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Capturing the Diversity within Canadian Families

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in
Sociology

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Abstract

Mixed partnerships are unions between two people that cross socially constructed boundaries between groups, particularly race and ethnicity and they are an aspect of diversity within Canadian society. Using the 2006 and 2016 Canadian long-form censuses, I examine mixed unions, measured as partnerships across different visible minority categories and places of birth. I find that there is more diversity within unions than what is captured using visible minority status. Being highly educated, living in census metropolitan areas, and same-sex partnerships are predictors of mixed unions indicative of barriers to mixed partnerships possibly being less salient among these groups. While examining egalitarianism, I find that unions with a white and visible minority partner are less equal across four measures of egalitarianism used (wage, income, household work, childcare) in comparison to white-white unions and mixed couples by place of birth are also less egalitarian than Canadian-born couples.

Keywords

mixed unions; interracial; interethnic unions; marriage; egalitarianism; wage; income; unpaid labour; canada

Summary for Lay Audience

Mixed partnerships are unions between two people that cross socially constructed boundaries between groups, particularly race and ethnicity and they are an aspect of diversity within Canadian society. Using recent censuses, I examine mixed unions measured as partnerships across different visible minority categories and places of birth. I find that there is more diversity within unions than what is captured just using visible minority status. Being highly educated, living in census metropolitan areas, and being in same-sex partnerships are predictors of mixed unions which is indicative of barriers to mixed partnerships possibly being less salient among these groups. I also find that although mixed couples and those who tend to be egalitarian share some characteristics, individuals in mixed unions are not uniformly more egalitarian across the four measures I examined (wage, income, household work, childcare). This study contributes to the research on mixed racial and ethnic partnerships through the use of two measures of mixed unions that capture similarities and differences between different aspects of diversity within families in Canada.

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Chapter 1

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Mixed partnerships are unions between two people that cross socially constructed boundaries between groups, particularly race and ethnicity. In Canada and the US, these unions are of particular interest due to their significance as a measure of integration or assimilation, as the ethnic and racial composition of these countries change with immigration. In Canada, mixed unions are categorized based on self-reported visible minority status by Statistics Canada. Mixed unions have been increasing from 2.6% of all couples in 1991, to 3.1% in 2001, 3.9% in 2006 and 4.6% in 2011 (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014). This increase has been argued in the literature to signal the integration of minority groups as it implies the decrease in social distance and increase in social contact between historically racialized groups (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Jacobson & Heaton, 2008). Furthermore, the family functions as a mechanism for the intergenerational transfer of both advantages and disadvantages, and it is used for the propagation of racial inequality through restrictions on out-group marriage (Childs, 2002). This warrants the need for the study of diversity within unions and families.

The first article (Chapter 2) begins by addressing how common mixed unions are in Canada by using two new measures of diversity. Within current Canadian research, mixed unions are conceptualized solely based on visible minority status which does not address the complicated, and often incomplete nature of deciding what is a mixed union (Osanami Torngren. et al., 2016; Childs, 2014). By including a measure of this based on

place of birth of individuals, this article captures different aspects of diversity within unions in Canada.

The second objective of chapter 2 is to identify subpopulations where the barriers to mixed partnering may be less salient. Although the link between increasing rates of mixed partnering and integration or assimilation of ethnoracial minorities is not clear, the formation of these unions requires structural opportunities (Qian & Lichter, 2007). Structural opportunities are ones that provide access to similar spaces to different racialized groups such as diverse schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods where inter-racial and inter-ethnic friendships, ties and unions can be formed and maintained (Gabriel, 2016; Houston et al., 2005). Current research finds mixed couples are more likely to be highly educated, urban and in same-sex partnerships (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014). Therefore, I will address whether these are characteristics of subpopulations where there are fewer constraints to the formation of mixed couples using the 2016 long-form Canadian census.

The second article (Chapter 3) explores egalitarianism and mixed unions. Egalitarianism in general is about equalizing life chances, and in this case, by gender. Gender equality is beneficial for many aspects of social life, and within marital and cohabiting partnerships it is particularly important for the formation and stability of unions and families. It is measured as attitudes of gender equality of men and women and through the division of labour within the household. Recent research finds that gender egalitarianism at the individual and the state level impacts union formation, fertility and marital stability, all of which have important policy implications especially in countries dealing with below replacement level fertility rates (Engelhardt, Kögel & Prskawetz, 2004). The start of the transition of women into the labour market jumpstarted the research on the impact of non-traditional women on the family (e.g. Becker 1992; Amato & Booth 1995;

Espendshade 1985) but the division of unpaid labour within the home remained highly gendered (Bianchi et al., 2000). Only in the more recent decades are men slowly starting to contribute more to domestic and childcare responsibilities, although inequality still persists (Goldscheider, Bernhardt, and Lappegård 2015). Younger and highly educated men are more likely to be egalitarian in their attitudes and contribution to the labour of the private sphere (Aassve, Fuochi, and Mencarini 2014; Gerson 2010; Sullivan, Billari, and Altintas 2014).

Moreover, research on the spread of egalitarian ideas and values notes that nontraditional and highly innovative groups, such as highly educated women and their partners are the most likely to be egalitarian, before the gender equal values spreads to the rest of the population (Pampel, 2011). Considering that highly educated individuals are also more likely to be in mixed ethnoracial unions, and that mixed couples are more likely to also be younger, urban, in same sex unions than their homogamous counterparts, I examine whether they are also egalitarian in their contribution to the total wages and income earned by the couple, as well as their contribution to the hours of unpaid household work and childcare. Given that mixed unions in their formation go against the prevalent familial and societal expectations for intra-ethnoracial partnering, and they redefine and renegotiate the assumptions about homogenous family units, I hypothesize that mixed couples may also have more room for the negotiation of gendered expectations of paid and unpaid work. Therefore, using data from the 2006 and 2016 censuses, I examine whether mixed couples as defined by difference in visible minority statuses and in place of birth of the partners, are more likely to contribute equally to the couples' total wages, total income, hours spent on household work and hours spent on childcare.

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Chapter 2

2 Diversity within Canadian Families: Predictors for Mixed Unions

2.1 Introduction

Mixed partnerships are unions between two people that cross socially constructed boundaries between groups, particularly race and ethnicity. In Canada and the US, these unions are of particular interest due to their significance as a measure of integration or assimilation as the ethnic and racial composition of these countries change with immigration. In Canada, mixed unions are categorized based on self-reported visible minority status by Statistics Canada. According to their definition, mixed unions are increasing from 2.6% of all couples in 1991, to 3.1% in 2001, 3.9% in 2006 and 4.6% in 2011 (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014). This increase has been argued in the literature to signal the integration of minority groups as it implies the decrease in social distance and increase in social contact between historically racialized groups (Qian & Lichter, 2007; Jacobson & Heaton, 2008).

Within Canadian research, mixed unions are conceptualized solely based on visible minority status which does not address the complicated, and often incomplete nature of deciding what is a mixed union (Osanami Tornngren. et al., 2016; Childs, 2014). This is important because it may underestimate diversity within families. The family functions as a mechanism for intergenerational transfer of both advantages and disadvantages, and it is used for the propagation of racial inequality through restrictions on out-group marriage (Childs, 2002). This warrants the need for the study of diversity within families.

Using the 2016 long-form Canadian census of the population, I will address the following: 1. How diverse are unions in Canada when they are operationalized based on

visible minority status including both unions of visible minorities and whites, and unions between members of different visible minority groups, and when they are operationalized based on place of birth of individuals, and 2. Are individuals who are urban, highly educated or in same-sex partnerships more likely to be in mixed unions, making these subpopulations where the social barriers to mixed unions are less salient?

2.2 Literature Review

The increase in mixed unions is important for many different reasons. First, it is a quantifiable indicator of inter-ethnic contact because partnerships bring individuals together into the same intimate space in potentially a long-term manner (Hamplova & Le Bourdais, 2010). Moreover, researchers have found that diverse neighborhoods and inter-ethnic friendships and relationships increase mixed marriages (Muttarack and Heath, 2010; Wright, Holloway & Ellis, 2013). Therefore, these unions come together on the basis of there being opportunities in society for groups that are marginalized or separated by social boundaries, to interact and form relationships. Second, mixed partnerships are an apparatus of the future diversity of society, in the form of increasing multi-racial and ethnic identities which has the potential to weaken the salience of these social boundaries (Kalmijn, 1998; Osanami Torngren et al., 2016). Some scholars treat mixed unions as a sign of the integration or assimilation of minority groups into the predominantly white mainstream society (Alba & Nee, 2003; Lee and Bean, 2004), while others argue that it is an indicator of the future diversity and possible openness of society (Osanami Torngren et al., 2010; Song, 2009). Although there are a variety of explanations for the study of mixed ethnoracial unions in the current literature, it is evident that it is an important area of study particularly in Canada with its long immigration-centered history.

The context within which mixed ethnoracial unions are examined is both location and time specific. Most of the research on mixed unions has been based in the United States,

where the analysis of intermarriage and mixed coupling is possible because self-identification of race is included as a question in surveys (Blau, Blum, & Schwartz, 1982; Childs, 2002; Fu et al., 2001; Hou & Myles, 2013; Hou, Wu, Schimmele, & Myles, 2015; Qian and Lichter, 2001). However, the social distance that mixed unions overcome such as the boundaries between race and ethnicity are determined by the particular history and policies of that location. Given Canada's long immigration-centered history, and the Canadian government's emphasis on multiculturalism and inclusivity since 1971, mixed unions in this country are situated in a separate context than that of the United States. This not only warrants the need for more Canadian literature on the topic but has the potential to uncover the country specific experiences of different racialized and ethnic groups in society, as well as the experience of mixed families as a whole.

2.2.1 Characteristics of Individuals in Mixed Unions

The literature in North America can be divided into two streams: one focused on individual characteristics and the other on integration and/or assimilation of minority groups.

Some scholars have focused on the individual characteristics of those who enter mixed partnerships in comparison to those who do not, and they find some factors that are correlated to this union formation. There are studies on exchange theory which argues that minority group members "maximize their gains through marriage" to white members by trading in their higher socio-economic status (Merton, 1941; Hou & Myles, 2013). According to this theory, the minority partner in intermarriages tend to be better educated than their white partners, and their minority counterparts in intra-ethnic marriages. Some studies in the US and Canada have found evidence of this while others have found mixed or no results (Chow, 2005; Hou & Myles, 2013; Qian, 2005). More recent studies find that partners tend to be equally matched in terms of socio-economic status in both mixed

and non-mixed unions (Qian, 2005; Yancey, 2002). And Chow finds that higher education encourages endogamy instead of intermarriage for some minority groups such as Chinese and Japanese Americans (2000).

Generational status also factors in when examining mixed unions. In North America and Europe, second and higher generation immigrants are much more likely to be in mixed unions because they have had the opportunity to overcome the racial, cultural and language barriers that limit the opportunity for immigrants to interact with the larger host society (Kalmijn, 1998; Maheux, 2014; Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010). Moreover, location and group size have also been found to play a role in the likelihood of mixed union formation. The availability of other co-ethnic partners reduces the formation of intermarriages, which means that although mixed unions tend to be an urban phenomenon with the majority of couples in mixed unions living in diverse urban neighbourhoods, higher proportion of minorities living outside of urban centers tend to enter mixed unions with whites (Kalbach, 2002). Moreover, residential integration, interethnic contact in workplaces and gender have been noted as important variables to consider (Blau, Blum, & Schwartz, 1982; Houston et al., 2005; Qian & Lichter, 2007)

Other Canadian literature has focused on the increase in proportions of unions that are mixed and the demographic characteristics of these couples, such as age, educational attainment, income, region of residence and marital status (Milan, Maheux & Chiu, 2010; Maheux, 2014). As noted above, the majority of existing studies largely focus on intermarriage of racial minorities with whites, the different patterns of racial intermarriage of the native and immigrant populations and the characteristics of those

couples (Hamplová & LeBourdais, 2010; Hou, et al., 2015; Lee & Boyd, 2008; Kalbach, 2002).

Although the research on individual characteristics of mixed couples has shed light onto different factors that may be hindering or facilitating the formation of mixed unions, the existing research does not address the complicated and often incomplete nature of deciding what counts as an intermarriage and what does not (Childs, 2014; Song, 2016; Osanami Tornngren, 2014). The definition of mixed or inter-marriages depend on the conceptualization of race and ethnicity which varies vastly across space and time as can be seen even within the studies in North America and Europe (Thompson, 2012). Therefore, tackling the differences in the rate of intermarriage between different minority groups, and the characteristics of individuals who enter mixed unions in comparison to those who do not, frames mixed unions and couples in mixed unions as being inherently different in an arbitrary way and paints an incomplete picture.

2.2.2 Integration of Ethnic and Racial Minorities

The second focus of the literature has been on mixed partnerships as an indicator of integration. Research in this area treats the out-marriage of minority groups into the predominantly white ‘mainstream’ society as a measure of integration or assimilation (Hamplová & LeBourdais, 2010). Or scholars group homogamous unions of white and visible minorities together in the comparison between mixed and non-mixed couples (Milan, Maheux & Chiu, 2010; Maheux, 2014). However, Song argues that “what integration means in many multi-ethnic settings requires a reformulation on how we think of the ‘mainstream’, which has become more diverse” due to immigration and the increase in mixed partnerships and mixed identities (Song, 2016; Thompson, 2012). This is especially true in urban settings like Canada’s gateway cities where mixed unions are more common, and the mainstream is particularly diverse so marital assimilation should

include partnerships between different minority groups who are also a part of the host society in Canada. Moreover, just as white is not a homogenous category, neither are those who identify as visible minorities, which makes it important to break down the categories of mixed unions as more than just mixed, and not mixed.

The link between minority groups and integration through intermarriage is not uniformly linear (Qian & Lichter, 2007). Researchers have found that different minority groups have different rates of out-group marriage and literature assumes that this is due to the different stages of assimilation (Hou, Wu, Schimmele, & Myles, 2015). However, this link between mixed unions and integration is “more tenuous and more complex” especially in diverse societies such as Canada (Song, 2009).

2.2.3 Measures of Diversity

There are two gaps that my research will address. First, the focus on racial or ethnic intermarriage with whites means that the process of union formation is examined as a measure of assimilation to the host country and overlooks mixed partnerships between minority ethnic groups who are also part of the ‘host’ society due to Canada’s history of immigration. As such, I will examine partnerships as those between individuals who identify as belonging to any two or more different ethnic groups. And in my analysis, rather than comparing mixed and non-mixed couples, I will break down these categories further to: 1. homogamous unions within whites, 2. homogamous unions within the same visible minority, 3. heterogamous/mixed unions between whites and visible minorities and, 4. heterogamous/mixed unions between different visible minority groups. The differentiation between homogamous white and homogamous visible minority unions

allows for more nuanced analysis of mixed and non-mixed couples, and this will be my first measure of diversity within partnerships.

The use of visible minority status as the only measure to categorize diversity within families underestimates the occurrences of mixed partnerships within ethnic groups, and overlooks diverse unions of those who identify as non-visible minorities. In this way, the broader implication of mixed families on the experience of race and ethnicity are also disregarded. Furthermore, the use of visible minority status solely to conceptualize mixed unions without a deeper examination of what this means is problematic. Visible minority status defined in the Employment Equity Act as 'persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour.' And this categorization is unique to Canada's demography and immigration history. As such, it cannot be treated as a natural or inherent group boundary without further analysis. Mixed unions as based on race and ethnicity exist and have consequences only as much as race and ethnicity continue to be salient boundaries between groups in society. Osanami Torngren et al. in a review of the mixed literature argue that "the criteria for which unions constitute as mixed can be obscure (and even distort in some cases) our understanding of the prevalence (or not) of such unions" (2016: 501). Instead, they write that mixed should be thought of as a continuum based on the particular characteristics that is of interest. Therefore, it is vital to approach the conceptualization of mixed unions as being complex, dynamic, as well as location and time specific.

As such, I will be also use place of birth of individuals as a measure of diversity within families. Canadians reported over 124 different countries as their place of birth in 2016, and in Canada, and within those countries race and ethnicity are understood differently depending on the history and culture of those locations. And to complicate matters further, the conceptualization of race and ethnicity is also interrelated with both the self-

identification on individuals as well as how they are viewed by society. However, differences in place of birth within couples is a measure of the diversity within that union because place has some degree of influence on social norms and values, culture, language acquisition, as noted in immigration literature and this brings in diversity to the union. In my analysis, I will use both visible minority status and place of birth to categorize mixed couples. This moves away from the singular dependence on visible minority status and can then provide insight into the diversity within families.

Moreover, Canada's long immigration centered history also means that "whites" or "non-visible minorities" are not a homogenous group. Song's study of mixed individuals and their partnerships found that unions with white people "did not equate neatly and automatically with what is understood as assimilation (...inclusion/absorption into a mostly white mainstream)" so the non-visible minority category needs to be disaggregated (2016: 645). An Italian-Greek couple may have similar experiences as those in other mixed unions across visible minority statuses than their co-ethnically married counterparts. Similar to the multiracial individuals married to whites and non-whites, studied by Song, individuals in mixed unions, whether visible minority or white may share more middle ground, like valuing a "cosmopolitan outlook" and cultural awareness and pride, than their counterparts in endogamous unions (Song, 2016). By relying on two variables to classify mixed couples, I am able to disaggregate the homogamous white unions, as well as other types of unions, by the place of birth of the partners. Therefore, by using more than one measure of diversity within unions in Canada, I would like to know how common mixed unions are.

2.2.4 Predictors of Mixed Unions

The importance of diversity within families can be understood when we consider the family as a mechanism for the transfer of culturally specific resources, values and

practices to the next generation. And “intermarriage affects the boundaries and distinctiveness of ethnic minority groups”, and also of the ‘white’ majority group (Song, 2009). Generational change in the openness towards ethnically and racially exogamous marriages is evident in the rise of mixed unions among younger age groups, and cohort replacement can aid social change (Maheux, 2014; Lee & Bean, 2010). Milan, Maheux and Chui have found that mixed couples are younger, highly educated, have higher median incomes, were more likely to live in major Census Metropolitan areas, be in common law-unions and in same-sex partnerships than their counterparts in non-mixed unions (2010). Therefore, I will be examining whether those individuals who are highly educated, urban and in same-sex partnerships can be considered predictors for mixed unions because it may indicate the subpopulations where ethnoracial boundaries are being redefined.

Those who are highly educated may be part of a subpopulation where social boundaries to mixed partnerships are less salient because it increases opportunities to be in diverse spaces. Education is said to help breakdown social boundaries between different ethnoracial groups and provide opportunities and access to similar spaces for increased social contact (Qian, 1997). Higher education provides access to diverse and more integrated schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods for some ethnic minority groups, such as Asian and Hispanics in the US (Qian & Lichter, 2011). Although not all ethnic minority groups follow the same pattern of increased exogamy with higher levels of education, it increases structural opportunities for people of different diverse backgrounds to meet.

Living in urban settings could also be a predictor for the likelihood of mixed partnering. The ethnoracial composition of urban and rural Canada is different and research has found that mixed partnerships are more likely to form in urban settings because of a more

diverse population (Kalbach, 2002; Tindale, Klocker & Gibson, 2014). This is true also in Canada where the majority of the immigrant and visible minority population lives in major cities (Ministry of Finance, 2016). Mixed couples, once formed, are also more likely to choose diverse neighbourhoods found in urban centers as their place of residence (Qian & Lichter, 2007). Since marriage markets also operate locally, the compositional differences between urban and rural suggest that those living in CMAs may be more likely to be in mixed unions than their less urban or rural counterparts.

Those in same-sex unions may also be more likely to be in mixed unions. Same sex couples are more geographically mobile and more likely to be in interracial unions than heterosexual couples (Rosenfeld & Kim, 2005). Canadian research finds that same sex couples to be younger and urban, therefore they may be more likely to be in mixed unions (Lathe, 2017).

2.3 Research Questions

I address two research questions to determine how diverse unions are in Canada and the predictors of mixed unions.

1. a) How common are mixed unions when they are operationalized based on visible minority status, and based on place of birth of individuals?
1. b) How do these numbers compare to what has been published about mixed unions that uses visible minority status to differentiate between types of couples?
2. Are individuals who are urban, highly educated or in same-sex partnerships more likely to be in mixed unions?

2.4 Data and Measures

2.4.1 Data Source

I use the microdata file available in the Research and Data Center of the 2016 long-form Canadian census of population which is a nationally representative sample of the non-institutionalized Canadian population aged 15 years or older, and is apt for my analysis. This cross-sectional sample is made up of approximately one in four private dwellings in Canada, and it includes citizens (through birth or naturalization), landed immigrants and non-permanent residents and their families living in the country. Unlike the short-form census, the long-form census excludes those temporarily living outside of the country, as well as those living in institutional collective dwellings such as hospitals and nursing homes, and well as those living in non-institutional collective dwellings such as work camps and student residences. The long-form census has a weighted response rate of 96.9% according to Statistics Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). This dataset is well-suited for my analysis for three reasons. First, it contains household level information which allows me to isolate couples who are in marital or common law unions, living in the same household. Second, it includes questions about visible minority status, place of birth of individuals as well as other vital demographic, social, and economic characteristics for my analysis. And finally, it is large enough that it allows me to focus on small groups such as those in same-sex partnerships or mixed unions where partners are of different visible minority statuses – a focus that would not be possible with a smaller survey.

2.4.2 Analytic Sample

My analytic sample is made up of individuals aged 20 years or older who are in a marital or common law union, living with their partner in the same household. All those who are not part of a couple were excluded which leaves about 4 million individuals. And all

those and their partners who are under the age of 20 years were also excluded because Statistics Canada warned that there was an overestimation of individuals reporting to be married, divorced or widowed among those aged 15-17 years old (Statistics Canada, 2017). As the response to the survey is mandatory, there is no missing data. This left me with a sample (N) of 4,097,330 individuals. Ns are rounded to base 5 as per the confidentiality requirements of Statistics Canada.

In order to link couples together, I use the concept of census family. Census family is defined by Statistics Canada as a couple, a couple with children, lone parents with children or grandparent(s) with grandchildren when parents are not present. The couple can be of same or opposite sex in a marital or common law union. Children are considered part of the census family of their parent(s) if they are biological, step- or foster children who are living in the same household without a partner or children of their own. Using this categorization, I exclude all individuals except the couple in each census family and I exclude all census families with a lone parent. Since each household can have many different census families, I used the census family ID variable which numbers each census family within the household to link partners together, thereby allowing me to access couple level variables such as the visible minority status reported by individuals' partners.

2.4.3 Outcome Variables

2.4.3.1 Type of Union by Visible Minority Status

The first, and the only method used to classify mixed unions in Canadian literature is by using self-reported visible minority status in the census. The Canadian census does not ask questions about race, so Statistics Canada, and other researchers of mixed unions use visible minority status to capture diversity within families. "The Employment Equity Act defines visible minorities as persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-

Caucasian in race or non-white in colour” (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is irrespective of place of birth. Based on this act, the census places visible minorities into the following 13 categories: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Arab, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, visible minority, n.i.e. ('not included elsewhere'), multiple visible minorities and not a visible minority. Statistics Canada counts individuals who reported more than one visible minority group (excluding 'white') in the 'multiple visible minorities' category. However, it classifies those who checked 'white' in combination with another visible minority category, as the visible minority category rather than white. For example, if a respondent checks 'black' and 'white', then they are counted in 'black'. The exception to this is respondents who report 'white' or a European write in response in combination with 'Latin American', or 'West Asia,' or 'Arab' who are classified in the 'not a visible minority' category. Just in the classification of visible minority status, some existing diversity of individuals and therefore couples is lost.

Moreover, Statistics Canada does not consider those who answered yes to the aboriginal ancestry question as a visible minority, as per the definition. They are classified separately in the 'aboriginal' group. In my analysis for mixed unions by VM status, I exclude unions aboriginal individuals and those who have aboriginal partners. I also exclude those who checked off “multiple visible minorities” or “visible minorities n.i.e.” or had partners who did so because I cannot sort the individuals who checked off these two categories as being in homogamous unions if they are partnered with individuals who also checked off the same category. This amounted to 6% of my sample, with majority being those who reported to be or have partners who identified as aboriginal.

Using this, I am able to categorize mixed unions as marital or common law unions between individuals based on the visible minority status reported by the partners. Rather than treating this as a binary variable, I break down this variable further into four

categories to take into account the overall differences between the majority group and racialized groups. The four categories are: 1. homogamous unions within whites (white-white), 2. homogamous unions within the same visible minority group (VM-same VM), 3. heterogamous unions between whites and visible minorities (white-VM) and, 4. heterogamous unions between different visible minority groups (VM-diff VM; mixed-VM).

2.4.3.2 Type of Union by Place of Birth

By relying solely on the broad categories of visible minority status to measure diversity, all those who fall under the same visible minority designation, but have different ethnracial identities as well as distinct languages, culture, and religion are overlooked. Therefore, I estimate that there is more diversity within unions in Canada than what is currently reported. And in order to not restrict the classification of mixed unions to only visible minority status, I also use the place of birth reported by individuals in the census as a second outcome variable to the coding of homogamous and heterogamous unions. Here, I code mixed unions based on whether individuals are partnered with others who are born in the same place, or not.

This variable is also made up of four categories: 1. both partners born in Canada (Canada-Canada), 2. both partners born in a country outside of Canada (same country, not Canada), 3. both partners born in different countries, one in Canada, other is not (Canada-another country), 4. Both partners are born in different countries (different countries, not Canada)

2.4.4 Key Independent Variables

The first key independent variable is education which is coded as an ordinal variable with five categories: less than high school, high school diploma, some post-secondary

(including college, trades and apprenticeship, and some university), undergraduate degree and graduate or professional degree. Place of residence is a dichotomous variable that classifies all census metropolitan areas (CMAs) as urban. CMA is defined as “area consisting of one or more neighbouring municipalities situated around a core. A census metropolitan area must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more live in the core.” by Statistics Canada. Finally, the sex of the partner is coded to denote whether the couple is in a same-sex union or not.

2.4.5 Covariates

I add controls for four other variables. Age is coded as coded ordinally into the following categories: 20-39 years, 40-59 years and 60+ years. The second variable created for geographic location is residence in a gateway city (Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver). I add this variable along with the indicator variable for residence in a CMA to capture differences in mixed couple who live in Canada’s major cities where the majority of the visible minority and immigrant populations reside. I also control for marital status which I code as a dichotomous variable “married” or “common law” in order to account for the difference in composition of those who are married compared to those in common law unions within homogamous and heterogamous couples. Finally, I include a variable for immigration status coded as “Canadian-born,” “immigrant” and “non-permanent resident.” Although the second outcome variable, type of union based on place of birth, accounts for immigrant status, the first variable based on visible minority groups does not. This variable is added only to the models where type of union by visible minority status is the dependent variable.

2.4.6 Methods

To answer the first research question on how the prevalence of diversity within couples in Canada changes based on the way that mixed unions are operationalized, I will compare

the percentages of mixed unions based on visible minority status and by place of birth of individuals to descriptive results published by Statistics Canada. Additionally, I will disaggregate the four categories under mixed unions by visible minority status, by looking at the place of birth of individuals within these two categories homogamous unions by visible minority status. This will illustrate some more of the ethnic and racial diversity of individuals that is not captured by just the visible minority classification.

To answer my second research question on identifying the characteristics of those who are more likely to be in mixed unions, I use bivariate multinomial logistic regression to predict the relative risk of being in the types of unions specified for the predictors and the covariates. Multinomial logistic regressions allow me to predict the risk of being in each of the four categories of the dependent variables, in relation to the reference groups. I run these models for mixed unions by VM status, and then by place of birth separately, for age, educational attainment, region of residence, marital status, sex of partner and number of children. Bivariate regressions run separately for each of the predictor and control variables tests the independent relationship of these variables to type of union.

Then, to account for confounding factors, I run a multivariate multinomial logistic regression model to predict the same relative risk of being in different types of unions. The predictor variables in these two models are educational attainment, region of residence, sex of partner. The sociodemographic controls for these models are age, marital status, immigration status, and number of children in the household. Model 1 predicts the relative risk of being in homogamous VM union, a heterogamous white-VM union and a heterogamous VM union in comparison to being in a homogamous VM union, where:

Model 1

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_1}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + e$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_2}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + e$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_3}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + e$$

π_0 is the proportion in homogamous white unions

π_1 is the proportion in homogamous VM unions

π_2 is the proportion in heterogamous white-VM unions

π_3 is the proportion in heterogamous VM unions

X_1 is educational attainment

X_2 is an indicator for same-sex partnership

X_3 is residence in CMA

X_4 is residence in a gateway city

X_5 is age group

X_6 is marital status

X_7 is number of children

X_8 is immigration status

e is error term

Next I examine whether the same predictor variables can be considered predictive

characteristics when diversity within unions is defined by place of birth of individuals.

Model 2 is a multivariate multinomial logistic regression set up similarly to model 1 but for the outcome variable, type of union based on place of birth of individuals. It predicts the relative risk of being in a union where both partners are born in the same country (not Canada), a heterogamous union where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not, and a heterogamous union where both partners are born in different countries (not Canada), in comparison to homogamous unions where both partners are born in Canada, where:

Model 2

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_1}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + e$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_2}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + e$$

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi_3}{\pi_0}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + e$$

π_0 is the proportion in homogamous unions where both partners are born in Canada

π_1 is the proportion in homogamous unions where both partners are born in the same country (not Canada)

π_2 is the proportion in heterogamous unions where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not

π_3 is the proportion in heterogamous unions where both partners are born in different countries (not Canada)

X_1 is educational attainment

X_2 is an indicator for same-sex partnership

X_3 is residence in CMA

X_4 is residence in a gateway city

X_5 is age group

X_6 is marital status

X_7 is number of children

e is error term

2.5 Results

2.5.1 Descriptive Results

Table 2.1 presents the percentage breakdown of unions in Canada to answer the first research question on how common mixed unions are. To begin, I find that when type of union is defined by visible minority status, more than seven percent of unions in Canada are mixed, with 6.7% being between a white and a visible minority partner and 0.6% between partners of different visible minority statuses. Note that my characterization of mixed unions based on VM status excludes those who reported multiple visible minority statuses and those who reported the VM not included elsewhere category, unlike statistics Canada's classification. However, this population make up a very small percentage and therefore the numbers are comparable.

Although the most recent report on mixed unions using the 2016 census has not been published yet by Statistics Canada, I replicate their measure of mixed unions using the previous reports and present the findings (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014). In this classification, about 94% of Canadian unions are not mixed which includes unions between people who do not identify as a visible minority in the census, as well as unions between people who belong to the same visible minority group. About 5% of unions would be considered mixed. This includes 4.9% of individuals in unions where one partner is a visible minority member, and the other is not, meaning that they are either white, or of aboriginal identity. It also includes 0.9% of unions between members of different visible minority groups.

Finally, breakdown of unions by place of birth in Table 2.1 demonstrates that diversity within unions is underestimated. When the differences in place of birth is used as a measure of diversity, I find that about 16% of all couples are in mixed unions where both partners are born in different countries. Twelve percent of individuals are in a union where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not, and four percent of them are in a union where both partners are born in different countries outside of Canada. It is evident that there is more diversity within unions than what is captured through visible minority status.

Table 2.1 Distribution of individuals in different types of unions, by difference in visible minority status, and place of birth

	Statistics Canada		This paper			
	Type of Union (VM status)		Type of Union (VM status)		Type of Union (Place of Birth)	
Homogamous Unions	Non-mixed unions	94.2%	White-White	75.7%	Both born in Canada	64.4%
			VM-SameVM	17.0%	Both born in the same country (not Canada)	19.8%
Heterogamous Unions	Not VM-VM	4.9%	White-VM	6.7%	One born in Canada, and the other is not	11.8%
	VM-DiffVM	0.9%	VM-DiffVM	0.6%	Both born in different countries (not Canada)	4.1%

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)
Percentages are weighted

As noted earlier, the two measures of mixed unions capture slightly different but at times overlapping unions. When put together, about 4% of the individuals in the sample are in a mixed union by both measures, and 80% of individuals are in a not-mixed, homogamous union by both definitions (Table 2.2). This illustrates that although type of union across visible minority categories and places of birth capture some of the same individuals in mixed unions, these measures also identify diverse partnerships not captured by each measure separately.

Table 2.2 Distribution of individuals by type of union across VM and POB

Type of Union (POB) ¹	Type of Union (VM) ²	
	Not-Mixed	Mixed
Not-Mixed	80.62%	3.39%
Mixed	12.04%	3.95%

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016). Percentages are weighted

¹ Not-mixed includes partners born in the same country while mixed includes those born in different countries ² Not-mixed includes those in unions where both partners are white or of the same VM category, and mixed includes those in unions across visible minority categories.

In order to disaggregate the homogamous categories, I examine the breakdown of types of union by place of birth of individuals in homogamous white and homogamous visible minority unions (Figure 1). This illustrates the diversity within families that is underrepresented through Statistics Canada's reliance on visible minority categories as the only measure of mixed unions. Homogamous white unions which make up about 75% of all unions in Canada are primarily between individuals born in Canada. However, Figure 1 shows that about 20% of these couples have one or more partner who is born outside of Canada and identifies as white, and 13% of individuals are in a union where both partners are born in different countries. Within homogamous visible minority unions, majority of individuals are in a union where both partners are born in the same country outside of Canada. However, about 13% of those who are visible minorities and in homogamous unions also have partners born in a different country than they are. And this is further evidence of the heterogeneity in places of birth within individuals in homogamous unions.

These graphs show the overlap between the two measure of diversity used in this paper, and in doing so illustrates some of the ways that diversity within couples is unaccounted when only visible minority status is used to define mixed unions.

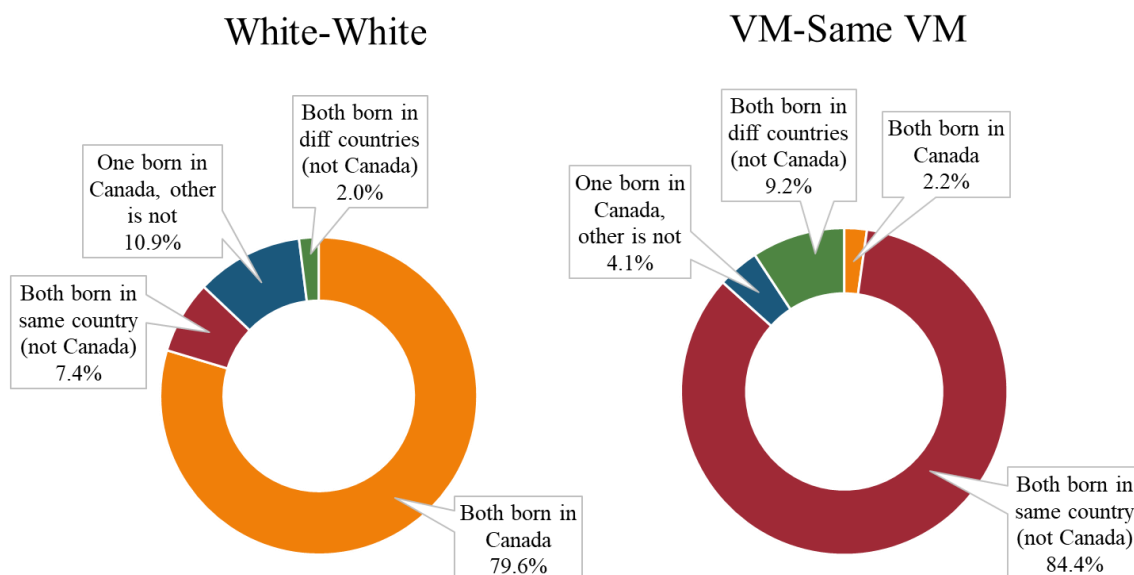


Figure 1 Weighted proportion of individuals in types of unions based on place of birth, within homogamous white unions (left) and within homogamous VM unions (right)

Table 2.3 and 2.4 depict the percentage makeup of individuals in homogamous and heterogamous unions as defined by visible minority status and by place of birth by age, educational attainment, geographical location (urban/rural), income, type of union (marital/common law), same-sex/opposite-sex, immigration status and number of children. Statistical significance of the bivariate associations is determined by chi-square tests, and all results from Tables 2.2 and 2.3 are significant ($p < .01$).

Table 2.3 shows the varying distribution by age of individuals in different types of unions. Those in white-white unions are the oldest, with the majority of them being 40 years or older, while those in mixed VM unions are the youngest with 90% of being under 60 years of age, and almost 50% of them being between 20-39 years of age. Those in mixed unions in general are the least likely to be in the 60+ age group.

Table 2.3 also demonstrates the differences in educational attainment between mixed and non-mixed couples. There are twice the percentage of individuals in homogamous unions with less than a high school diploma than those in mixed unions. Those in homogamous white unions have some post-secondary or college education in the highest percentage (38.2%), while a large percentage of those in homogamous VM unions have a university degree (28%). Similar to those homogamous VM unions, a large percentage of individuals in mixed VM unions and in white-VM unions also have some postsecondary or college degrees and university degrees (24.2% and 32.2% respectively). About a fifth of mixed couples and homogamous VM couples also have graduate degrees, while only about 6% of those in white-white unions do so. It is evident from Table 2.3 that mixed couples are highly educated, along with homogamous VM couples.

Individuals in all types of unions are urban and live in census metropolitan areas, but there are slight differences. Ninety-six percent of those in unions, mixed and not, where both partners are visible minorities live in CMAs, while 64% of those in homogamous white unions, and 76% of those in white-VM unions live in CMAs. Table 2.3 demonstrates that unions with two visible minority partners, whether mixed or not are more likely to be in CMAs.

Table 2.3 also shows the percentage distribution of some other relevant factors. Those in homogamous VM unions are almost exclusively married with only 5% of them being in a common-law union. Meanwhile, about 20-30% of those in other types of unions are in common-law unions. Individuals in mixed unions are in same-sex partnerships in higher percentages, with 2% of those in white-VM unions, and 1% of those in mixed VM unions in same-sex partnerships in comparison to 0.9% of those in non-mixed white unions, and 0.2% of those in non-mixed VM unions. More than half of those in white non-mixed unions report having no children, followed by about 45% of those in White-VM unions.

Meanwhile, the highest percentage of those in non-mixed VM unions report having two or more children. Ninety-two percent of those in non-mixed VM unions are immigrants, while 14% of those in non-mixed white unions are immigrants. Almost 70% of those in white-VM unions are Canadian-born, while about 70% of those in mixed VM unions are immigrants.

Table 2.3 Sociodemographic characteristics of individuals in type of unions based on visible minority status

	Type of Union (by Visible Minority Status)			
	White-White	VM-Same VM	White-VM	VM-Diff VM
Educational Attainment				
Less than Highschool	13.4	13.9	8.5	6.8
Highschool	24.2	21.4	21.6	18.4
Some Post-secondary	38.2	23.4	35.8	31.3
University	17.7	28.0	24.2	32.2
Graduate/Professional	6.6	13.2	10.0	11.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Region of Residence				
Not CMA	36.4	3.6	23.8	3.1
CMA	63.6	96.4	76.2	96.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sex of Partner				
Opposite-sex	99.1	99.8	98.0	98.9
Same-sex	0.9	0.2	2.0	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age (Years)				
20-39	23.9	30.1	39.5	48.3
40-59	41.4	47.8	44.3	41.6
60+	34.7	22.1	16.2	10.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Marital Status				
Common-law	23.5	4.8	28.7	21.5
Married	76.5	95.2	71.3	78.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Children				
None	54.3	28.6	45.7	37.5
1	18.5	25.3	22.1	24.9
2 or more	27.2	46.1	32.2	37.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Immigration Status				
Canadian-born	85.4	4.4	67.6	25.5
Immigrant	14.1	92.3	30.7	71.3

Non-permanent resident	0.5	3.3	1.8	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (#)	2,900,170	652,245	256,690	24,495

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=3,833,600 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted.

Percentages are weighted. All bivariate associations are significant as determined by chi square tests at the <.01 level.

Table 2.4 illustrates the same demographic characteristics but of individuals in mixed unions based on their place of birth. They are categorized into those in homogamous unions where both partners are born in Canada and where both partners are born in the same country that is not Canada; and those in mixed unions where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not, and where both partners are born in different countries that is not Canada.

When these characteristics are examined for mixed couples based on place of birth, a similar but not identical pattern emerges (Table 2.4). Similar to the previous table, those in homogamous unions have less than high school degrees in higher percentages than those in mixed unions. The majority of those in unions where both partners are Canadian-born have some post-secondary or college diplomas, while the majority of those in the other groups have a university degree. Therefore, mixed couples by this classification are also more likely to be highly educated.

Table 2.4 also demonstrates that all individuals live in CMAs in higher percentages. However, almost 60% of those in unions where both partners are Canadian-born live in CMAs while 40% do not, making this the only group with a sizeable rural/non-CMA place of residence. Meanwhile, mixed couples live in CMAs in higher percentages making them urban (78% and 92% respectively).

Similar to Table 2.3, a slightly higher percentage of those in mixed unions are in same-sex partnerships. 1.6% of those in unions with one Canadian-born and one foreign-born partner, and 1.1% of those in mixed unions where both partners are born in different countries are in same-sex partnerships in comparison to 0.9% of those in homogamous Canadian-born unions and 0.3% of those in the homogamous foreign-born unions.

Mixed couples by this definition were also different from their counterparts in homogamous unions across other variables. The age distribution of individuals in the different types of unions is more similar, compared to Table 2.3. Those in homogamous Canadian-born category, have a large portion in common-law unions (27%) while 12-20% of those in mixed unions are in common-law unions. More than 50% of those in mixed or non-mixed unions where one or more partners are born in Canada do not have children. Meanwhile, those in non-mixed-other unions were the least likely to not have children at 34%. This illustrates that mixed couples are different from their homogamous counterparts.

Table 2.4 Sociodemographic characteristics of individuals in types of unions based on place of birth reported

	Type of Union (by Place of Birth)			
	Both partners born in Canada	Both partners born in the same country (not Canada)	One partner born in Canada, and the other is not	Both partners born in different countries (not Canada)
Educational Attainment				
Less than Highschool	13.6	17.2	8.0	9.8
Highschool	24.7	20.9	22.6	19.8
Some Post-secondary	39.3	24.6	34.7	31.2
University	17.0	24.5	23.9	24.9
Graduate/Professional	5.3	12.8	10.9	14.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Region of Residence				
Not CMA	41.0	6.5	22.1	7.6
CMA	59.0	93.5	77.9	92.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sex of Partner				
Opposite-sex	99.1	99.7	98.4	99.0
Same-sex	0.9	0.3	1.6	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age (Years)				
20-39	27.4	24.3	26.8	25.1
40-59	42.0	45.5	42.6	41.4
60+	30.6	30.2	30.6	33.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Marital Status				
Common-law	27.2	4.4	19.6	12.3
Married	72.8	95.6	80.4	87.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Children				
None	53.0	34.8	51.3	43.8
1	18.6	24.4	19.6	22.5

2 or more	28.3	40.8	29.1	33.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (#)	2,636,660	809,820	482,840	168,010

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=4,097,325 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted.

Percentages are weighted. All bivariate associations are significant as determined by chi square tests at the <.01 level.

2.5.2 Bivariate Results

Table 2.5 presents the results of bivariate multinomial regression models predicting the risk of being in a non-mixed VM, white-VM and mixed-VM union relative to being in a white-white union across the three characteristics and other covariates. The findings from this table indicate that the three subpopulations identified are more likely to be in mixed unions. It shows the association between demographic characteristics and different types of unions. As noted in previous literature, those in older age groups, have a significantly lower relative risk of being in mixed unions, and in homogamous VM unions in comparison to white-white unions. This is likely to due to the visible minority population being younger, as well as, the younger cohorts being more open to mixed unions. There is a significant positive association between increasing levels of education and mixed unions in comparison to white-white unions ($p < .001$). For those with a university degree, and more specifically, with a graduate or professional degree, the relative risk of being in a mixed union is significantly higher in comparison to being in white-white unions (2.4 and 3.4 at $p < .001$). Moreover, as expected, those who live in CMAs have a relative risk of 1.8 for being in white-VM unions and 18.0 for being in mixed VM unions ($p < .001$) in comparison to being in white-white unions. Those in same-sex unions have a positive association to being in mixed unions than in white-white unions (2.2 and 1.2 at $p < .001$). Those who have children and immigrants are also have a significantly higher relative risk of being in mixed unions than homogamous white unions. Therefore, Table 2.5 confirms

that the groups of interest are more likely to be in mixed unions by visible minority status.

Table 2.5 Relative risk ratios from bivariate multinomial logistics regressions of predictors and covariates on the likelihood of being in different types of unions (VM).

	VM-SameVM vs. White-White		White-VM vs. White-White		VM-DiffVM vs. White-White	
	rrr	p	rrr	p	rrr	p
Education (less than Highschool)						
Highschool	0.85	***	1.41	***	1.49	***
Some Post-Secondary	0.59	***	1.47	***	1.61	***
University degree	1.53	***	2.15	***	3.57	***
Graduate/professional degree	1.94	***	2.39	***	3.36	***
Urban (not CMA)	15.2	***	1.83	***	17.96	***
Same-sex (opposite-sex)	0.26	***	2.21	***	1.15	*
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years	0.92	***	0.65	***	0.50	***
60+ years	0.51	***	0.28	***	0.14	***
Married (common-law)	6.05	***	0.76	***	1.12	***
Gateway (not Gateway)	6.19	***	1.81	***	6.63	***
Child (none)						
One	2.60	***	1.42	***	1.94	***
Two or more	3.21	***	1.40	***	1.99	***
Immigrant (Canadian-born)						
Immigrant	128.21	***	2.76	***	16.98	***
Non-permanent resident	126.97	***	4.32	***	20.41	***

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=3,833,600 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted. Models are weighted.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table 2.6 is similar to Table 2.5 and it presents the relative risk of being in the three types of unions based on the place of birth of individuals in comparison to those in unions where both partners are born in Canada, and it illustrates similar trends for the three specified characteristics. Here too, higher education, particularly graduate or professional degree has a significant positive association with being in mixed unions (3.5 and 3.8 at $p < .001$). Those who live in CMAs also have higher relative risks of being in mixed unions in compared to unions where both partners are Canadian-born (2.4 and 8.4 at $p < .001$). Those in same-sex unions also have a significant positive association with being in mixed unions (1.7 and 1.1 at $p < .001$). However, unlike mixed unions based on VM status, those who are older have a higher relative risk of being in a mixed union rather than in homogamous unions where both partners are born in Canada. Moreover, being married and having children also has increased relative risk of being in the three unions mentioned relative to homogamous Canada unions.

Table 2.6: Relative risk ratios from bivariate multinomial logistics regressions of predictors and covariates on the likelihood of being in different types of unions (POB).

	Both partners born in the same country (not Canada) vs. both Canada		One partner born in Canada, and the other is not vs. both Canada		Both partners born in different countries (not Canada) vs. both Canada	
	rrr	p	rrr	p	rrr	p
Education (less than Highschool)						
Highschool	0.77	***	1.56	***	1.11	***
Some Post-Secondary	0.49	***	1.51	***	1.11	***
University Degree	1.14	***	2.40	***	2.04	***
Graduate/Professional Degree	1.92	***	3.53	***	3.81	***
Urban (not CMA)	10.1	***	2.45	***	8.44	***
Same-sex (opposite-sex)	0.29	***	1.71	***	1.11	***
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years	1.22	***	1.03	***	1.07	***
60+ years	1.11	***	1.02	***	1.19	***
Married (common-law)	8.07	***	1.53	***	2.65	***
Gateway (not Gateway)	6.79	***	2.47	***	6.56	***
Child (none)						
One	2.00	***	1.09	***	1.46	***
Two or more	2.19	***	1.06	***	1.44	***

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=4,097,325 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted. Models are weighted.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

2.5.3 Multivariate Results

Next, I examine whether the separate associations between the three group characteristics identified and type of union persist when these three are added to the model as covariates, along with controls. Table 2.7 and Table 2.8 present the results of this multivariate regression models.

Table 2.7 demonstrates that the three characteristics identified are strong predictors of individuals being in a mixed union, even while controlling for other relevant factors. The significantly increased relative risk of being in mixed unions compared to white-white unions for individuals with higher educational attainment holds true, while holding all other covariates constant. Those with a university degree have a relative risk of 1.5 for being in a white-VM union and relative risk of 1.9 of being in a mixed VM union in comparison to their homogamous white counterparts ($p < .001$). And those with graduate or professional degree have a relative risk of 1.5 for being in a white-VM union, and a relative risk of 1.3 for being in a mixed VM union ($p < .001$). Individuals who live in CMAs have a significantly higher relative risk of being in mixed unions in comparison to their counterparts in white-white unions (1.3 and 5.4 at $p < .001$). And those in same-sex partnerships have a significantly higher relative risk of being in a white-VM mixed union compared to their white-white counterparts (1.6 at $p < .001$), but a lower risk of being in mixed VM unions in comparison to the same group (0.75 at $p < .001$). As expected, those who are younger are also more likely to be in mixed unions. Therefore, these results show that those who are highly educated, live in CMAs and in same-sex partnerships have a higher relative risk of also being in mixed unions.

Table 2.7 also illustrates that there are differences in characteristics between homogamous white and homogamous VM unions. I find that those which university degrees, but not graduate or professional degrees have a higher relative risk on being in a

homogamous VM unions (1.1 at $p < .001$). Those who are younger, urban, in marital unions are also significantly positively associated with being in a homogamous VM union in comparison to a white-white union. However, unlike mixed couples, those who are in same-sex unions are less likely to be in these unions relative to their counterparts in white-white unions (0.43 at $p < .001$). Therefore, homogamous VM couples are similar to mixed couples in some characteristics, and similar to their homogamous white counterparts in others.

Table 2.7 Relative risk ratios from multivariate multinomial regressions for predictors and covariates on the likelihood of being in different types of unions (VM).

	VM-SameVM vs. White-White		White-VM vs. White-White		VM-DiffVM vs. White-White	
	rrr	p	rrr	p	rrr	p
Education (less than Highschool)						
Highschool	1.00		1.24	***	1.39	***
Some Post-Secondary	0.67	***	1.20	***	1.35	***
University Degree	1.11	***	1.45	***	1.87	***
Graduate/Professional Degree	0.90	***	1.47	***	1.27	***
Urban (not CMA)	3.91	***	1.26	***	5.39	***
Same-sex (Opposite- Sex)	0.43	***	1.62	***	0.75	***
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years	0.50	***	0.63	***	0.36	***
60+ years	0.27	***	0.26	***	0.09	***
Married (common-law)	3.29	***	0.92	***	1.07	***
Gateway (not Gateway)	2.02	***	1.29	***	2.56	***
Child (none)						
One	1.67	***	1.03	***	1.15	***
Two or more	2.08	***	0.92	***	1.10	***
Immigrant (Canadian- born)						
Immigrant	94.28	***	3.02	***	16.00	***
Non-permanent resident	77.64	***	2.60	***	8.56	***

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=3,833,600 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted. Models are weighted.

*p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Finally, the findings from Table 2.8 show that the three predictors identified have similar associations with mixed unions defined by differences in place of birth. There is a similar significant positive association between higher educational attainment, particularly university and graduate/professional degree and being in a mixed union. Those with a university degree have a relative risk of 1.9 for being in a mixed union with one Canadian-born partner, and a relative risk of 1.4 of being in a mixed union with two foreign-born partners in relation to the comparison group ($p < .001$). Similarly, those with a graduate or professional degree have a relative risk of 2.8 for being in a mixed union with a Canadian-born partner, and 2.5 for being in a mixed union with foreign-born partners, in comparison to their Canadian-born homogamous counterparts ($p < .001$). Those who live in CMAs are also more likely to be in a mixed union in comparison to their Canadian-born counterparts in homogamous unions (1.7 and 3.7 at $p < .001$). Those who are in same-sex partnerships are also more likely to be in mixed unions in comparison to their counterparts in unions where both partners are born in Canada (1.6 and 1.3 at $p < .001$). Finally, unlike the mixed couples defined by visible minority status who are younger, those who are over 60 years in age have a significantly higher relative risk of being in a mixed union than being a union where both partners are born in Canada when all other covariates are held constant. Therefore, Table 2.8 shows that the subpopulation identified are more likely to be in mixed unions by this definition, however, they are not always similar to mixed couples by visible minority status.

There are also notable differences between homogamous foreign-born couples and homogamous Canadian-born couples, as demonstrated in Table 2.8. Those with graduate/professional degrees have a significantly higher relative risk of being in a union where both individuals are born in the same country outside of Canada than union where both are born in Canada when other covariates are held constant (1.1 at $p < .001$). However, at all other levels of education higher than less than high school, the relative

risk of being in a homogamous foreign-born union is significantly lower than being in a Canada-Canada union. Those who live in CMAs also have a higher relative risk of being in a homogamous union where both partners are born in the same country outside of Canada (4.5 at $p < .001$), which is expected as the majority of the immigrant population resides in urban settings. Moreover, those who are in same-sex unions have a significant negative relationship with being in a homogamous unions with foreign-born partners in comparison to being in unions with two Canadian-born partners (0.56 at $p < .001$). Therefore, homogamous foreign-born couples are also similar to mixed couples in some ways.

Table 2.8 Relative risk ratios from multivariate multinomial regressions for predictors and covariates on the likelihood of being in different types of unions (POB).

	Both partners born in the same country (not Canada) vs. both Canada		One partner born in Canada, and the other is not vs. both Canada		Both partners born in different countries (not Canada) vs. both Canada	
	rrr	p	rrr	p	rrr	p
Education (less than Highschool)						
Highschool	0.54	***	1.44	***	0.97	*
Some Post-Secondary	0.41	***	1.43	***	1.01	
University Degree	0.66	***	1.95	***	1.38	***
Graduate/Professional Degree	1.10	***	2.80	***	2.52	***
Urban (not CMA)	4.54	***	1.70	***	3.71	***
Same-sex (opposite-sex)	0.56	***	1.59	***	1.29	***
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years	0.90	***	0.99	†	0.92	***
60+ years	1.11	***	1.05	***	1.33	***
Married (common-law)	8.16	***	1.61	***	2.74	***
Gateway (not Gateway)	4.14	***	1.90	***	4.11	***
Child (none)						
One	1.80	***	1.01	**	1.37	***
Two or more	1.91	***	0.95	***	1.34	***

Source: Canadian long-form census (2016)

Notes: N=4,097,325 individuals with marital or common-law partners. N is unweighted. Models are weighted.

†p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

2.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The first objective of this study was to capture the diversity of unions in Canada as defined as the difference in visible minority status and in places of birth of partners. The

descriptive findings illustrated that about 7% of unions in my sample are between people of different ethnoracial identities as captured by visible minority status. When diversity within unions is measured by place of birth of individuals, 16% of unions in my sample are between people born in different countries from each other. The place of birth of individuals in unions of families is a focus in immigration research, however, within the literature on mixed unions, it is only stated for couples already in mixed unions across visible minority statuses in comparison to all couples (Maheaux, 2013) or not at all. But it is another measure of diversity that captures possibly overlapping but not identical groups of people in mixed unions.

The difference in numbers between the two measures of diversity within unions by visible minority status and by place of birth illustrated incomplete nature of capturing diversity within couples while highlighting the need to go beyond the sole reliance on visible minority status in order not to underestimate this diversity. This is a limitation that stems from how race and ethnicity are measured in Canada – both in terms of how ethnic minorities are grouped into visible minority categories, and how those who report more than one answer to the visible minority question are classified by Statistics Canada. As noted earlier, those who report to be “white” along with a visible minority group such as “South Asian” or “Black” are classified as the visible minority group they marked. However, those who report “white” along with “Latin American” or “Arab” are classified as white. The definition and categories of visible minority status groups some ethnic and racialized groups together, and not others. And this is not done in a consistent way to study the experiences of racial and ethnic minorities, outside of the needs of the Employment Equity Act. This underestimates the diversity of Canadian society and also hinders comparative analysis of topics such as mixed unions between Canada and other similar countries (Osanami Torngren et al., 2010).

Next, I examined whether those who are highly educated, urban or in same-sex unions can be considered a predictor for mixed partnerships. The study found that those who hold undergraduate, graduate or professional degrees, and live in CMAs are subpopulations with a higher correlation to being in mixed unions by both measures of diversity. Those who are in same-sex partnerships also have a positive association with being in a mixed union by place of birth in comparison to unions where both partners are Canadian-born, as well as mixed unions with one white and one visible minority partner in comparison to homogamous white unions. The finding related to mixed couples by visible minority status is in line with research on the characteristics of mixed couples in Canada (Milan, Maheux & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014).

These results indicate the possibility of some ethnoracial group boundaries being less salient within the groups identified. Qian and Lichter sum up the explanations for the increase in mixed unions as increased structural opportunities, changing preferences and breakdown of external constraints (2011). Those who are highly educated and urban have increased structural opportunities in the form of access to more integrated and diverse neighbourhoods, schools and workplaces (Qian & Lichter, 2011; Wright et al., 2003; Yancey, 2002). The positive association between being highly educated and living in CMAs with mixed unions could also be highlighting the class differences in the likelihood of mixed partnering which has been noted in the literature (Song, 2009; Qian, 2005). Same-sex couples are highly geographically mobile and urban which increases their structural opportunities to be in more diverse spaces and distance from communities of origin which may decrease the impact of external constraints such as familial expectations of in-group partnering (Rosenfeld & Kim, 2005). These findings indicate that some of the barriers to mixed unions could be weaker for these groups.

Although the narrative of integration through mixed unions assumes that these unions are an indicator of change, research on the experiences of mixed couples finds that they have higher rates of marital dissolution, and in some cases face backlash from family and friends leading to the lack of social support and increased tension and instability (Bratter and Eschbach 2006; Bratter and King 2008; Hohmann-Marriott & Amato, 2007; Zhang & Van Hook, 2009). Consequently, it is important to note that the increase in mixed unions on its own is not a complete indicator of social change or social acceptance of different ethnic minority groups. The degree of pushback experienced by couples also depends on the racial, gender and class differences between the couples. My general focus on mixed unions as a whole without isolating specific ethnoracial groups is because the purpose of this study was not to measure the degree of integration of ethnic minority groups. The relationship between mixed unions or intermarriage and integration is not clear or straightforward (Song, 2009) and the intermarriages as a mechanism for breaking down racial barriers has been questioned (Qian & Lichter, 2007). However, given Canada's history of immigration, and visible minorities making up a fifth of the population, the formation of these unions indicates that structural barriers that keep ethnoracial minorities from having access to similar spaces may be lower within some subpopulations (Chui & Flanders, 2013).

I also found that homogamous VM couples are different from their white counterparts because I separated these groups in my analysis. Breaking down homogamous unions into those who are white, and those who are of the same visible minority status proved to be important for this analysis and for examining mixed couples as a whole, because those who are younger, with higher education and live in CMAs are also positively associated with being visible minorities in homogamous unions, even while controlling for immigration status. Evidently, this is due to the high proportion of visible minorities settling in urban centers and first and second-generation immigrants being highly educated (Hou & Chen,

2019; Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2016; Picot, 2012). Nevertheless, this distinction within homogamous unions allows the analysis to separate the particular characteristics of VM and white homogamous couples.

Moreover, in this analysis, I include unions between people of different visible minority statuses as a separate category although they make up a small percentage of unions overall. This category is routinely overlooked in analyses of mixed ethnoracial unions because it is deemed rare (Fryer, 2007; Hou & Myles, 2013; Hamplova & Le Bourdais, 2010) and because it is not included in the narrative of mixed partnering as an indicator of integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities. The majority of the ethnic minority population as well as the immigrant population reside in the three largest metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), therefore the visible minority population is localized, meaning this is reflected in their respective marriage markets. Since marriage markets operate at the local level, rather than the national level, and these couples are almost exclusively urban, this category of mixed couples are important to consider as well. My analysis demonstrated that although they are similar to individuals in white-VM unions in some cases, they are sometimes different as it was with same-sex partnerships.

To sum up, measuring diversity within unions using two outcome variables allowed the analysis to focus on two overlapping but slightly different populations. And in identifying mixed couples based on visible minority status and place of birth, I found that those who hold undergraduate, graduate or professional degrees, live in census metropolitan areas (in particular, Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) and those in same-sex unions can be considered subpopulations who are more likely to be in mixed ethnic/racial unions.

By examining individuals in union using both visible minority status and place of birth, and by disaggregating the mixed and non-mixed unions into four categories, this study added some nuance to the current literature on demographic characteristics of these

individuals. However, there are some limitations. First, I was able to use multinomial logistic regression to predict the likelihood of being in mixed unions for those with particular demographic characteristics broadly, and I was not able to account for the differences in likelihood of mixed partnerships among different visible minority groups, as noted in previous literature (Chow, 2000). However, I was interested in the subpopulations that have higher proportions of diverse couples, with diversity being defined as more than one visible minority identification or place of birth within the couples. And my focus was not on identifying any generalized characteristics of the particular visible minority groups or individuals born in similar countries.

Second, there are also limitations to the mixed unions identified using visible minority status. I excluded those who identified as aboriginal or had partners who did so from my analysis of mixed unions by VM status, as well as individuals and partners who reported “multiple visible minorities” and “visible minority not included elsewhere”. I exclude those who self-reported as aboriginal because they are not considered a visible minority according to the definition by the employment equity act. However, Statistics Canada defines mixed couples as “comprised of one partner who is a member of a visible minority group and the other is not, as well as couples comprised of two different visible minority group members” (Milan et al., 2010). And therefore, includes those who are aboriginal partnered with a member of a visible minority group as a mixed couple, and not included if partnered with a white individual. Furthermore, Statistics Canada also includes those classified as “multiple visible minority statuses” and “visible minority status not included elsewhere” even though these two are even less homogenous within their respective categories than the other groups. What the individuals in these two groups share with each other is reporting as belonging to more than one specified visible minority group or identifying as belonging to a group that is not part of the visible minority categories. I attempted to avoid broadly classifying these individuals as being in

mixed or homogamous unions by excluding them from my analysis, however, further research into these groups and who they are partnered with can shed light into the diversity that exists here as well.

There are discrepancies in Statistics Canada's classification of mixed unions, however, this paper's measure of diverse by visible minority status also has its limitations. I excluded about 6% of my sample who either self-reported as aboriginal or had partners who did so in my analysis because the history of the indigenous population and their partnerships are different from that of those classified as visible minorities. However, this is an area for future research, because those who identified as aboriginal are also part of the diverse makeup of Canadian society.

Finally, the cross-sectional nature of the analysis means that I cannot isolate causal relationships. For example, it could be that those who are urban are more likely to partner across ethnoracial group boundaries, or that those who are already in mixed unions choose to live in urban settings. In fact, past research finds that mixed couples are urban (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014) and that they have a preference for diverse neighbourhoods (Wright, Ellis & Holloway, 2011; Dalmage, 2000).

Social boundaries across racial and ethnic identities are also not static through time and are also not uniform for all ethnoracial groups (Deliovsky & Kitossa, 2017; Lee & Bean, 2010). This complexity of measuring the nuances of diversity within families using population level data also points to the need for more qualitative work in the area about the lived experiences of mixed individuals, couples and families while navigating Canadian society (Deliovsky & Kitossa, 2017). This is especially important in the context of our celebration of the increase in mixed unions as the indicator of the openness and inclusivity of society, as well as the success of Canada's multiculturalism policies.

Overall, the findings of this study contribute to the greater literature on mixed unions by illustrating that there is more diversity within unions in Canada when visible minority status and place of birth are considered. Additionally, that those who are highly educated, urban and in same-sex unions are subpopulations where the barriers to mixed coupling may be less salient.

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Chapter 3

3 Are Mixed Couples More Equal? Gender Egalitarianism within Diverse Unions

3.1 Introduction

Egalitarianism in general is about equalizing life chances, and in this case, by gender. Gender equality is beneficial for many aspects of social life, and within marital and cohabiting partnerships it is particularly important for the formation and stability of unions and families. It is measured as attitudes of gender equality of men and women and through the division of labour within the household. Recent research finds that gender egalitarianism at the individual and the state level impacts union formation, fertility and marital stability, all of which have important policy implications especially in countries dealing with below replacement level fertility rates (Engelhardt, Kögel & Prskawetz, 2004).

The diffusion theory of the spread of egalitarianism states that highly innovative and non-traditional groups such as highly educated women and their partners are the first groups to be more egalitarian before the gender equal values diffuse (Pampel, 2011). Younger and highly educated men are more egalitarian in their beliefs and in their contribution to domestic work and child care (Aassve et al., 2014; Sullivan, Billari, and Altintas, 2014). Those in common-law unions are also more egalitarian (Kaufman, 2000). Gerson (2010) finds that larger shares of younger cohorts aspire to be more egalitarian in their relationships. Although women still do the majority of the unpaid domestic labour, women are redefining gender roles within the home by contesting where input from their partners' is lacking (Bianchi et al., 2000; Lyonette & Crompton, 2015).

Mixed couples can also be considered a non-traditional group. They are also younger, highly educated, more urban, in same-sex partnerships in higher proportions and more likely to be cohabiting (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014). The studies on egalitarianism within mixed couples currently have only focused on particular groups such as black/white couples being more egalitarian than their white counterparts (Beckett & Smith, 1981). However, whether mixed couples in general are more egalitarian due to being nontraditional and overcoming some of the societal and familial expectations of intra-group partnering has not been addressed. I address this gap by examining whether mixed couples as defined by difference in visible minority status of partners, and by place of birth of partners are more likely to be gender equal across measures of egalitarianism using the 2006 and 2016 long-form census.

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Gender Egalitarianism and the family

Gender egalitarianism and equality within unions and within families is an area of research that has been prominent from the late twentieth century to the present. There has been an exponential interest in the impact of gender roles and the gender revolution on these structural changes to the family unit due to: 1) declining marital formation and stability, 2) below replacement fertility rates, and 3) increasing diversity of family and relationship types. Early research in this topic noted the delay and decline of marriage and childrearing are linked to increased female labour market participation and to women adopting less traditional gender roles (Becker, 1992; Amato & Booth, 1995; Espendshade, 1985). Scholars debated that the traditional division of labour by gender optimized the benefits of marriage as this specialization creates mutual dependence of the partners on each other (e.g. Becker, 1992). However, the influence of these factors on union formation, stability and fertility has been noted to weaken with time. Researchers

argued that the focus on egalitarian women and their increased participation in the labour force as the contributing factor for the decline in marriage and fertility levels ignores the demographic and structural changes happening in society that made women in the paid labour a viable and necessary option (Oppenheimer, 1994). Oppenheimer (1994) also countered Becker's argument by writing that the greater flexibility of egalitarian couples in the division of labour allows them to overcome disruptions to the family and fulfill the need for dual incomes to support families. Moreover, European countries with the highest fertility rates and the low female labour force participation which supported the argument of non-traditional women disrupting family formation, reversed with time and these countries moved to persistent below replacement level fertility. When at the individual and national level, gender equality is not addressed, marital stability and fertility rates remain low (Engelhardt, Kögel & Prskawetz, 2004).

Despite dual-earner households becoming necessary and female labour market participation increasing, women remain responsible for the private sphere. Research has found that the majority of the domestic work and childcare is done by women (Bianchi et al., 2000), and that there is even a gap in the leisure time enjoyed men and women (Bittman & Wajcman, 2000) This contributes to the second shift experienced by women who come home from their shift in the public sphere to the second one in the private sphere (Hochschild, 2012). However, this has been changing, albeit slowly (Goldscheider, Bernhardt and Lappegård, 2015; Aassve, Fuochi and Mencarini, 2014).

Goldscheider et al., argues that the norms dictating gender expectations are shifting as the second half of the gender revolution is taking place slowly with the entry of men into domestic responsibilities of the private sphere (2015). In examining the 'separate spheres' model where there is strong specialization by gender in the private and public spheres, researchers using macro level indicators in the US and Sweden, find that despite short-

term step backs, there is evidence of partners sharing family support and care (Stanfors & Goldscheider, 2017). Younger and highly educated men in low fertility countries are contributing more to domestic and childcare duties and this has a positive effect on the marriage stability and fertility (Aassve et al., 2014; Gerson, 2010; Sullivan, Billari, and Altintas, 2014). Therefore, spousal relationships are changing slowly and the primacy of the gendered division of labour is also slowly adapting.

Gender egalitarianism and its impact on relationships has been studied at the individual and couple level and is measured through both values and actual contribution to the labour within the home. Scholars found that women who value egalitarianism are more likely to experience marital instability and lower satisfaction with their union (Kaufman, 2000; Amato & Booth, 1995). They are also less likely to want children in comparison to their more traditional counterparts. In fact, researchers found that egalitarian attitudes of men are better predictors of the overall stability of unions. Egalitarian men are more likely to enter cohabiting unions than marital ones (Kaufman, 2000). Similarly, feelings of fairness and satisfaction with the division of labour has been shown increase marital satisfaction (Amato, Johnson, Booth & Rogers, 2003) and larger proportions of young adults aspire for egalitarian unions where both household and financial responsibilities are shared (Gerson, 2010). And research in fertility rates of European countries found that the increase in contribution of men to domestic tasks as well as childcare at home is positively correlated to increasing fertility rates (Engelhardt et al., 2004; Sullivan et al., 2014). Therefore, it is evident that both egalitarian attitudes and gender equal division of labour in the private sphere has an important role to play in union formation, fertility and in marital stability.

Along with the importance of egalitarianism for the family overall, it is also important in light of the persistent gender wage gap. Blau and Kahn (2017) find measures of human

capital of individuals to explain very little of the gender wage gap, as higher proportions of women now enter university and hold university degrees. However, they find that women's work force interruptions and shorter hours to be significant in explaining the gap, along with differences in gender roles and gendered division of labour. Workforce interruptions and shorter hours are due to the fact that even with men's contribution to domestic labour increasing, the majority of the work still falls on women in heterosexual unions. Lyonette and Crompton (2015) find that men whose partners earn more do a larger share of housework than men with partners who earn less, but their female partners still do more. Therefore, more relief for women in the private sphere through increased contribution of men to family and child care can also reduce some of the gap in wages by gender.

3.2.2 Characteristics of egalitarian individuals and couples

Research on egalitarian attitudes found that certain populations are more likely to hold egalitarian attitudes and contribute to more equally to family support and care. Sullivan et al. (2014) finds that younger, highly educated fathers are more likely to be involved in domestic and childcare work in low fertility countries in Europe that are witnessing an increase. Gerson (2010) also finds that younger men are more likely to value gender equality. Another study finds that men residing in the most gender egalitarian countries such as Norway contribute more to household tasks (Aassve et al., 2014).

Research on how egalitarianism is taken up also points to certain subpopulations being more likely to both hold values of gender equality and display these values in their division of labour. According to the diffusion argument of the spread of new ideas and values such as egalitarianism states that it is first taken up by nontraditional and innovative groups in society before diffusing to other groups through cultural processes. Pampel finds that highly educated women and their male partners to a lesser extent are a

nontraditional group who take up the egalitarianism first because it directly benefits them (2011). Then as time goes on, there is a weakening correlation between education and egalitarian attitudes indicative of it spreading to larger society.

3.2.3 Mixed couples and gender egalitarianism

Current research on mixed ethnic or interracial unions in North America and Europe have focused on how these couples are different in various aspects. Researchers have examined the differences in how mixed couples come together, where they live, how they match in terms of other sociodemographic factors such as education and income. For example, studies find that mixed unions are more likely to form in cities where there is racial heterogeneity, and that mixed couples once together, are more likely to choose to live in neighbourhoods that are diverse (Tindale, Klocker & Gibson, 2014). Research of assortative mating patterns of mixed unions now find that these couples are equally matched in terms of sociodemographic characteristics as their homogamous counterparts (Hou & Myles, 2013; Fu, 2008). Scholars have also focused on the marital stability of these unions and found that increased societal and familial tension and lack of support could be impacting mixed couples (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). And mixed couples also have different patterns of fertility in some cases in comparison to their intraracial counterparts (Choi & Goldberg, 2018). Qualitative research on mixed couples also has focused on the differences in the experience and understanding of racism and racial identity among mixed couples through their relationship and through their experience raising mixed children (Yancey, 2007). As well as their experiences dealing with familial and societal opposition to the union (Childs, 2002, Dalmage, 2000). In summary, research has focused on the differences in the experiences of mixed couples in terms of the couples' relationship as well as their relationship to the wider society.

In terms of egalitarianism, it is important to note that changes in gender norms and attitudes are determined by changes in opportunities and constraints, and this limits the assumptions we can make about mixed ethnoraical couples in Canada (Goldscheider et al., 2015). Just as gender egalitarianism is a response to the structural and ideological changes that occurred through the late twentieth and twenty-first century, gender norms in other contexts are also a reflection of the particular societal opportunities and constraints. For example, black men in the US are more egalitarian in their relationships than their white counterparts and they are more likely to take on household and childcare responsibilities (Beckett & Smith, 1981). Literature on gender and migration has also found that labour market opportunities of both the sending and host country impact the changes in gender roles. For example, studies find that women from the Philippines are more likely to be the main income earner in their families due to the opportunities for health education in the Philippines, and the labour market demands of North American countries for health care workers (Brettel, 2016). Furthermore, mixed couples in Canada are made up of individuals belonging to 13 different visible minority categories defined by Statistics Canada in the census, and Canadians report up to 241 different countries as their place of birth. It would be nearly impossible to make assumptions about the division of paid and unpaid labour based on cultural differences when so much variance is present. Consequently, I expect that the gendered division of labour is pervasive, but changes to it are not identical across countries and cultures, as it is impacted by the variation in norms and values as well as structural differences across the globe.

Therefore, my interest in egalitarianism within mixed unions is not due to an expectation of innate differences in the ethnoraical or cultural backgrounds of individuals, but rather, I am interested in whether there is more room for negotiation of gendered expectations of how labour within and outside of the home is divided among couples of different ethnoraical backgrounds. As Goldscheider et al. argues that with the increase in life

expectancy, decrease in fertility and the necessity of dual earner families made it necessary for couples to “renegotiate their spousal relation and roles through the new life transitions they were facing” (2014). Similarly, mixed couples in their coming together against prevalent societal and familial expectations of intra-ethnoracial pairing, are faced with a renegotiation of those expectations. And in that space may also have room for the renegotiation of the division of paid and unpaid labour.

Mixed couples may also be non-traditional in their socialization which contributes to the formation on inter-ethnoracial partnerships. Forry et al. argue that it is possible that those who choose to marry across ethnoracial boundaries are non-traditional because they must overcome familial and societal norms and may also develop values that go against early socialization (2007). This can be understood in light of the fact that ethnic and racial group boundaries and the racial hierarchy are maintained through family, mixed couples must deal with increased societal surveillance and prohibition against their partnership than their same-ethnoracial counterparts (Bugs, 2017; Fryer, 2009).

Consequently, this study examines whether mixed couples are more egalitarian than their counterparts. As noted earlier, they already tend to be younger, highly educated, and cosmopolitan and are more likely to be in same-sex unions than their counterparts in homogamous unions. By virtue of overcoming familial and societal expectations of intra-ethnoracial family formation and dealing with the increased surveillance, they are required to renegotiate and redefine the expectation of homogenous cultural identity within the family. I expect that mixed ethno-racial couples may be more likely to have room to renegotiate the gendered expectations of the division of labour for family support and care, thereby being more egalitarian their counterparts in homogamous unions.

3.3 Research Questions

My objective is to examine whether there are differences in egalitarianism within couples in different types of unions, by visible minority status and place of birth. To answer this question, I will be estimating the likelihood of mixed couples being more or less egalitarian than their counterparts in homogamous unions. And I will capture aspects of egalitarianism using four separate factors, and my research questions are:

1. Are individuals in mixed unions more likely to contribute 40-60% of the couples' total finances, in comparison to their homogamous counterparts?
 - a. yearly wages
 - b. yearly income

2. Are individuals in mixed unions more likely to contribute 40-60% of the couples' time spent on unpaid labour within the home, in comparison to their homogamous counterparts?
 - a. hours spent on housework
 - b. hours spent on childcare

3.4 Data and measures

3.4.1 Data Source

I use the microdata file available in the Research and Data Center of the 2006 and 2016 long-form Canadian census of the population which is a nationally representative sample of the non-institutionalized Canadian population aged 15 years or older. These cross-sectional samples are made up of approximately one in four private dwelling in Canada, and it includes citizens (through birth or naturalization), landed immigrants and non-permanent residents and their families living in the country. It is well-suited for my

analysis for two reasons. First, it contains household level information which allows me to isolate couples who are in marital or common law unions, living in the same household. Second, it includes questions about visible minority status, place of birth of individuals as well as other vital demographic, social, and economic characteristics for my analysis. The 2006 census includes two questions on unpaid labour which were dropped from the 2016 census. Therefore, my analysis of egalitarianism of paid labour will come from both the 2006 and 2016 census, while the second half on unpaid labour will come from only the 2006 census.

3.4.2 Analytic Sample

My analytic sample is made up of individuals aged 20 years or older who are in a marital or common law union, living with their partner in the same household. All those who are not part of a couple were excluded, as well as those with partners who are under the age of 20 years, which amounted to 3,020,780 individuals from the 2006 census and 4,097,330 individuals from the 2016 census.

In order to link couples together, I use the concept of census family. Census family is defined by Statistics Canada as a couple, a couple with children, lone parents with children or grandparent(s) with grandchildren when parents is not present. The couple can be of same or opposite sex in a marital or common law union. Children are considered part of the census family of their parent(s) if they are biological, step- or foster children who are living in the same household without a partner or children of their own. Using this categorization, I exclude all individuals except the couple in each census family and I exclude all census families with a lone parent. Since each household can have many different census families, I used the census family ID variable which numbers each census family within the household to link partners together, thereby allowing me to

access couple level variables such as the visible minority status reported by individuals' partners. I did this separately for both the censuses.

3.4.3 Outcome Variables

The main outcome variables are binary indicating whether an individual's wage, income, hours spent on household work and childcare makes 40-60% of the couples' total or not. I am using these measures as indicator variables of the level of egalitarianism within the couple. I have four variables to capture aspects of egalitarianism within unions.

3.4.3.1 Equal Contribution to Total Wages

This is an indicator variable for whether an individual makes 40-60% of the total wages earned by the couple, or not. I construct this variable using the individual wages reported by each partner in the census. This question refers to "the gross wages and salaries earned by the individual in the calendar year before the census year (i.e. year 2005 in the 2006 census and year 2015 in the 2016 census) before deductions for income tax, pensions, employment insurance and so forth. It includes military pay and allowances, tips, commissions and cash bonuses, benefits from wage-loss replacement plans, taxable benefits, research grants and royalties, and other casual earnings," as defined by Statistics Canada. Wages and salaries are the pay before tax that is paid to employees, and therefore, the definition is based on there being an employer-employee relationship of some kind. Accordingly, what is earned by those who are self-employed is not included as wages and salaries.

First, I create a continuous variable of the percentage of an individual's wage to the total sum of wages of both partners for those who report a positive wage. Then I categorize those who earn between 40-60% of the total sum of wages of both partners and those who do not. In this calculation, I exclude those individuals in unions where both partners

report zero as their wage. Since this dependent variable is relative wage of one individual to the sum of the wages of both partners, partners who have no wages will appear similar to partners who earn similar positive wages. About 20% of individuals in my sample fall into this category, with about 70% of them over the age 60 years. 85% of this group are also not visible minorities and 75% of them are Canadian-born. This means that they are more likely to be homogamous couples who are also older and more likely to be Canadian-born.

3.4.3.2 Equal Contribution to Total Income

The second outcome variable is a binary one for whether an individual contributes 40-60% of the total income of the couple. Total income of the individual is defined as the total money income received in the calendar year before the census year. I use individual income to create this variable rather than the household income because more than one couple can be living in the same household. This then includes “the total wages and salary as well as the following: Net farm self-employment income; Net income from unincorporated non-farm business and/or professional practice; Child benefits; Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement; Benefits from Canada or Quebec Pension Plan; Benefits from Employment Insurance; Other income from government sources; Dividends and interest on bonds, deposits, savings certificates and other investment income; Retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities, including those from RRSPs and RRIFs; other money income,” as defined by Statistics Canada. Therefore, this takes into account all sources of income, along with wages and employment income.

Similar to the coding of the variable above, I first create a continuous variable of the percentage of sum of total positive income earned by each individual in the partnership. Then I categorize those who earn 40-60% of the total income of the couple from those

who do not. Here, I exclude those in unions where both partners report zero or negative income. This amounts to about 0.2% of my sample, who are equally distributed by age, VM status and educational attainment. However, about 70% of this category is made up of immigrants.

3.4.3.3 Equal Contribution to Total Hours of Household Work

This is also an indicator variable for whether an individual reports doing 40-60% of the total household work performed by the couple, or not. The unpaid housework variable is defined as “the number of hours persons spent doing unpaid housework, yard work or home maintenance in the week (Sunday to Saturday) prior to Census Day (May 16, 2006). It includes hours spent doing unpaid housework for members of one's own household, for other family members outside the household, and for friends or neighbours. Unpaid housework does not include volunteer work for a non-profit organization, a religious organization, a charity or community group, or work without pay in the operation of a family farm, business or professional practice,” by Statistics Canada. In the census, this is an ordinal variable, with the following categories: 0 hours, <5 hours, 5-14 hours, 15-29 hours, 30-59 hours, >60 hours.

In order to calculate the percentage contribution of an individual to the total hours of household work reported by the couple, I convert the ordinal categories to the average of hours reported within each category starting with those who reported no hours of household work as 0 hours. For example, those who reported 5-14 hours were recoded as performing 9.5 hours. This leaves me with the following categories: 0 hours, 9.5 hours, 22 hours, 44.5 hours, 60 hours. I then create a continuous variable that is the percentage reported by individual of the total sum of hours reported by the couple. Similar to the other outcome variables, I exclude individuals who are in unions where both partners

report 0 hours of household work, which is about 2% of my sample, with the majority of them over the age of 60 years.

3.4.3.4 Equal Contribution to Total Hours of Childcare

The final outcome variable is also an indicator variable for whether an individual with children in the household contributes to 40-60% of the total hours of unpaid childcare performed by the couple, or not. This variable is created using the question in the census that asks for the hours spend on unpaid care of children in the household. In the census, childcare “refers to the number of hours persons spent looking after children without pay. It includes hours spent providing child care for members of one's own household, for other family members outside the household or for friends or neighbours in the week before the census (May 16, 2006).” The question clarifies that unpaid child care “does not include volunteer work for a non-profit organization, a religious organization, a charity or community group, or work without pay in the operation of a family farm, business or professional practice.” Individuals reported performing 0 hours, <5 hours, 5-14 hours, 15-29 hours, 30-59 hours, >60 hours.

Similar to the other dependent variable, this one was created by first changing the ordinal categories to the average hours reported, which leaves me with the following categories: 0 hours, 9.5 hours, 22 hours, 44.5 hours, 60 hours. Then I created a continuous variable that is the percentage of total hours reported by individual of the total sum of hours reported by the couple. Those who do not have children in the household were excluded, which left me with a sample of about one million observations.

3.4.4 Key Independent Variables

3.4.4.1 Type of Union by VM status

As per the definition of visible minorities based on the Employment Equity Act, my first key independent variable is type of union created using the question of visible minority status in the census. Similar to this classification in the first article, I exclude those who answered yes to the aboriginal ancestry question or have partners who identified as aboriginal, since this population is not considered a visible minority by Statistics Canada. Moreover, I also exclude those who checked off “multiple visible minorities” or “visible minorities not included elsewhere” or had partners who did so because I cannot sort the individuals who checked off these two categories as being in homogamous unions if they are partnered with individuals who also checked off the same category. This amounted to about 6% of my sample, with majority being those who reported to be or have partners who identified as aboriginal.

Using this, I am able to categorize mixed unions as marital or common law unions between individuals based on the visible minority status reported by the partners. I break down this variable further into four categories to take into account the overall differences between the majority group and racialized groups. The four categories are: 1. homogamous unions within whites (white-white), 2. homogamous unions within the same visible minority group (VM-VM; nonmixed-VM), 3. heterogamous unions between whites and visible minorities (white-VM) and, 4. heterogamous unions between different visible minority groups (VM-diffVM; mixed-VM).

3.4.4.2 Type of Union by Place of Birth (POB)

I also use the place of birth reported by individuals in the census as a second outcome variable to the coding of homogamous and heterogamous unions. Here, I code mixed

unions based on whether individuals are partnered with others who are born in the same place, or not.

This variable is also made up of four categories: 1. both partners born in Canada (Canada-Canada; nonmixed-Canada), 2. both partners born in a country outside of Canada (same country, not Canada), 3. both partners born in different countries, one in Canada, other is not (Canada-another country), 4. Both partners are born in different countries (different countries, not Canada)

3.4.5 Other Covariates

I include various sociodemographic characteristics of the individual and the partner. Age is included in the analysis and coded ordinally into the following categories: 20-39 years, 40-59 years and 60+ years. Educational attainment is coded separately as ordinal variables with five categories: less than high school, high school diploma, some post-secondary (including college, trades and apprenticeship, and some university), undergraduate degree and graduate or professional degree. Gender of the individual and of the partner are coded as male or female. Generation status is coded as: third of more generation (individual and both parents are born in Canada), second generation (individual and at least one parent is born in Canada), and first generation (individual is not born in Canada). The census derives generation status from place of birth of respondent, place of birth of father and place of birth of mother. And finally, I include hours worked. This variable is derived from a question in the census for those who worked for pay or in self-employment the year before the census. Individuals were asked to report “whether the weeks they worked were full-time weeks (30 hours or more per week) or not, on the basis of all jobs held. Moreover, individuals “with a part-time job for part of the year and a full-time job for another part of the year were to report the information for the job at which they worked the most weeks.” This variable is coded as:

worked mostly full time, worked mostly part time or did not work in the calendar year before the census year. All these variables are included for the individual and for the partner separately.

Then, I also add controls that apply to the couple. Region of residence is a dichotomous variable that classifies whether the couple live in a census metropolitan areas (CMAs). CMA is defined as “area consisting of one or more neighbouring municipalities situated around a core. A census metropolitan area must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more live in the core.” by Statistics Canada. I also include marital status as a dichotomous variable coded “married” or “common law,” and children in the household is an indicator variable for whether there are children present in the household.

3.4.6 Methods

In order to test whether there are significant differences in the variables estimating egalitarianism by the type of union, I use logistic regression to predict the odds of individuals in different types of unions contributing similarly to the total wages, total income, total hours spent on unpaid household labour and unpaid child care. The key independent variable is the type of union that the individual is in, therefore, all regressions are run separately for the type of union defined by visible minority status and for type of union by the place of birth of individuals.

To answer the research questions on predicting the odds of individuals in different types of unions earning 40-60% of the couples’ total wages and income, and contributing 40-60% of the total hours spent on household work and childcare, I run three nested models for each of the four outcome variables. Model 1 is a bivariate logistic regression of the outcome variable and type of union. Model 2 includes controls for the individuals’

characteristics such as: age, educational attainment, gender, lives in CM, marital status, children in the household, generational status and fulltime work. Finally model 3 includes the same individual characteristics, as well as characteristics of the partner. Therefore, the following partner characteristics are added: age, educational attainment, gender, generational status, fulltime work (see below). The setup of the nested models is the same for all outcome variables, except the indicator variable for presence of children in the household which is dropped for the last outcome variable predicting the relative hours spent on childcare. I ran the same models on the data from the 2016 Canadian census for relative wages and relative income. Then I did the same analysis for the second key independent variable, type of union by place of birth (see below).

Model 3:

$$\ln\left(\frac{\pi}{1-\pi}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \beta_5 X_5 + \beta_6 X_6 + \beta_7 X_7 + \beta_8 X_8 + \beta_9 X_9 \\ + \beta_{10} X_{10} + \beta_{11} X_{11} + \beta_{12} X_{12} + \beta_{13} X_{13} + \beta_{14} X_{14} + e$$

π is outcome variable (1-4)

X_1 is type of union (1. visible minority status, 2. place of birth)

X_2 is age

X_3 is educational attainment

X_4 is generation status

X_5 is residence in a CMA

X_6 is marital status

X_7 is sex

X_8 is type of work (hours)

X_9 is presence children in the household (not included for outcome variable #4)

X_{10} is age of partner

X_{11} is educational attainment of partner

X_{12} is generation status of partner

X_{13} is sex of partner

X_{14} is type of work of partner (hours)

e is error term

3.5 Results

3.5.1 Descriptive Results

Table 3.1 illustrates the percentage makeup of individuals in marital and common-law unions in 2006 and 2016 across various sociodemographic variables. The majority of my samples in both years are between ages 40-59 years old (48% in 2006 and 43% in 2016). About 35% of individuals in unions have some post-secondary education in both years, and about 20-30% have a university degree or a graduate/professional degree. As expected, the majority of the sample is made up of individuals who live in CMAs (about 70% in both years). Less than 1% of individuals are in same-sex partnerships. Moreover, about 80% of the sample is married, and 50% have children in the household. A large portion of individuals are also of 3rd or higher generational status (60%), with 30% who reported being first generation immigrants. Finally, Table 3.1 also shows that about 60% of individuals in the sample work full-time. The results illustrate the overall makeup of the samples from 2006 and 2016.

Table 3.1 Sociodemographic characteristic of individuals in common-law and marital unions in 2006 and 2016

	2006	2016
Age (years)		
20-39	28.54	26.60
40-59	47.61	42.74
60+	23.85	30.66
Total	100.00	100.00
Educational Attainment		
Less than High School	18.50	13.52
High School	23.61	23.52
Some Post-secondary	36.63	35.54
University Degree	15.49	19.63
Graduate/Professional degree	5.78	7.79
Total	100.00	100.00
Region of Residence		
Not CMA	33.54	30.58
CMA	66.46	69.42
Total	100.00	100.00
Marital Status		
Common-law	18.13	21.16
Married	81.87	78.84
Total	100.00	100.00
Number of Children		
None	45.64	48.85
1 or more	54.36	51.15
Total	100.00	100.00
Sex of Partner		
Opposite-sex	99.40	99.11
Same-sex	0.60	0.89
Total	100.00	100.00
Generation Status		
3 rd or more generation	59.55	56.99
2 nd generation	13.85	13.25
1 st generation	26.60	29.76
Total	100.00	100.00

Hours worked		
Did not work in the past year	27.09	29.00
Part-time	11.83	12.10
Full-time	61.08	58.90
Total	100.00	100.00
N (#)	3,020,780	4,097,330

Source: Canadian long-form censuses (2006 and 2016)

Notes: Ns are unweighted. Percentages are weighted.

Next, I present the percentage breakdown of individuals by type of union across the four dependent variables. Table 3.2 presents the results for individuals in homogamous and heterogamous unions as defined by visible minority status for 2006 and 2016 respectively. And Table 3.3 does the same for unions as defined by place of birth of individuals.

There are small differences in the contribution of individuals across the different types of unions in their contribution to the total wages, income, hours on household work and hours of childcare, although all although all associations are significant as determined by chi square tests at the $p < .001$ level (Table 3.2). About 20-25% of individuals overall earn 40-59% of the sum of wages of the couple in both years, and about 30-35% of individuals earn 40-59% of the sum of income of the couple also in both years. In terms of the contribution to the total hours of household work of the couple, 44% of individuals in homogamous white and mixed unions reported doing about half of the household work, while 41% of homogamous VM couples reported the same. And 45% of those in unions where both partners are born in Canada reported doing the same, while 40-43% of homogamous VM and mixed couples reported that they contributed 40-59% of the total hours of household work. Finally, the largest percentage of individuals with children in all types of union reported contributing 40-59% of the hours of childcare done by both couples, with the highest proportion of those in white-white unions, and unions where both partners are born in Canada being in this category.

Table 3.2 Percentage distribution of individuals by types of unions (VM) across variables measuring egalitarianism.

	Type of Union (by Visible Minority Status)			
	White-White	VM-Same VM	White-VM	VM-Diff VM
<i>2006 Census</i>				
Percentage of sum of couples' wages contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	49.86	53.05	48.87	48.14
20-39% and 60-79%	28.22	25.89	28.68	28.36
40-59%	21.92	21.05	22.46	23.50
Total (N=2,292,260)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of sum of couples' income contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	28.20	32.10	32.11	31.02
20-39% and 60-79%	41.53	36.72	39.00	38.61
40-59%	30.27	31.18	28.89	30.38
Total (N=2,835,265)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of total hours of household work done by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	24.35	28.17	24.41	26.37
20-39% and 60-79%	31.47	30.66	31.80	29.38
40-59%	44.18	41.17	43.80	44.26
Total (N=2,776,405)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of total hours of childcare done by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	25.39	28.56	26.88	30.70
20-39% and 60-79%	24.91	25.74	25.88	12.18
40-59%	49.70	45.69	47.24	45.03
Total (N=1,179,280)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.09

Census 2016

Percentage of sum of couples' wages contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	50.69	52.93	48.11	45.83
20-39% and 60-79%	26.83	25.49	28.75	28.47
40-59%	22.48	21.58	23.14	25.73
Total (N=3,135,515)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.02
Percentage of sum of couples' income contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	24.70	31.13	28.97	28.52
20-39% and 60-79%	41.46	35.98	39.42	37.47
40-59%	33.84	32.89	31.61	33.99
Total (N= 3,830,920)	100.00	100.00	100.00	99.98

Source: Canadian long-form census (2006 and 2016)

Notes: Ns are unweighted. Percentages are weighted. All bivariate associations are significant as determined by chi square tests at the <.01 level.

Table 3.3 Percentage distribution of individuals in types of unions (POB) across variables measuring egalitarianism.

	Type of Union (by Place of Birth)			
	Both born in Canada	Both born in the same country (not Canada)	One born in Canada – the other is not	Both born in different countries (not Canada)
<i>Census 2006</i>				
Percentage of sum of couples' wages contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	48.36	55.61	52.21	56.83
20-39% and 60-79%	29.07	24.75	26.82	23.91
40-59%	22.57	19.64	20.98	19.27
Total (N=2,439,075)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.01
Percentage of sum of couples' income contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	28.07	30.60	31.09	32.36
20-39% and 60-79%	41.54	38.62	39.89	38.27
40-59%	30.39	30.78	29.02	29.37
Total (N=3,013,225)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of total hours of household work done by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	23.84	28.20	25.15	28.12
20-39% and 60-79%	31.35	30.48	32.16	31.43
40-59%	44.81	41.32	42.69	40.45
Total (N=2,949,955)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of total hours of childcare done by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	24.67	29.18	27.25	29.86
20-39% and 60-79%	24.51	25.19	26.18	26.26
40-59%	50.81	45.63	46.56	43.89
Total (N=1,286,885)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

<i>Census 2016</i>				
Percentage of sum of couples' wages contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	48.92	55.17	52.90	57.32
20-39% and 60-79%	27.83	24.36	25.82	23.34
40-59%	23.25	20.47	21.29	19.34
Total (N=3,359,350)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Percentage of sum of couples' income contributed by individual				
0-19% and 80-100%	24.48	30.00	28.60	30.75
20-39% and 60-79%	41.49	37.22	39.86	37.62
40-59%	34.02	32.79	31.54	31.62
Total (N=4,094,475)	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Canadian long-form census (2006 and 2016)

Notes: Ns are unweighted. Percentages are weighted. All bivariate associations are significant as determined by chi square tests at the <.01 level.

As the tables 3.2 to 3.3 illustrated, there are minor difference in terms of percentage distribution of individuals in mixed unions across the four outcome variables. In order to test whether there is a significant difference in the likelihood of mixed couples being more egalitarian across the four measures, I use logistic regression to predict the odds of individuals in different types of unions contributing similarly to the total wages, total income, total hours spent on unpaid household labour and unpaid child care.

3.5.2 Bivariate and Multivariate Results

3.5.2.1 Wages and income

Table 3.4 presents the odds ratios from four sets of weighted logistic regressions predicting the odds of being contributing almost equally to wages and income of the

couple by types of unions by visible minority status, for 2006 and 2016. There are nested models, where Model 1 shows the bivariate association between the dependent variables and type of union by visible minority status, Model 2 includes the individuals sociodemographic characteristics and Model 3 adds the partner's sociodemographic characteristics.

Being in a mixed union where one partner is white and the other is a visible minority is negatively associated with being more egalitarian in the public sphere. It is negatively associated with earning similarly in wages as the partner when all other factors are held constant ($p < .001$ in 2006, $p < .01$ in 2016). In 2006, although white-VM couples have higher odds of earning similar wages as their partner in comparison to white-white couples (1.03 at $p > .001$ in Model 1), when their sociodemographic characteristics are added to the model, the association changes directions (0.96 at $p < .001$ in Model 2) and remains that way when the partners' characteristics are also added (0.97 at $p < .01$ in Model 3). This indicates that the couple's characteristics account for difference in levels of egalitarianism between white-VM couples and homogamous white couples. The negative association holds true in 2006 and in 2016 where individuals in white-VM unions have lower odds of having similar wages than those in homogamous white unions (O.R. 0.97 in 2006 and O.R. 0.96 in 2016). Moreover, those in white-VM unions are also negatively associated with having similar incomes as their partner across all three models. In comparison to their homogamous counterparts, being in a white-VM union is associated with odds of 0.91 ($p < .001$) in 2006 and with odds of 0.89 ($p < .001$) in 2016, when all other covariates are held constant. Therefore, the results indicate that mixed couples with a white and VM partner are less likely to be earning similarly to each other in terms of wages and income.

Equal contribution in wages and income are differently associated for mixed VM couples (Table 3.4). In comparison to white-white couples, individuals in mixed VM unions have 12% and 15% greater odds of earning similarly in wages when net of all factors in the two years considered (1.12 at $p < .001$ in 2006 and 1.15 at $p < .001$ in 2016). This positive association becomes more significant in 2006 when all of the individual's and partner's characteristics are added (from $p < .01$ to $p < .001$), although it remains significant in all models for both years. In contrast, the analysis of relative income of the individual to their partner shows that mixed VM couples are not different from their counterparts in white-white unions. And this remains true when net of all factors. Therefore, those in white-VM unions are different from white-white couples in relative wages but not relative income.

Next, I present the same four sets of models for individuals in different types of unions as defined by their places of birth and find that mixed couples are less likely to have similar wages and income as their partners in comparison to those in unions where both are born in Canada (Table 3.5). Net of all other factors in Model 3, those in unions where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not have 11% lower odds of having similar wages in 2006 and 13% lower odds in 2016 ($p < .001$) in comparison to their counterparts in unions where both partners are Canadian-born. In relation to the same comparison group, those in unions with a Canadian-born and foreign-born partner also have a significantly lower odds of having similar income as their partner (O.R. 0.92 in 2006 at $p < .001$ and O.R. 0.89 in 2015 at $p < 0.001$). Likewise, those in unions where both partners are born in different countries also have significantly lower odds of having similar wages as their partners at 0.83 odds in 2006 and 0.80 odds in 2016 and also significantly lower odds of having similar incomes at 0.95 odds in 2006 and 0.92 in 2016 ($p < .001$) in comparison to their counterparts where both partners are Canadian-born, net of all other factors (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4: Odds ratios from weighted logistic regression models predicting 40-60% contribution by individual to the sum of the couples' wages, couples' income by type of unions (VM) and various controls in 2006 and 2016.

	% contribution to the sum of couples' wages (2006) ¹			% contribution to the sum of couples' wages (2016) ¹			% contribution to the sum of couples' income (2006) ²			% contribution to the sum of couples' income (2016) ²		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Type of Union (White-White)</i>												
VM-Same VM	0.95***	1.07***	1.16***	0.95***	1.06***	1.16***	1.04***	1.12***	1.15***	0.96***	1.05***	1.08***
White-VM	1.03***	0.96***	0.97**	1.04***	0.94***	0.96***	0.94***	0.91***	0.91***	0.90***	0.88***	0.89***
VM-Diff VM	1.09**	1.07*	1.12***	1.19***	1.11***	1.15***	1.00	0.99	1.00	1.01	1.01	1.02
<i>Individuals Characteristics</i>												
<i>Age (20-39 years)</i>												
40-59 years		0.98***	1.02**		1.02***	1.04***		0.96***	0.98***		0.91***	0.94***
60+ years		0.61***	0.94***		0.64***	0.96***		1.51***	1.49***		1.33***	1.31***
<i>Education (High School)</i>												
High School		1.14***	1.06***		1.11***	1.04***		0.97***	0.96***		0.92***	0.92***
Some Post-secondary		1.16***	1.08***		1.11***	1.03***		1.00	0.98***		0.95***	0.94***
University		1.28***	1.16***		1.28***	1.14***		1.07***	1.05***		1.03***	1.01
Graduate/Professional		1.06***	1.01		1.10***	1.02**		0.91***	0.92***		0.95***	0.95***
<i>Generation Status (3rd or more)</i>												
2 nd		0.99*	1.00		0.98***	0.99**		1.03***	1.03***		0.99*	1.00
1 st		0.87***	0.92***		0.86***	0.91***		1.00	1.00		0.95***	0.97***
CMA (not CMA)		1.19***	1.16***		1.14***	1.11***		1.04***	1.03***		1.04***	1.03***
Married (Common-law)		0.90***	0.95***		0.88***	0.93***		0.85***	0.86***		0.83***	0.84***
Female (Male)		1.29***	1.17***		1.23***	1.14***		1.19***	1.11***		1.13***	1.13***
<i>Type of work (did not work)</i>												
Part-Time		3.56***	3.34***		2.82***	2.54***		1.05***	0.96***		0.96***	0.91***
Full-time		10.65***	9.71***		8.27***	7.13***		2.18***	1.95***		1.83***	1.67***
Children (none)		0.83***	0.81***		0.93***	0.91***		0.90***	0.92***		0.99***	1.00*

(Continued)

Table 3.4 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Partner's Characteristics</i>												
Age (20-39 years)												
40-59 years			1.02**			1.04***			0.98***			0.94***
60+ years			0.94***			0.96***			1.49***			1.32***
Education (High School)												
High School			1.06***			1.04***			0.96***			0.92***
Some Post-secondary			1.08***			1.03***			0.98***			0.94***
University			1.17***			1.14***			1.05***			1.01*
Graduate/Professional			1.01			1.02**			0.92***			0.95***
Generation Status (3 rd or more)												
2 nd			1.00			0.99**			1.03***			1.00
1 st			0.92***			0.91***			1.01			0.97***
Female (Male)			1.17***			1.14***			1.11***			1.13***
Type of work (did not work)												
Part-Time			3.33***			2.54***			0.96***			0.91***
Full-time			9.76***			7.18***			1.96***			1.68***
Constant	0.28***	0.03***	0.00***	0.29***	0.05***	0.01***	0.43***	0.26***	0.17***	0.51***	0.38***	0.27***

Source: 2006 and 2016 long-form Canadian census

p<.001 *** p<.01 ** p<.05 * p<.10 †

¹ N=11,661,115 in 2006 and 12,855,215 in 2016, made up of individuals in marital and common-law unions, where both partners have a positive wage

(weighted); ² N=14,410,810 in 2006 and 15,706,165 in 2016, made up of individuals in marital and common-law unions, where both partners have a positive income (weighted)

Table 3.5: Odds ratios from weighted logistic regression models predicting 40-60% contribution by individual to the sum of the couples' wages, couples' income by type of unions (POB) and various controls, in 2006 and 2016.

	% contribution to the sum of couples' wages (2006) ¹			% contribution to the sum of couples' wages (2016) ¹			% contribution to the sum of couples' income (2006) ²			% contribution to the sum of couples' income (2016) ²		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Type of Union												
(both born in Canada)												
Both born in the same country (not Canada)	0.84***	0.84***	0.88***	0.85***	0.84***	0.88***	1.02***	1.05***	1.06***	0.95***	1.00	1.01**
One born in Canada – the other is not	0.91***	0.88***	0.89***	0.89***	0.87***	0.88***	0.94***	0.93***	0.92***	0.89***	0.89***	0.89***
Both born in different countries (not Canada)	0.82***	0.80***	0.83***	0.79***	0.77***	0.80***	0.95***	0.95***	0.95***	0.90***	0.91***	0.92***
<i>Individuals Characteristics</i>												
Age (20-39 years)												
40-59 years		0.98***	1.02**		1.02***	1.04***		0.96***	0.98***		0.92***	0.94***
60+ years		0.62***	0.94***		0.65***	0.96***		1.53***	1.50***		1.35***	1.33***
Education (High School)												
High School		1.14***	1.06***		1.11***	1.04***		0.98***	0.97***		0.92***	0.93***
Some Post-secondary		1.16***	1.08***		1.11***	1.03***		1.00	0.99**		0.96***	0.95***
University		1.28***	1.16***		1.29***	1.14***		1.08***	1.05***		1.05***	1.02***
Graduate/Professional		1.06***	1.01		1.11***	1.02**		0.92***	0.93***		0.97***	0.96***
CMA (not CMA)		1.19***	1.16***		1.15***	1.11***		1.05***	1.03***		1.05***	1.03***
Married (Common-law)		0.91***	0.95***		0.90***	0.93***		0.86***	0.87***		0.84***	0.85***
Female (Male)		1.29***	1.18***		1.23***	1.15***		1.18***	1.11***		1.13***	1.14***

(Continued)

Table 3.5 (Continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Type of work (did not work)												
Part-time		3.53***	3.32***		2.82***	2.54***		1.05***	0.96***		0.97***	0.91***
Full-time		10.57***	9.65***		8.27***	7.15***		2.18***	1.96***		1.86***	1.69***
Children (none)		0.83***	0.81***		0.93***	0.91***		0.90***	0.92***		0.99***	1.00
Visible minority (White)		1.10***	1.06***		1.08***	1.05***		1.07***	1.05***		1.02***	1.01*
Partner's Characteristics												
Age (20-39 years)												
40-59 years			1.02**			1.04***			0.98***			0.94***
60+ years			0.94***			0.96***			1.50***			1.33***
Education (High School)												
High School			1.07***			1.04***			0.97***			0.93***
Some Post-secondary			1.08***			1.03***			0.99**			0.95***
University			1.17***			1.14***			1.05***			1.02***
Graduate/Professional			1.01			1.03**			0.93***			0.96***
Female (Male)			1.17***			1.15***			1.11***			1.14***
Type of work (did not work)												
Part-Time			3.31***			2.54***			0.96***			0.91***
Full-time			9.67***			7.17***			1.96***			1.69***
Visible minority (White)			1.06***			1.05***			1.04***			1.01*
Constant	0.29***	0.03***	0.00***	0.30***	0.04***	0.01***	0.44***	0.25***	0.16***	0.52***	0.35***	0.25***

Source: 2006 and 2016 long-form Canadian census

p<.001 *** p<.01 ** p<.05 * p<.10 †

¹ N=12,054,890 in 2006 and 13,468,195 in 2016, made up of individuals in marital and common-law unions, where both partners have a positive wage

(weighted); ² N=14,873,760 in 2006 and 16,418,165 in 2016, made up of individuals in marital and common-law unions, where both partners have a positive income (weighted)

3.5.2.2 Household work and Childcare

Next, I examine the division of unpaid labour of different types of couples, starting with mixed couples by visible minority status. Table 3.6 present the results of the same nested models on the last two dependent variables which estimate the odds of contributing 40-60% of the total hours of household work reported by the couple, and the total hours of childcare reported by the couple. The results indicate that white-VM couples have 3% lower odds of reporting that they contribute equally to household work in comparison to homogamous white couples, net of both individual's and partner's characteristics ($p < .001$). They have significantly lower odds in this category in all three of the nested models. In contrast, mixed VM couples are not different from white-white couples in Model 1 with no controls, but they have significantly higher odds of performing similar hours of household work as their partner when the individual and partner's characteristics are accounted for (O.R. 1.07 at $p < .01$). The results for the childcare variable indicate that there is no difference in the contribution to hours of childcare between those in mixed unions and those in white-white unions when the individual's and partner's characteristics are accounted for. Although the bivariate regression (Model 1) shows a negative association between those in mixed unions and the odds of reporting similar hours of childcare as a couple, the significance disappears in Model 2 and Model 3 as specified by the lack of significance in Model 3. Therefore, net of the couples' sociodemographic characteristics, mixed couples are different from homogamous white couples in terms of the division of household work, but similar in their division of childcare (Table 3.6).

Results from Table 3.7 which is set up similar to the previous table, but type of union defined by the place of birth of partners, illustrate that unions with partners who have different places of birth are negatively associated with a similar division of household

work and childcare. In fact, mixed unions where one partner is born in Canada and the other is not have consistently lower odds of being contributing 40-60% of the total hours of household work in all three nested models in comparison to their counterparts in partnerships where both are Canadian-born (O.R. 0.91 at $p < .001$ in Model 3). Likewise, they also have lower odds of contributing similarly to childcare in all nested models (O.R. 0.83 at $p < .001$ in Model 3). The inclusion of the couple's characteristics barely changed the magnitude of the association. Mixed couples who are born in different countries outside of Canada also share a similar pattern of association to the mixed couples with one Canadian-born partner. They too have lower odds of doing similar hours of household work as their partners (O.R. 0.83 at $p < .001$) and hours of childcare (O.R. 0.76 at $p < .001$) in comparison to their homogamous Canadian-born counterparts, and the inclusion of controls in the models does little to change the magnitude. Therefore, findings indicate that mixed couples by place of birth are different from homogamous Canadian-born couples in their division of household work and childcare.

Table 3.6 Odds Ratios from weighted logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of 40-60% contribution by individual to the sum of hours spent on household work and hours spent on childcare by type of unions (VM) and various controls.

	% contribution to the total hours of household work reported			% contribution to the total hours of childcare reported		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Type of Union (White-White)						
VM-Same VM	0.88***	1.04***	1.07***	0.85***	1.02**	1.10***
White-VM	0.98*	0.96***	0.97***	0.91***	0.96***	0.99
VM-Diff VM	1.00	1.05*	1.07**	0.83***	0.96	1.01
<i>Individuals Characteristics</i>						
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years		0.93***	0.96***		1.19***	1.11***
60+ years		1.01	1.08***		1.22***	1.24***
Education (High School)						
High School		1.05***	1.03***		1.07***	1.03***
Some Post-secondary		1.09***	1.05***		1.08***	1.04***
University		1.19***	1.12***		1.11***	1.06***
Graduate/Professional		1.13***	1.07***		1.04***	1.02†
Generation Status (3 rd or more)						
Second generation		0.93***	0.94***		0.86***	0.89***
First generation		0.91***	0.94***		0.81***	0.88***
CMA (not CMA)		1.07***	1.06***		1.11***	1.12***
Married (Common-law)		0.81***	0.82***		0.95***	0.96***
Female (Male)		1.07***	1.01		1.20***	1.41***
Type of work (did not work)						
Part-Time		0.97***	0.93***		1.22***	1.15
Full-time		1.38***	1.31***			
Children (none)		0.66***	0.66***		1.87***	1.74***
<i>Partner's Characteristics</i>						
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years			0.96***			1.11***
60+ years			1.08***			1.24***
Education (High School)						
High School			1.03***			1.03***
Some Post-secondary			1.05***			1.04***
University			1.12***			1.06***
Graduate/Professional			1.07***			1.02†

Generation Status (3 rd or more)						
Second generation			0.94***			0.89***
First generation			0.94***			0.87***
Female (Male)			1.01			1.41***
Type of work (did not work)						
Part-Time			0.93***			1.15***
Full-time			1.32***			1.74***
Constant	0.79***	0.87***	0.75***	0.99***	0.48***	0.25***
N (#)	14,111,135			6,055,285		

Source: Canadian long-form census (2006)

p<.001 *** p<.01 ** p<.05 * p<.10 †

Table 3.7 Odds Ratios from weighted logistic regression models for type of unions (POB) predicting the likelihood of 40-60% contribution by individual to the sum of hours spent on household work and hours spent on childcare.

	% contribution to the total hours of household work reported			% contribution to the total hours of childcare reported		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Type of Union						
(both born in Canada)						
Both born in the same country (not Canada)	0.87***	0.94***	0.94***	0.81***	0.83***	0.85***
One born in Canada – the other is not	0.92***	0.91***	0.91***	0.84***	0.83***	0.83***
Both born in different countries (not Canada)	0.84***	0.86***	0.86***	0.76***	0.75***	0.76***
Individuals Characteristics						
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years		0.93***	0.96***		1.18***	1.10***
60+ years		1.00	1.07***		1.20***	1.21***
Education (High School)						
High School		1.05***	1.02***		1.02**	1.00
Some Post-secondary		1.08***	1.05***		1.04***	1.01
University		1.18***	1.12***		1.06***	1.02**
Graduate/Professional		1.12***	1.07***		1.00	0.99
CMA (not CMA)		1.06***	1.04***		1.08***	1.06***
Married (Common-law)		0.80***	0.81***		0.93***	0.93***
Female (Male)		1.07***	1.01		1.19***	1.37***
Type of work (did not work)						
Part-time		0.97***	0.93***		1.19***	1.13***
Full-time		1.38***	1.31***		1.80***	1.69***
Children (none)		0.66***	0.66***			
Visible minority (White)		1.03***	1.02*		1.02**	1.02
Partner's Characteristics						
Age (20-39 years)						
40-59 years			0.96***			1.10***
60+ years			1.07***			1.21***
Education (High School)						
High School			1.02***			1.00
Some Post-secondary			1.05***			1.01
University			1.12***			1.02**
Graduate/Professional			1.07***			0.99

Female (Male)			1.01			1.37***
Type of work (did not work)						
Part-Time			0.93***			1.13***
Full-time			1.31***			1.69***
Visible minority (White)			1.02*			1.02
Constant	0.81***	0.88***	0.77***	1.03***	0.53***	0.30***
N (#)	14,564,225			6,304,800		

Source: Canadian long-form census (2006)

p<.001 *** p<.01 ** p<.05 * p<.10 †

3.5.3 Other Results

In having four categories for each of the type of union variables, I find that those in homogamous VM unions and unions where both partners are born in the same country outside of Canada are also different from their other homogamous counterparts.

Homogamous VM unions have a positive association with earning similarly as their partners in terms of wages and income for both years. In fact, they have 16% higher odds of earning 40-60% of the total couples' wages in 2006 and 2016 (p<.001) net of all other factors in Model 3 in comparison to their counterparts in white-white unions. They also have a significantly higher odds of contributing 40-60% of the total couples income in relation to the same comparison group (1.15 at p<.001 in 2006 and 1.08 at p<.001 in 2016). Moreover, they also have higher odds of contributing more equally to household work and childcare net of all other factors in comparison to their homogamous white counterparts (1.07 at p<.001 and 1.10 at p<.001 respectively). The multivariate tables illustrate that individuals in homogamous VM unions are also different from their homogamous white counterparts.

There is a change in the direction of magnitude going from the bivariate to multivariate model for individuals in homogamous VM unions. For all four key independent variables for 2006 and 2016, except for relative income from 2006, the relative odds of

contributing 40-60% goes from being significantly lower in model 1 to significantly higher in model 3. For example, in Table 3.4, individuals in homogamous VM unions have a 5% lower odds of being having similar wages as their partner in comparison to those in white-white unions, but the inclusion of individuals characteristics in model 2 increases the odds to 7% higher, and the inclusion of the partners characteristics as well increases the odds to 16% higher than the same comparison group ($p < .001$). Upon further analysis where I added the covariates one at a time to the bivariate model (model 1), I find that generation status is plays a major role in changing the direction of the association. This suggests that once the generation status of individuals in homogamous VM unions are taken into account, they are more equal in their contribution in terms of wages, income, household work and childcare.

3.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The current study aimed to examine egalitarianism within mixed unions and found that different types of mixed couples have varying associations with the egalitarian factors specified. In terms of mixed couples by VM status, white-VM couples are less egalitarian in terms of equal earning in wages, income and equal distribution of household work between the couple, in relation to white-white couples. In contrast, mixed VM couples have a positive association with equal contribution of wages and equal distribution of household work in comparison to homogamous white couples but are similar to them in terms of relative income and distribution of childcare. And mixed couples by place of birth are negatively associated with contributing similarly in terms of income, wages, household work and childcare in comparison to their counterparts in unions where both partners are Canadian-born. This illustrates that mixed couples differently associated with the four factors of egalitarianism studied.

The negative association between those in white-VM unions and similar distribution of wages and income between the couple may be due to the poor labour market outcomes of visible minorities in comparison to the white counterparts. Visible minorities in Canada have labour force participation rates similar to that of rest of the population, however, their labour market outcomes, unemployment rates, and representation in better paying jobs are poorer when compared to their non-visible minority population which is indicative of economic and labour market discrimination (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2002). They also have higher rates of interrupted work indicative of precarious employment (Jackson, 2002; Samuel & Basavarajappa 2006). Although I control for full-time and part-time work of both the individual and partner, long term differences in interrupted or precarious work could be affecting the earnings and the total incomes of the visible minority partners, leading to a difference in contribution to the relative measures in comparison to their white partners. Furthermore, researchers even find evidence of name-based discrimination against Indian, Chinese and Greek sounding names in hiring practices in Toronto (Oreopoulos, 2009; Oreopoulos & Dechief, 2012). In this context, white-VM couples may be less likely to be earning 40-60% of the total wage and income of the couple because the visible minority partner experiences more disadvantage in the labour market compared to the white partner. Although, mixed couples are equally likely to be partnering across similar educational levels as their homogamous counterparts, the economic and labour market discrimination experienced by the visible minority partner lowers the likelihood of earning similar wages and income as their white partner (Fu, 2008).

This may also impact the division of household work within the home of white-VM couples. For example, a qualitative study on the division of domestic labour finds that men whose partners earn more do more housework than other men. Furthermore, the relative resource theory suggests that the partner who brings in more resources has

greater bargaining control, and this is important in the division of domestic labour and childcare (Stevens et al., 2006). This suggests that unequal returns in the labour market due to discrimination could also be impacting the division of unpaid labour within the home of white-VM couples.

The results found that mixed VM couples have a positive association with having 40-60% of the relative wage and household work but are not different from white-white couples in terms of the relative income and childcare when their individual and partner's characteristics are controlled for. Relative wages compare the salary earned from an employer, while income includes what is earned through self-employment as well as all other sources of income. Therefore, the analysis shows mixed VM couples are have similar relative wages but when all sources of income are compared, they are similar to their counterparts in white-white unions. It is also evident that although there are differences in the distribution of household work between mixed couples and white-white couples, they are similar in terms of childcare.

Homogamous VM unions are the only ones that have a significant positive association with the four measures of egalitarianism, when individual's and partner's characteristics are accounted for. As noted in the results, the inclusion of generation status changed the negative association in model one which is a bivariate analysis to the positive association in model 2 and model 3 with the controls (Table 3.4). This suggests that visible minority individuals in unions with other visible minorities are more equal in their relative wages, income, hours of household work and childcare, when compared to white-white couples across the same generation status, as well as age, education, residence in CMA, and other factors. Although only about 4% of this group is made up of individuals who are second generation or higher in comparison to about 85% of those in white-white unions, these results suggest that when individuals in homogamous VM unions are compared to those

in homogamous white unions across the same generation status, the ones in the homogamous VM unions are more equal based on this studies measures of egalitarianism.

Finally, I also found that mixed couples by place of birth are less egalitarian than their counterparts in unions where both partners are Canadian-born. Similar to white-VM couples, mixed couples with one Canadian-born and one foreign-born partner may also be experiencing different labour market outcomes contributing to the lower likelihood of having near equal wages and income. Although I did not control for age at arrival for those born outside of Canada, research on first generation immigrants finds they earn significantly less in the labour market than their Canadian-born counterparts with similar levels of education and experience (e.g. Picot & Hou, 2003). Issues with recognition of foreign credentials, language proficiency, and discrimination could explain why individuals in unions between a Canadian-born and foreign-born partner are less equal than those in homogamous Canadian-born unions. However, this shows that when compositional differences noted in the descriptive finds between mixed couples and their homogamous counterparts are accounted for, they are less egalitarian in the four measures.

The general trend of the negative association between individuals in mixed unions (white-VM unions and mixed unions by POB) and equal contribution to the four measures of egalitarianism specified may imply that although mixed couples are non-traditional in their choice of partners, they may still be conservative in the gendered norms of the division of labour. Some mixed couples do have to overcome familial and societal expectations of intra-group partnering, as well as pushback from their social networks (Childs, 2005; Dalmage, 2000). Qualitative research finds that some couples also redefine and renegotiate their racial identities (Yancey, 2009). Diverse partnering

may also mean that norms, values, language acquisition, religion and other culture specific norms are negotiated, however, this study illustrates that the redefining does not necessarily extend to gendered norms as well, based on the egalitarian measures included.

This study has some limitations. First, the analysis of household labour and childcare relied on the 2006 census which is a less recent dataset. These variables were dropped in the later censuses, therefore, my analysis of the first two measures of egalitarianism utilized the 2006 and 2016 census but the second two measures of work within the home was from the 2006 census alone. Although other Canadian surveys may provide more recent data on these measures of egalitarianism, the long-form census is the only one with its large sample size, as well as the visible minority status, place of birth and household level information to examine mixed unions.

Second, there are limitations to the measures of egalitarianism used. The four broad variables used in this study are a subset of possible measures, and the results may be different for some groups if other measures were used. Third, variables measuring egalitarianism within the home also have limitations. Hours spent on household work and childcare are self-reported measures and since the exact start and end of unpaid labour within the home is often hard to identify or differentiate, respondents may not accurately estimate the hours spent on household work and childcare separately (Stevens et al., 2006). Additionally, scholars have found that that partners overestimate their contribution to unpaid labour which impacts my measure of relative contribution of the individual to the total hours spent by the couple (Lee & Waite, 2005). It is also important to note that unpaid labour within the home also includes emotional labour that is key to the maintenance of family relationships and the responsibility of which often falls on women. Therefore, hours of housework and childcare alone does not capture unpaid labour within the home. Nevertheless, the availability of these variables in the long-form census made

it possible to examine some aspects of egalitarianism within different types of mixed couples.

Two measures of diversity within unions, and therefore, families, highlights the differences in ethnoracial identity measured by visible minority status, place of birth and immigration status and its relationship to relative earnings and division of unpaid labour. This study contributes to the research on gender equality by examining egalitarianism within different types of diverse couples in Canada.

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Chapter 4

4 Conclusion

4.1 Summary and Contributions

The two articles of this thesis tackled aspects of mixed unions quantitatively. Paper 1 (chapter 2) examined ways of measuring diversity within unions in Canada, and the subpopulations where social barriers to mixed partnerships are less salient. Paper 2 (chapter 3) explored egalitarianism within different types of unions to understand whether diversity within unions also implies flexibility of gender norms, measured as similar contribution to wages, income, household work and childcare.

I used two measures of types of union throughout the two studies. Although research on mixed unions comes from a larger array of literature on assortative mating and union formation with a focus on many factors such as religion, education and class differences between couples, the focus on racial and ethnic differences relies heavily on the measure of visible minority status in Canada. This thesis contributes to the research on mixed unions by measuring diversity in two ways. By including visible minority status and place of birth to define types of unions, I was able to uncover different aspects of diversity within couples and thereby families. Through this analysis, I found that mixed couples are different from their homogamous counterparts in a variety of ways that are unique to the difference in membership to visible minority groups, immigration status and place of birth.

The first paper illustrated that there is more ethnoracial diversity than what is captured by just visible minority group membership. I found that about 7% of individuals in my sample are in mixed unions by visible minority group membership and 16% are in mixed unions by place of birth. Visible minority group membership and place of birth capture

different aspects of racial and ethnic diversity as well as variances in country or region-specific culture, norms, values and identity. Therefore, there is more diversity than previously noted within unions in Canada (Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010; Maheux, 2014).

The first paper also isolated subpopulations where mixed unions are more common. Those who are highly educated, urban and in same-sex partnerships are positively associated with being in mixed unions. My analysis confirmed that these three factors are good predictors of mixed unions.

The next paper (chapter 3) explored egalitarianism within mixed couples using four factors and found that there is variation in the degree of egalitarianism of mixed couples in comparison to their homogamous counterparts. I found that white-VM couples are less egalitarian than white-white couples, while mixed VM couples are more equal in terms of wages and household work, but not income or childcare. I also found that mixed couples by place of birth are less egalitarian than their homogamous Canadian-born counterparts. These results demonstrated that although mixed couples can be considered non-traditional in their choice of partners, they are not necessarily non-traditional in the gendered division of labour.

This paper adds to the research on egalitarianism and mixed unions in a few ways. Diffusion theory finds that non-traditional and innovative groups are more likely to take up gender equal values, however, this is not always the case for all non-traditional groups, defined broadly in this chapter as ethnoracially diverse couples. Rather than a focus of particular sets of mixed pairings, such as black-white couples or Latin American-white couples in comparison to their co-ethnic counterparts, I focus on diverse unions as a whole which adds to the research on egalitarianism within mixed couples.

The focus on diverse partnerships captured in more than one way also contributes to the research on mixed unions as a whole, particularly in Canada. These measures capture similar but not entirely overlapping unions and the two papers demonstrate the ways in which these couples across visible minority categories and places of birth are similar in some ways, but not all.

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