money management as a power indicator was taken into account beforehand, the results for financial decision-making are surprising. The positive relationship between a lower employment status and financial decision-making especially for female partners questions not only employment status as a power base but also decision-making as a power outcome. Not only are the bases related differently to the outcomes for men and women, the power outcomes may also have different meanings for male or female partners and may be related to different life domains. Regarding the partners' relative employment status, her decision-making seems to be more strongly related to traditional arrangements. In addition, the woman is likely to make the financial decisions if the partners use the joint pool, which is related to a traditional division of labor. These findings point to a traditional sepa-

ration of spheres: she possesses power in the household, whereas he possesses power in the public sphere.

14.2 Implications for future research

In future research, it will be necessary to account for the various domains where decisions are made, and to measure different types and meanings of decision-making. So far, the results of this study indicate that she has financial decision-making power in the household domain if the partners' arrangements are traditional – either if they pool their incomes or if he is the main breadwinner. Particularly the negative relation between a lower status and decision-making is puzzling, and future research will have to investigate in more depth the role of employment status as a power base, along with the various meanings of decision-making in couples.

Thus, future research will need to tackle two main aspects of partners' power allocations. First, issues of cooperation and noncooperation have to be explored in more detail. What exactly do partners do when they say that they control their income together? What lies behind the label “cooperation”? The concrete practices of partners will have to be considered when analyzing financial organization in intimate relationships. Second, decision-making in different domains of couples' lives will have to be investigated. Is decision-making related to specific spheres for men and women? And does financial decision-making have different meanings in different domains? A combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods will be needed for further insights into partners' power allocations, and will prove fruitful for mapping the complexity of intimate relationships.

In addition, the dynamic character of power allocation will need to be analyzed in more depth. Unfortunately, the data used in this study did not allow a detailed analysis of changes in the financial dimension of power in intimate relationships. Furthermore, change in the non-financial dimension of power could not be measured at all. Future research will need to explore the dynamics of power by using more extensive data. The *pairfam* is one data set which, as soon as it will permit a longitudinal perspective, will allow a use for the analysis of partners' power allocations and their changes – in both the financial and the non-financial dimensions.

Furthermore, other transitions should be considered in addition to marriage, childbirth, and changes in partners' relative employment status. For instance, the empty-nest period, when the children have moved out of the household, might constitute another event having an impact on partners' power allocations. In order to ensure a relatively stable environment, partners frequently maintain the status quo as long as the children are still living in the household. However, partners have the possibility to renegotiate their arrangements when the children move out. This might also have an impact on their power relation. In addition, the development of the relationship should be taken into account. Partners' commitment to their relationship and their willingness to invest in the relation not only change through transitions, but simply with

the duration of the relationship. The interaction between the partners may be very different at the beginning of the relationship compared to their interaction several years later. In this study, it was controlled only for the duration of partners' relationships, due to the fact that the power outcomes were measured at a small number of points in time. However, observing the power relation within a couple over a longer period of time will allow emphasizing the developmental character of their relationship. Furthermore, the life course perspective on power allocation can be broadened by considering different trajectories of partners' life courses and their influence on power. It may be crucial for changes in partners' power allocations whether the couple gets married first and then has a child, or whether childbirth precedes marriage. It may also make a difference for the power dynamics whether a partner is employed full-time after his or her training and then stops working, or whether he or she re-enters the labor market after a break. Particularly the role of women's career trajectories is interesting to consider because the variance of their trajectories is higher compared to that of men. After their maternity leave, many women do not re-enter the labor market at all – at any rate in Germany, where social policies still implement a traditional ideology of the family. Many mothers re-enter but work in part-time positions. Others re-enter and work full-time. A comparison between the power allocations of these groups and an analysis of the changes in power within each group would not only enrich research on power within intimate relationships, but also research on women's participation in the labor force. Accounting for various work-family trajectories will allow stressing the impact of social policies on couples' power. Shaping the life courses of individuals and supporting specific kinds of life trajectories, social policies are a mechanism with which inequalities are maintained or altered. The role of social policy would be further highlighted by investigating couples' power allocations and work-family trajectories in a cross-country comparison. In countries like the Scandinavian countries, which encourage the employment of women and support the integration of family and work, the impact of life events on power within couples may be different compared to countries with conservative policies such as (West) Germany.

Considering power from a life course perspective and integrating a cross-country comparison will stress the embeddedness of interaction within couples in a specific social context. Since intimate relationships are part of wider society, power inequalities within couples are crucial in order to detect social inequalities on a broader level. This study has made a first step in this direction by analyzing power in the perspective of the life courses of partners. Furthermore, the analysis has revealed some of the general mechanisms of power and has accounted for the complexity of intimate relationships. By considering four power outcomes in two dimensions of power and by combining gender theory and rational choice theory, the relative and complex character of power was emphasized. Power is neither an absolute property of one partner, a zero-sum game with one winner and one loser, nor stable over time. Quite on the contrary, power is an integral part of any interaction between partners. Power is produced and reproduced in intimate relationships, and therefore in society.

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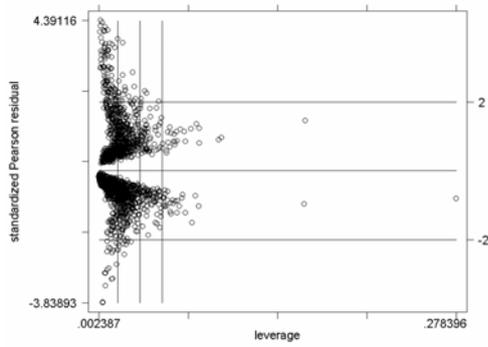
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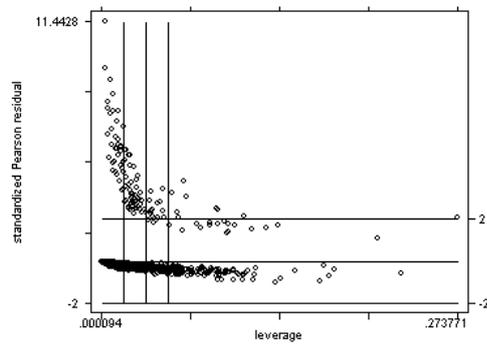
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A Appendix

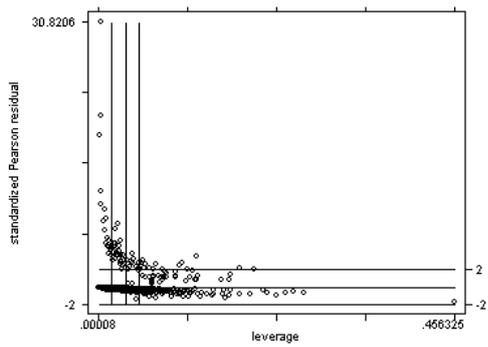


Separate system; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

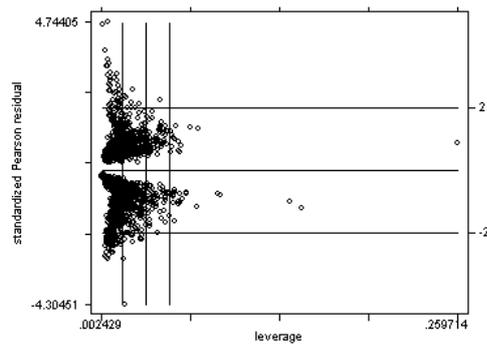


Her control; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Figure A.1: Leverage and residual values for the separate system and her control

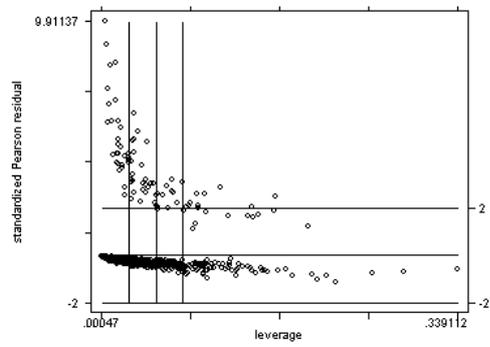


His control; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

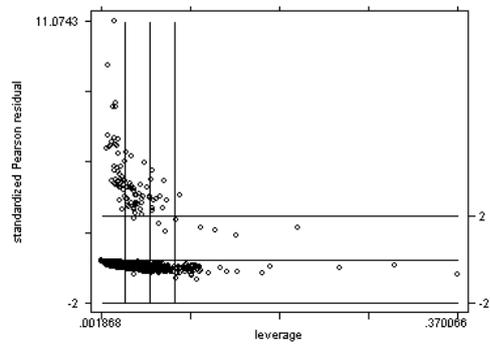


Joint pool; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Figure A.2: Leverage and residual values for his control and joint pool

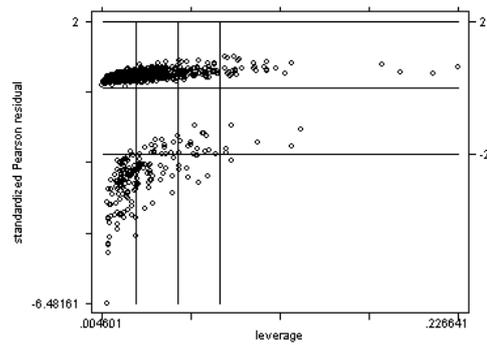


Her decision; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008



His decision; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure A.3: Leverage and residual values for her and his decision-making



Joint decision; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure A.4: Leverage and residual values for joint decision-making

ref(Separate)	Control over income – Her response		
	She	He	Pooled
Her absolut hours of housework	0.423*** (0.11)	0.620 (0.23)	0.589** (0.10)
Total hours of housework	2.221*** (0.45)	2.024* (0.67)	1.714*** (0.25)
Her absolut hours of child care	0.964 (0.09)	1.234 (0.18)	1.106 (0.07)
Total hours of child care	1.036 (0.09)	0.811 (0.10)	0.925 (0.05)
Unmarried	0.602 (0.45)	0.986 (0.73)	0.197*** (0.06)
Duration of relationship	1.061** (0.02)	1.036 (0.03)	1.062*** (0.01)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	0.847* (0.06)	0.833** (0.05)	1.005 (0.03)
Her yeas of education	0.879 (0.06)	1.037 (0.09)	0.951 (0.04)
His years of education	0.872* (0.05)	0.970 (0.07)	0.995 (0.04)
Her age	0.860 (0.13)	1.178 (0.27)	0.962 (0.09)
His age	1.342* (0.17)	1.088 (0.27)	0.987 (0.08)
Her age squared	1.001 (0.00)	0.997 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His age squared	0.998 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)			
Her cohort 1950-65	1.181 (1.43)	0.440 (0.43)	1.435 (0.77)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	0.547 (0.80)	0.337 (0.39)	1.743 (1.15)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)			
His cohort 1950-65	0.801 (0.62)	0.747 (0.61)	1.699 (0.80)
His cohort 1965 and younger	2.044 (1.92)	0.878 (0.93)	1.764 (1.02)
No child (ref)			
One child	0.706 (0.34)	1.299 (0.61)	1.204 (0.25)
Two children	1.235 (0.65)	0.725 (0.43)	1.825* (0.43)
Three and more children	1.038 (0.76)	1.201 (0.83)	2.790* (1.13)
East	1.423 (0.49)	0.278** (0.13)	1.095 (0.20)
Identical responses	1.582 (0.52)	0.279*** (0.08)	4.418*** (0.95)
Constant	0.701 (2.38)	0.013 (0.05)	1.232 (2.10)
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.24		
N	2394		

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Only controls presented; Female respondents; Data source: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.1: Control over the income according to female partners – Controls

ref(Separate)	Control over income – His response		
	He	She	Pooled
Her absolut hours of housework	1.089 (0.54)	0.478** (0.12)	0.632** (0.11)
Total hours of housework	1.103 (0.51)	1.985*** (0.41)	1.583** (0.23)
Her absolut hours of child care	1.133 (0.15)	0.875 (0.09)	1.048 (0.07)
Total hours of child care	0.893 (0.10)	1.118 (0.09)	0.965 (0.06)
Unmarried	0.373 (0.35)	0.355 (0.22)	0.185*** (0.06)
Duration of relationship	1.064* (0.03)	1.038 (0.02)	1.056*** (0.01)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	1.008 (0.07)	0.918 (0.06)	1.004 (0.03)
Her yeas of education	1.002 (0.09)	0.873* (0.06)	0.940 (0.04)
His years of education	0.912 (0.06)	0.867** (0.05)	0.983 (0.04)
Her age	1.141 (0.27)	0.778 (0.10)	0.957 (0.09)
His age	0.971 (0.19)	1.306* (0.16)	0.936 (0.07)
Her age squared	0.998 (0.00)	1.002 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His age squared	1.001 (0.00)	0.998 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)			
Her cohort 1950-65	1.310 (1.32)	1.556 (1.61)	2.043 (1.06)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	1.195 (1.41)	0.649 (0.81)	2.363 (1.53)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)			
His cohort 1950-65	1.345 (1.15)	0.774 (0.55)	1.166 (0.54)
His cohort 1965 and younger	2.965 (3.31)	1.881 (1.68)	1.060 (0.60)
No child (ref)			
One child	0.962 (0.49)	0.992 (0.45)	1.382 (0.28)
Two children	0.660 (0.40)	1.720 (0.84)	2.190*** (0.52)
Three and more children	0.694 (0.51)	1.656 (1.14)	2.549* (0.95)
East	0.426* (0.18)	1.177 (0.39)	1.018 (0.19)
Identical responses	0.404* (0.15)	0.388*** (0.10)	2.695*** (0.57)
Constant	0.023 (0.09)	31.326 (99.86)	11.651 (19.96)
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.21		
N	2394		

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Only controls presented; Male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.2: Control over the income according to male partners – Controls

ref(Both)	Decision-making – Her response	
	She	He
Her absolut hours of housework	0.464** (0.13)	0.755 (0.20)
Total hours of housework	1.481 (0.32)	1.257 (0.29)
Her absolut hours of child care	1.048 (0.11)	0.883 (0.09)
Total hours of child care	0.962 (0.09)	1.080 (0.09)
Unmarried	0.489 (0.27)	1.009 (0.56)
Duration of relationship	1.013 (0.03)	0.998 (0.02)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	1.034 (0.04)	0.980 (0.05)
Her yeas of education	0.859* (0.06)	0.989 (0.06)
His years of education	0.918 (0.06)	1.009 (0.07)
Her age	0.699* (0.10)	0.978 (0.14)
His age	1.296 (0.25)	0.920 (0.11)
Her age squared	1.003 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His age squared	0.997 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)		
Her cohort 1950-65	0.760 (0.68)	2.007 (1.64)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	0.164 (0.20)	3.996 (3.99)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)		
His cohort 1950-65	0.515 (0.36)	0.715 (0.53)
His cohort 1965 and younger	0.804 (0.81)	0.272 (0.26)
No child (ref)		
One child	0.724 (0.29)	0.794 (0.35)
Two children	0.602 (0.29)	1.061 (0.45)
Three and more children	0.960 (0.58)	0.562 (0.36)
East	1.197 (0.42)	1.573 (0.50)
Identical responses	0.087*** (0.03)	0.074*** (0.02)
Constant	560.866 (2252.73)	7.656 (26.68)
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.21	
N	1579	

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Only controls presented; Female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.3: Decision-making according to female partners – Controls

ref(Both)	Decision-making – His response	
	He	She
Her absolut hours of housework	0.728 (0.24)	0.681 (0.20)
Total hours of housework	1.217 (0.34)	1.184 (0.25)
Her absolut hours of child care	0.959 (0.11)	1.025 (0.10)
Total hours of child care	1.003 (0.11)	0.985 (0.08)
Unmarried	2.541 (1.38)	0.853 (0.46)
Duration of relationship	0.985 (0.02)	0.997 (0.02)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	0.939 (0.05)	1.033 (0.04)
Her yeas of education	0.842* (0.06)	0.913 (0.07)
His years of education	1.054 (0.08)	0.929 (0.05)
Her age	0.990 (0.15)	0.766 (0.11)
His age	1.120 (0.17)	1.209 (0.23)
Her age squared	1.000 (0.00)	1.003 (0.00)
His age squared	0.999 (0.00)	0.997 (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)		
Her cohort 1950-65	1.864 (1.83)	0.465 (0.47)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	1.635 (1.83)	0.117 (0.15)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)		
His cohort 1950-65	1.313 (1.07)	0.681 (0.53)
His cohort 1965 and younger	0.829 (0.86)	1.051 (1.04)
No child (ref)		
One child	0.601 (0.26)	0.551 (0.24)
Two children	0.898 (0.40)	0.665 (0.31)
Three and more children	1.364 (0.74)	1.141 (0.61)
East	1.963* (0.58)	1.165 (0.39)
Identical responses	0.054*** (0.01)	0.091*** (0.03)
Constant	0.491 (1.89)	92.823 (301.09)
<i>PseudoR</i> ²	0.23	
N	1579	

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Only controls presented; Male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.4: Decision-making according to male partners – Controls

Control over income and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	She controls	non trad. housework	She controls	non trad. housework
Her share of income	0.004 (0.00)	0.013*** (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.352 (0.22)	-0.030 (0.14)	0.266 (0.21)	-0.053 (0.15)
He higher education	0.198 (0.22)	0.044 (0.13)	0.078 (0.20)	-0.041 (0.13)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.325 (0.34)	0.234 (0.22)	0.308 (0.30)	0.289 (0.21)
He older	-0.322 (0.30)	0.045 (0.19)	-0.377 (0.27)	0.041 (0.18)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.302 (0.18)	-0.235 (0.14)	0.208 (0.18)	-0.326* (0.15)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.180 (0.32)	-0.427 (0.25)	-0.293 (0.29)	-0.268 (0.24)
She part-time,he not work	0.359 (0.42)	-0.410 (0.32)	-0.124 (0.44)	-0.425 (0.32)
He part-time,she not work	0.870 (0.47)	-0.018 (0.32)	0.716 (0.45)	-0.217 (0.32)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.264 (0.18)	0.021 (0.12)	0.228 (0.16)	0.094 (0.12)
He more friends	-0.285 (0.22)	0.124 (0.15)	-0.138 (0.19)	0.227 (0.14)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.215 (0.21)	0.033 (0.14)	0.173 (0.20)	0.035 (0.14)
He more cultural activities	-0.218 (0.21)	0.143 (0.12)	-0.153 (0.19)	0.031 (0.12)
His share of child care	-0.006 (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)	-0.011* (0.01)	0.006 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.517* (0.24)	-0.173 (0.15)	-0.211 (0.23)	-0.127 (0.15)
He more committed	-0.283 (0.29)	0.030 (0.20)	-0.536 (0.30)	-0.061 (0.19)
Constant	-3.558 (2.21)	2.394 (1.52)	1.194 (2.18)	1.939 (1.53)
Chi2	302.849		320.237	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.2567		0.3021	
N	928		936	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she controls (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of housework (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.5: Her control and division of housework

Decision-making and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	She decides	non trad. housework	She decides	non trad. housework
Her share of income	0.010** (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)	0.011** (0.00)	0.013*** (0.00)
Household income	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.176 (0.17)	-0.013 (0.11)	0.251 (0.16)	0.043 (0.11)
He higher education	0.214 (0.17)	-0.051 (0.11)	0.141 (0.17)	0.001 (0.11)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.419 (0.33)	0.257 (0.16)	0.272 (0.30)	0.262 (0.16)
He older	0.393 (0.31)	0.116 (0.14)	0.296 (0.27)	0.184 (0.14)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.329 (0.17)	-0.246* (0.11)	0.365* (0.17)	-0.237* (0.11)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.374 (0.29)	-0.015 (0.20)	-0.106 (0.24)	-0.029 (0.20)
She part-time,he not work	-0.466 (0.40)	-0.067 (0.30)	-0.445 (0.41)	-0.214 (0.32)
He part-time,she not work	0.475 (0.37)	-0.061 (0.23)	0.486 (0.37)	-0.052 (0.23)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.031 (0.14)	0.003 (0.09)	-0.082 (0.14)	-0.062 (0.09)
He more friends	-0.109 (0.16)	0.110 (0.11)	-0.278 (0.19)	0.126 (0.11)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.166 (0.14)	-0.042 (0.10)	0.223 (0.15)	0.006 (0.10)
He more cultural activities	0.447** (0.14)	0.131 (0.10)	0.440** (0.14)	0.135 (0.10)
His share of child care	-0.007 (0.00)	0.007 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.151 (0.22)	-0.061 (0.12)	0.026 (0.18)	-0.052 (0.12)
He more committed	0.337 (0.20)	0.045 (0.15)	0.429* (0.19)	0.025 (0.15)
Constant	-0.695 (2.04)	-1.322 (1.21)	0.264 (1.84)	-1.488 (1.23)
Chi2	354.951		355.722	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.6998		0.5807	
N	1480		1468	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she decides (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: joint decision (0) and traditional division of housework (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.6: Her decision-making and division of housework

	Control over income and division of labor			
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	She controls	non trad. child care	She controls	non trad. child care
Her share of income	0.002 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.304 (0.22)	0.305 (0.17)	0.220 (0.21)	0.268 (0.18)
He higher education	0.211 (0.22)	0.077 (0.18)	0.091 (0.20)	0.055 (0.18)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.268 (0.33)	-0.289 (0.28)	0.281 (0.29)	-0.363 (0.28)
He older	-0.387 (0.30)	0.275 (0.22)	-0.417 (0.26)	0.204 (0.23)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.305 (0.19)	0.009 (0.19)	0.206 (0.18)	-0.038 (0.19)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.219 (0.32)	0.545* (0.27)	-0.383 (0.28)	0.387 (0.27)
She part-time,he not work	0.321 (0.44)	0.310 (0.47)	-0.125 (0.46)	-0.188 (0.51)
He part-time,she not work	0.848 (0.46)	0.008 (0.48)	0.680 (0.44)	-0.073 (0.49)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.239 (0.18)	0.211 (0.17)	0.193 (0.16)	0.203 (0.16)
He more friends	-0.312 (0.22)	-0.016 (0.19)	-0.154 (0.18)	-0.006 (0.19)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.197 (0.21)	0.123 (0.16)	0.138 (0.20)	0.123 (0.16)
He more cultural activities	-0.200 (0.21)	0.210 (0.15)	-0.153 (0.19)	0.179 (0.15)
His share of housework	-0.015** (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	-0.015** (0.00)	0.005 (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.461 (0.24)	-0.014 (0.19)	-0.145 (0.22)	-0.143 (0.19)
He more committed	-0.277 (0.28)	-0.135 (0.28)	-0.579* (0.28)	-0.116 (0.25)
Constant	-2.814 (2.17)	-6.147** (2.31)	1.851 (2.11)	-4.255 (2.22)
Chi2	373.922		362.899	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.3561		0.1162	
N	928		936	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she controls (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.7: Her control and division of child care

	Decision-making and division of labor			
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	She decides	non trad. child care	She decides	non trad. child care
Her share of income	0.008*	0.005	0.009*	0.004
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Household income	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.117	0.130	0.228	0.128
	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.11)
He higher education	0.227	-0.070	0.148	-0.067
	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.12)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.435	-0.266	0.262	-0.296
	(0.34)	(0.18)	(0.30)	(0.18)
He older	0.385	-0.070	0.291	-0.040
	(0.31)	(0.16)	(0.27)	(0.16)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.354*	0.004	0.400*	-0.036
	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.15)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.390	-0.264	-0.125	-0.154
	(0.29)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.20)
She part-time,he not work	-0.344	-0.981*	-0.359	-0.670
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.42)	(0.40)
He part-time,she not work	0.456	0.065	0.533	0.000
	(0.38)	(0.27)	(0.36)	(0.27)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.027	0.012	-0.082	0.005
	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.10)
He more friends	-0.153	-0.092	-0.310	-0.055
	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.12)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.137	0.246*	0.207	0.236*
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.11)
He more cultural activities	0.485***	0.144	0.456**	0.143
	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.11)
His share of housework	-0.008	0.006	-0.001	0.005
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.092	-0.280*	0.066	-0.298*
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.14)
He more committed	0.325	0.005	0.417*	0.014
	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.17)
Constant	0.249	-2.512	0.702	-2.324
	(1.92)	(1.52)	(1.78)	(1.54)
Chi2	374.850		365.487	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.9431		0.4120	
N	1480		1468	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she decides (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: joint decision (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.8: Her decision-making and division of child care

	Control over income and division of labor			
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	He controls	non trad. housework	He controls	non trad. housework
Her share of income	-0.020*** (0.01)	0.013*** (0.00)	-0.026*** (0.01)	0.013*** (0.00)
Household income	0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.345 (0.23)	0.014 (0.15)	-0.528* (0.25)	-0.023 (0.15)
He higher education	-0.181 (0.22)	0.004 (0.13)	-0.320 (0.22)	0.019 (0.13)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.102 (0.36)	0.164 (0.23)	-0.325 (0.35)	0.274 (0.23)
He older	0.022 (0.32)	0.059 (0.20)	-0.059 (0.30)	0.054 (0.19)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.098 (0.25)	-0.344* (0.15)	0.051 (0.24)	-0.280 (0.15)
She full-time,he part/not work	-4.799*** (0.50)	-0.163 (0.25)	1.029* (0.52)	-0.249 (0.25)
She part-time,he not work	0.377 (0.76)	-0.547 (0.35)	0.779 (0.94)	-0.553 (0.34)
He part-time,she not work	0.950* (0.46)	-0.142 (0.32)	0.933* (0.46)	-0.094 (0.32)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.127 (0.18)	0.081 (0.13)	0.102 (0.17)	0.065 (0.13)
He more friends	-0.402 (0.25)	0.209 (0.15)	-0.221 (0.23)	0.189 (0.15)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.347 (0.21)	0.015 (0.15)	-0.020 (0.19)	-0.036 (0.15)
He more cultural activities	-0.062 (0.20)	0.021 (0.13)	-0.374 (0.20)	0.155 (0.13)
His share of child care	0.008 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	0.009 (0.01)	0.002 (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.591** (0.22)	-0.113 (0.17)	-0.130 (0.21)	-0.090 (0.16)
He more committed	-1.034** (0.36)	0.079 (0.21)	-0.645* (0.27)	0.009 (0.21)
Constant	0.561 (2.50)	1.657 (1.63)	0.214 (2.83)	2.009 (1.53)
Chi2	1692.282		343.981	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.1114		0.6071	
N	867		907	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his control (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of housework (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.9: His control and division of housework

Decision-making and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	He decides	non trad. housework	He decides	non trad. housework
Her share of income	-0.011** (0.00)	0.013*** (0.00)	-0.008* (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)
Household income	0.000** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.155 (0.15)	0.030 (0.11)	-0.139 (0.14)	0.023 (0.11)
He higher education	0.254 (0.14)	-0.012 (0.11)	0.327* (0.15)	-0.011 (0.11)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.175 (0.23)	0.308 (0.16)	-0.150 (0.23)	0.323* (0.16)
He older	0.080 (0.20)	0.171 (0.14)	-0.018 (0.18)	0.191 (0.14)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	-0.084 (0.15)	-0.211 (0.11)	-0.013 (0.16)	-0.213 (0.11)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.178 (0.31)	-0.013 (0.21)	-0.071 (0.32)	-0.036 (0.20)
She part-time,he not work	1.149*** (0.34)	-0.062 (0.30)	0.048 (0.38)	-0.052 (0.30)
He part-time,she not work	-0.355 (0.41)	-0.002 (0.23)	-0.089 (0.36)	-0.063 (0.23)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.101 (0.13)	0.061 (0.09)	0.039 (0.13)	0.057 (0.09)
He more friends	0.137 (0.15)	0.122 (0.10)	0.177 (0.15)	0.113 (0.11)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.236 (0.14)	0.013 (0.10)	-0.078 (0.15)	0.030 (0.10)
He more cultural activities	0.029 (0.15)	0.139 (0.10)	-0.396* (0.19)	0.143 (0.10)
His share of child care	-0.004 (0.00)	0.008* (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	0.008* (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.104 (0.15)	-0.018 (0.12)	-0.252 (0.16)	-0.024 (0.11)
He more committed	0.076 (0.21)	0.002 (0.16)	0.028 (0.23)	0.055 (0.15)
Constant	-3.791* (1.89)	-1.534 (1.25)	-3.800* (1.71)	-1.733 (1.25)
Chi2	366.728		361.125	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.8143		0.3577	
N	1498		1493	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his decision-making (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: joint decision-making (0) and traditional division of housework (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.10: His decision-making and division of housework

Control over income and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	He controls	non trad. child care	He controls	non trad. child care
Her share of income	-0.018** (0.01)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.024*** (0.01)	-0.003 (0.00)
Household income	0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.339 (0.23)	0.283 (0.17)	-0.529* (0.25)	0.367* (0.17)
He higher education	-0.279 (0.23)	0.107 (0.17)	-0.462* (0.22)	0.027 (0.17)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.117 (0.36)	-0.138 (0.30)	-0.291 (0.37)	-0.132 (0.29)
He older	0.012 (0.32)	0.461 (0.25)	-0.132 (0.32)	0.345 (0.24)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.022 (0.26)	0.148 (0.19)	-0.072 (0.25)	-0.042 (0.20)
She full-time,he part/not work	-4.878*** (0.55)	0.411 (0.28)	0.850 (0.49)	0.447 (0.27)
She part-time,he not work	0.373 (0.83)	0.004 (0.55)	0.833 (0.94)	0.335 (0.52)
He part-time,she not work	0.863 (0.47)	0.524 (0.44)	0.894 (0.47)	0.244 (0.48)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.113 (0.18)	0.186 (0.17)	0.081 (0.18)	0.231 (0.16)
He more friends	-0.281 (0.24)	-0.124 (0.19)	-0.224 (0.23)	-0.098 (0.19)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.372 (0.21)	0.217 (0.18)	0.071 (0.19)	0.288 (0.18)
He more cultural activities	-0.034 (0.20)	0.255 (0.15)	-0.443* (0.22)	0.295* (0.15)
His share of housework	0.003 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)	0.000 (0.01)	0.000 (0.01)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.658** (0.24)	-0.331 (0.21)	-0.160 (0.21)	-0.281 (0.19)
He more committed -0.8984**	-0.109 (0.36)	-0.700** (0.27)	-0.217 (0.26)	-0.217 (0.29)
Constant	0.586 (2.52)	-6.397** (2.18)	-1.011 (2.74)	-6.394** (2.21)
Chi2	1378.275		355.203	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.2054		0.7876	
N	867		907	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his control (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.11: His control and division of child care

Decision-making and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	He decides	non trad. child care	He decides	non trad. child care
Her share of income	-0.011** (0.00)	0.003 (0.00)	-0.007* (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)
Household income	0.000** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.178 (0.15)	0.120 (0.11)	-0.144 (0.15)	0.111 (0.11)
He higher education	0.253 (0.14)	-0.069 (0.12)	0.330* (0.15)	-0.051 (0.12)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.185 (0.23)	-0.359* (0.18)	-0.188 (0.23)	-0.342 (0.18)
He older	0.066 (0.20)	-0.071 (0.16)	-0.047 (0.18)	-0.062 (0.16)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	-0.108 (0.15)	-0.029 (0.14)	-0.031 (0.16)	-0.000 (0.15)
She full-time,he part/not work	-0.131 (0.30)	-0.134 (0.20)	-0.075 (0.35)	-0.135 (0.20)
She part-time,he not work	1.163*** (0.33)	-1.059* (0.44)	-0.093 (0.37)	-1.173** (0.44)
He part-time,she not work	-0.384 (0.41)	0.048 (0.28)	-0.055 (0.35)	0.108 (0.28)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	0.119 (0.13)	-0.025 (0.11)	0.048 (0.13)	-0.013 (0.10)
He more friends	0.113 (0.15)	-0.085 (0.12)	0.151 (0.15)	-0.100 (0.12)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	0.237 (0.14)	0.166 (0.11)	-0.083 (0.15)	0.185 (0.11)
He more cultural activities	0.030 (0.15)	0.188 (0.11)	-0.412* (0.19)	0.103 (0.11)
His share of housework	-0.008* (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.117 (0.15)	-0.330* (0.14)	-0.279 (0.16)	-0.318* (0.14)
He more committed	0.059 (0.21)	0.049 (0.17)	0.011 (0.23)	-0.041 (0.17)
Constant	-3.404 (1.90)	-1.635 (1.55)	-3.700* (1.72)	-1.411 (1.51)
Chi2	383.168		341.487	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.7908		0.7709	
N	1498		1493	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: his decision-making (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: joint decision (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.12: His decision-making and division of child care

	Control over income and division of labor			
	(1)		(2)	
	Pooled	Her answers non trad. housework	Pooled	His answers non trad. housework
Her share of income	-0.004 (0.00)	0.011*** (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)	0.011*** (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.053 (0.12)	-0.000 (0.10)	0.041 (0.12)	0.009 (0.10)
He higher education	0.070 (0.12)	-0.136 (0.10)	0.056 (0.12)	-0.116 (0.10)
Same age (ref)				
She older	-0.038 (0.18)	0.159 (0.14)	-0.072 (0.19)	0.179 (0.15)
He older	-0.109 (0.16)	0.148 (0.13)	-0.136 (0.17)	0.170 (0.13)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.074 (0.10)	-0.257** (0.10)	0.042 (0.10)	-0.261** (0.10)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.327* (0.16)	0.025 (0.16)	0.131 (0.16)	-0.002 (0.16)
She part-time,he not work	0.239 (0.23)	-0.122 (0.27)	0.023 (0.24)	-0.137 (0.27)
He part-time,she not work	0.542* (0.26)	0.038 (0.18)	0.594* (0.26)	-0.041 (0.18)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.108 (0.10)	-0.039 (0.09)	-0.041 (0.10)	-0.040 (0.09)
He more friends	0.016 (0.10)	0.055 (0.10)	-0.029 (0.10)	0.078 (0.10)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	-0.116 (0.11)	0.057 (0.10)	-0.144 (0.11)	0.055 (0.10)
He more cultural activities	-0.189 (0.10)	0.053 (0.09)	-0.186 (0.10)	0.066 (0.09)
His share of child care	0.002 (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.028 (0.13)	-0.075 (0.11)	-0.093 (0.13)	-0.061 (0.11)
He more committed	-0.193 (0.17)	0.044 (0.14)	-0.262 (0.17)	0.069 (0.13)
Constant	0.693 (1.13)	0.244 (1.03)	1.978 (1.13)	0.341 (1.04)
Chi2	700.828		690.959	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.4104		0.9706	
N	2173		2167	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: joint pool (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of housework (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.13: Joint pool and division of houswork

Decision-making and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	Joint decision	non trad. housework	Joint decision	non trad. housework
Her share of income	-0.001 (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.012*** (0.00)
Household income	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.026 (0.13)	0.017 (0.11)	-0.065 (0.12)	0.017 (0.11)
He higher education	-0.271* (0.12)	-0.004 (0.10)	-0.196 (0.12)	-0.005 (0.10)
Same age (ref)				
She older	-0.077 (0.20)	0.273 (0.15)	-0.231 (0.20)	0.273 (0.15)
He older	-0.126 (0.17)	0.174 (0.14)	-0.181 (0.18)	0.174 (0.14)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	-0.159 (0.13)	-0.226* (0.11)	-0.140 (0.13)	-0.226* (0.11)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.196 (0.23)	-0.002 (0.20)	-0.078 (0.21)	-0.004 (0.20)
She part-time,he not work	0.120 (0.31)	-0.100 (0.29)	-0.439 (0.30)	-0.102 (0.29)
He part-time,she not work	-0.213 (0.28)	-0.077 (0.22)	-0.110 (0.30)	-0.078 (0.22)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.009 (0.11)	0.011 (0.09)	-0.014 (0.11)	0.010 (0.09)
He more friends	-0.045 (0.13)	0.109 (0.10)	0.043 (0.13)	0.109 (0.10)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	-0.015 (0.12)	0.001 (0.10)	-0.254* (0.11)	0.001 (0.10)
He more cultural activities	-0.008 (0.13)	0.147 (0.10)	-0.197 (0.12)	0.146 (0.10)
His share of child care	0.005 (0.00)	0.007 (0.00)	0.003 (0.00)	0.007 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.216 (0.15)	-0.049 (0.12)	-0.093 (0.12)	-0.049 (0.12)
He more committed	-0.172 (0.16)	0.053 (0.14)	-0.234 (0.15)	0.052 (0.14)
Constant	2.077 (1.55)	-1.239 (1.20)	1.249 (1.46)	-1.247 (1.20)
Chi2	325.656		340.899	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.5231		0.9384	
N	1579		1579	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: joint decision-making (1) and non traditional division of housework (1); Basecategories: Exclusive decision (0) and traditional division of housework (0); * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.14: Joint decision-making and division of houswork

Control over money and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	Pooled	non trad. child care	Pooled	non trad. child care
Her share of income	-0.004 (0.00)	0.006* (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)	0.006* (0.00)
Household income	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.054 (0.12)	0.059 (0.11)	0.039 (0.12)	0.023 (0.11)
He higher education	0.066 (0.12)	0.046 (0.11)	0.053 (0.12)	0.012 (0.12)
Same age (ref)				
She older	-0.026 (0.18)	-0.213 (0.16)	-0.069 (0.18)	-0.196 (0.17)
He older	-0.122 (0.16)	-0.119 (0.15)	-0.158 (0.17)	-0.072 (0.15)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.077 (0.10)	0.046 (0.13)	0.048 (0.10)	0.038 (0.12)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.266 (0.16)	-0.193 (0.16)	0.073 (0.16)	-0.140 (0.16)
She part-time,he not work	0.145 (0.23)	-0.706* (0.31)	-0.077 (0.24)	-0.569 (0.33)
He part-time,she not work	0.506 (0.26)	0.191 (0.22)	0.573* (0.27)	0.234 (0.23)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.094 (0.10)	0.012 (0.10)	-0.031 (0.10)	-0.021 (0.10)
He more friends	0.019 (0.10)	-0.015 (0.10)	-0.029 (0.10)	-0.066 (0.11)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	-0.123 (0.11)	0.086 (0.11)	-0.152 (0.11)	0.094 (0.11)
He more cultural activities	-0.174 (0.10)	0.103 (0.10)	-0.178 (0.10)	0.084 (0.10)
His share of housework	-0.008* (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	-0.006* (0.00)	0.003 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.017 (0.13)	-0.188 (0.13)	-0.081 (0.13)	-0.168 (0.13)
He more committed	-0.173 (0.17)	0.059 (0.14)	-0.253 (0.17)	0.019 (0.14)
Constant	0.736 (1.15)	-2.961* (1.46)	2.023 (1.15)	-3.696** (1.38)
Chi2	675.749		664.156	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.5817		0.4198	
N	2173		2167	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: joint pool (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: separate system (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.15: Joint pool and division of child care

Control over income and division of labor				
	(1)		(2)	
	Her answers		His answers	
	Joint decision	non trad. child care	Joint decision	non trad. child care
Her share of income	-0.000 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)
Household income	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	0.002 (0.12)	0.126 (0.11)	-0.035 (0.12)	0.126 (0.11)
He higher education	-0.282* (0.12)	-0.049 (0.12)	-0.205 (0.12)	-0.049 (0.12)
Same age (ref)				
She older	-0.074 (0.20)	-0.292 (0.18)	-0.235 (0.20)	-0.293 (0.18)
He older	-0.105 (0.17)	-0.052 (0.16)	-0.169 (0.18)	-0.052 (0.16)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	-0.163 (0.13)	0.037 (0.14)	-0.144 (0.13)	0.036 (0.14)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.222 (0.23)	-0.177 (0.20)	-0.080 (0.20)	-0.176 (0.20)
She part-time,he not work	0.141 (0.31)	-0.946* (0.40)	-0.447 (0.29)	-0.950* (0.40)
He part-time,she not work	-0.221 (0.28)	0.212 (0.27)	-0.104 (0.30)	0.209 (0.27)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.016 (0.11)	-0.003 (0.10)	-0.024 (0.11)	-0.002 (0.10)
He more friends	-0.021 (0.13)	-0.095 (0.12)	0.070 (0.13)	-0.094 (0.12)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	-0.006 (0.12)	0.196 (0.11)	-0.242* (0.11)	0.195 (0.11)
His more cultural activities	-0.009 (0.13)	0.155 (0.11)	-0.208 (0.12)	0.155 (0.11)
His share of housework	0.006 (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)	0.007* (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	0.208 (0.15)	-0.316* (0.14)	-0.116 (0.12)	-0.316* (0.14)
He more committed	-0.152 (0.16)	0.000 (0.16)	-0.223 (0.15)	-0.000 (0.16)
Constant	1.879 (1.51)	-2.276 (1.50)	0.828 (1.44)	-2.284 (1.50)
Chi2	357.720		365.809	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.8235		0.5858	
N	1579		1579	

Note: Bivariate probit model; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: joint decision-making (1) and non traditional division of child care (1); Basecategories: Exclusive decision (0) and traditional division of child care (0); (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.16: Joint decision-making and division of child care

	Her answers		His answers	
	I control	I decide	I control	I decide
Her absolut hours of housework	-0.792** (0.26)	-0.378 (0.23)	0.429 (0.31)	-0.128 (0.21)
Total hours of housework	0.664** (0.22)	0.222 (0.20)	-0.197 (0.27)	0.139 (0.17)
Her absolut hours of child care	-0.097 (0.06)	0.074 (0.10)	-0.052 (0.13)	0.019 (0.11)
Total hours of child care	0.101* (0.05)	-0.090 (0.09)	0.084 (0.12)	0.004 (0.11)
Unmarried	-0.487 (0.42)	-0.542 (0.31)	0.251 (0.66)	0.484 (0.36)
Duration of relationship	0.036* (0.02)	0.034* (0.02)	0.022 (0.02)	0.002 (0.02)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	-0.081 (0.05)	0.015 (0.02)	-0.128 (0.09)	-0.056 (0.03)
Her yeas of education	-0.127* (0.06)	-0.083 (0.06)	-0.016 (0.05)	-0.189*** (0.06)
His years of education	-0.059 (0.05)	-0.042 (0.05)	-0.088* (0.04)	0.090 (0.05)
Her age	-0.041 (0.11)	-0.178 (0.12)	0.027 (0.13)	0.013 (0.11)
His age	0.221* (0.11)	0.213 (0.11)	-0.131 (0.18)	0.153 (0.11)
Her age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
His age squared	-0.002 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)				
Her cohort 1950-65	-0.418 (0.60)	-0.535 (0.51)	-0.070 (0.65)	1.268 (0.72)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	-0.509 (0.76)	-0.679 (0.70)	-0.185 (0.79)	1.410 (0.83)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)				
His cohort 1950-65	0.097 (0.50)	1.368** (0.43)	-0.377 (0.58)	0.377 (0.46)
His cohort 1965 and younger	0.973 (0.70)	1.880** (0.72)	-1.028 (0.74)	0.016 (0.60)
No child (ref)				
One child	-0.358 (0.28)	-0.347 (0.35)	0.068 (0.31)	-0.750** (0.28)
Two children	0.067 (0.35)	-0.282 (0.36)	-0.173 (0.40)	-0.115 (0.31)
Three and more children	0.104 (0.43)	-4.887*** (0.42)	0.113 (0.53)	-0.202 (0.44)
East	0.117 (0.24)	0.114 (0.23)	0.089 (0.30)	0.871*** (0.20)
Identical responses	0.311 (0.24)	-0.032 (0.22)	-0.414 (0.25)	0.213 (0.21)
Constant	-1.921 (2.67)	-2.062 (2.60)	2.873 (3.08)	-6.523* (2.59)
Chi2	8.075		4.224	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.0045		0.0399	
N	558		533	

Note: Bivariate probit models; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: she/he controls and she/he decides; Basecategories: separate system and joint decision-making; Only controls presented; (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.17: Exclusive control and decisions – controls

	Her answers		His answers	
	Pool	Both decide	Pool	Both decide
Her share of income	-0.006*	0.000	-0.005	0.003
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Household income	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000**	-0.000*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Same education (ref)				
She higher education	-0.010	0.043	-0.053	0.043
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
He higher education	0.088	-0.262*	0.031	-0.207
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Same age (ref)				
She older	0.055	-0.152	0.003	-0.246
	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.22)
He older	-0.162	-0.029	-0.180	-0.091
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)
Same employment status (ref)				
He full-time,she part/not work	0.093	-0.103	0.076	-0.084
	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.14)
She full-time,he part/not work	0.567**	0.050	0.318	-0.114
	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.22)
She part-time,he not work	0.196	0.067	-0.097	-0.612
	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.30)	(0.32)
He part-time,she not work	0.499	0.059	0.568	-0.107
	(0.31)	(0.35)	(0.32)	(0.34)
Same freq meeting friends (ref)				
She more friends	-0.036	-0.084	-0.048	-0.056
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.12)
He more friends	-0.044	-0.030	-0.082	0.023
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.13)
Same freq cultural activities (ref)				
She more cultural activities	-0.062	-0.006	-0.099	-0.265*
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)
He more cultural activities	-0.096	-0.107	-0.085	-0.247
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.13)
His share of housework	-0.008*	0.006	-0.006	0.008*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
His share of child care	0.002	0.006	0.000	0.006
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Same commitment (ref)				
She more committed	-0.142	0.062	-0.149	-0.258*
	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.13)
He more committed	-0.377*	-0.290	-0.381*	-0.286
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.16)
Constant	0.540	2.425	1.683	0.793
	(1.36)	(1.56)	(1.34)	(1.60)
Chi2	1.06151		.094	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.5231		0.7587	
N	1436		1431	

Note: Bivariate probit models; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables; pool and joint decision; Basecategories: separate system and exclusive decision-making; (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; Controls not presented; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.18: Joint pool and decisions

	Her answers		His answers	
	Pool	Both decide	Pool	Both decide
Her absolut hours of housework	-0.365** (0.12)	0.266* (0.11)	-0.295** (0.11)	0.261* (0.11)
Total hours of housework	0.346*** (0.10)	-0.185* (0.09)	0.285** (0.09)	-0.157 (0.09)
Her absolut hours of child care	0.037 (0.04)	0.075 (0.05)	0.007 (0.04)	0.060 (0.05)
Total hours of child care	-0.030 (0.04)	-0.059 (0.04)	-0.007 (0.04)	-0.051 (0.04)
Unmarried	-0.960*** (0.20)	0.117 (0.21)	-1.006*** (0.19)	-0.323 (0.22)
Duration of relationship	0.040*** (0.01)	-0.008 (0.01)	0.034*** (0.01)	0.001 (0.01)
Unmarried*Duration of relationship	0.002 (0.02)	0.005 (0.02)	0.007 (0.02)	0.019 (0.02)
Her yeas of education	-0.028 (0.03)	0.042 (0.02)	-0.043 (0.03)	0.095*** (0.03)
His years of education	-0.006 (0.03)	-0.008 (0.03)	-0.007 (0.03)	-0.028 (0.03)
Her age	0.016 (0.07)	0.177** (0.06)	0.009 (0.06)	0.186** (0.06)
His age	0.004 (0.06)	-0.233*** (0.07)	-0.038 (0.06)	-0.189** (0.07)
Her age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.002* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.002** (0.00)
His age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.002** (0.00)
Her cohort 1950 and older (ref)				
Her cohort 1950-65	-0.267 (0.30)	-0.085 (0.34)	0.147 (0.29)	-0.318 (0.34)
Her cohort 1965 and younger	-0.202 (0.36)	-0.047 (0.42)	0.129 (0.36)	-0.101 (0.41)
His cohort 1950 and older (ref)				
His cohort 1950-65	-0.004 (0.24)	-0.066 (0.26)	-0.083 (0.24)	0.059 (0.27)
His cohort 1965 and younger	-0.039 (0.33)	-0.513 (0.35)	-0.129 (0.33)	-0.089 (0.34)
No child (ref)				
One child	0.039 (0.13)	0.102 (0.17)	0.110 (0.13)	0.196 (0.16)
Two children	0.295 (0.15)	0.034 (0.18)	0.350* (0.15)	0.009 (0.17)
Three and more children	0.466* (0.23)	0.053 (0.23)	0.431 (0.22)	-0.219 (0.22)
East	-0.007 (0.12)	-0.141 (0.12)	0.011 (0.12)	-0.296* (0.12)
Identical responses	0.859*** (0.14)	0.281 (0.15)	0.589*** (0.15)	0.175 (0.15)
Constant	0.540 (1.36)	2.425 (1.56)	1.683 (1.34)	0.793 (1.60)
Chi2	1.06151		.094	
<i>prob > chi2</i>	0.5231		0.7587	
N	1436		1431	

Note: Bivariate probit models; Probit coefficients; Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables; pool and joint decision; Basecategories: separate system and exclusive decision-making; Only controls presented; (1) female respondents, (2) male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.19: Joint pool and decisions – controls

Control over income – West and East Germany						
	(1) West Germany			(2) East Germany		
	She	He	Pooled	She	He	Pooled
Her absolut hours of housework	0.575 (0.19)	0.442* (0.17)	0.589* (0.14)	0.149*** (0.07)	1.075 (0.74)	0.548 (0.18)
Total hours of housework	1.836* (0.52)	2.748** (0.95)	1.687* (0.35)	3.279*** (1.16)	1.128 (0.78)	1.806** (0.41)
Her absolut hours of child care	1.029 (0.19)	1.444* (0.24)	1.149 (0.13)	0.986 (0.13)	0.266*** (0.10)	0.999 (0.09)
Total hours of child care	0.975 (0.17)	0.729* (0.11)	0.915 (0.09)	1.023 (0.10)	2.020** (0.47)	0.962 (0.06)
Unmarried	0.154*** (0.07)	0.341 (0.22)	0.155*** (0.04)	0.264* (0.15)	0.006*** (0.01)	0.249*** (0.07)
Duration of relationship	1.052 (0.03)	1.016 (0.03)	1.073*** (0.02)	1.107* (0.04)	1.073 (0.06)	1.045* (0.02)
Her yeas of education	0.910 (0.07)	1.015 (0.09)	0.921 (0.04)	0.979 (0.14)	1.011 (0.17)	1.042 (0.08)
His years of education	0.863* (0.06)	0.983 (0.08)	1.015 (0.04)	0.782 (0.10)	1.054 (0.19)	0.927 (0.07)
Her age	0.832 (0.15)	0.980 (0.26)	0.948 (0.14)	1.358 (0.37)	1.637 (1.08)	1.091 (0.13)
His age	1.189 (0.17)	0.927 (0.24)	0.924 (0.11)	1.018 (0.16)	1.308 (1.10)	1.059 (0.13)
Her age squared	1.001 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	0.995 (0.00)	0.992 (0.01)	0.999 (0.00)
His age squared	0.999 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	0.998 (0.01)	0.999 (0.00)
No child (ref)						
One child	0.427 (0.28)	1.409 (0.82)	0.957 (0.26)	4.711 (3.84)	0.140 (0.23)	1.640 (0.54)
Two children	0.876 (0.56)	0.837 (0.56)	1.606 (0.49)	8.014* (7.75)	0.180 (0.30)	2.364* (0.93)
Three and more children	0.789 (0.67)	1.101 (0.89)	2.556 (1.27)	9.711 (12.60)	1.964 (2.82)	3.778 (3.05)
Identical responses	3.417** (1.55)	0.385** (0.12)	5.929*** (1.57)	0.396 (0.23)	0.040** (0.04)	2.549* (1.01)
Constant	6.537 (22.60)	3.104 (13.26)	37.829 (85.17)	0.422 (2.01)	0.000 (0.00)	0.101 (0.21)
Pseudo- R^2	0.27			0.26		
N	1588			792		

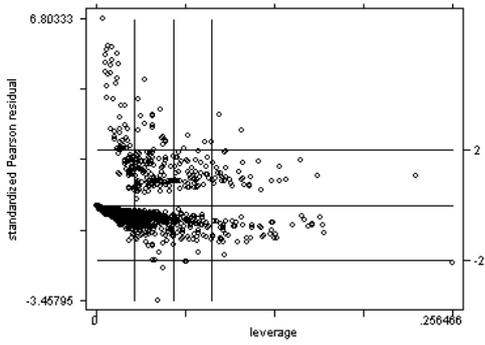
Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: Control over income; Basecategory: separate system; Only controls presented; Female respondents; (1) West Germany, (2) East Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.20: Control over the income in West and East German couples – controls

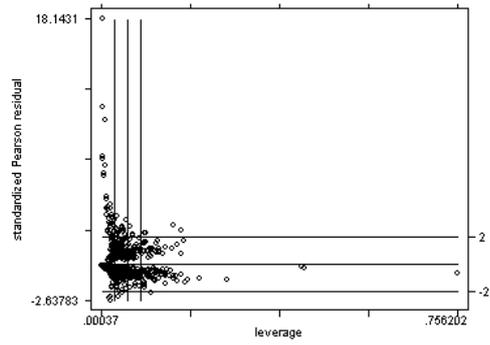
Decision-making – West and East Germany				
	(1)		(2)	
	West Germany		East Germany	
	She	He	She	He
Her absolut hours of housework	0.504 (0.19)	0.873 (0.28)	0.230** (0.13)	0.859 (0.49)
Total hours of housework	1.278 (0.34)	1.161 (0.33)	2.921* (1.33)	1.224 (0.55)
Her absolut hours of child care	1.005 (0.20)	0.811 (0.13)	0.896 (0.17)	0.954 (0.14)
Total hours of child care	1.011 (0.19)	1.106 (0.15)	1.006 (0.15)	1.071 (0.13)
Unmarried	0.491 (0.24)	1.300 (0.68)	0.745 (0.43)	0.421 (0.24)
Duration of relationship	1.029 (0.03)	0.980 (0.03)	1.018 (0.04)	1.023 (0.03)
Her yeas of education	0.857 (0.08)	1.014 (0.07)	0.730 (0.18)	0.790 (0.10)
His years of education	0.943 (0.07)	1.040 (0.09)	0.897 (0.13)	0.952 (0.09)
Her age	0.844 (0.14)	1.094 (0.18)	0.410*** (0.10)	0.683 (0.16)
His age	0.953 (0.17)	0.909 (0.16)	2.065* (0.65)	1.468 (0.31)
Her age squared	1.001 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	1.010** (0.00)	1.003 (0.00)
His age squared	1.000 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	0.992 (0.00)	0.997 (0.00)
No child (ref)				
One child	0.841 (0.49)	1.346 (0.65)	0.288 (0.27)	0.300 (0.24)
Two children	0.714 (0.44)	2.307 (1.11)	0.529 (0.57)	0.124* (0.11)
Three and more children	1.488 (1.11)	1.488 (1.02)	1.242 (1.54)	0.000*** (0.00)
Identical responses	0.065*** (0.03)	0.062*** (0.02)	0.077*** (0.05)	0.082*** (0.05)
Constant	414.428 (1501.52)	0.426 (1.49)	2986.075 (16513.97)	9.886 (47.34)
Pseudo- R^2	0.24		0.31	
N	1049		521	

Note: Multinomial logistic regression model; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Clustered standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variable: Decision-making; Basecategory: joint decision; Only controls presented; Female respondents; (1) West Germany, (2) East Germany; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.21: Decision-making in West and East German couples – controls

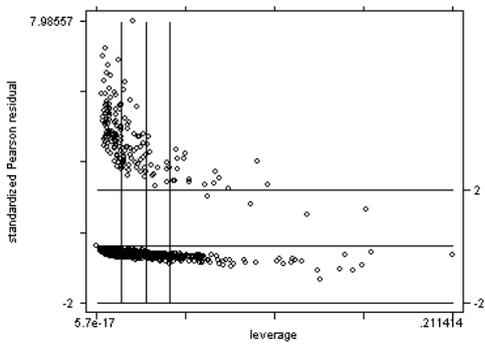


Her control; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

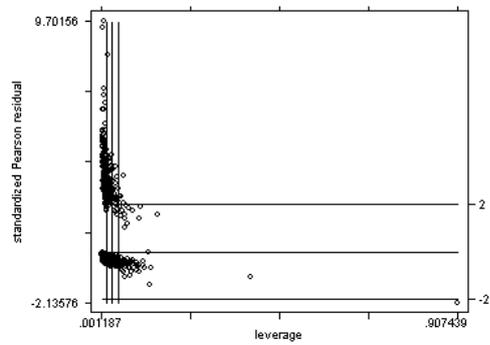


His control; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Figure A.5: Leverage and residual values for her and his control – hybrid models



Her decision; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008



His decision; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Figure A.6: Leverage and residual values for her and his decision-making – hybrid models

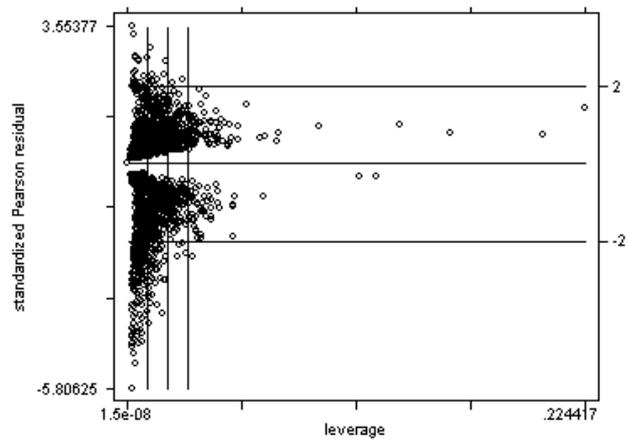


Figure A.7: Leverage and residual values for joint pool – hybrid model

Joint control; Female respondents; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

ref(separat system)	Control over income					
	She controls		He controls		Joint pool	
	Her answer	His answer	Her answer	His answer	Her answer	His answer
Her share of income (centered)	0.998 (0.02)	0.997 (0.01)	0.928** (0.02)	0.920** (0.02)	0.996 (0.01)	0.992 (0.01)
Household income (centered)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	0.999* (0.00)
His share of housework (centered)	0.976 (0.01)	0.995 (0.01)	0.997 (0.01)	1.007 (0.02)	0.993 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His share of child care (centered)	1.037* (0.02)	1.001 (0.01)	1.011 (0.02)	1.030 (0.02)	1.001 (0.01)	1.002 (0.01)
Duration of relationship (centered)	0.628 (0.16)	0.752 (0.15)	1.375 (0.40)	1.334 (0.49)	1.118 (0.07)	1.120* (0.06)
Her age (centered)	1.999 (0.99)	1.029 (0.41)	0.560 (0.25)	0.498 (0.27)	1.331 (0.20)	1.210 (0.18)
Married (mean)	1482.9*** (2291.87)	113.0*** (153.68)	49.34** (70.28)	113.0** (189.08)	50.54*** (20.80)	62.66*** (26.19)
One child (mean)	0.486 (1.14)	1.249 (1.93)	29.59 (55.14)	0.512 (1.22)	3.032 (1.98)	1.581 (1.04)
Two children (mean)	3.429 (8.21)	5.242 (8.27)	96.76* (190.28)	0.915 (2.19)	9.306*** (6.18)	4.348* (2.90)
Three and more (mean)	1.346 (3.51)	3.775 (6.72)	115.2* (240.06)	3.557 (8.96)	7.121** (5.21)	3.404 (2.51)
Age of youngest 4-6 (mean)	0.270 (0.82)	0.102 (0.22)	0.0340 (0.08)	0.621 (1.99)	0.433 (0.40)	0.577 (0.54)
7-17 (mean)	0.277 (0.54)	0.232 (0.30)	0.134 (0.20)	3.397 (6.77)	0.376 (0.20)	0.711 (0.39)
Full age (mean)	19.06 (50.95)	2.497 (4.59)	0.0654 (0.13)	2.119 (5.52)	0.657 (0.50)	0.835 (0.63)
He full-time/ she part, not work (mean)	4.406 (6.95)	1.917 (2.49)	2.151 (2.93)	1.138 (1.95)	1.574 (0.72)	1.482 (0.69)
She full-time/ he part, not work (mean)	134.4 (343.34)	10.54 (20.06)	1394.8** (3635.47)	144.9 (447.21)	16.57*** (12.25)	6.654** (4.88)
She part-time/ he not work (mean)	6.743 (23.52)	5.511 (13.79)	9610.7** (30610.57)	826.3 (3562.09)	4.204 (4.49)	1.491 (1.63)
He part-time/ she not work (mean)	64.74 (310.36)	7.312 (27.00)	14.26 (39.89)	620.2 (2272.21)	6.932 (9.02)	22.25* (32.27)
Her share of income (mean)	1.009 (0.03)	1.003 (0.02)	0.873*** (0.03)	0.842*** (0.03)	0.980* (0.01)	0.982* (0.01)
Household income (mean)	1.000*** (0.00)	1.000*** (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000*** (0.00)	1.000*** (0.00)
His share of housework (mean)	0.946* (0.03)	0.946* (0.02)	0.957 (0.02)	0.913** (0.03)	0.995 (0.01)	0.992 (0.01)
His share of child care (mean)	1.051 (0.04)	1.033 (0.03)	0.993 (0.03)	1.079 (0.05)	1.014 (0.01)	1.023* (0.01)
Duration of relationship (mean)	1.256*** (0.07)	1.170*** (0.06)	1.267*** (0.07)	1.475*** (0.10)	1.166*** (0.02)	1.172*** (0.02)
Her age (mean)	1.060 (0.09)	1.017 (0.07)	0.880 (0.07)	0.752** (0.07)	0.988 (0.03)	0.948* (0.03)
His age (mean)	0.875 (0.07)	0.955 (0.06)	1.081 (0.08)	1.150 (0.10)	0.949* (0.02)	0.985 (0.02)
Year	0.0993 (0.18)	0.901 (1.27)	6.152 (9.84)	7.663 (15.28)	0.400 (0.22)	0.555 (0.30)
N	1561	1571	1560	1519	4343	4344

Note: Hybrid models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: (1) and (2) she controls, (3) and (4) he controls, (5) and (6) joint pool; Basecategories: separate system; Only controls presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2004, 2005, and 2008

Table A.22: Hybrid model for control over the income – controls

ref(separat system)	Decision-making			
	She decides		He decides	
	Female resp	Male resp	Female resp	Male resp
Her share of income (centered)	0.988 (0.01)	1.007 (0.01)	1.019* (0.01)	0.988 (0.01)
Household income (centered)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His share of housework (centered)	0.999 (0.01)	1.004 (0.01)	0.991 (0.01)	0.996 (0.01)
His share of child care (centered)	0.981* (0.01)	0.998 (0.01)	1.015* (0.01)	1.002 (0.01)
Duration of relationship (centered)	1.173 (0.15)	0.971 (0.11)	1.152 (0.17)	0.972 (0.10)
Her age (centered)	4.58e-16*** (0.00)	1.26e-14*** (0.00)	1.08e-15*** (0.00)	5221.6 (36627.24)
Married (mean)	0.899 (0.41)	1.084 (0.44)	0.706 (0.29)	0.537 (0.18)
One child (mean)	0.303 (0.24)	0.281 (0.20)	0.557 (0.35)	1.017 (0.52)
Two children (mean)	0.273 (0.22)	0.258 (0.19)	0.598 (0.37)	1.151 (0.59)
Three and more (mean)	0.469 (0.40)	0.585 (0.45)	0.690 (0.46)	1.961 (1.07)
Age of youngest 4-6 (mean)	3.073 (3.46)	1.740 (1.83)	1.454 (1.23)	0.599 (0.42)
7-17 (mean)	4.508* (3.12)	2.378 (1.48)	1.477 (0.74)	1.179 (0.48)
Full age (mean)	2.428 (2.24)	1.986 (1.64)	1.492 (1.03)	1.127 (0.64)
He full-time/ she part, not work (mean)	1.001 (0.58)	0.752 (0.38)	0.491 (0.24)	0.546 (0.22)
She full-time/ he part, not work (mean)	0.530 (0.44)	1.270 (0.87)	2.864 (2.40)	2.554 (1.79)
She part-time/ he not work (mean)	0.517 (0.61)	0.889 (0.89)	21.54** (21.59)	16.85*** (13.81)
He part-time/ she not work (mean)	3.387 (4.40)	1.076 (1.32)	0.437 (0.41)	1.070 (0.82)
Both part (mean)	0.980 (0.96)	1.182 (0.98)	0.0700* (0.08)	0.175* (0.15)
Both not working (mean)	16.99* (19.09)	2.876 (2.93)	3.115 (2.94)	2.609 (2.16)
Her share of income (mean)	1.017 (0.01)	1.010 (0.01)	0.961*** (0.01)	0.972*** (0.01)
Household income (mean)	1.000* (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)
His share of housework (mean)	0.997 (0.01)	1.004 (0.01)	0.982* (0.01)	0.981** (0.01)
His share of child care (mean)	0.993 (0.01)	1.012 (0.01)	1.007 (0.01)	0.989 (0.01)
Duration of relationship (mean)	1.017 (0.02)	0.997 (0.02)	1.025 (0.02)	1.005 (0.01)
Her age (mean)	0.984 (0.03)	1.024 (0.03)	0.955 (0.03)	1.007 (0.02)
His age (mean)	0.975 (0.03)	0.968 (0.02)	1.035 (0.02)	0.983 (0.02)
Year	9.87192e+45 .	3.80662e+41 .	6.89256e+44 .	5.91e-12 (0.00)
N	2961	2938	3050	3049

Note: Hybrid models; Exponentiated coefficients (OR); Standard errors in parentheses; Unweighted; Dependent variables: (1) and (2) she decides, (3) and (4) he decides; Basecategories: separate system; Only controls presented; Male and female respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: SOEP 2005 and 2008

Table A.23: Hybrid model for decision-making – controls

Marriage life-long union (in %)				
Social influence	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His				
Never	3.79	3.59		
Seldom	21.76	22.16		
Sometimes	50.99	48.8		
Often	21.59	22.69		
Always	1.87	2.75		
N	1,009	2,111		
Her				
Never			1.58	2.13
Seldom			12.8	12.16
Sometimes			51.54	46.85
Often			32.54	34.39
Always			1.55	4.48
N			765	2,344

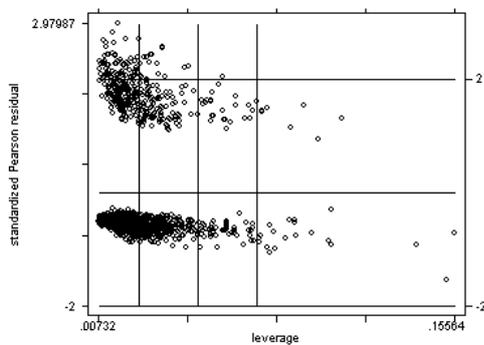
Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table A.24: Social influence and attitude towards dissolving marriage

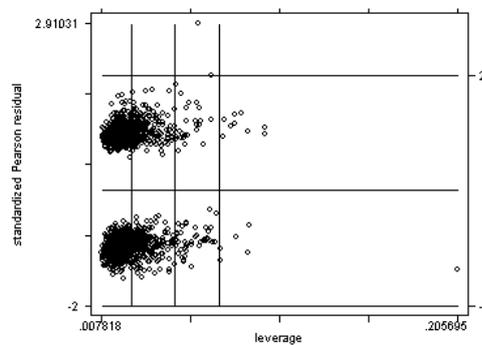
Influence on results	Marriage life-long union (in %)			
	Her opinion		His opinion	
	disagree	agree	disagree	agree
His				
Never	2.14	3.48		
Seldom	28.00	24.67		
Sometimes	55.7	55.96		
Often	13.03	13.79		
Always	1.13	2.1		
N	1,009	2,111		
Her				
Never			2.17	2.5
Seldom			15.37	15.09
Sometimes			54.19	56.13
Often			26.41	23.81
Always			1.86	2.46
N			765	2,344

Note: Column percentages weighted with design weight; N not weighted; Male and female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table A.25: Influence on results and attitude towards dissolving marriage

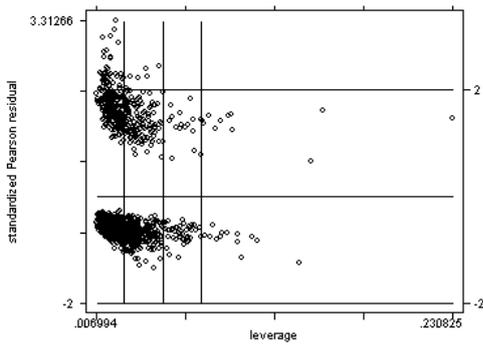


His seldom social influence; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

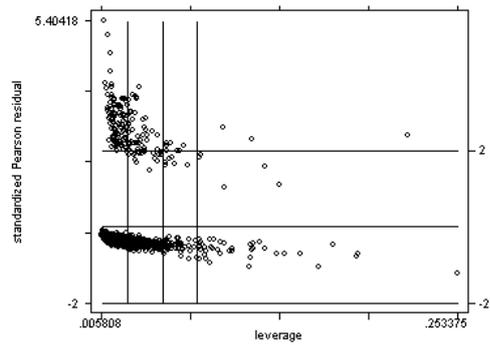


His sometimes social influence; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Figure A.8: Leverage and residual values for his social influence – seldom and sometimes

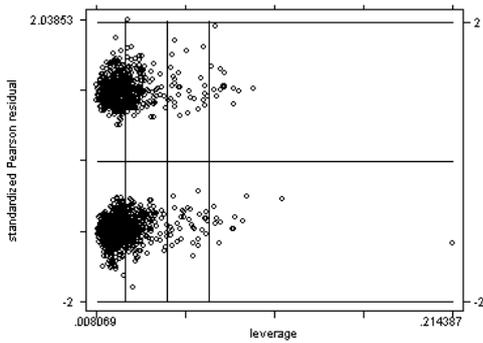


His often social influence; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

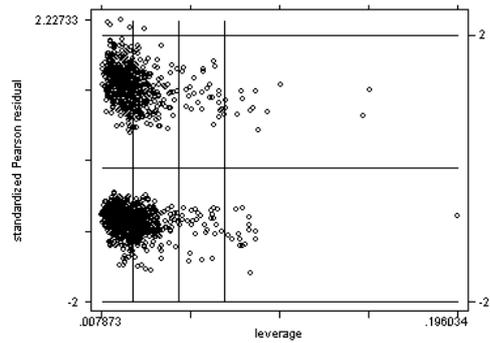


Her seldom social influence; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Figure A.9: Leverage and residual values for his influence and her social influence – often and seldom

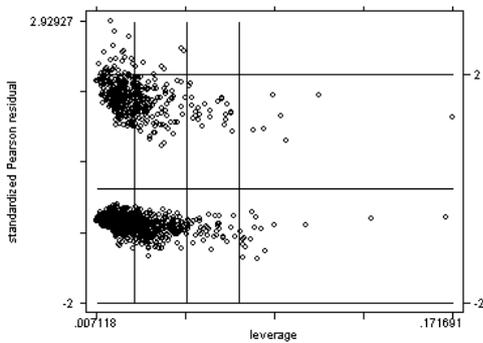


Her sometimes social influence; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

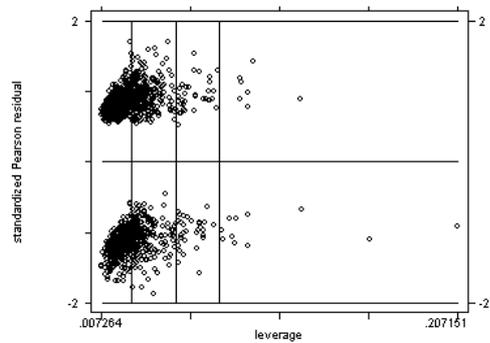


Her often social influence; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Figure A.10: Leverage and residual values for her social influence – sometimes and often

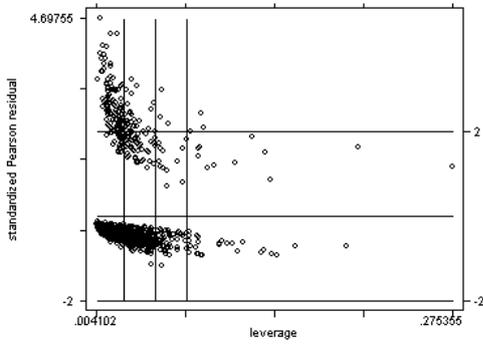


His seldom influence on results; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

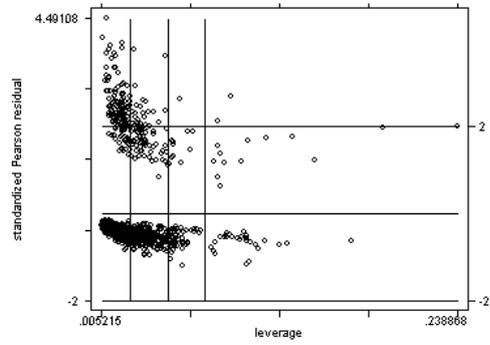


His sometimes influence on results; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Figure A.11: Leverage and residual values for his influence on results – seldom and sometimes

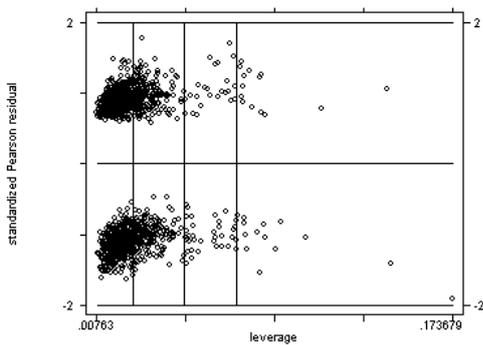


His often influence on results; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam 2010*

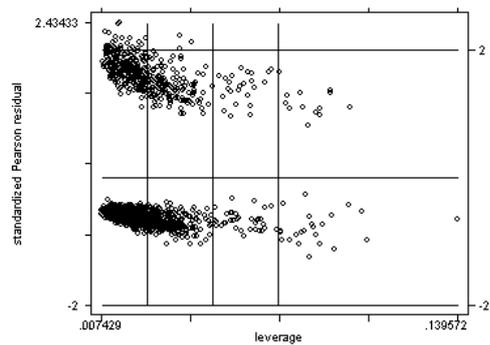


Her seldom influence on results; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam 2010*

Figure A.12: Leverage and residual values for his influence and her influence on results – often and seldom



Her sometimes influence on results; Female respondents; Data source: *pairfam 2010*



Her often influence on results; Male respondents; Data source: *pairfam 2010*

Figure A.13: Leverage and residual values for her social influence – sometimes and often

ref(Sometimes)	His non-financial power			
	Social influence		Influence on results	
	Seldom	Often	Seldom	Often
No child (ref)				
One child	1.332 (0.28)	1.227 (0.24)	1.026 (0.19)	1.203 (0.30)
Two children	1.258 (0.24)	0.904 (0.16)	0.870 (0.15)	1.175 (0.27)
Three and more	.	.	.	.
Her age	0.777 (0.19)	0.675 (0.17)	1.040 (0.20)	0.774 (0.18)
His age	1.042 (0.13)	1.003 (0.12)	0.923 (0.12)	0.872 (0.11)
Her age squared	1.004 (0.00)	1.006 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)	1.003 (0.00)
His age squared	0.999 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	1.002 (0.00)
Duration of relationship	0.999 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.000 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)
Married (ref)				
LAT	.	.	.	.
Cohabiting	0.929 (0.21)	1.151 (0.26)	1.093 (0.23)	0.916 (0.25)
Younger cohort	1.406 (0.50)	1.247 (0.45)	0.529 (0.18)	1.026 (0.43)
Migration background	1.044 (0.19)	1.045 (0.20)	1.291 (0.23)	0.984 (0.23)
Partner migrated	1.043 (0.24)	1.488 (0.33)	0.946 (0.21)	1.093 (0.30)
East	1.414 (0.42)	1.114 (0.30)	1.093 (0.31)	0.991 (0.34)
Partner east	0.737 (0.23)	0.706 (0.20)	1.070 (0.31)	1.101 (0.37)
Her years of education	0.954 (0.03)	0.977 (0.03)	0.946 (0.03)	0.897** (0.03)
His years of education	0.972 (0.03)	0.985 (0.03)	1.000 (0.03)	1.039 (0.04)
Costant	27.032 (124.78)	127.692 (581.19)	7.046 (27.60)	167.712 (734.19)
N	1482		1482	

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variables: His social influence and his influence on results; Basecategories: sometimes; Controls not presented; Male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table A.26: Multinomial logistic regression for his non-financial power – controls

ref(Sometimes)	Her non-financial power			
	(1)		(2)	
	Social influence		Influence on results	
	Seldom	Often	Seldom	Often
No child (ref)				
One child	1.313 (0.34)	1.020 (0.19)	1.254 (0.28)	0.891 (0.17)
Two children	0.924 (0.23)	0.920 (0.15)	1.009 (0.21)	0.928 (0.16)
Three and more	.	.	.	.
Her age	1.539 (0.39)	0.640* (0.13)	1.420 (0.43)	1.148 (0.22)
His age	0.908 (0.15)	0.944 (0.10)	0.927 (0.13)	1.224 (0.14)
Her age squared	0.996 (0.00)	1.006* (0.00)	0.995 (0.00)	0.997 (0.00)
His age squared	1.001 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	0.997 (0.00)
Duration of relationship	1.000 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	1.001 (0.00)	0.999 (0.00)
Married (ref)				
LAT	.	.	.	.
Cohabiting	0.847 (0.26)	1.013 (0.20)	0.593 (0.17)	1.244 (0.26)
Younger cohort	3.649** (1.69)	0.517* (0.17)	1.924 (0.86)	1.088 (0.36)
Migration background	1.010 (0.24)	0.840 (0.15)	1.285 (0.27)	1.110 (0.21)
Partner migrated	0.978 (0.29)	1.522* (0.31)	1.504 (0.36)	1.060 (0.24)
East	0.779 (0.26)	0.808 (0.22)	1.719 (0.54)	0.877 (0.26)
Partner east	0.997 (0.34)	1.153 (0.31)	0.644 (0.21)	0.935 (0.28)
Her years of education	0.932 (0.03)	1.034 (0.03)	0.982 (0.03)	0.999 (0.03)
His years of education	0.964 (0.03)	1.004 (0.03)	0.921** (0.03)	0.970 (0.03)
Costant	0.000 (0.00)	2788.084* (10574.87)	0.008 (0.04)	0.006 (0.02)
N	1482		1482	

Note: Multinomial logistic regression models; Exponentiated coefficients (RRR); Standard errors in parentheses; Weighted with design weight; Dependent variables: Her social influence and her influence on results; Basecategories: sometimes; Controls not presented; Male respondents; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; Data source: *pairfam* 2010

Table A.27: Multinomial logistic regression for her non-financial power – controls