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**Gender Egalitarianism Effects on Division of Housework and
Childcare in Dual-Earner Families Context**

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Abstract

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The growth of women's participation in the labor market resembles a successful dual-earner family policy model in Norway. Traditionally women are responsible for housework and childcare, while men are the breadwinners. As mothers working full time and fathers taking paternity leave, it creates an opportunity for negotiation about housework and childcare. Gender egalitarian attitudes are associated with an equal division of roles between men and women. This thesis aims to study the relationship between gender attitudes and division of housework tasks and care by looking at the underlying factors such as gender, age, education, and paid-work hours. Based on the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) on Family and Changing Gender Roles conducted three times in 1994, 2002 and 2012 in Norway, this study investigated the changes and correlations between gender attitude and division of housework and childcare. Contrary to what has been assumed, gender attitude does not have a significant correlation with the division of housework in the newer ISSP. The results show a clear pattern of reduction in negative attitudes towards working women, but the division of household work and care remains traditionally divided. Women do more routine tasks associated with femininity, such as laundry, taking care of sick family members, and grocery shopping. On the other hand, men do more intermittent tasks associated with masculinity, like household repair. The findings indicate that, presumably, there are different paradigms of gender egalitarianism in public and private spheres. Norway is one of the countries with the smallest gender gap in terms of economic activities, politics, and social rights. Inside homes, women are still obliged to do housework and childcare more than men. Moreover, the labor market is segregated with women dominating the public sector, especially in the field of health and education. Women choose the field of work that is less time consuming and more flexible, perhaps because they try balancing work and family. This study implies that housework and childcare are intertwined with employment for both men and women, which is important to be studied further.

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Preface

I wrote this thesis as part of the dissertation course in the Erasmus Mundus Master Program in Social Work with Families and Children. I found the division of housework and childcare between women and men as something interesting. Growing up in a patriarchal society, I was lucky to have both my parents working full time. My mother has shown me how a woman juggles the responsibilities of being a mother and a career woman. I realized that I could learn so much in gender egalitarian context like Norway that has the dual-earner family policy model.

In the beginning, I intended to write qualitative research, but in the middle of the data collection process, the pandemic of Covid-19 happened. My prospective respondents were unable to be interviewed during the one and a half month of lockdown because of the social distancing. Online interviews were also not possible because they are with their small children at home all the time when the schools closed. I decided to change my thesis into quantitative research to overcome this problem and also it turns out there are existing surveys covering my research topic. I am grateful to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) for making International Social Survey Program (ISSP) available for researchers and university students¹. NSD is not responsible for the analyses and interpretation of the data presented in this thesis. The results and interpretation of the data are entirely my responsibility.

Personally, I have a political stand for gender equality. I believe everyone deserves equal chances and opportunities regardless of sex. As a social researcher, I hope this thesis could somehow contribute to gender equality. But, I am aware that it is important to be neutral in the writing process. I have tried to not be biased by using quantitative research design and relying on scientific references. However, I hope my awareness and caution will help me to avoid excessive arguments related to gender equality to improve the reliability of this research.

This study begins with the introduction in chapter 1. The background and the research questions are presented in this section. Chapter 2 contains theories, previous research, hypotheses, and the context of this study. The research methodology is explained in chapter 3. The results of statistical analysis and findings is delivered in chapter 4 followed by explanation whether the hypotheses are accepted or rejected. The last chapter consists of the discussion, limitation, implication, and conclusion. The discussion part is reviewing ideas and thoughts coming up from the findings moving beyond the hypothesis. Finally, through the implication part, I hope this thesis could be helpful for the academic development in the field of social work, gender, family and social policy.

Dhea Nazmi Rifa
Stavanger, June 2020

¹ *Norske Spørreundersøkelser (NSD)*. (2020). International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), Norwegian part. Available at: https://nsd.no/nsddata/serier/issp_undersokelsene_eng.html (accessed April, 2020)

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This thesis is a result of dedication as well as an enormous amount of supports. First, I am thankful to Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala that I believe always protect and watch over me. I will forever be grateful to Mama (Zaitun Sastrasuanda) and Papa (Dedi Dwitagama). My parents are my biggest supports. I would not be who I am today without their devotion and upbringing. During the writing process, I felt this last master semester was a lonely journey as everyone works individually for one full semester. I would like to thank my families, dear one, and friends in Indonesia who tirelessly encourage and always be there for me even when we are far apart.

I am deeply grateful to my Supervisor, Kathrine Skoland. I could feel her passion for research and also for my thesis topic. She is a great supervisor who can boost my spirit when I was struggling with my former data collection process. I reminisce that we communicated very well despite being unable to meet in person. I received immense knowledge and guidance to develop my skills as a researcher.

I would like to express my gratitude to the European Union and the committee of MFAMILY (Erasmus Mundus Master's in social work with Families and Children) for the scholarship. Through this program, I got the opportunity to live in three different countries (Portugal, Sweden, and Norway) experiencing different cultures and learning different welfare systems. I also got to learn from lecturers and professionals in the field of social work whom I encountered from ISCTE – Lisbon University Institute, University of Stavanger, University of Gothenburg, and Makerere University. I give my appreciation to all of the academic staffs who designed the program and prepared resourceful lectures and field visits. I believe I will go back to my country with so much knowledge and skills that hopefully will bring a positive impact to society.

My warmest regards and appreciation go to the sixth cohort of MFAMILY. I am so lucky to meet these inspiring people from all over the world. They are my happiness during this master's program. I had so much fun spending time with them outside the class, but inside the class, they are brilliant academics. Even though it is unfortunate we will not be able to meet for graduation due to the pandemic, I am so proud of everyone. I would like to congratulate everyone with my sincere heart. I hope we could meet again. I wish them good luck with their future endeavors.

I would like to thank Indonesian students and communities in Lisbon, Gothenburg, and Stavanger. I was surprised and adored how strong is the bond between Indonesians who live abroad. People picked me up at the airport and invited me to gatherings. They welcomed me so well as if I am an old friend and a family. Moreover, Indonesian Embassies in Portugal, Sweden, and Norway collected data of Indonesian students. I always received news and invitation to Embassies' events. Especially during the pandemic, the Indonesian Embassy for Norway actively gave information and advice. I found myself feel safe because of them. Last but not least, I am thankful to the readers. I hope the readers find this thesis useful. I will be grateful for any feedback or suggestion.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

In the midst of the high rate of women's labor force participation and dual-earner family policies, Norway has embraced gender egalitarianism. Gender egalitarianism is the way in which societies divide roles between men and women (Emrich et al., 2004). Traditional gender attitudes possess a more significant gap of roles between men and women, while egalitarian gender attitudes accept corresponding roles of women and men. Norway received second place on the Global Gender Gap Index 2020 by World Economic Forum based on four dimensions that are Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment. Norway, in Esping-Anderson's (1999) welfare state typologies, is included as part of the social democratic welfare regime encouraging women participation in the labor market. Moreover, based on Korpi's (2000) gender-sensitive welfare state typology, the dual-earner family model explains the Norwegian family policy. The Dual-earner family model illustrates to what extent policy institutions encourage women's continuous labor force participation, enable parents (both mothers and fathers) to combine parenthood with paid work and attempt to redistribute caring work within the family.

Family policy is part of the welfare state attempts to influence the time that mothers and fathers spend on paid-work and housework (Boye, 2011). Most welfare states support dual-earner families through the combination of paid work with family responsibilities. Investment in families guarantees workforce development to achieve economic growth. Norway provides favorable societal conditions for families through the labor-market regulation and childcare systems, making the transition to parenthood more feasible. The state regulates 49 weeks of parental leave at 100% coverage or 59 weeks at 80% coverage and job protection for parents (NAV, 2020c). Norwegian fathers have the right to childcare leave since 1977, and the father's quota was introduced in 1993 (Duvander et al., 2019). In the beginning, the father's quota was four weeks, and it became 15 weeks in the last reform in 2018.

Childcare institutions are the other primary family policy that likely contributed to family practice. For the dual-earner family model, daycare should be available for children as young as one year old (Korpi, 2000). Childcare will not adequately support women's participation in the labor market if it is only for somewhat older children. In Norway, public kindergartens have a small administration fee, and the government also subsidizes even private kindergartens. Norway has 5.788 kindergartens across the country, with 84.4% of children age 1-2 years old, and 97.0% of children age 3-5 years old attend kindergarten in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2020c). Esping-Andersen (1999) explained the concept of decommodification or defamiliarization, which is an attempt to make citizens rely less on the family. The state becomes a social institution that provides social security and securing the needs of caring for family members. In Norway, kindergartens are affordable and also available for children as young as one year old. Therefore, kindergarten lifted the demand for childcare from mothers and gave reassurance for having full-time employment.

With mothers working full time and fathers taking the parental leave quota, it creates an opportunity for negotiation about housework tasks and childcare (Duvander et al., 2019). Childcare and housework division between mothers and fathers should be studied separately because the relative enjoyment is different for each activity. Childcare is considered an enjoyable and rewarding activity for both fathers and mothers, while housework is an

undesirable, routine-based activity that is avoided (Sullivan, 2013). Housework is something that each partner negotiates to avoid the tasks because of its tiresome nature. Women's traditional gender role was to be responsible for housework. However, a study found that women who have high-paying jobs tend to have negotiating power to divide housework equally with their partners (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). In Norway, housework and childcare are divided more equal between men and women. Knudsen and Wærness (2008) found that the lowest amount of housework done by women out of 34 countries is in Norway. Moreover, in Norway, fathers' share of housework and childcare increased from 30% to 38% from 1980 to 2000 (Petersen et al., 2014).

However, housework also comes with the norms of masculinity and femininity. Routine tasks that are the most time consuming and ongoing daily, such as laundry, cooking and cleaning, are associated with femininity (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013; Hagqvist, 2016). On the other hand, the intermittent tasks that are occasionally and more flexible such as household repairs, automotive and yard works, are associated with masculinity (Ibid.). An international study found even though fathers are more involved in childcare in dual-earner families, fathers spend most of the time with play and leisure activities while mothers do most of the care-taking activities (Craig, 2006). In Norway, previous studies about childcare and housework show that expectations towards mothers are heavier than towards fathers, and women still do more even in this egalitarian society (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). The gender gap may be smaller in terms of employment, but household work and care may remain traditionally divided between men and women in Norway. Therefore, the division of housework and childcare is interesting to be investigated further in this dual-earner family context.

Much of the research on the division of housework and childcare is based on the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) data set. ISSP is a cross-national continual survey on social sciences topics. The family and changing gender roles topic specifically covers gender division in paid and unpaid work. Previous studies found that attitudes toward gender equality are a significant predictor of housework division (Geist, 2005; Knudsen and Waærness, 2008; Hagqvist, 2016). Gender attitudes were measured through 9 survey items in the ISSP, asking perceptions about women's employment and how it impacts family and gender relations within families (Korpi, 2000). Besides gender attitude, the division of housework was also measured through ISSP to know whether a particular task is done more by women or men (Knudsen and Waærness, 2008; Hagqvist, 2016).

The previous studies in the field of gender and housework have given us much knowledge. This thesis attempts to investigate further if there are changes in gender attitude and division of housework between men women throughout times. ISSP family and changing gender roles topic has been conducted three times in 1994, 2002 and 2012 by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD). Comparing surveys through different times is what distinguishes this thesis from the previous studies (see Korpi, 2000; Geist, 2005; Knudsen and Waærness, 2008). Changes in attitude and behavior patterns over time will be possible to be identified and measured with the same survey conducted three times on different time periods. Furthermore, this thesis will investigate the relationships between the background characteristics (gender, age, education and paid work hours) with gender attitude and division of household work and care. Based on the previous findings, gender, age, education and paid work hours are predictors for gender attitudes (Baxter and Kane, 1995; Korpi, 2000; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008; Pampel, 2011; Hsiao, 2013). We expect that by investigating the background characteristic of gender attitude, and how the effect of these

background characteristic change in the period studied, we can get new and updated perspectives on the division of housework and childcare between men and women. This study attempts to confirm the previous findings as well as offer new knowledge by having a comparison from ISSP 1994, 2002, and 2012.

1.2.Aims and Research Questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to study the relationship between gender attitudes and division of housework tasks and care in the dual-earner family policy context. In order to achieve the aim, this study seeks to answer these research questions:

1. How do attitudes toward women's employment change from 1994 until 2012?
2. How does the division of household work and care change from 1994-2012?
3. How is the relationship between attitudes toward women's employment and the division of household work and care?
 - a. How gender, age, education, and paid work hours correlate with attitudes toward women employment?
 - b. How gender, age, education, and paid work hours correlate with the division of household work and care?

1.3.Significance of the study

This thesis project emerges from the simple daily life routines in the relation of being a woman or a man. Gender practices are not bound but involve an interplay between individuals, families, society, and policy. Traditional gender ideology was prevalent in every part of the world, but then things changed, and gender egalitarianism came to light in different degrees all over the world (Esping-Andersen, 1999). Nordic countries, in which Norway is part of, are the pioneer, as well as the place where gender egalitarianism is more advanced compare to other parts of the world. Therefore, Norway could be the source of knowledge in exploring why and how gender equality changed. Hopefully, this research would contribute to debates on gender, families, and social policies. This research would like to give understanding to the readers how state's generous family support affect citizens life, how women and men divide housework tasks and care among themselves, and what influences gender paid and unpaid work. Esping-Anderson (2016) questioned if the Nordic countries will be the trend-setters for gender egalitarianism to be followed by other countries or will they remind as one of a kind model in the future. The results of this study may be of value to policy makers. Otherwise, this study could also be a scientific proof of a distinctive dual-earner family model of one of the Nordic countries. At the end of the day, it would be great if this study could also give voices to women to show how they both enjoy and struggle with the opportunities to have both career and family life.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Welfare State and Gender

Esping-Andersen (1999) classified three welfare regimes based on the arrangements of welfare provision between state, market, and family. The first typology is the liberal welfare regime characterized by encouraging the market as the welfare provider. The state gives means-tested assistance and modest social insurance for the dependants. Citizens are expected to be competitive in the market to be able to meet their own needs. Second, conservative and corporatist welfare regimes where the state upholds status differences among citizens. Therefore, the redistribution of wealth is relatively low. People, who are unemployed, are not entitled to social insurance. The church has an important role in welfare provision and the traditional family hood is preserved. Family benefits promote motherhood that is characterized by unpaid work for house chores and childcaring. The family becomes the welfare provider for individuals. Third, social democratic welfare regime in Scandinavian countries. The state tries to maximize citizen capacities for individual independence instead of family dependence. The children, elder, and dependants are the state's responsibility. The state guarantees family needs and gives women the opportunity to choose employment over the household. However, the state is burdened by enormous costs to maintain universalistic social services. Therefore, the state attempts to minimize social problems and maximize tax revenue to promoting gender-equal employment.

Family policy is one of the fundamental parts of the welfare state because family policies are reinforcing to increase both men's and women's participation in the labor market. Women have been doing housework and childcare for decades as the main gender role (Esping-Andersen, 2016). When women start to enter the labor market, the conflict between work and family demands arises. The consequence is either people will postpone having a family or prone to having children or women will choose more flexible or part-time jobs. In order to tackle those consequences, another distinctive character of the social democratic welfare regime is decommodification that means individuals could be more independent without relying so much on other social units such as family and also to the market. In addition, defamiliarization is also happening. The state is becoming a reliable social institution that provides social security and family needs—for instance, institutionalized childcare and eldercare.

Esping-Andersen's typology successfully provides a general description of welfare states; however, it was criticized due to too much focus on the state-market relationship and men's paid work but failed to analyze the unpaid work. Moreover, it is important to see how welfare states regulate different social service programs and social policies directed to families, especially women and children. Korpi (2000) argues that class is socially constructed in society, and so is gender. Both class and gender are important parts of inequality and the distributive process. A focus on gender brings important dimensions of the labor division in society, between paid and unpaid work. The connection of welfare and gender should not be restricted only about achievements of well-being for both man and woman, but also in terms of freedom to achieve well-being. In other words, the agency of each gender to choose and achieve well-being. The concept of agency describes the capability of someone to choose, followed by the range of alternative accomplishments. Korpi describes how welfare states have different types of public policies that bring "natural experiments" to gender equality (Ibid). In the case of class study in welfare state regimes, it was strongly connected with economic activities such as the labor force participation, which could also be connected with gender. The

labor force participation does not only regulate how material resources are distributed but also affects individual's identity, self-perception, capabilities and freedom in many areas of life. For instance, employment status affects bargaining power in the family as a precondition for changes in the division of household and caring work. Analyses of gender roles are basically taken on the basic observational units of family, by looking at the division of paid and unpaid work between husband and wife. Korpi suggests that instead of focusing on whether the advantages are equally distributed, it would be more meaningful to see a nuclear family as a coalition of individuals who have half shared and half conflicted interests as well as internal bargaining that reflects agency.

2.1.1. Walter Korpi's Gender-Sensitive Welfare State Typology

Korpi has the question of the distribution of paid and unpaid work as the core of analysis to generate gender-sensitive typologies. The male breadwinner model is reflected in public policies that support that men are the dominant earner for families; the public policies do not regulate much about women and children (Lewis, 1997). Using this traditional gender ideology as the basis, Korpi creates three typologies of welfare state by analyzing the gendered policy institutions. Gender policy institutions covered both public policies and public services given by the state that affect gender roles in society and within families.

First, the dual-earner family model illustrates to what extent policy institutions encourage women continues labor force participation, enable parents (both mothers and fathers) to combine parenthood with paid work and attempt to redistribute caring work within the family. Korpi (2000) selected four variables as indicators for this model. First, the availability of public daycare since the early years (0-2 years old). Second, paid maternity leave that covers a certain percentage of previous earning, duration of benefit, and the extent of coverage. Third, generous paid paternity leave for fathers with young children. Fourth, public home care for elderly older than 65 years old. The countries that satisfy the indicators are Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Norway.

Second, general family support model describes to what extent policy institutions give support to the nuclear family while having neutral to whether or not women are the primary responsibility for caring and reproductive work within the family, and also women only enter paid work temporarily as the secondary earners (Korpi, 2000). Belgium, Germany, France, Italy are included in this model. Lastly, the market-oriented model applies to countries that have policies that largely allow market forces to dominate and shape gender relations, leave individuals to find private solutions (Ibid). Based on the previous indicators on the dual-earner family model and general family support, countries that are having the lowest value for both indicators are categorized as a market-oriented model. For example, the United States, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada and Japan.

2.2. Gender Attitude

Gendered policy institutions are assumed to have construct societal norms, values, and attitudes towards gender (Korpi, 2000). The highest degree of gender egalitarianism is expected in countries with a dual-earner model. The traditional gender ideology is expected to be found in the general family support model, while the market-oriented model is expected to fall in between the previous models. Gender egalitarianism is the way in which societies divide roles between men and women (Emrich et al., 2004). Traditional gender attitudes possess a greater gap of roles between men and women, while egalitarian gender attitudes accept corresponding

roles of women and men. Gender attitudes are a combination of multilevel influences, starting from personal interest related to occupation, interactions between individuals sharing views and experiences, and the macro level social rights and gender-related policies. (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). There is a significant association between national policies and gender role attitudes at the individual level (Ibid). Dual-earner family model's tax policies were associated with greater attitudes toward gender equality. On the other hand, parental leave provision and individual gender role attitudes have a curvilinear relationship. Low and high maternity leave (less than 31 weeks and more than 75 weeks) provision is associated with traditional gender attitudes, while the mid-length maternity leave is associated with gender egalitarianism (Ibid). The mid-length maternity leave enhances mothers' ability to balance work and family. On the other hand, the short leave forces mother out of the labor force if they want to be the main caregivers for their children, and the long maternity leave period stimulates mothers to stay out of the labor market for a long time as well as emphasizing childcare as women's role.

Gender egalitarianism is increasing each year with supportive dual-earner policies as stronger collective norms (Hagqvist, 2006). Individual values within one country may vary. Even in an egalitarian society, not everyone will have egalitarian gender attitudes (Hsiao, 2013). Even the countries with the dual-earner family model, individual attitudes toward women employment may vary. Public opinion has become more favorable toward women paid work in general. However, men continue to have more traditional attitudes compare to women. (Treas and Widmer, 2000). Research proved that women have a more egalitarian gender attitude than men (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). Age also influences individual attitudes toward women's employment. The older generation tends to have a more negative attitude towards gender equality (Korpi, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003). Besides individual influences such as gender and age, both structural and cultural mechanisms contributed to the changes in attitudes to support women's employment as well. Changes in structural levels, such as increasing education and employment opportunities for women, stimulate the interests from the middle and high class for gender egalitarianism. After that, people with less education will have value changes through the process of diffusion, and later on, interests toward gender equality will be prevalent (Pampel, 2011). Women's education attainment promotes gender equality and manifests women's value in society (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Higher education attainment creates shifts from unfavorable to favorable attitudes toward women's employment. The effects of education are stronger in the older generation and get weaker as favorable attitudes spread widely through society (Pampel, 2011).

Whether attitudes fall behind behavior or attitudes, steer changes in behavior are unclear (Treas and Widmer, 2000). Attitude towards women's employment is presumably influenced women's labor force participation rates (Korpi, 2000). Both attitudes of men and attitudes of women toward women's employment are expected to be of relevance for women's choice. The highest degree of negative attitude towards women's employment was found in countries with a general family support model. The lowest negative attitudes were found in dual-earner model countries. Public attitudes toward gender played an important role in helping women to ease the conflict between work and family (Hsiao, 2013). There is a positive relationship between gender roles attitudes and hours of paid work, and the association is larger in countries such as Sweden and Norway (Baxter and Kane 1995). The attitudes toward gender equality are significant predictors of the division of housework (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). In conclusion, gender attitudes are influenced both by structural level and individual level. Social policies and services targeted for families affecting individual choices for paid and unpaid work. Attitudes toward women's employment associate with how household work and care are divided within a family.

2.3. Household Work and Care

Childcare and housework are part of parenthood for both mothers and fathers. Childcare is considered as more desirable and rewarding compare to housework (Sullivan, 2013). The routine tasks are seen as the least enjoyable thing to do (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). The routine tasks for childcare are feeding, washing and dressing; and the routine housework tasks are cleaning, cooking, and laundry. Those tasks require a lot of time and effort; on the other hand, the intermittent tasks are more flexible and less demanding. For example, household repairs, automotive and yard work. Leisure activities with children are also perceived as more rewarding and enjoyable, such as playing, storytelling, and outdoor activities.

The division of childcare and housework cannot be separated from gender perspectives (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). Gender is socially constructed and a product of social interaction. Gender is also a multi-layered structure consists of micro, mezzo, and macro level (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008). First, the micro level is the resources of individuals and how it affects the marital power and bargaining of task allocation. The individual resources are employment, education, and time availability outside paid work. Based on previous studies, routine childcare and housework tasks are least desirable, then the individual with more power will bargain to do less work (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). For instance, if the father works full time eight hours per day, and the mother works part-time four hours per day, it means the mothers have more time at home. The fathers will likely do less childcare and housework compare to the mother.

Second, the mezzo level or interactional level is about the normative gender doings expected from each other (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008). The construction of women and men involves around the socially shaped ideas of femininity and masculinity (Hagqvist, 2016). The routine tasks such as cleaning and cooking are associated with femininity. In contrast, intermittent tasks such as household repair and yard work are perceived to be more masculine (Sullivan, 1997). Grocery shopping is also part of the routine task but with less intensity. Women mostly do grocery shopping, but sometimes can be done together by the whole family (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002). Even though women bear more responsibility than men, grocery shopping is found enjoyable as a leisure activity to escape from routine tasks at home (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002; Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2008). This mezzo level is somehow contradicting the micro level. When mothers work more hours, they should do fewer hours on housework. Then, fathers supposed to do more housework because mothers have less time available (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008). However, based on the normative gender doings, fathers do not necessarily take the burden of routine tasks from the mothers, because they tend to spend more time on masculine tasks.

Lastly, the macro level is about the gender ideology at the national level reflected through the social policies that reflect two types of gender ideology: the traditional male-breadwinner model and the egalitarian model (Ibid). The policies regulate gender positions in the labor market. The traditional model sustains the sole gender participation in the labor market, which is men, while the egalitarian model reinforces equal opportunity for both genders in the labor market (Sullivan, 2013). Women's representation in politics is one of the distinctive natures of the egalitarian model, this also implies the effects on the division of childcare and housework. For instance, the state or private market helps with institutionalized childcare and paternity leave for fathers to support mothers to work. Gender is also the result of cross-level

interactions. The gender egalitarian policies could affect and change the normative gender and also mothers' power to bargain with the fathers. However, the micro and mezzo levels could be indifferent to the macro level (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008).. For example, even though both parents work full time, mothers still do a large share of housework compare to fathers.

Hypotheses

Besides having descriptive statistics to see the changes in gender attitudes and division housework between ISSP 1994, 2002 and 2012, this study will also test hypotheses based on prior findings and theories.

Hypothesis 1: Women have fewer negative attitudes toward women employment than men

Women favor gender egalitarianism more than men (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). Even though nowadays, public opinion toward women's employment is positive in general, more men continue to have traditional gender attitudes than women (Treas and Widmer, 2000). This hypothesis relaxes the assumption that men have more traditional gender attitudes compare to women. Thus, we expect the negative attitudes toward women's employment is higher for men and lower for women.

Hypothesis 2: The older generation have more negative attitudes toward women employment compare to the younger generation

Age affects individual's gender attitude, as the older generation tend to have traditional gender attitude, while the younger generation is more accepting to gender equality (Korpi, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003). Based on these previous findings, we assume that age will have a positive correlation with negative attitudes toward working employment. Hence, we expect that the older generation will have more negative attitudes than the younger generation.

Hypothesis 3: Higher education attainment will result in less negative attitudes toward women's employment.

Increasing higher education opportunities, especially for women, stimulates the interests of gender egalitarianism (Pampel, 2011). Women's education attainment promotes gender equality and manifests women's value in society (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Therefore, education attainment will affect someone's opinion about women's employment. This hypothesis provides a presumption that those who have higher education will support gender equality. Thus, we expect that people with lower education levels will have more negative attitudes toward working women.

Hypothesis 4: Greater paid work hours will result in less negative attitudes toward women's employment.

A previous study by Baxter and Kane (1995) found that there is a positive relationship between gender attitudes and hours of paid work. The association is especially higher in Nordic countries. Both attitudes from men and women themselves have the vital roles to ease the conflict between work and family (Hsiao, 2013). This hypothesis to test if working more hours will make people have more egalitarian gender attitudes. We expect people who work more will have fewer negative attitudes toward working women.

Hypothesis 5: The attitudes toward women employment have a significant correlation with the division of household work and care

The attitudes toward gender roles are found as a significant predictor for the division of housework between men and women (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). Women's less traditional gender attitudes are evidently associated with lower probabilities that these women will do all the housework tasks (Geist, 2005). This hypothesis presumes a statistically significant relationship between gender attitude and the division of housework. Thus, we expect people with fewer negative attitudes toward working women will have more equal division of housework and childcare with their partners.

2.4. The Norwegian Context

2.4.1. Welfare System and Family Policy

Based on Esping-Anderson's (1989) welfare state typologies, Norway is included in the social democratic welfare regime that promotes women participation in the labor market. Norwegian welfare system provides a range of universal benefits, including free education, free health care, pensions, and economic support for the unemployed (Jacobsen, 2015). Gender equality is the basis for Norwegian policy making that creates equal opportunities for both women and men. Gender equality has penetrated all levels of social norms in nordic countries, including how the family policies were made (Duvander et al., 2019). Norwegian family policies aim to promote equalization between parents in the terms of childcare and breadwinning (Lappegard, 2005). Norway is one of the countries that provide supportive policies for dual-earner families through the labor market regulation and childcare system, which make the transition to parenthood becomes more feasible.

Parents in Norway are qualified to receive parental benefits if they have had an income for six months within the last ten months and have earned at least NOK 49.929 the past year (NAV, 2020c). Parental leave in Norway was originally 18 weeks and has been extended over time with increased flexibility in the possibilities of using (Duvander et al., 2019). Parents must take the parental benefit before the child turns three years old. The periods and the amount of parental benefit are diverse depends on which parent is entitled to the benefit. It could be both father and mother, only the father, only the mother, sole custody, mother and mother, or father and father. In case when both father and mother are entitled to parental benefit, the state makes sure both parents have equal opportunity as well as the responsibility to take care of the child through three kinds of parental benefit period. First, maternal quota consists of 15 weeks at 100% benefit rate or 19 weeks at 80% benefit rate, plus three weeks before the expected delivery date (Nav, 2020c). The mother must take the first six weeks of parental leave due to medical reasons, and the final nine weeks could be taken immediately or saved for later. If the mother is sick and unable to take care of the child, the father could apply to take over the maternal quota.

Second, the paternal quota is equal as the mother quota which is 15 weeks at 100% rate or 19 weeks at 80% rate (Ibid). The difference is that there is no pre-birth quota, and the father could take the leave only after the first seven weeks or later. Norway gave fathers the right to paid parental leave in 1978 and Norway is also the first country that introduced a special father's quota as part of paid parental leave program in 1993 (Lappegard, 2005). Only 3% of the fathers used parental leave before 1993, but after the father's quota was introduced, about 30% of

fathers took paternity leave. The percentages kept increasing each year and reached 70% in 2000 (Rege and Solli, 2013).

Lastly, the joint period consists of 16 weeks at a benefit rate of 100% and 18 weeks at a benefit rate of 80% (Nav, 2020c). When one of the parents takes this joint period, the other parent has to work or study full time. The 100% of benefit rate equals to NOK 22.000 per month. The parents should choose the period when applying for parent benefit around 22 weeks of pregnancy time. The parental benefit period also depends on how many children the parents have. The total of 49 weeks is for parents with one child. Parents of a twin receive 66 weeks, and parents of more than one child receive 95 weeks.

Fathers and mothers could use their quotas simultaneously, but it could reduce the length, so fathers may experience childcare alone without mothers to stretch the parental leave as long as possible before the start of kindergarten (Brandth and Kvande, 2018). Norway has 5.788 kindergartens across the country, with 84.4% of children age 1-2 years old, and 97.0% of children age 3-5 years old attend kindergarten in Norway (Statistics Norway, 2020c). Norwegian kindergartens' quality is controlled under the Ministry of Education for both public and private kindergartens (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2018). Kindergartens aim to meet the children's need for care and play to support learning and formative development. Besides ensuring the quality of education, the state also makes sure that kindergarten is affordable for everyone. For instance, in Stavanger, the monthly kindergarten fee is NOK 3.135, if the parents have more than one child or earn less than NOK 574.750 the previous year, they are entitled to lower payments. Additionally, if the family earned less than NOK 199.716 the previous year, kindergarten is free. (Stavanger Kommune, 2020) August 15 is the beginning of kindergarten year, and parents have to apply the latest March 1 to get a placement in the same year. Children are eligible to get a placement when they turn one year old.

Parents have the options to have professional public care or staying at home with a cash-for-care benefit after the paid parental leave period (Berqvist and Saxonberg, 2017; NAV, 2020b). Norwegian government gives parents autonomy about what kind of care that their children will receive. Cash-for-care benefits enable parents to stay home with their young children and receive subsidies from the government (NAV, 2020b). When both parents are working full-time and already used all of their parental leave quotas, they still could take days off to take care of their children if they are sick. Parents in Norway receive care benefit that is ten days paid leave per year to take care of their sick children under the age of 12 (Nav, 2020a). Care benefit is the same for both fathers and mothers, and it is also not transferable. Besides taking care of sick children, it is sometimes necessary to take care of other sick family members such as elders, siblings, or partners. Norway introduced pension rights for care work in 1992; this pension rights belong to people who take care of sick, disabled, or elderly people for at least 22 hours per week for six months within a year (Nav, 2019). Norwegian welfare systems not only provide nursing houses for the elderly but also support its citizens if they want to take care of their own sick family members.

2.4.2. Gender Roles in Paid and Unpaid Work

In 2019, 81% of women age 25-54 years old were in employment in Norway, with 57.5% working full time and 23.5% working part time. (Statistics Norway, 2020d). Despite the high percentage of women participation in the labor market, more women work part-time, take sick leave, have lower income than men, and segregated work areas (Statistics Norway, 2020d). The Norwegian labor force is still segregated by gender. Women dominate the health,

education, and social services sectors, while men dominated mining, agriculture, manufacture and construction jobs. In 2019, 83,4% of health care personnel and 67% of people working in the education sector in Norway were females (Statistics Norway, 2020a). Internationally speaking, Norway is leading the world in terms of gender equality in the economic sector. However, it is still interesting to see that no matter how high the women's labor market participation rate, the majority of women tend to work in the same sectors.

Norwegian family policies not only reinforce gender equal labor force participation but also encourage gender equality in unpaid household work (Lappegard, 2005). Father's quota is not only the starting point for more equal gender roles in childcare, and this actually influences the new gender norm of parenting (Duvander et al., 2019). Fathers are obliged to be active caregivers for their children, while also having their job and income secured. Previously, childcare activities are identified with femininity that put heavier responsibility to mothers than fathers who tend to do more leisure activities with children (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). Paternity leave policy makes men devote more time to childcare, which is beneficial to develop caring masculinities (Brandth and Kvande, 2018). Father's quota produces a new pattern in unpaid work within families, especially in caring tasks. Fathers who receive the opportunity to be full-time caregivers and to experience childcare like mothers become empathetic caregiver (Ibid). Moreover, the care benefit, ten days paid leave per year to take care of sick children for both father and mother, strengthen equal gender roles in childcare.

However, taking the father's quota does not change the gendered division of housework, but it will be the reference for housework negotiations between mothers and fathers (Duvander et al., 2019). Based on previous studies, women still do more childcare and housework compare to men even in the egalitarian country such as Norway (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). The other challenge is that fathers only took their own quota, but less likely to take the joint period quota. Fathers who take the leave only up to the quota are unlikely to achieve the concept of gender egalitarianism because the mothers still take the large share of leave (Duvander et al., 2019). For instance, if fathers only take their quota for 15 weeks, mothers will have 31 weeks of parental leave. Naz (2010) found out that fathers' quota has established norms for fathers to take leave to take of their children no matter which field they are working, but only fathers who work in female-dominated jobs tend to take the joint quota. Fathers are more involved in childcare through state regulation in parental leave, but this does not necessarily mean fathers will do more housework such as cleaning, laundry, cooking, and grocery shopping. To sum up, Norwegian family policies shape the family practices and gender roles in paid and unpaid work, but to what extend gender equality is achieved is vague. The women's participation rate in the labor market and fathers' participation in childcare seems like the ideal gender egalitarianism. Contrarily, the segregated labor sectors and women still do more housework compare to men are still happening in Norway.

3. Methodology

This study uses a quantitative method that requires a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2012). This study will test theories and previous findings through statistical analysis. The theory is tested through narrowing a specific hypothesis, and the collection of data will show whether it supports or refutes the hypotheses (Creswell, 2014). The cross-sectional design is implemented with surveys as the data sources. Patterns of the association are possible to be examined with a cross-sectional design, but the direction of causal influence is ambiguous (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, this study will see the association between different variables without assuming causal relationships. Besides looking at the association, the study will also look at longitudinal comparative survey data from three different time periods.

3.1. Data Sources

Data used for this thesis come from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), which is a cross-national collaboration program in conducting continual surveys on social sciences topics. ISSP was established in 1984, and the number of country members has grown to 43 countries from different continents. The surveys have different topics, and each topic is repeated at specific years of interval. Therefore, changes in behavior and attitude patterns overtime are possible to be identified and measured. ISSP topic that is used in this topic is Family and Changing Gender Roles that has been conducted four times in 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012. The Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) became ISSP member in 1989 and has been responsible for conducting ISSP surveys in Norway. Family and Changing Gender Roles Surveys in Norway was produced three times in 1994, 2002, and 2012. The survey questions were based on the ISSP survey in English and adapted by Norwegian researchers to be questionnaire in the Norwegian language. All surveys have been processed and coded by NSD and accessible for researches and university students. The data were retrieved from the NSD website.

3.2. Sampling Method

NSD did random sampling drawn from the Central Person Register of people residing in Norway age 18-79 years. In the 1994 survey, the gross sample is 3,500 respondents with a net sample of 2,087 respondents. The gross sample for the 2002 survey is 2,500, and the net sample is 1,475. Lastly, the 2012 survey's gross sample is 3,800, and the net sample 1,444 respondents. TNS Gallup, a market analysis agency, sent out and registered self-administered questionnaires. Respondents were also offered online questionnaires.

3.3. Variables

3.3.1. Gender Attitude

Attitudes toward women's employment were measured based on nine variables covering different aspects of attitudes in ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles survey 1994, 2002 and 2012. According to Korpi's (2000) model, these variables are chosen for negative attitudes to women's employment. The variables are recoded to sort whether a particular category refers to a negative attitude towards women's employment or not. Korpi (2000) created a new

category for negative response alternatives that strongly disagree and disagree with variables 1 and 6, strongly agree and agree to variables 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7, and stay at home to variables 8 and 9. The variables are recoded with new values, 1 for negative responses, and null for other responses. All nine variables in each survey are computed into one variable of attitudes toward women’s employment (1994 Survey Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.794, 2002 Survey Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.740, 2012 Survey Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.720). The attitudes toward women’s employment became a composite index ranging from null to 9 composed of 9 survey items. The higher values indicate greater negative attitudes.

Table 1. Survey items and categories for gender attitude

Questions	Variables	Categories
To what extent do you agree or disagree?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work 2. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works 3. All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job 4. A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children 5. Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay 6. Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income 7. A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family 	strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, and can't choose
Do you think that women should work outside the home full-time, part-time, or not at all under the following circumstances?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. When there is a child under school age 9. After the youngest child starts school 	Work full-time, work part-time, stay at home, and can't choose

3.3.2. Division of Housework

Division of housework was measured based on four variables asking who does various housework tasks such as laundry, small repair, care for sick family members, and shop for groceries. Answer categories for ISSP 1994 and ISSP 2002-2012 are different. Answer categories for ISSP 1994 with applied ordinal scales are always women (1), usually women (2), just as much / together (3), usually men (4), always men (5), third person (6), and cannot choose (8). The categories for ISSP 2002 and 2012 were ambiguous because the gender was not mentioned in the options which are always me (1), usually me (2), about equal / both

together (3), usually my spouse/partner (4), always my spouse/partner (5), third person (6), and cannot choose (8). Responses were interpreted separately based on gender as a control variable, not taking same-sex couples into consideration, and the last two answers are coded as equal sharing (Hagqvist, 2017). For ISSP 2002 and 2012, higher values for male respondents indicate women do more housework, while lower values for female respondents indicate women do a larger share of housework. ISSP 2002 and 2012 are recoded to have the same value system as ISSP 1994. The four housework tasks cannot be combined into one variable because the reliability test showed a really low result. Therefore, the analysis of the housework division will be done separately for each task.

3.3.3. Control Variables

Control variables are used to see patterns and changes for attitudes toward women's employment and division of housework throughout three decades of ISSP 1994, 2002, and 2012. The following background variables were included: gender, age, education and weekly work hour. Gender was coded into two categories: 1 = male and 2 = female. Age, education, and gender were chosen as control variables because those variables were statistically significant predictors towards gender attitudes (Korpi, 2000). Age was recoded into two age group categories, the younger generation (18-54 years old) and the older generation (55-76 years old) based on Korpi's (2000) model of negative attitude towards women's employment. Education variable was based on the highest completed education level with 9 categories: no formal education, primary education, secondary education, upper vocational education, upper general education, technical college, university completed < 3 years, university completed 3-4 years, university completed ≥ 5 years. Workhour is a continuous variable of how many hours worked weekly.

3.4. Statistical Method

The variables will be explained with descriptive statistics by using frequency distribution and compare means. Frequency tables will present the percentage of the occurrence answers from respondents for certain survey items. Moreover, this study uses compare means to compare the value differences within different surveys period. Mean, the arithmetic average is universally used statistical indicator to measure central tendency (Neuman, 2007; Singh, 2007). However, the mean is strongly affected by extreme values, so the standard deviation is used to measure the dispersion and see whether the values spread out over a wider range or not. This study will also test hypotheses of relations between variables. Most of the variables are using a Likert scale, which makes ordinal variables with categories more than two. However, the variables are recoded and compute together by checking the reliability scale, so in the end, the variables have more categories and a broader range of values. Therefore, the variables are treated as metric variables.

Multiple linear regression will be used to examines the relationship between one dependent variable with multiple independent variables. This study wants to test hypotheses of how independent variables (gender, age, education, working hour, gender attitude) associate with the dependent variable (Division of housework). We will be able to interpret p value, regression coefficient, and R square through linear regression analysis results. P value shows whether the variables are statistically significant. The regression coefficient is equal to the correlation coefficient that indicates the change in the dependent variable for every unit change in the independent variable, also displays the direction of the association, whether it is positive or negative (Singh, 2007). R square signifies the strength of the association between the

independent variables altogether with the dependent variable. Therefore, multiple linear regression is an applicable statistical method to test the hypotheses in this study.

3.5.Ethics

Data used in this thesis is derived from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), a large-scale collaborative project with representatives from all over the world. The questionnaires are pretested and approved by ISSP General Assembly based on the scientific merit, socio-political relevance and ethical appropriateness. ISSP upholds informed consent from respondents. Each ISSP member must comply with the legal requirements for research in each country. TNS Gallup and NSD anonymized and recoded the data so that survey participants cannot be identified. The data retrieved from the NSD web portal with the researcher registered in the system. Neither TNS Gallup nor NSD is responsible for the analyses and interpretation of the data presented in this thesis.

4. Results

4.1. Gender Attitude

Gender attitude was measured through nine variables in the survey, asking respondents opinions about working women, especially mothers. The questions were about how working affects mothers' relationships with children, whether it brings negative implications or not, whether home and children are more important than having a job, and gender roles in household income. Korpi (2000) recoded the answers by giving higher values for answers that reflect negative attitudes toward women's employment. Examples of negative attitudes are if the respondent agrees that children suffer, women should not work full-time, and only men should contribute to household incomes. After recoding the values with 0 for non-negative answers, and 1 for negative answers, compute all the 9 variables results in having a new variable with values from 0 to 9. 0 represents no negative answer at all for the nine questions asked, while 9 means negative attitudes toward all of the questions about working women.

Table 2. Gender attitude descriptive statistics

Attitudes toward working women	Mean	SD
1994		
Total	2.41	2.38
Men	2.68	2.48
Women	2.19	2.28
2002		
Total	1.93	2.06
Men	2.10	2.18
Women	1.78	1.94
2012		
Total	1.05	1.57
Men	1.26	1.71
Women	0.87	1.40

Norway, a social democratic welfare state with the dual-earner family policy model, should have fewer negative attitudes toward women employment since gender egalitarianism is encouraged through family policies and social services (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Korpi, 2000). Table 2 shows that in general, among three surveys, in the scale between 0-9, Norway's total gender attitude is relatively low from 2.41 to 1.05 in between 1994-2012. Means of gender attitudes in 1994, 2002, and 2012 are consistently decreasing. The results confirm Haggqvist's (2016) previous findings that gender attitudes evolve toward egalitarianism. Overall, the means of gender attitude decrease significantly; from 1994 to 2002, the mean decreased 0.48, and from 2002-2012, the decrease is bigger which is 0.88. The second interval is bigger, perhaps because of the long years of gap. Nevertheless, the last mean in 2012 shows that among 9 questions about attitudes toward women's employment, majority of the respondents chose very few answers that reflect negative attitudes toward working mothers. Standard Deviation (SD) shows the dispersion of answers. In 1994, SD was 2.38, then decrease to 2.06 in 2002 and 1.57 in 2012. The SD shows that the values spread to a smaller range in newer surveys that means the respondents are coming to a consensus regarding gender attitude.

Men consistently have higher negative attitudes toward women's employment compare to women throughout all three surveys. Previous studies found that men are more reluctant to change their gender attitudes compare to women (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). In 2002, both men's and women's gender attitudes decreased compared to 1994, but the mean for men's attitude reduced more than women's mean. The men's means decreased 0.58, while women's mean decreased 0.41. Then, in 2012, women's mean decreases more than men's mean. Even though the means for men keep decreasing, but it does not come equal or even close to the means of women's gender attitudes. Nevertheless, Table 2 shows that even women have fewer negative attitudes toward women employment, Norwegian men are not reluctant to gender egalitarianism and evolving their attitudes to be less negative.

Based on the previous findings, gender, age, education and paid work hours are predictors for gender attitudes (Baxter and Kane, 1995; Korpi, 2000; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Apparala, et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008; Pampel, 2011; Hsiao, 2013). The correlation between gender attitude and gender, age, education and working hours will be examined with multiple linear regression analysis. Gender attitude will be the dependent variable. Gender, age, education and weekly workhour as predictors will be the independent variables.

4.1.1. The correlation between Gender Attitude and Gender, Age, Education, and Paid Work

Table 3. Multiple linear regression with gender attitude as dependent variable

Predictor	1994	2002	2012
Gender	-0.702**(-0.160)	-0.413**(-0.101)	-0.288**(-0.98)
Age	1.457**(0.209)	0.816**(0.179)	0.204**(0.062)
Education	-0.306**(-0.244)	-0.197**(-0.198)	-0.095*(0.062)
Weekly workhour	1.342(0.001)	0.003(0.022)	-0.095**(-0.148)
Constant	2.547**	2.018**	1.470**
Adjusted R Square	0.134	0.096	0.041

**indicates significance at 1%, *indicates significance at 5%. Standard deviation in parenthesis.

Table 3 presents the results of multiple linear regression analysis predicting negative attitudes toward working women in ISSP 1994, 2002, and 2012. Gender attitude was measured through 9 different indicators, with values ranging from 0 to 9. Higher values mean more negative attitudes toward working women. Gender as an independent variable has a statistical significance correlation ($P < 0.01$) with gender attitude. The coefficients for gender are -0.702, -0.413, and -0.288. As the gender variable increased by the value of 1, the gender attitude will decrease by 0.702 in 1994, 0.413 in 2002, and 0.288 in 2012. Man is coded as 1, and woman is coded as 2 for the gender variable. The results show that women have a less negative attitude compare to men. Hypothesis 1, women have more gender egalitarian attitude compare to men, is fully supported throughout all of the surveys. Women have fewer negative attitudes toward working women compare to men (Apparala, et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). Nonetheless, the results also display smaller coefficients in newer surveys, which means the differences in gender attitudes between men and women are getting smaller as well. Men and women appear to be coming into a consensus of their attitudes toward working women.

Age as a predictor has a statistically significant contribution ($P < 0.01$) and a positive correlation with gender attitude on all surveys. The age variable is made from a recoded age group for the younger generation (18-54 years old) and the older generation (55-76 years old) (Korpi, 2000). In 1994, those who are older than 54 years old will have 1.457 more negative attitudes toward working women. The gender attitude increased by 0.816 in 2002 and 0.204 in 2012. The results confirm Hypothesis 2 that the older generation has more negative attitudes toward women's employment compare to the younger generation (Korpi, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003). In comparison between the three surveys, the coefficients are getting smaller each year, that means the gender attitude differences between the older and the younger generation are becoming smaller. The reason is presumably because of the years of gap between each survey. The respondents who are in the young generation in ISSP 1994 became the older generation in ISSP 2002 and 2012. The older generation who have more negative attitudes in 1994 became a smaller percentage of the older generation in 2002 and 2012, which makes the gender attitude in the old generation is mixed between those who support traditional and egalitarian gender attitudes. Therefore, the coefficient of age in 2012 is so much smaller than in 1994.

Education has a statistically significant contribution throughout all of the surveys, even though the P value decreases in 2012 but still smaller than 5%. Education consistently has a negative correlation with gender attitudes, which means the higher education attainment of the respondent, he/she will have fewer negative attitudes toward working women. The results support Hypothesis 3 that higher education attainment will result in less negative attitudes toward women's employment (Pampel, 2011; Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Education variable was based on the highest completed education level with 9 categories, which are no formal education, primary education, secondary education, upper vocational education, upper general education, technical college, university completed < 3 years, university completed 3-4 years, university completed ≥ 5 years. In 1994, as the education increase 1 level, gender attitude decreased 0.306. The coefficient in 2012 is very small, which is 0.095, shows education does not influence gender attitude as much as before. The reason is presumably because the norm of gender equality has successfully penetrated on every class. The effect of education got weaker on gender equality as the favourable attitudes spread widely through diffusion process in the society (Pampel, 2011). Therefore, even people have different education attainment, it does not affect them to not agreeing on gender equality.

The results show mixed correlation results between weekly workhour and gender attitude. The correlation is positive in 1994 and 2002, but statistically insignificant. In 2012, the correlation is negative and statistically significant ($P < 0.01$). Weekly workhour does not predict gender attitudes in 1994 and 2002. However, every one more hour of work, the gender attitude decreases 0.095. The previous study found that bigger working hours result in a more egalitarian gender attitude (Baxter and Kane 1995). The result offers partial support to Hypothesis 4 that is only accepted in ISSP 2012. Hypothesis 4 is rejected in both 1994 and 2002. Egalitarian gender attitude has a positive relationship with women's employment because it eases the conflict between work and family (Korpi, 2000; Hsiao, 2013). The contradictory results in 1994 and 2002 are probably because of the weekly workhour variable represents both genders. Presumably, the bigger weekly workhour in 1994 and 2002 belongs more to men than women. Based on Statistics Norway (2020a), women's participation in the labor market has been increasing every year since the 1990s that implies women used to work fewer hours in the past. Previous findings show that men tend to have more traditional gender attitude compare to women (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). On that account, when men work more hours does not necessarily mean that they have fewer negative attitudes toward working women. In 2012, based on Statistics Norway (2020a), labour force

participation rate for women was 97%, this reflects that majority women have paid job. Weekly workhour became statically significant in 2012 because of women. Women tend to have more gender egalitarian attitude (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008). Probably the weekly workhour has different effect on men’s and women’s gender attitude. The working hours become significant predictor because women who work more hours have fewer negative attitudes.

Adjusted R Square shows the percentage of the variance of gender attitude that is explained by the predictors. In 1993, gender, age, education and weekly workhour explained 13,4% variance of gender attitude. The percentages decreased to 9,6% in 2002 and 4,1% in 2012. Gender, age, education and weekly workhour does not influence gender attitude as much as in the past. Table 2, the descriptive statistics of gender attitude, shows that negative attitudes toward working women keep decreasing to the point very low, the last total mean of gender attitude in 2012 is 1.05. Moreover, Table 3 also displays how the coefficients for gender, age and education are decreasing in the newer surveys. Pampel (2011) describes the diffusion process of gender egalitarianism through society on every social class. People are coming into agreement to support gender equality. After the interests of gender equality became widespread, gender, age, education and working hours are no longer influence someone’s gender attitude. Even if people have differences in gender, age, education and working hours, they could still agree on gender equality. In conclusion, gender, age and education are consistently significant predictors for gender attitudes since 1994, while weekly workhour is significant predictor only in 2012. In general, education and working hours have a positive correlation with gender egalitarianism, while age has a positive correlation with traditional gender attitudes. People who have higher education and working more hours have fewer negative attitudes on working women, whereas those who are older tend to have more negative attitudes on working women. Gender attitude is a significant predictor for the division of housework between men and women (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). Next, linear regression analysis will be presented to examine the correlation between gender attitude and division of housework.

4.2.The Division of Household Work and Care

4.2.1. Laundry

Table 4. Division of housework:Laundry descriptive statistics

Answers	Percentage					
	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Always women	35.8	46.6	33.6	46.8	28.6	47.6
Usually women	43.7	37.6	38.6	38.0	43.4	34.0
Equal sharing/both together	17.7	13.9	19.3	12.0	17.6	15.5
Usually men	2.2	1.7	4.9	2.3	6.1	2.6
Always men	0.6	0.1	3.7	1.0	4.3	0.4

Overall results show that laundry is a women’s task at home. Both men and women have a mutual agreement with significant big percentages for answering *always women* and *usually women*. Laundry is one of the routine tasks of housework that is associated with femininity (Sullivan, 1997; Hagqvist, 2016). The results have confirmed the previous findings that laundry

is a feminine task which is done mostly by women. Women perceive themselves always do laundry more than men with the percentages *always women* above 40%, while men's percentages are around 30%. Comparing the three surveys, the patterns of men and women are different. Men's answers for *always women* are decreasing, while the other categories are increasing. The men's percentages for *equal sharing* are greater than women's percentages. Moreover, men seem to do more laundry in newer surveys. The percentages for *usually men* and *always men* are increasing. On the other hand, women are more reluctant to changes with their consistent answers for *always women* and *usually women*. Even though *equal sharing* and *usually men percentages* are slightly increased, about 80% of their total percentages always for women who do the laundry.

Based on the previous studies, gender attitude and the division of housework are significantly related (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). Table 5 shows the result of multiple regression analysis of the division of laundry task as the dependent variable. Besides gender attitude, age, education and working hours are also included as predictors because these variables are correlated to each other. The multiple linear regression analysis was performed separately for men and women because the surveys have different categories for division of housework variable. ISSP 1994 have categories ranging from *always women* to *always men*, but ISSP 2002 and 2012 have gender neutral answers such as *always me* or *always my partner*. Therefore, the division of housework variable were recoded separately for men and women by changing the values; the smallest value means that always women do the housework, and the biggest value means that always men do the housework. The recoding does not consider same sex couple, so when the respondent is women answers *always my partner*, the answer is recoded into always men (Hagqvist, 2016). Table 4 shows that laundry is mostly a women's task at home. Besides, we want to see if the background variables have different effect on men and women. For instance, all of the coefficients for all predictors in 2002 were different for men and women.

Age is always a statistically significant predictor ($P < 0.05$) for women, but only statistically significant for men in 2012. Previously, Hypothesis 2, the older generation has more negative attitudes toward women's employment compare to the younger generation, was confirmed (Korpi, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003). Age was always statistically significant for women seemingly because the older generation is prone to the traditional gender attitude. Age and division of laundry task are continually having negative correlation for both genders on all the surveys that means laundry task for the older generation is done mostly by women. On the other hand, education and division of laundry tasks always have a positive correlation that means when education attainment is higher, men do laundry more. Older people tend to have traditional gender attitudes, but higher education could encourage a more egalitarian gender attitude. The effects of education are more substantial in the older generation and become weaker in the younger generation as gender egalitarianism spread widely in society (Fred Pampel, 2011). Education becomes a non-significant predictor for men in the newer surveys.

The effect of weekly workhour is different for men and women. Working hours were only significant for men in 1994. The correlation is negative for men, but mostly positive for women, that means when men have more working hours, women do laundry more. Working hours are a significant predictor ($P < 0.05$) for women in 1994 and 2002, but cease to be insignificant in 2012. In 1994 and 2002, workhour correlation for women is positive that means when women work more hours, men do laundry more. Time availability is one of the factors of the housework division (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008). A husband has to do more housework when his wife has less time available at home and so does the wife.

Table 5. Multiple linear regression with division of laundry work as dependent variable

Predictor	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	-0.173(-0.078)	-0.363**(-0.150)	-0.182(-0.084)	-0.191*(-0.100)	-0.334**(-0.155)	-0.316**(-0.166)
Education	0.053*(0.116)	0.060***(0.134)	0.021(0.042)	0.077***(0.188)	0.040(0.093)	0.056***(0.148)
Weekly workhour	-0.001*(-0.087)	0.001*(0.096)	-0.002(-0.027)	0.010***(0.136)	-0.004(-0.054)	-0.001(-0.014)
Gender Attitude	-0.075**(-0.224)	-0.046**(-0.120)	-0.038(-0.083)	-0.048*(-0.107)	-0.024(-0.036)	-0.042(-0.049)
Constant	2.354**	1.881**	2.414**	1.450**	2.606**	1.941**
Adjusted R Square	0.094	0.099	0.016	0.097	0.028	0.057
Observations	946	1141	696	779	690	754

**indicates significance at 1%, *indicates significance at 5%. Standard deviation in parenthesis.

However, the correlation changes to negative for women in 2012. Even though the coefficient is very low -0.001, but that means even though women working hours increase, men will not do laundry more. Moreover, in 2012, it is interesting to see working hours were not statistically significant anymore for the division of laundry tasks. Based on Statistics Norway (2020d), more women work part time, take sick leave, have lower income compare to men, and segregated work areas. Women dominate health, education, and social services sectors which are relatively have low to middle level of income. Laundry is one of the routine housework tasks that is considered less desirable and associated with femininity (Sullivan, 1997; Hagqvist, 2016). People with more resources will bargain to avoid doing housework (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008). Presumably, even though women work more hours their relative resource (income) is not enough to bargain the normative gender doings of laundry as feminine task.

Gender attitude and division of laundry tasks have a negative correlation consistently in all of the surveys, which means when the negative attitudes toward working women increase, women do more laundry. Gender attitude has a statistically significant contribution ($P < 0.05$) for women and men in 1994 but became insignificant for men in newer surveys and women in 2012. The results offer weak support to Hypothesis 5 that the attitudes toward women's employment have a significant correlation with the division of housework. Overall, the adjusted R square is increasing in newer surveys. In 1994, the independent variables explain 9% variance of laundry task division between men and women. The percentage decrease to 2,8% for men and 5,7% for women in 2012. In general, age, education, working hours, and gender attitude influence women more than men.

4.2.2. Small Repair

Table 6. Division of housework: Small repair descriptive statistics

Answers	Percentage					
	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Always women	0.9	0.5	1.1	2.8	1.0	2.2
Usually women	1.4	3.6	2.1	5.3	3.5	3.6
Equal sharing/both together	14.3	20.4	12.5	21.5	11.6	24.3
Usually men	52.2	55.6	55.7	49.4	51.2	51.6
Always men	31.2	19.9	28.7	21.0	32.7	18.3

Small repair is a men's task at home based on the overall result. The results are consistent for both genders, with the greater percentages for *usually men* and *always men*. The answer *usually men* is always the most significant percentage for all genders and all surveys within the amount around 50%. Small repair is categorized as intermittent work that is done irregularly and perceived as masculine work (Sullivan, 2013). The results of this study support the previous findings. Men perceive themselves always do small repair more than women. Women perceive that *equal sharing* is increasing in newer surveys, while the *equal sharing* percentages for men are decreasing. In a comparison between different surveys, both genders do not show significant changes. More women seem to perceive small repair as a task that can be done together in the newer surveys. In contrast, men perceive small repair as their own tasks more than in the older surveys.

Table 7. Multiple linear regression with division of repair work as dependent variable

Predictor	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	-0.067(-0.032)	0.086(0.037)	-0.002(-0.001)	0.026(0.012)	0.098(0.058)	-0.214*(-0.115)
Education	-0.006(-0.014)	-0.055**(-0.128)	-0.004(-0.011)	-0.036(-0.080)	-0.002(-0.007)	0.009(0.024)
Weekly workhour	0.000(-0.073)	2.752E-5(0.004)	-0.001(-0.016)	-0.006(-0.072)	-0.003(0.057)	-0.001(-0.018)
Gender Attitude	-0.007(-0.073)	0.009(0.024)	-0.029(-0.087)	-0.014(-0.029)	0.009(0.018)	-0.038(-0.064)
Constant	4.448**	3.959**	4.231**	4.101**	4.131**	4.041**
Adjusted R Square	-0.001	0.014	0.000	0.005	-0.001	0.009
Observations	946	1141	696	779	690	754

**indicates significance at 1%, *indicates significance at 5%. Standard deviation in parenthesis.

Household repair is identified as masculine work (Sullivan, 1997). Table 4 shows that small repair is mostly done by men throughout all of the surveys. Women's percentages of doing small repair have increased a little bit in the newer surveys. The multiple linear regression analysis results for the division of repair tasks show that age, education, working hours, and gender attitude are not statistically significant predictors. Age is statistically significant ($P < 0.05$) only for women in 2012, and education is statistically significant ($P < 0.01$) for women only in 1994. Both have negative correlations that mean the older generation in 2012 and the higher education attainment in 1994 result in women do more repair work. Adjusted R Square is found very low for men. The independent variables offer an insignificant explanation for the division of repair work in all surveys. Age and education are statistically significant for women once. The Adjusted R Square is also slightly higher than men, but still low. Gender attitude is not statistically significant at all, so Hypothesis 5 is rejected.

4.2.3. Care for a Sick Family Member

Table 8. Division of housework: Care for sick family members descriptive statistics

Answers	Percentage					
	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Always women	5.0	15.6	6.2	13.9	4.5	13.4
Usually women	30.8	28.6	25.8	33.5	21.8	20.5
Equal sharing/both together	62.9	47.3	55.1	51.7	69.3	54.9
Usually men	1.0	0.6	2.8	0.5	3.3	0.6
Always men	0.5	0.1	1.8	0.3	1.2	0.6

Table 8 shows that the care task is more equally divided between men and women. *Equal sharing* is consistently the biggest percentage for both genders on all of the surveys. The second biggest percentages are for *usually women*. Therefore, the care task is mostly done together or also could be done only by women. The percentages for *usually men* and *always men* are tiny. Men, in general, seem to do care task only if it is done together with women. Previous studies found out that care activities such as feeding, washing, and dressing are routine tasks that are identified as feminine tasks (Sullivan, 1997; Hagqvist, 2016). The fact that *usually women* has the second biggest percentages support the previous findings. However, it is interesting to see the differences between care and laundry because both are routine tasks associate with femininity. Care task is divided more equally compare to laundry. The survey question does not specify which family member is referred to in this question. Hence, the choices are open for children, elder parents, spouses or partners, siblings, or even extended families. Sullivan (2013) found out that childcare is considered desirable and rewarding for both men and women. If most of the respondents interpret sick family members as their children, this explains why the most significant percentages are for *equal sharing* because taking care of children is an activity that they enjoy doing together with their partners. Parents in Norway are entitled for care benefit that is 10 days paid leave per year to take care of their sick children under the age of 12 (Nav, 2020a). Care benefit is the same for both fathers and mothers, and it is also not transferable. Presumably care benefit contributes to equal sharing in care activities between men and women.

Table 9. Multiple linear regression with division of care work as dependent variable

Predictor	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	-0.222**(-0.134)	-0.208*(-0.095)	-0.064(-0.042)	-0.251**(-0.152)	-0.029(-0.022)	-0.203*(-0.121)
Education	0.010(0.031)	0.012(0.029)	0.037*(0.106)	0.024(0.068)	0.018(0.068)	0.007(0.022)
Weekly workhour	0.000(-0.079)	0.001(0.082)	0.001(0.021)	0.004(0.066)	-0.001(-0.014)	0.001(0.026)
Gender Attitude	-0.035**(-0.142)	-0.040*(-0.115)	-0.017(-0.052)	-0.057**(-0.149)	-0.050(-0.128)	-0.090**(-0.169)
Constant	3.111**	2.594**	2.601**	2.588**	2.793**	2.723**
Adjusted R Square	0.048	0.040	0.014	0.064	0.015	0.036
Observations	946	1141	696	779	690	754

**indicates significance at 1%, *indicates significance at 5%. Standard deviation in parenthesis.

Care tasks such as feeding, washing, and dressing are associated with femininity, especially childcare (Sullivan, 1997). Table 8 supports the previous findings but also displays growing interests from men to involve more as the percentages of equal sharing increase with the amount exceeding 50%. Table 9 shows the multiple linear regression analysis for the division of care tasks. Age, education, working hours, and gender attitude explain 4% variance of care division for both genders in 1994. Adjusted R square decreases for men in 2002 and remain low in 2012 for 1.5%. For women, the Adjusted R square increase to 6,4% in 2002 and decrease to 3,6% in 2012.

Education and weekly workhour are not statistically significant predictors for the division of care tasks, except for men in 2002. The correlations are mostly positive that implies higher education attainment, and more working hours involve men to take care more of a sick family member. On the other side, age and gender attitudes have statistically significant ($P < 0.05$) contributions to the dependent variable for women on all surveys and for men only in 1994. The division of task care and age have a negative correlation that indicates the older generation chooses women who do most of the care activities at home. The coefficients of gender attitudes are increasing for women from -0.040, -0.057, to -0.090. On the other hand, the coefficients fluctuated for men. The coefficient falls in 2002 and raises in 2012 even higher than in 1994. The lower values of care division mean women do more of care activities, so negative attitudes toward working women influence women to take care of a sick family member more than men do. Hypothesis 5 is accepted in this regression analysis. The attitudes toward women's employment have a significant correlation with the division of care in families.

4.2.4. Grocery Shopping

Table 10. Division of housework: Grocery shopping descriptive statistics

Answers	Percentage					
	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Always women	5.4	13.7	4.7	14.9	4.3	14.0
Usually women	29.8	30.1	28.2	35.4	26.0	33.5
Equal sharing/both together	53.1	48.1	49.3	43.8	50.9	42.7
Usually men	9.4	7.0	12.7	4.9	15.9	8.7
Always men	2.4	1.0	5.1	1.0	2.9	1.2

The biggest percentages for grocery shopping are for *equal sharing* consistently for both genders on all of the surveys. The second biggest percentages are for *usually women*. About half of the respondents do grocery shopping by dividing it equally or together with their spouses or partners. These results confirm the previous studies that grocery shopping is usually done by women or by the family together (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002). Compare to the care task in the previous table, even though both are part of routine tasks, there are significant differences in the percentages for *usually men* and *always men*. Since 1994, men answer that they usually do grocery shopping, and the percentages keep increasing in the newer surveys. Although women answer less for *usually men* and *always men*, the numbers are also increasing on the newer surveys.

Table 11. Multiple linear regression with division of grocery shopping as dependent variable

Predictor	1994		2002		2012	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age	-0.084(-0.039)	-0.079(-0.030)	0.084(0.045)	0.049(0.026)	-0.030(-0.018)	0.177(0.092)
Education	0.050*(0.115)	0.002(0.005)	0.019(0.044)	0.012(0.029)	0.037*(0.106)	0.024(0.061)
Weekly workhour	-0.001**(-0.120)	0.000(0.028)	-0.003(-0.046)	9.946E-5(0.001)	-0.002(-0.038)	0.000(-0.003)
Gender Attitude	-0.016(-0.048)	-0.042*(-0.100)	-0.022(-0.056)	-0.080**(-0.181)	-0.036(-0.069)	-0.042(-0.069)
Constant	3.010**	2.625**	2.852**	2.450**	2.794**	2.234**
Adjusted R Square	0.029	0.008	0.001	0.028	0.011	0.007
Observations	946	1141	696	779	690	754

**indicates significance at 1%, *indicates significance at 5%. Standard deviation in parenthesis.

Routine housework tasks are usually found to be demanding and least enjoyable. However, grocery shopping was found as a leisure activity for women and also the whole family when it is done together (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002; Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2008). Similar to the care task, when men found that certain activities are desirable, they involve more either by sharing equally or doing together with women. In the case of grocery shopping, men even do grocery shopping by themselves.

Table 11 shows age, education, working hours, and gender attitude explain small percentage variance between 0.01% - 2.9% variance of grocery shopping division between men and women. Adjusted R Square fluctuates differently for each gender. The percentage falls then raises for men, while it raises the falls for women in 2012. The coefficients also fluctuate in every survey for each independent variable. Age does not have a significant contribution to the division of housework in all of the survey times. The correlation is negative for both genders in 1994 and changes to positive in newer surveys. Before the older generation tends to have women do grocery shopping, then it changes to men do more grocery shopping. Table 6 presents the descriptive percentages for grocery shopping, and it shows men do more grocery shopping in newer surveys even more than care for a sick family member.

Education is statistically significant only for men in 1994 and 2012. The correlation is always positive, that means higher education attainment for both men and women is followed by men do more grocery shopping. Weekly workhour is only significant for men in 1994. Working hours have a negative correlation for men throughout all surveys that indicate that when men's working hours increase, women do more grocery shopping. In contrast, the correlation for women is always positive, that means when women have more working hours, men do the grocery shopping.

The results show weak support to Hypothesis 5 because gender attitude is significant only for women in 1994 and 2002. However, the correlation is consistently negative for both genders on all surveys that signifies more negative attitudes toward working women result in women do more grocery shopping. Grocery shopping is mostly done by women, but it also could be enjoyable for a family to do it together (Cockburn-Wootten, 2002; Cockburn-Wootten et al., 2008). Grocery shopping is seemingly less affected by gender attitude because it is an activity that brings joy to both men and women, especially when it is done together.

To sum up, women do more household work and care compare to men in all of the surveys. Laundry, care for a sick family member and grocery shopping are women's tasks. Only small repair is a men's task. The results are relatively consistent in every survey. Both men and women profoundly perceive laundry as a women's task, and the small repair is perceived as men's task. Care tasks and grocery shopping are divided more equally between gender or done together. None of the results of descriptive statistics were surprising because the previous studies also found that women still do more childcare and housework compare to men even in the egalitarian context (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010; Sullivan, 2013). In order to understand better why women still do more, predictors (gender, age, education, working hours and gender attitude) were analysed through multiple linear regression with gendered division of housework as the dependent variable.

Age, education, working hours, and gender attitude has varying statistical significance results for each housework division. Age, education, and working hours are rarely statistically significant except for the division of laundry tasks. In general, age has a negative correlation, which means that men do more housework in the younger generation. On the other hand,

education has mostly positive correlations that indicate that higher education attainment makes women do less housework. Except for small repair, the correlation is always negative, so higher education makes women do more repair at home. Workhour has different correlation types for each gender. The correlation is negative for men and positive for women. If men have more working hours, women do more housework. The other way around, when women have more working hours, men do more housework.

Hypothesis 5, gender attitude has significant correlation with division of housework, is partially accepted in the division of laundry, care for a sick family member, and grocery shopping. Hypothesis 5 is rejected in the division of repair tasks. Overall, gender attitude is more significant for women than men. The correlation between gender attitude and division of housework is negative in most of the cases that means when there are more negative attitudes toward working women, women will do more housework. The traditional gender attitude sustains the only men participate in the labor market, while the egalitarian gender attitude encourages equal opportunity in the labor market regardless of gender (Sullivan, 2013). The results reflect the egalitarian gender attitude support women's career and make men involve more in the household labor.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

5.1. Discussion

5.1.1. Gender Egalitarianism in Norway

The results in this thesis give strength to the previous research and new knowledge in the field of welfare state, gender, and social policy (Baxter and Kane, 1995; Korpi, 2000; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Apparala, et al., 2003; Geist, 2005; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Pampel, 2011; Hsiao, 2013; Hagqvist, 2016). The thesis confirms previous results that there are relationships between gender, age, education, paid-work hours, gender attitude, and the division of household work and care. Additional knowledge was found through comparison between three different time period surveys and separate analysis on men and women. The effects of each variable are varied, and we could find some variables are more significant in certain context.

As stated in the introduction, there is a major development going on in Norwegian family policies to modify gendered paid and unpaid work that supports gender egalitarianism. Dual-earner family model policies, such as those found in Norway, are associated with positive attitudes toward gender equality (Stickney and Konrad, 2012; Hagqvist, 2016). In this study, Gender attitudes were measured by using nine survey items on attitudes towards women employment. The availability of exactly the same surveys distributed through three different time periods makes it possible to see the patterns and the changes. The first research question is to see how gender attitude changed from 1994 to 2012.

Figure 1. Gender Attitude

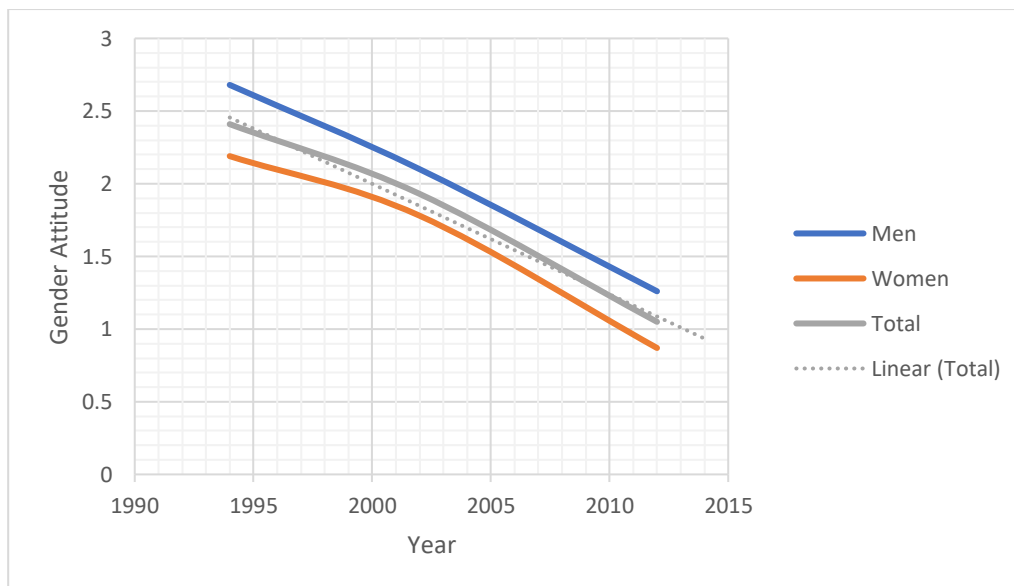


Figure 1 shows a clear pattern of reduction in negative attitudes towards working women. Moreover, we also found the values spread to smaller range in the newer surveys, so people are coming to a consensus regarding gender attitude. Therefore, the answer to the first question is that gender attitude in Norway has developed to be more egalitarian in the last three decades. These are examples of the survey items *A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother*

works and *All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job*. Norwegians have become less worried if mother works and they will suffer because no one does the caring work for the children, elders, or sick family members. The states provide full support for the citizens to balance work and family by the generous parental leave, public childcare and elderly care. Even fathers are forced to take a role in caring work by given non-transferable father's quota and care benefit (ten days paid leave to take care of sick children per year). Besides trying to equalize caring work between men and women, the state also provides public facilities to give opportunities for parents to work in ease. Kindergartens and nursing homes in Norway are subsidized and quality controlled by the state. Kindergartens are available for children as young as one year old. As the other survey item, *A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family*, mothers in Norway no longer bear the responsibility of caring work alone because fathers involve more, and the state provides generous supports.

After looking at the changes of attitudes, this study also examined underlying factors of gender attitudes which are gender, age, education, and paid-work hours based on Hypotheses 1 to 4. Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3 were confirmed that strengthens the previous research. However, hypotheses 4 were partially rejected and interesting to be explored more. The data from this thesis shows that women have fewer negative attitudes compare to men, the younger generation have fewer negative attitudes compare to the older generation, and people who have higher education attainment have fewer negative attitudes that confirms the previous studies (Korpi, 2000; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Apparala, et al., 2003; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008; Pampel, 2011). Even though the results are expected, the data also shows profound results as the effects of gender, age, and education got weaker in the newer surveys. The reason is presumably, as mentioned before, people are coming to a consensus regarding gender attitude. No matter how old they are or how high is their education, people are agreeing on gender equality. Gender egalitarianism emerge through people with high education, but through the diffusion process, people with lower education levels will have growing interests for gender equality (Pampel, 2011). Perhaps gender egalitarianism has penetrated through all social classes of Norwegian citizens.

However, the result shows that paid-work hours are not significant predictors for gender attitude in 1994 and 2002 surveys but became significant in 2012. Based on the previous study, longer working hours are predictor for more egalitarian gender attitudes for both men and women, but the effect is stronger for women (Baxter and Kane, 1995). Only in ISSP 2012, people who have more working hours, have fewer negative attitudes toward working women. Based on the previous finding that women tend to have more egalitarian gender attitude compare to men, working hours presumably have different effects on men and women. This study does not analyze the correlation of working hours separately on men and women and this could be the reason why Hypothesis 4 is partially rejected. Statistics Norway (2020a) data on the labor force survey shows that women's participation in the labor market has been increasing in the 1990s, which implies that women used to work fewer hours in the older surveys. Probably because the men who worked more hours did not necessarily have egalitarian gender attitude in the older surveys, that is why working hours did not correlated with gender attitude in the older surveys.

5.1.2. Paid and Unpaid Work Dynamics

The second research question is how the division household work and care changes from 1994 to 2012. Four repeated survey items (laundry, small repair, care for sick family member and grocery shopping) in ISSP 1994, 2002, and 2012 are used to measure the division of household work and care. First, the fact that laundry is mostly done by women consistently throughout the surveys strengthens the previous research that laundry is a feminine task (Sullivan, 1997; Hagqvist, 2016). Second, small repair is mostly done by men and also confirmed the previous theory that intermittent task such as repair is associated with masculinity (Sullivan, 2013). Third and fourth tasks, care for sick family member and grocery are both done equally or together by men and women. Even though childcare and grocery shopping used to be associated with femininity, both women and men found these tasks are enjoyable and rewarding (Cockburn-Wooten et al., 2008; Sullivan, 2013). Moreover, paternity leave and care benefit also encourage men to involve more in childcare that somehow equalizing caring roles within families.

Figure 2. Household Work and Care Division

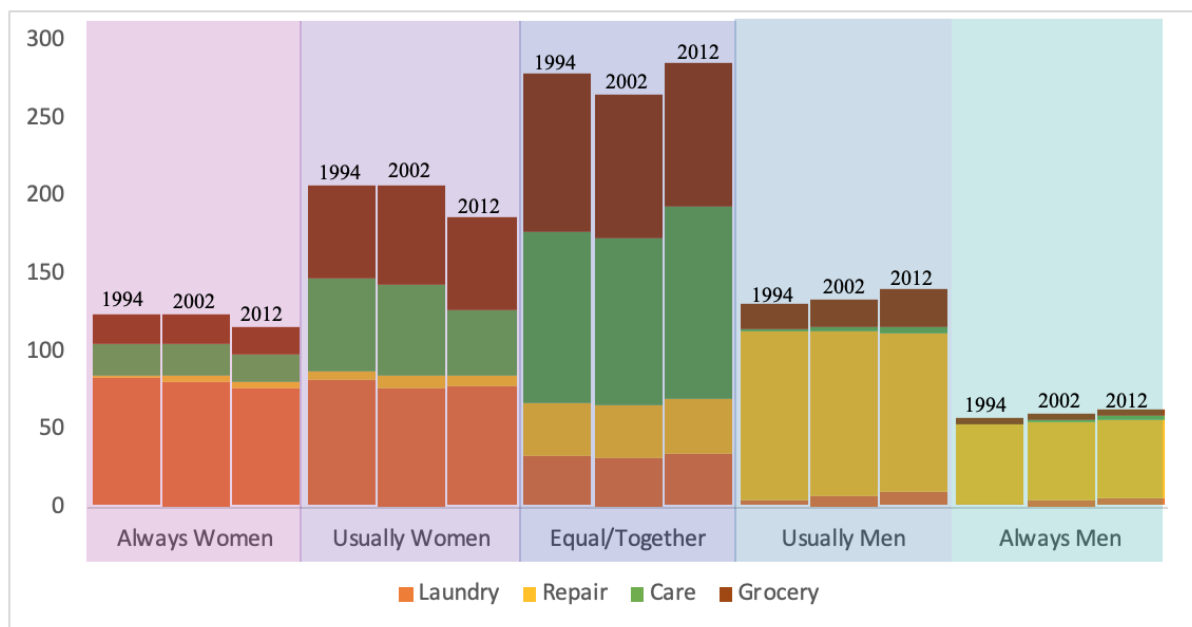


Figure 2 shows the overall division between men and women. Looking at the big picture, we could see that women do larger portion of housework than men. We could also see decrease in the charts for women and raising in men's charts. The changes are tiny. The shift from tradition gendered division of housework to more equal division is very slow. Only small percentage of women do more repair work, while men do more laundry in the newer surveys. However, this figure was made by combining the percentages of answers for each task and it is important to acknowledge that this figure does not represent how many hours of housework and care were done by each gender. The routine tasks such as laundry and childcare consume so much more time compare to intermittent tasks such as household repair that is done irregularly (Sullivan, 1997). In the end, in terms of time use, women still do more household work and care compare to men.

The third research question is how gender attitude correlate with the division of housework and care. Women's less traditional gender attitudes are evidently associated with lower

probabilities that these women will do all the housework tasks (Geist, 2005). The results of the study show that gender attitude correlate with the division of housework only in the older surveys and mostly significant only for women. Hypothesis 5 is partially confirmed for laundry, care, and grocery division. People who have fewer negative attitudes toward working women likely involve men more in housework and care. In many cases, the effect of gender attitude is different for men and women, and also weaken in the newer surveys (see Table 4, 8 and 10). In order to understand better, the reason why the correlation is varied, the correlation between division of housework and predictors of gender attitude such as age, education, and paid working hours were analyzed. The results show that age, education, paid-work hours, and gender attitude affect the division of housework differently for men and women (see Table 4, 6, 8 and 10). Despite of the raising egalitarian gender attitude in Norway, household work and care are still done as the traditional gendered division of feminine and masculine tasks. Even if there were changes the last three decades, they were very modest (see Figure 2). Previous studies found that gender attitude has a significant correlation with the division of housework between men and women (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). The analysis performed in this thesis does not fully support the previous studies. Gender attitude has significant relationships with laundry, care, and grocery for women in ISSP 1994 and 2002, for men only with laundry in 1994. Small repair does not have a significant correlation with gender attitude throughout all of the surveys for neither men nor women. Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard (2010) study found the following:

More precisely, the findings suggest that men's egalitarian ideology is associated with a decrease in their partners' housework hours, but not with an increase in their own housework hours. Similarly, whereas wives with a more egalitarian gender ideology perform less housework, their egalitarian attitudes do not affect their partners' housework hours (p. 773).

The results prove that the masculine housework i.e. small repair does not have correlation at all with gender attitude. Whereas gender attitude affects the feminine housework tasks. Despite of the raising egalitarian gender attitude in Norway, household work and care are still done as the traditional gendered division of feminine and masculine tasks. This study partially rejects Hypothesis 5 that gender attitude has a significant correlation with division of household work and care. The reason is presumably because the measurement of gender attitude only covers public realms such as economy and politic but neglects the private sphere of household.

Norway is one of the countries where gender equality is better than the rests of the world as the second place of the Global Gender Gap Index 2020. The criteria are measured based on four dimensions which are Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment. Looking back at the newest ISSP in this study, the labor force participation rate for women was 97% which is very high in 2012 (Statistics Norway, 2020a). Almost every woman in the labor force are employed. The question is whether having a job equalizes woman with men or not. The routine housework and care are undesirable and those who have more power will bargain to not do it (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). If having a job really equalized men and women, then the data is expected to show men and women do household work and care more equally.

Politicians may have tried their best equalizing gender roles with family policies. Mothers work full-time and fathers are more involved in childcare. During 1980s in Norway, the basic division of responsibilities between men and women was men are responsible for economic provision and household repair, while women are responsible for childcare and housework

(Gullestad, 2001, p. 111). Then, women started to work not in the name of gender equality, but it was more as a necessity (ibid, p. 307). Norwegian family policy has been supporting dual-earner families since 1978 when the fathers' right to parental leave was introduced (Lappegard, 2005). Women acquired the responsibility for economic provision and men received the responsibility for childcare. Esping-Andersen (2012) explained these changes as the masculinization of female life course and the feminization of male life course. Women experiencing this masculine responsibility as economic provider throughout all of their life course, after graduation until before retirement. On the other hand, perhaps men experience feminine responsibility of childcare by themselves without the help from their partners only during the paternity leave (15-19 weeks) and care benefit (10 days per year paid leave to take care of sick children). Mothers seemingly present most of the other times which makes their partners rely more on them for childcare tasks.

Outside the paternity leave period, mothers probably still do more childcare activities even when they work full-time. Mothers leave their children in kindergarten in the morning, go to a full-time job, and go home taking care of the children after coming from kindergarten and doing all the housework tasks (Anderrson in Giddens & Diamond, 2005). These responsibilities juggling between men and women are relatively unequal because women can spend the same amount of time on paid work with their partners, still women must do a large portion of unpaid work at home. Moreover, the statistics of the labor force survey count how many women are being part of the labor force even if they are actually absent from work to take care of their children (Stanfors, 2014). Most fathers only took their own quota, but less likely to take the joint period quota. Fathers who take the leave only up to the quota are unlikely to achieve the concept of gender egalitarianism because the mothers still take the extensive share of leave (Duvander et al., 2019). Despite the high labor participation rate, there are women who are taking longer parental leave compare to men. In the end, women have more available time at home to do housework. Eventually, gender equality in public sphere such as employment may not reflect gender equality in private sphere.

Women bearing double responsibilities of paid and unpaid work may bring conflict, then how can they compete against men in the labor market. Norwegian labour force is indeed segregated by gender. Women dominate health, education, and social services sectors, while men dominated mining, agriculture, manufacture and construction jobs. In 2019, 83,4% of health care personnel and 67% people working in education sector in Norway are female (Statistics Norway, 2020a and 2020b). Women are also dominating public sector, while men are dominating private sector (Gupta et al., 2007). Public sector is more flexible and lenient towards parental leave (Ibid). The public sector also relatively has smaller salary compare to private sector. Gender pay gap in Norway is 17% that means women receive 17% less income for the same job that men do (OECD, 2019). Moreover, there is welfare state-based glass ceiling is the increasing gender pay gap on the top of wage distribution (Gupta et al., 2007). The gender pay gap for low and middle income is very small because majority of women have this level of income. As the number of women in higher level of income falls, gender pay gap is widened. Even though families in Norway have dual earners, probably the majority of men have higher income than their wives or partners. Therefore, when men bargain for not doing undesirable routine housework, they probably have bigger power to avoid the responsibility. Eventually, women have to do the larger share of household work and care.

On the other hand, it is interesting to discuss whether women have choices or not. What are the reasons women dominating the public health and education sectors? Do they choose it themselves or any other external forces for the majority of women to choose the same fields of

work? In contrast, do women enjoy doing housework and doing more because they want to? Or do women have paid work because they want to or they have to? Women's employment has made a substantial contribution to economic growth, where they account for 8-9% of the overall average annual GDP per capita growth rate in Norway (OECD, 2018). The state is also burdened by the enormous cost to maintain universalistic welfare services that result in encouraging both women's and men's labor force participation (Esping-Andersen, 1999). When the respondents are answering these two survey items for gender attitude: 'Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income' and 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family', perhaps their answers are based on the general norms in society instead of their personal preferences. Welfare state may have reinforced gender equality values, by making companies must give maternity and paternity leave to its employees to encourage women's continuous participation in the labor market, all in the name of the common good (Rothstein, 1998; Dworkin, 2014). Employment could empower women to be independent to have more choices in life, but a particular way of life has become more desirable as a social norm. For instance, being a career woman is more desirable than being a housewife. Perhaps women feel the external pressures to have to pursue a career while they struggle to balance paid and unpaid work after experience parenthood. At the same time, they could also be unaware of the pressures and normalized the fact that balancing work and family is challenging. Eventually, women choose fields of work that are more flexible and less time consuming like the public sector.

5.2.Limitations

The use of cross-sectional data or survey design does not allow this study to explain causality between variables. Patterns of association is possible to be examined, but the direction of causal influence is ambiguous since all the variables were retrieved at the same time(Bryman, 2012). Therefore, this study could confirm hypotheses based on previous findings, but when the results does not support the hypotheses, it is hard to have explanations why. This thesis used secondary data such as statistics, governmental documents, international indexes, and previous research to try explaining the profound and unexpected findings.

Another limitation of this study is the measures were limited to the questions that had been asked in the ISSP studies. There are many gaps of knowledge in the complexity of gender attitudes because ISSP was heavily focused on women only, while ignoring more extensive issues about men participation in household work and childcare (Stickney and Conrad, 2012). The measured for division of housework were also limited, because ISSP 1994, 2002, and 2012 have different questions. There are only four questions that are consistently asked in every survey which are laundry, small repair, care for sick family member, and grocery shopping. Other main housework tasks such as cleaning and cooking are really interesting to be explored but those were asked only in ISSP 2012. Moreover, the answer categories changed from ISSP 1994 to ISSP 2002 as it became gender neutral from *always women/men* to *always me/my partner*. In order to be able to measure the gendered division of doing housework, this research assumed the respondents are in heterosexual relationship. We acknowledge that the structures of family changed in respective of LGBTQ+ rights even though this research did not able to take that into consideration in the variables measuring process.

5.3. Implications

The last ISSP on the topic of Family and Changing Gender Roles was 2012 and it has been eight years since this study was made. Gender attitude and division of housework and care may have changed in the last 8 years. The next ISSP is expected to be available on 2022. Future research should be done when the new ISSP is available to see if the egalitarian gender attitude will get stronger and if the traditional gendered housework and care remain. Since ISSP is done internationally in many countries, it will be interesting also to compare Norway with other Nordic countries or other countries that have totally different system from dual-earner welfare model. According to previous research, different family policy models seem to have different effects on gender equality (Korpi, 2000; Knudsen and Waærness, 2008; Hagqvist, 2016). In addition, on the last part of discussion there are many questions arise regarding women's choices to work on the same field of work. Recommendation for further research to explore this by qualitative research, especially using in-depth interviews, to understand better and give voices to women. The other way around, because the research about gender attitude and division of household labor are mostly focus heavily on women, through in-depth interviews with men, we could find new perspectives why men tend to do smaller share of housework compare to women.

In terms of practical implications, this study argues that that gender egalitarianism is connected to welfare policies and services. In Norway, paternity and maternity leave, care benefit, high quality and affordable childcare reinforce redistribution of caring work among men and women. The study shows taking care of sick family members is done more equal or together by both genders. Norwegian family policies somehow ease the work family conflict of its citizens that results in high participation rate in the labor market. Other countries, which are trying to close gender gap and improving the labor participation rate, could learn from Norway and develop their family policies. Despite the low gender gap and gender equal labor force participation, segregated working areas and gender pay gap still exist in Norway. Women also still do more household work and care compare to men, this needs to be acknowledged in the process of framing policies and social services. The value of paid and unpaid work in society should be explored further.

5.4. Conclusion

This thesis aims to study the relationship between gender attitude and division of household work and care in a dual-earner welfare model context. ISSP Family and Changing Gender Roles 1994, 2002, and 2012 were used as data to be analyzed. The results partially confirms previous studies that there are relationships between gender, age, education, paid-work hours, gender attitude, and the division of household work and care (Baxter and Kane, 1995; Korpi, 2000; Treas and Widmer, 2000; Apparala, et al., 2003; Geist, 2005; Kunovich and Kunovich, 2008; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Pampel, 2011; Stickney and Konrad, 2012; Hsiao, 2013; Hagqvist, 2016). Negative attitudes toward working women decreased in the newer surveys that reflect the rise of gender egalitarianism. Gender, age and education are significant predictors for gender attitude. Women tend to have fewer negative attitudes toward working women compare to men. The younger generation and people with higher education also favor egalitarian gender attitudes. Otherwise, workhour is not a significant predictor for gender attitude because it seemingly has different effect on men and women. Gender attitude was found to have a significant correlation with the division of housework between men and women (Geist, 2005; Kangas and Kostgaard, 2007; Hagqvist, 2016). The results show that the effect

of gender attitude is different for men's and women's division of household work and care, and also there were no significant correlations in the newer surveys.

Division of household work and care is relatively stagnant throughout the surveys. The results show insignificant changes of more women do repair work and men do laundry. Caring work is notably divided more equally between gender. Nontransferable paternity leave and care benefit reinforce a new parenting norm where fathers become more involved in childcare. Moreover, those policies ease the work family conflict for working women results in boosting the labor participation rate. However, women still do more than men as they are the ones who mostly do routine housework such as laundry, while men mostly do the intermittent tasks such as small repair. Caring for sick family members and grocery shopping are divided more equally, but still women do more than men. The reason is presumably there are different paradigms for gender equality in the public versus the private sphere. The gender attitude variable in this study only covers gender equality in the public realms of economy, politics, and social rights. However, the traditional gendered division of household work and care remain in private sphere. As a matter of fact, segregated working areas and gender pay gap still exist even in gender egalitarian context such as Norway. In the private sphere, women are still obliged to do housework and care more than men. Therefore, women tend to choose field of work that is less time consuming and more flexible, but also less paid. Eventually, the values of paid and unpaid work for both men and women are intertwined and important to be studied further.

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Appendix: Non-plagiarism declaration

I hereby declare that the Dissertation titled : *Gender egalitarianism effects of division of housework and childcare in dual-earner families context*, submitted to the Erasmus Mundus Master's Program in Social Work with Families and Children:

- Has not been submitted to any other Institute/University/College
- Contains proper references and citations for other scholarly work
- Contains proper citation and references from my own prior scholarly work
- Has listed all citations in a list of references.

I am aware that violation of this code of conduct is regarded as an attempt to plagiarize, and will result in a failing grade (F) in the program.

Date : 15th of June 2020

Signature : 

Name (in block letters): DHEA NAZMI RIFA