

The juggle and struggle of everyday life

**Gender, division of work, work-
family perceptions and well-being
in different policy contexts**

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*For my daughters
For all women
And for equality*

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Abstract

Background This thesis explores the division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being in different policy contexts. Work (both paid and unpaid) is an arena where gender order is emphasised. Work task specialisation is often based on our ideas of femininity and masculinity. A gender order results in different chances and possibilities in life for men and women, influencing for example access to paid work. Genders are constructed differently across contexts, and countries policies and norms seem to play an important role in for instance the possibilities to combine work and children. Also, gender is important for the understanding and for the experiences of health and well-being.

Two main research question are investigated in this thesis. First, how do gendered work division and work-family perceptions relate to well-being? Second, what are the contextual differences (policies and norms) with regard to gendered time use, gender attitude, work-family perceptions and well-being?

Methods The thesis is based on data from three sources: the European Social Survey (ESS), the International Social Survey programme (ISSP) and Multinational Time Use Data (MTUS). With these sources, the aim is to capture patterns of behaviours, attitudes and perceptions on both individual level and national level. The methods used are logistic regression (Study I), OLS regression (Study III) and two different types of multilevel analyses (Studies II and IV).

Results The results indicate that work-family perceptions are more important for individuals' well-being than actual time spent on paid and unpaid work. Further, the relationship between experiences of imbalance between work and family and low well-being differs by country. In countries where labour markets are more gender-equal the experience of imbalance to a higher degree relate to lower well-being, indicating that those who do experience imbalance in these gender-equal countries report lower levels of well-being than in countries which are less gender-equal.

There have been changes in division of work and attitudes towards women's employment over the last few decades. Institutions and policies play a role for the division of work, and to some extent for changes in work task specialisation, as well as attitudes towards women's employment.

Conclusion Central findings in this thesis show that it seems as if the experience of balance in life is more important for individuals' well-being than time use. The context in which gender is constructed is important for the relationship between paid work and family life imbalance and well-being and should be taken into consideration in cross-country studies. The fact that individuals in more gender-equal countries report lower well-being when experiencing imbalance could be a result of the multiple burden for both men and women in more gender-equal contexts. Also, the role of context and policies for attitudes and behaviours in relation to work is complex, and although this thesis adds to previous knowledge more research is needed.

From a gender perspective the conclusion is that there are dual expectations in relation to work. In more gender-equal countries, women are expected to be equal to men by participating in the labour market. Meanwhile women still have the main responsibility for the home. Thus, it seems as if the equality of work is based on a masculine norm where paid work is highly valued.

Svensk sammanfattning

Bakgrund Denna avhandling undersöker fördelningen av arbete mellan män och kvinnor, upplevelsen av arbete och familjeliv samt välbefinnande bland män och kvinnor i olika länder. Arbete både det betalda och det obetalda är en arena där genusrelationer skapas. Fördelningen av arbete mellan män och kvinnor grundar sig ofta på idén om vad som är maskulint och feminint. Genusrelationer resulterar i olika förutsättningar och möjligheter i livet, vilket till exempel påverkar möjligheten till att förvärvsarbeta. Maskulinitet och femininitet konstrueras olika i olika kontexter, och länders policyer och normer tycks spela en viktig roll för möjligheten att kombinera arbete med barn. Genus är även viktigt för hur män och kvinnor förstår och erfar välbefinnande.

Två frågeställningar är i huvudsak undersökt i denna avhandling. 1) Hur förhåller sig faktorerna fördelning av arbete mellan män och kvinnor, upplevelser av arbete- och familjeliv samt välbefinnande till varandra? 2) Finns det kontextuella (policyer och normer) skillnader i fördelning av arbete mellan män och kvinnor, attityd till genus och upplevelser av arbete- och familjeliv samt välbefinnande?

Metod Avhandlingen baseras på data från tre olika källor: European Social Survey (ESS), International Social Survey programme (ISSP) och Multinational Time Use Data (MTUS). Syftet med att använda dessa databaser var att fånga mönster i beteende och attityder på både individnivå och landsnivå. De statistiska metoder som använts är logistisk regression (Studie I), OLS regression (Studie III), samt två olika flernivåsanalyser (Studie II och IV).

Resultat Avhandlingens resultat indikerar att upplevelser av arbete- och familjeliv har högre relevans för individens välbefinnande än den faktiska tid som spenderats på betalt och obetalt arbete. Relationen mellan lågt välbefinnande och upplevd obalans mellan arbetet och hemmet skiljer sig mellan länder. I länder där arbetsmarknaden är mer jämställd rapporterar de individer som upplever obalans till större grad lägre välbefinnandet än i de länder där arbetsmarknaden är mindre jämställd.

Det har skett en förändring över tid i hur arbetet är fördelat mellan män och kvinnor och i attityder till kvinnors deltagande på arbetsmarknaden. Institutioner och policyer är centralt för fördelningen av arbete och till del

även för förändring i arbetsfördelning över tid samt attityder till kvinnors deltagande på arbetsmarknaden.

Konklusion Centrala fynd i avhandlingen visar att upplevelser kring arbete- och familjeliv är av större vikt för välbefinnandet än faktisk tid spenderad på betalt och obetalt arbete. Kontexten i vilken genus konstrueras är central för relationen mellan arbete och familjeobalans och välbefinnande, vilket bör tas i beaktande i framtida jämförande studier. Företeelsen att individer i mer jämställda länder rapporterar lägre välbefinnande då de upplever obalans i livet kan vara en följd av de multipla kraven på både män och kvinnor. Institutioner och policyer tycks ha en betydelse för attityder och beteenden i relation till arbete, dock krävs mer forskning för att förtydliga förståelsen kring denna betydelse.

Utifrån ett genusperspektiv är konklusionen att det finns dubbla budskap och förväntningar i förhållande till arbete. I mer jämställda länder förväntas kvinnor att vara jämställda genom att delta på arbetsmarknaden. Samtidigt förväntas kvinnorna fortfarande ta huvudansvaret för hemmet. Sålunda verkar det som att jämställt arbete baseras på en manlig norm där betalt arbete värderas högre.

List of papers

The thesis is based on the following four papers, herein referred to by their Roman numerals:

- I. Hagqvist, E., Gillander Gådin, K., & Nordenmark, M. (2012). Division of labor, perceived labor-related stress and well-being among European couples. *Open Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 2(4), 452–460. DOI: 10.4236/ojpm.2012.24064
- II. Hagqvist, E., Gillander Gådin, K., & Nordenmark, M. (2016). Work-family conflict and well-being across Europe: The role of gender context. Published online in *Social Indicators Research*. DOI: 10.1007/s11205-016-1301-x
- III. Hagqvist, E., Nordenmark, M., Perez, G., Trujillo Alemán S., & Gillander Gådin, K. (XXXX). Are changes in parental leave policies related to gendered time use? A case study of Spain and Sweden. Submitted
- IV. Hagqvist, E., & Öun, I. (XXXX)*. Changing gender relations, fact or fiction? Patterns of change in the gendered division of housework and attitudes toward gender equality over two decades in 21 countries. Submitted

* Authors contributed equally.

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Preface

This thesis has been conducted within the field of Health Sciences, which is a broad subject, reflecting my own multidisciplinary background. Having one foot in medical science with a focus on nursing and the other in political science, the continuation was a master degree in global public health. The studies included in this thesis range in orientation from public health to a more sociological emphasis. Throughout the work on this thesis an interest in gender theory was developed and became an obvious analytical tool.

This thesis summarises the work of four studies. Though gender is included in the four separate studies it has not been emphasised. I have taken the opportunity to discuss the results in this thesis (kappa) in more depth from a gender perspective. Also, concepts and theory are more thoroughly described.

In my personal life I take a political stand for gender equality. I believe in people's equal value and in equal chances in life. Though I have tried not to be coloured by my political views in the analyses of the data, it can be difficult to be completely neutral. However, being aware of my views and values and stating them clearly improves the trustworthiness.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the thesis. In chapter 2 theory and previous research on relevant concepts are presented. Starting with gender theory and moving to division of work, work-family perceptions, well-being and finally policy and context. Aim and research questions are presented in chapter 4 followed by methodology in chapter 5. The main results of the theses are presented in chapter 6. The discussion (chapter 7) has two main parts. First I discuss the results found in the thesis and the four separate studies. This is followed by the in-depth discussion from a gender perspective, moving beyond and summarising ideas and thoughts resulting from the four studies. Lastly implications (Chapter 8) and conclusion (Chapter 9) are presented.

Emma Hagqvist

Frösön, March 2016

1 Introduction

In today's western society men and women juggle several factors in life, including: work, career, partner, children, friends, housework and different societal pressures, for example to maintain healthy lifestyles. Individuals often express a feeling that the juggling in life is a struggle that greatly affects their health and well-being in general. With 24 hours available, time is divided between work and family life. This time is often unequally distributed between genders. There have been major transformations in western society over the last decades, moving from a gender-conservative division of work with breadwinners and homemakers to dual-earner societies with men and women both contributing to the household's earning. However, women still do the lion's share of the housework. In literature housework is often referred to as 'the second shift', signifying the workload from having paid employment as well as the responsibility for the home, creating dual burden. The second shift is often laid upon women and mothers. This thesis studies the gendered division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being in different policy contexts.

Men and women tend to report different levels of well-being and different health levels, which is a result of structural differences in life chances and opportunities. Women more often report lower self-rated health while men live shorter lives and more often suffer ill-health related to lifestyle factors. Therefore, from a health science perspective, finding factors that affect men's and women's chances and opportunities in life is most important. Work is one such factor as it is found to be an arena where gender relations are maintained and divided according to values regarding femininity and masculinity. Also, research has suggested that work, both paid work and housework, are strong determinants of health. Hence, work is an important factor to study in relation to both overall health and gender inequalities in health. This thesis will therefore contribute to the understanding of work as a determinant of health from a gender perspective. Specifically, paid and unpaid work and perceptions thereof will be studied in relation to well-being.

The struggle to find balance between work and family has been found to be important for life satisfaction. There are reasons to believe that the focus on work-life factors and working time as factors related to well-being should be extended to include also perceptions of balance in life. This will therefore be further explored in this thesis.

In relation to work, men and women have different opportunities and possibilities and policies, laws and gender norms are believed to be important factors for these differences. For instance, laws enabling the combination of work and children often lead to higher rates of female employment. Existing cross-country differences in and institutional support for gender equality create different gender contexts. Gendered work specialisation and attitudes to women's labour market participation are expected to vary across different gender contexts and will be further explored in this thesis.

In a patriarchal gender order, men have more power in society. This results in gender differences in capabilities and opportunities in life with regard to work, life juggling and well-being. In this thesis gender theory is the main starting point from which work, work-family perception and well-being are understood. Accordingly, an in-depth discussion of the results from a gender perspective will be carried out.

2 Theory and previous research

This thesis is about gender, division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being in different policy contexts. This chapter will touch upon the theory, central concepts and previous research in the area.

Gender theory is used to understand the division of work, inequalities in well-being and contextual differences, and the results will in part be discussed from a gender perspective. Hence, the first section (2.1) presents gender theory. In the second section (2.2) the concepts, theory and empirical evidence of division of work is presented. Thirdly (section 2.3) work-family perceptions will be discussed. Thereafter the health perspectives are outlined followed by an overview of previous research in the area (section 2.4). In the final section (2.5) policy and gender context in regard to work division and in regard to the relationship between well-being and work division as well as work-family perceptions will be elaborated.

2.1 Gender theory

In the light of normative conceptions about women and men, gender is expressed or reflected through individuals' different and multiple activities. Similarly, other persons are perceived through their behaviours, related to the gendered expectations. When studying and interpreting the division of work, work-family perceptions as well as policy contexts in this thesis, the starting point is a gender-theoretical perspective.

An important dimension of the gender-theoretical perspective is the construction of women and men in relation to socially shaped ideas about femininities and masculinities. Femininity and masculinity should not be seen as single static roles, but as a continuum including multiple identities. According to Connell (2009), in a gender order, men as a group have advantages in society. The gender order is patriarchally divided, creating a hierarchy where men have more power in respect to money, authority, respect, control over one's life and more access to institutional power. There are differences and hierarchies within the group of men, where hegemonic masculinities are powerful in relation to other subordinate masculinities (Connell, 2008; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Femininities and masculinities are something created in interaction, or as Connell states, we take or are given our place in the gender structure by our appearance (Connell, 2009). In this sense, men and women can be viewed as more or

less feminine or masculine depending on, for instance, looks and behaviours.

Gender is seen by some as a result of social doings (Connell, 2009; West & Zimmerman, 1987). For example, in young age girls learn to be attractive caring persons while boys are taught to be tough (Connell, 2009). The social behaviours are patterns that are produced and reproduced throughout life, which strengthens adults' gender expectations. A central part of the gendered social practices is the division and performance of work. Dividing work becomes an act of 'doing gender' expressed as '*[T]he "doing" of gender is undertaken by women and men whose competence as members of society is hostage to its production*' (West & Zimmerman, 1987 p. 125). In this respect work allocation springs from the fact that men and women affirm and reproduce gender by sticking to their gendered work tasks (Connell, 2009; Hochschild & Machung, 2003). Housework and breadwinning activities become symbolic actions of upholding masculinity and femininity. Women tend to think of unpaid work and care as nurturance and loving rather than work. Care is, for many women, a duty that they are trained for and to resist the caring of others would be an act of risking their womanly character (DeVault, 1991). Masculinity on the other hand is often related to earning money and being successful at paid work (Connell, 2008; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Parenthood is another arena where gender can be constructed. Interwoven in the norms of good mothering are caring responsibilities that emphasise the construction of femininity (DeVault, 1991). For fathers, the need to be breadwinners can become stronger with the loss of income when mothers are at home with the baby. The increased need for income and to be a family provider gives emphasis to hegemonic masculinity. Hence, the norms of parenthood seem to strengthen the act of doing gender, perhaps also influencing the gender relation in doing housework.

In one respect the doing of gender is carried out on an individual level. But the doing is situated in a context and gender is conceived as an emergent feature of social situations, institutions and various social arrangements. Doing gender in different contexts, where masculinities and femininities are constructed differently, can hence result in nuances of gender identifications. Consequently, the masculinity of breadwinning and the femininity of homemaking can be valued differently across countries (cf. Evertsson & Nermo, 2004; Thébaud, 2010).

2.1.1 Gender norms and gender attitude

In research, scholars often separate gender values into individual level and national level. A conclusion from different studies and the terminology used in this thesis is that gender attitudes represent the individual point of view on femininity and masculinity while gender norms more often reflect values on a national level. Though attitudes are strongly related to norms within a country, they do differ and studies show that attitudes relate more to work division than norms do (Fuwa, 2004; Geist, 2005; Nordenmark, 2008). Previous research shows that gender attitudes differ by groups of individuals. Women tend to have more progressive attitudes towards gender equality than men in western countries (Apparala, Reifman, & Munsch, 2003, Kunovich & Kunovich, 2008). Furthermore, attitudes seem to change depending on life course situations and socio-economic status; parents more often report more traditional views, and those who are younger, those with higher education and those with higher status more often report gender-equal attitudes (Apparala et al., 2003; Kunovich & Kunovich, 2008). Kangas and Rostgaard (2007) show that the attitude of the husband to gender equality is what chiefly steers the division of work within a family. The progression of gender attitudes over time will be explored further in Study IV.

2.2 Division of work

In studies of division of work scholars often refer to the terms paid and unpaid work. Paid work is often referred to as time spent on gainful employment either as an employee or as self-employed. Students, those on sick leave and unemployed are often not included. Definitions and concepts of unpaid work are rarely uniform. However, a fairly consistent conceptualisation has emerged in literature. Terms such as housework, domestic work and unpaid work are jointly used, describing work done to maintain the home (Shelton & John, 1996). Sometimes the care of other family members, often children, is included in the definition of unpaid work.

Staland Nyman (2008) suggests a two-dimensional framework of unpaid work: domestic gratification and domestic workload. The first of the two signifies the positive, rewarding and satisfactory side of unpaid work that is sometimes experienced. The second signifies the draining, burdensome and demanding part. The same housework tasks could be perceived as both demanding and rewarding. For example a person who likes cooking can find preparing a nice dinner for friends rewarding and

meaningful while at the same time it increases the time spent on unpaid work. Others can find cooking stressful and demanding. When respondents are asked about their time spent on unpaid work, the two dimensions of housework are difficult to distinguish from each other. Also, distinguishing between unpaid and paid work is sometimes difficult, especially for those working from home (Niemi, 1993). Therefore, unpaid work is often measured according to respondents' understanding of the concept or in particular activities that can be specified as either routine or sporadic work. Routine housework, often named the female work tasks, is work done on a daily basis or several times a week, such as cooking, cleaning and laundry. Sporadic work includes work such as care maintenance, gardening and small repairs around the house. Compared to sporadic housework, routine work is often more time-consuming, rarely optional, can seldom be postponed and is often carried out at the end of the paid work day (picking up children, shopping for groceries and cooking dinner).

In this thesis the understanding of the term unpaid work is based chiefly on the domestic workload and the housework that is carried out as a routine every week. Unpaid work has been measured differently in all studies, either through time diary, estimations of time or estimated share of unpaid work. A consideration of the pros and cons of using these measurements can be found in the methodological discussion. Division of work and time spent on paid and unpaid work are studied in Studies I, III and IV.

2.2.1 Division of work from a gender perspective – previous research

Globally, in most families a gendered work task specialisation exists to a greater or lesser extent (Geist, 2005). This is signified by women taking on the role as the main caregiver and homemaker and men as breadwinners. On a European level, women tend to spend, on average, 13 hours a week more on unpaid work than men do (Boye, 2009). However during the last few decades there has generally been a change, and since 1965 women's time in unpaid work has declined and men's increased (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000). However, the amount of change differs across countries. Bianchi et al. (2000) show that generally, since 1985, the development towards an equal share of unpaid work has seemed to flatten out.

Meanwhile, labour market participation for women in most countries has increased, as has their average time spent on paid work (Aliaga, 2006). Today, on a European average, women's total work time, both at the

workplace and in the home, tends to exceed that of men (Eurofound, 2014; MacDonald, Phipps, & Lethbridge, 2005; Väänänen et al., 2004).

In families where women take part in the labour market, changes often occur in the division of work within the couple. Women's increased time in paid work seems to decrease her time in unpaid work and the chances of an equal share of housework increase (Bianchi et al., 2000; Brines, 1994; Geist, 2005). Furthermore, women who have a high income relative to their spouses seem to be doing less housework than other women. Also, men who work part-time seem to do more housework than their full-time working equals (Bianchi et al., 2000; Fuwa, 2004). The gendered expression in the division of work becomes very clear when men become economically dependent on their spouse. Studies have shown that these dependent men tend to do less housework than men who earn more than or the same as their wives (Brines, 1994; Evertsson & Nermo, 2004). Brines (1993, 1994) argues that these economically dependent men try to repossess their lost masculinity by doing less unpaid work. Other researchers find no such connection (Bianchi et al., 2000). The reproduction of hegemonic masculinity is sustained in heteronormative assumptions and practices and the role of men as breadwinners is a central aspect of hegemonic masculinity in western countries (Connell, 2008; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). However, the need for men to reproduce their masculinities through participation in housework might be affected by the normative values of men as breadwinners. In fact, Thébaud (2010) found that men are less likely to exchange housework for income in countries that value paid work and income highly. Furthermore, Evertsson and Nermo (2004) show that a gendered expression in the division of work tend to be less visible in a gender-equal country such as Sweden compared to a country with more conservative gender roles. The context in which gender is constructed thus seems important for division of labour and perhaps also for work-family perceptions. Studies II, III and IV will touch on these contextual differences. More on context in section 2.5.

In the transition to parenthood, women and men find a need to identify themselves as mothers and fathers. In this transition there is also another little life to take into consideration and to care for. This might change the dynamics in the family, which also has an impact on the gendered patterns and relationship within the couple. New dependencies arise and many women find themselves more dependent on their partner, relying on them for help with care, household duties and perhaps mostly on financial support. This might affect the possibilities and resources to negotiate

housework responsibilities, and some women perceive the need to give something back to the husband for the loss of time that is now spent on the baby and for being dependent (Fox, 2001). Also, the norm of good motherhood demands women's time at home with children rather than in paid work (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001; Fox, 2001). Becoming parents often changes the gendered division of work (Uunk, Kalmijn, & Muffels, 2005). Parenthood seems to increase the mother's time in unpaid work and decrease her time in paid work (Uunk et al., 2005). Many mothers reduce working time or end employment. The level of change among new mothers in their paid work time differs across countries. While most women in Scandinavian countries continue to work at least part-time (often not less than 75 per cent of full-time) after childbirth, women in other European countries tend to reduce their work time considerably or stop working for many years (Uunk et al., 2005). However, no matter where the mother lives, the norm of what a good mother is still focuses on nurturing children and taking care of the home rather than spending time in paid work, resulting in an more unequal share of work for parents (Bianchi et al., 2000; Gjerdingen, McGovern, Bekker, Lundberg, & Willemsen, 2000).

Though gender theory is the main approach from which work is viewed, it needs to be mentioned that other theories related to concepts of division work do exist. Theories most often found in literature on work task specialisation are: the time constraint/availability theory and the relative resource theory. According to the time constraint/availability theory, the partner with the most time available for unpaid work will also be the one carrying it out. The time spent on unpaid work is thus strongly linked to individual's time in paid work. The relative resources theory states that the possibility to bargain about how the unpaid work should be divided between spouses depends on individuals' level of resources in relation to their partners'. The need for a gender-theoretical perspective in general grew from a strong critique of these earlier theories. Several gender researchers argue that there are other factors than merely time allocation and relative resources that proclaim men and women's involvement in work. Many results failed to support these earlier theories about relative resources and time allocation and supported a gender-theoretical perspective (as discussed in Brines, 1993, 1994; Evertsson & Nermo, 2004). Coltrane (2010) argues that in applying individual-level theories such as time constraint/availability or relative resources one misses the interchangeable mechanism of micro and macro level factors. By studying

how gender relations are structured and maintained at multiple level, a more nuanced and clear picture of work task specialisation emerges.

2.3 Work-family perceptions

Perceptions of work and family life include many aspects. When going through the literature one can find, among other things, studies on perceptions of fairness with regard to division of work (Greenstein, 1996; Nordenmark & Nyman, 2003), perceived equity (Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgartner, 2008), marital satisfaction or disagreement about work division (Ruppanner, 2010; Shelton & John, 1996), work stress (Doyle & Hind, 1998) and perceived paid work to family interference (Crompton & Lyonette, 2006; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). In this thesis work-family perceptions refer chiefly to paid work-family life interference (Studies I and II) but also to some degree to perceived stress related to paid and unpaid work (Study I). As the concept of paid work-family life interference is an important concept in this thesis the section below briefly clarifies the theory of interference. Thereafter studies in the area are presented.

2.3.1 The concept of paid work-family life interference

Paid work-family life interference is used to explain the extent to which individuals' perceive how their paid work-life interferes with their family-life or vice versa. Interference builds on role strain theory, which states that an inter-role conflict arises when pressure from participation in different incompatible roles increases (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Scholars often separate the two directions of interference as either paid work interfering with family-life or family-life interfering with paid work. The concepts of paid-work-to-family conflict and family-to-paid-work conflict have been studied and results show that men and women generally perceive higher levels of paid-work-to-family conflict (Byron, 2005; Fahlén, 2014; Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). Paid-work-to-family conflict is therefore the main focus of interest in this thesis, hereafter phrased as work-family conflict.

Greenhouse and Beutell (1985) classify three different types of paid work-family life interferences: a) time-based conflict, where time is a fixed resource and when one has time devoted to one role there be little or no time for other roles, b) strain-based conflict, when strains from one role make it difficult to fulfil the requirements from other roles, as a result of, for example, energy depletion, and c) behaviour-based conflict, as behaviours in one role might be incompatible with expectations in another role. However, the different types of conflict do not work in isolation. For example, time devoted to paid work could just as well influence strain-

based or behaviour-based conflict, as long working hours can take up a lot of a person's energy. Or aiming for a career could imply putting in a lot of paid working time. The type of conflict is seldom specified and often used interchangeably in studies. Just one study has been found where the type of conflict has been specified (Steiber, 2009). In this thesis it is not specified. Instead data rely on individuals' perception of work-family conflict.

2.3.2 Work-family conflict – previous research

This section briefly presents what factors can contribute to experiences of work-family conflict and how conflict is distributed across men and women.

Factors such as family demands and working conditions have been found to be related to level of work-family conflict (Byron, 2005; Gallie & Russell, 2009). While working conditions tend to be strongly related to work-family conflict, family demands seem to have only a weak relationship to experienced conflict. However, this varies to some degree by gender and across countries (Byron, 2005). Specifically, research shows that risk factors for the onset of work-family conflict include long working hours, working unsocial hours, partner being in employment, job demands, poor psychosocial work environment, having a professional job, and parenthood (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Crompton & Lyonette, 2006; Fahlén, 2014; Gallie & Russell, 2009; Grönlund, 2007; McGinnity & Calvert, 2009). On the other hand job control seems to have a protective effect on the experience of work-family conflict (Grönlund, 2007). Marmot and colleagues (2008) argue that the flexibility of high-status occupations might reduce potential work-family conflict. On the other hand, McGinnity and Calvert (2009) rather show the opposite, that higher professionals report higher work-family conflict than manual workers or non-skilled workers. They argue that higher-status occupations often have more stressful jobs and find housework more stressful which causes higher levels of conflict. Though time in unpaid work does not have a significant relationship to perception of work-family conflict, feelings of stress related to housework seem to do (McGinnity & Calvert, 2009; Steiber, 2009). Those reporting egalitarian gender attitudes seem to report higher levels of work-family conflict (McGinnity & Calvert, 2009). The reasons for this are not known but questions have been raised as to whether it has to do with work being more equally divided within the couple, higher conciseness about work division or that the ambitions to be equal clash with real-life possibilities. Furthermore, it is typically assumed that the absence of supporting work-family policies increase the risk of work-family conflict, but there are no

results supporting this hypothesis (Boye, 2011; Grönlund & Öun, 2010; Lunau, Bambra, Eikemo, van der Wel, & Dragano, 2014; Strandh & Nordenmark, 2006).

Some studies find that women tend to report higher levels of work-family conflict than men tend to do (Gutek et al., 1991; Lunau et al., 2014). Other studies show that men tend to report higher levels of work-family conflict than women (Fahlén, 2014; Lunau et al., 2014). However, as shown by Lunau et al. (2014) differences might have to do with country of living. As women most often have the main responsibility for housework, the effect of time in paid work should accordingly be stronger among women, which has been confirmed by McGinnity and Calvert (2009). They show that working hours seem to have a greater impact on women's experience of work-family conflict than on men's. Steiber (2009) show that women tend to perceive higher levels of time-based conflict than men but lower levels of strain-based conflict, which perhaps in part could explain differences in previous literature.

In sum, contextual variations seem important for level of work-family conflict for men and women. Section 2.5 will present previous research on context and work-family conflict.

2.4 Health and well-being

Well-being is the outcome measure in two of the four studies included in this thesis (Studies I and II). This section present the definition of health and well-being used in this thesis. Theory of gender and health will also be presented. Thereafter previous research on the relationship between work and well-being and on work-family conflict and well-being is outlined.

The World Health Organisation defines health as '*a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity*'. This definition has been criticised for its wide and utopian nature. However, it does emphasise the importance regarding health as something other than merely the absence of disease and that it includes levels of well-being. Health is not dichotomous – either positive or negative – but occupies different dimensions. According to Eriksson (1996) persons can experience health despite having a medical disease or the opposite, experience absence of health without having a medical diseases. Eriksson's conceptualisation of health is part of what Medin and Alexanderson (2000) define as a humanistic or holistic perspective on health. In this perspective individuals are seen as active and vigorous and part of the context within which they act.

Gadamer (1996) argues that well-being is a feeling of completeness. When there is a sense of something missing or lacking in one's life, a state of low well-being occurs. A feeling of well-being, Gadamer argues, means that we are open to new things, a part of the world and to scarcely notice the demands and strains that are put on us. Instead we find the engagement in everyday tasks rewarding. When well-being is achieved one experiences equilibrium in one's life and soul (Gadamer, 1996). To find paid or unpaid work demanding or stressful or when experiencing work-family conflict it can endorse a feeling of unease and demand and can cause a loss of what Gadamer terms equilibrium in life, resulting in a perception of low well-being. In this thesis individuals' well-being is used as a measurement for health where individuals' own experiences of their mental and emotional state is in focus.

2.4.1 Gender and health

Public health is a multidisciplinary field aiming to improve the population's health and well-being through science and practice. Marmot and colleagues (2008) state that there are structural inequalities in health caused by people's life chances. Studies show that the unequal distribution of power, income and goods within and between societies gives people a position in the social hierarchies of which societies are built and cause inequalities in health (Graham, 2007; Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997; Marmot et al., 2008). The main determinants of health, for example socio-economic position and social environment, influence life chances and social conditions, which in turn enables people to have good health (Green & Tones, 2010; Marmot et al., 2008). In the public health field it is necessary to address inequalities in health by approaching the unequal life chances caused by political, social and behavioural determinants (Green & Tones, 2010). Social position or hierarchies are often defined in terms of socio-economic inequalities but are also related to other power structures such as gender (Graham, 2007). In fact, Öhman (2008) argues that gender is the most important analytical tool in research about social conditions in relation to health.

In the construction of gender, men and women identify themselves through behaviours, activities, ideals and norms. This also influences their perceptions of what health is and the experiences of well-being and illness. Doing health can in this sense be understood as a form of doing gender (Saltonstall, 1993). Masculinities and femininities are constructed and reconstructed through health behaviours and health expectations. Though men and women are humans and biologically alike, our reproductive

elements differ, which could lead to men and women experiencing different medical diseases. The combination of the soma (or body), the psyche and social values of genders is what Krieger (2003, 2005) calls the embodiment of health. The health impact of gender relations is one aspect of embodiment. Hammarström et al. (2013) further explain that embodiment places the body in a historical and ecological context and emphasise the importance of societal conditions in the production of population health inequalities.

Taking into consideration the gendered view of what health is, in a patriarchal gender order men's privileges and benefits in society give men and women different possibilities and limitations to develop good health, which is important when studying and discussing health inequalities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In this thesis division of work and work-family perceptions are interpreted as a way of producing and reproducing gender in everyday life within the frames of a patriarchal gender order. As the doing of gender is strongly maintained in paid and unpaid work one could anticipate that work is a strong factor affecting the production and reproduction of gender in doing health. Hence, health in men and women can be expressed and experienced differently in the sphere of work. Additionally, men's and women's different living conditions and possibilities in relation to health should be considered. Hence, it seems important to apply a gender perspective to understand the relationship between work division, work-family perceptions and well-being.

2.4.2 Work, family and health – previous research

Both the gendered division of work and work-family interference have been connected to different health variables in previous research (cf. Boye, 2011; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Lunau et al., 2014; Roxburgh, 2004). First, focusing on division of work, studies show that time spent on paid and unpaid work are important predictors of health and well-being for men and women (cf. Bird & Fremont, 1991; Gähler & Rudolphi, 2004). While time spent on paid work seems to improve well-being for both men and women, time spent on unpaid work decreases or maintains well-being at the same level. Despite the positive effects of paid work, the relationship is curvilinear and working too many hours decreases well-being (Gähler & Rudolphi, 2004). The relationship between unpaid work and well-being tends to differ between men and women (Bird & Fremont, 1991; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994; Roxburgh, 2004). Generally, women living in a couple relationship where work is more equally divided between spouses compared to those women living in relationships where they carry out the

majority of the housework, tend to report higher well-being. On the other hand, it seems that well-being in men in equal relationships does not differ from men living in a relationship with a more gender-conservative division of work (Bird, 1999; Boye, 2009, 2010). This could be a result both of women being more involved in paid work and women's reduction of time spent on unpaid work (Boye, 2009; Glass & Fujimoto, 1994).

Parenthood can be rewarding, but parenthood often transforms gendered work division into more conservative work patterns, resulting in a higher risk for mothers to experience lower well-being (Gjerdingen et al., 2000; Harryson, Novo, & Hammarström, 2012). On the other hand, women often identify that being healthy means caring for family members and hence identify good motherhood as something healthy, which might induce them to focus more on home and family than paid work (Saltonstall, 1993).

Some studies have not found any relationship between division of work and well-being (Matthews & Power, 2002; Väänänen et al., 2004), and others argue that an equal share of work increases distress while traditional division of work does not (Bahr, Chappell, & Leigh, 1983; Treas, van der Lippe, & Tai, 2011).

A Swedish study shows that men who take a very small part in household work and responsibility experience more mental stress than men who share work equally (Harryson et al., 2012). Doing gender and doing health tend to be context-dependent. The findings in Harryson et al. (2012) could perhaps be a result of the relatively strong norms of gender equality in Sweden where masculinity is less connected to the breadwinning ideal than in countries holding more traditional norms such as the Mediterranean countries. Those Swedish men that do not share work violate the norm of equality, which could lead to a feeling of stress. Similarly, it might be expected that sharing work equally between spouses in a breadwinning culture could also lead to a feeling of stress. This implies that context might be of interest for the relationship between work and well-being.

Though research is still somewhat scarce, the relationship between perceived work-family conflicts and well-being has been examined in previous research with equivalent results pointing to a negative relationship between the two factors (Artazcoz et al., 2013; Bianchi & Milkie, 2010; Lunau et al., 2014; Strandh & Nordenmark, 2006). When the role of being a worker strains the role of a family member this causes an imbalance which influences well-being negatively. It is noteworthy that the

positive effect of paid work on well-being seems to be overshadowed by the experiences of work-family conflict (Boye, 2011). Individuals more often report that to achieve life satisfaction today, a balance between work and family is the most important factor (Drobnič, Beham, & Präg, 2010). This indicates that conflict is important when studying work and well-being. The importance of division of work and work-family perceptions in relation to well-being will be further examined in Study I.

Though the standing point in this thesis is that there is a negative relationship between well-being and work-family conflict due to role stress in conflicting situations, it is worth mentioning that it is also discussed in literature whether multiple roles can contribute to higher well-being. This is done through role expansion or enhancement/enrichment, where one role can contribute to satisfaction in another role.

The gender stereotyped expectations and behaviours that men and women express through work specialisation and through health should influence the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being (Connell, 2012). It has previously been shown that health consequences of work-family conflict are stronger for women than for men (Canivet et al., 2010), but that it could be cross country differences (Lunau et al., 2014). As masculine and feminine features are constructed differently across contexts it can be anticipated that context is also important for the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being (Study II).

2.5 Context, policies and norms

A body of research presented above concludes that context seems to play a role for division of work, level of work-family conflict and also for the construction of genders. In this section contextual differences will be presented. When comparing attitudes and behaviours in different context the theoretical link between individuals and institutions becomes important. Hence, this section first discusses this theoretical link. Also, it presents the relationship between gender and institutions constructing different gender contexts. Further, previous research studying cross-country/contextual differences in division of work and work-family conflict will be presented below.

Public policies and institutions may shape the gendered patterns and individuals' experience of and actions in everyday life (Connell, 2009; Daly & Rake, 2003). States can affect individuals' opportunities and capabilities in life either directly through laws or by targeting changes of norms through policies, resource allocation and entitlements (Brighouse & Wright

Olin, 2008). The state sets the frame for inclusion and exclusion in society as well as the labour market by defining who has the entitlement to social benefits and access to the public sphere. For instance, in Mediterranean countries (e.g. Spain and Italy) benefits are allocated depending on one's position on the labour market. For those working in the irregular labour market with no job security the social protection is weak (Ferrera, 1996). In contrast, benefits in Scandinavian countries are universal and individualistic, meaning that everyone is entitled to them but that they focus on those in greatest need. Figure 1 (originally developed by Grönlund & Öun, 2010; Öun, 2012) presents a theoretical model of how states through the structuring of policies influence individuals' attitudes, actions and experiences. The structuring of policies and laws steers resource distribution and entitlements in the population. Furthermore, policies and laws signal normative messages (Brighouse & Wright Olin, 2008; as in the example of Scandinavia and the Mediterranean countries). Resources give people opportunities, capacities and incentives to take action in everyday life. For example, the existence of equal gender work laws, working-hour regulation policies, state child care responsibilities, tax policies on housework allocations and parental leave policies for both men and women can give men and women more or less equal opportunities and capacities in society. Incentives for fathers to take on greater responsibility in the home can influence individuals' attitudes and actions when becoming parents (Duvander & Johansson, 2012).

With more men staying at home with children, the experience and notion of stay-at-home fathers changes and the attitudes of men as care-givers might be modified. Also, parenthood and gendered beliefs regarding caring responsibilities are strong barriers to employment opportunities and career possibilities for many European women (Haas, 2003). For instance, with family policies allowing mothers to combine work and family, women are not forced to choose between work and family. Their actions can therefore result in participation in both paid work and child caring. Hence, through the structuring of policies, gender norms can be influenced within a country (Brighouse & Wright Olin, 2008; Connell, 2009; Pascall & Lewis, 2004).

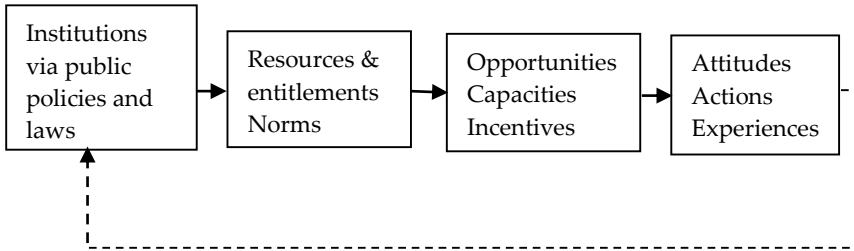


Figure 1. Theoretical model of the relationship between institutions and policies and subjective experience.

Reference: Grönlund & Öun, 2010; Öun, 2012

Thus, the group of policies referred to as family-friendly policies (those that regulate factors related to family and work) are often argued to be the most important in the transformation of gender norms towards greater gender-equal norms (Brighouse & Wright Olin, 2008), especially with regard to family policies including generous paid leave, non-transferable quotas for each parent, universal coverage combined with modest eligibility restrictions, financing risk that pools risk among many employers and scheduling flexibility at work (Ray, Gornick, & Schmitt, 2009). Individual factors such as income and level of education have become a weaker prediction of the division of work within couples (Treas & Lui, 2013). Rather, it seems as if it is the country-specific context that plays an important role in how couples divide work and level of experienced work-family conflict (Crompton & Lyonette, 2006; Grönlund & Öun, 2010). To further study the role of policies for the division of work, longitudinal studies looking at the relationship between changes in policies and changes in the division of work will be explored in this thesis (Studies III and IV). Also, changes in policies related to changes in attitudes towards gender equality are studied (Study IV).

In order to accentuate the relationship between the state, policies, the market and gender, countries in Europe have been clustered into groups according to their common characteristics. Initially Esping-Andersen (1990) clustered welfare countries by studying social policy structures. However, the classification of Esping-Andersen (1990) has been criticised by feminist scholars for excluding a gender perspective. Hence, Korpi (2000, 2010 see also Kropi et al., 2013) and later Thévenon (2011) attempted to develop a welfare classification including a dimension of family policies and gender. These family policy models distinguish between policy structures where women's role in the labour market are strong or those that support more

gender-conservative work specialisation. Countries supporting women's labour market participation belong to a dual-earner/dual-carer family policy model and consist of the Nordic countries. Women's labour market participation is high and family policies are generous with state-supported child care and parental leave for both parents. Countries largely lacking support for public child care are classified as belonging to a market model (Anglo-Saxon countries), since child care is provided mainly by markets and kin. In Southern Europe, public support for child care is low, and entitlements (including parental leave) depend on the individual's position in the labour market (Ferrera, 1996). Family policies follow conservative values, with men as breadwinners and women as homemakers. These countries belong to a traditional family policy model. Eastern European countries are characterised by limited state assistance to families, and represented by long leave entitlements but low cash benefits and low child care provision for children under the age of three (Rostgaard, 2004; Thévenon 2011).

Family policy models as constructed by Korpi and Thévenon are used in this thesis to study contextual differences with regard to changes in attitudes towards women's employment and in gendered housework division (Study IV). The model characteristics are also used in describing different gender contexts (Studies II and III).

However, Bergqvist and colleagues (2013) argue that in public health, researchers should be careful about using policy models as a tool in cross-country comparisons. Rather, countries should be compared individually. This is because countries included in the different family policy models are not homogeneous and when comparing clusters of countries a risk of bias in the estimation of health occurs (Bergqvist et al., 2013). Hence, when the outcome measurement is well-being (Study II), countries are compared separately using a multilevel approach (see the method section for more details on the how this is carried out).

2.5.1 Cross-country differences – previous research

There seems to be a consensus among researchers that division of work between men and women depends on country of living or on context. Individuals living in dual-earner/dual-carer countries in the North of Europe seem to be the most equal, and the least equal tend to live in the traditional and market model countries of Western and Southern Europe. A third of the women living in countries belonging to the traditional family policy model have a full-time job and a fourth are housewives. Respectively, in the Nordic dual-earner countries, two thirds of the women

have a full-time job and merely six per cent are housewives (Boye, 2008). Among women in traditional countries about 30 per cent spend more than 20 hours per week on housework, while 12 per cent of women in the Nordic countries spend at least 20 hours per week (Boye, 2008). Also, in the Nordic countries men tend to be more involved in unpaid work than in traditional and market countries (Boye, 2008; Fuwa, 2004; Fuwa & Cohen, 2007; Hook, 2010; Nordenmark, 2004). However, the variation in the number of hours spent on unpaid work by women across European countries is smaller than the number of hours spent on paid work. For women 8.5 per cent of the variation in time spent on paid work is determined by country of living and 6 per cent of time spent on unpaid work (van der Lippe, de Ruijter, de Ruijter, & Raub, 2011). Generally, men tend to spend more time in unpaid work in countries where women's employment is more common, where women have lower rates of part-time work and where parental leave for men and state-supported child care exist (Hook, 2006). Hence, in countries represented as the dual-earner/dual-carer family policy model, time in both paid and unpaid work is more equally distributed between spouses. About 12 per cent of the variation in men's housework involvement is explained by them living in different countries (Thébaud, 2010). Also, gendered work division appears to be related to the length and structure of the leave policies within a country. In countries with long parental leave periods, the division of work is more unequal than in countries with shorter parental leave (Estes, 2011; Hook, 2006, 2010; Schober, 2011). However, the definitions of long and short leave differ somewhat across studies and no consensus in the definition has been found. Nevertheless, fathers who live in countries that offer paternity leave or leave reserved for each parent assume a greater share of the unpaid work (Hook, 2006).

Gender norms shape gendered work and family roles within a country and hence the opportunities to experience and expectations of work-family conflict (Hobson & Fahlén, 2009). Studies of cross-country differences in relation to level of work-family conflict and the relationship between work family conflict and well-being are still scarce and results are somewhat diverse. Some studies show that Swedish men and especially women report higher levels of work-family conflicts than men and women in countries with more conservative values (Cousins & Tang, 2004; Strandh & Nordenmark, 2006; van der Lippe, Jager, & Kops, 2006). Others show that work-family conflict is just as high in Sweden as in other countries (Grönlund & Öun, 2010). Still other studies show that among full-time working women the level of work-family conflict is highest in countries

belonging to the conservative model (Boye, 2011). This is supported by Lunau et al. (2014) who show that the best work-life balance is reported in Scandinavian countries and the worst in the southern and eastern European countries, especially among men. Studies looking at the work-family conflict and well-being across countries can identify no clear pattern (cf. Artazcoz et al., 2013; Grönlund & Öun, 2010; Lunau et al., 2014). Hence, more knowledge is need of cross-country differences.

3 Rationale

Going through previous research in the field of work, family and health, one finds that there is great knowledge but that there are still several gaps. This thesis sought to fill some of these gaps.

Previous studies indicate that there is a relationship between well-being and time spent on paid and unpaid work as well as between well-being and work-family perceptions. However, there is a lack of knowledge describing which of these factors, to a larger extent, explain experiences of low well-being.

It is also well known that differences exist in the level of work-family conflict across countries. However, results point in different directions, but insufficient attention has been paid to understand these differences (Drobnič, 2011). Gender relations seem important for experiencing work-family conflict. Also, gender expectations are important in relation to the perception of well-being. As gender is constructed differently across contexts, it seems important to study whether the relationship between well-being and work-family conflict therefore varies across policy contexts. By using large cross-country data sets such comparisons are made possible.

Furthermore, in previous literature it is to some degree shown that there are contextual differences in gender-equal attitudes and in how work is divided between men and women. Studies carried out in the subject are often cross-sectional. Looking at changes in policies over time and meanwhile changes in attitudes and behaviours could lead to a deeper understanding of how policies and individuals attitudes and behaviours are linked.

Though much of the previous research studies gender differences, few undertake a deeper analysis and discussion from a gender perspective. A gender perspective is most often found in studies of division of labour, but not in analyses of the relationship between division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being.

4 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this thesis is to study the relationship between gendered division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being in different policy contexts.

The aim of the four included studies is divided into two research questions, each with two sub-questions:

1. How does gendered division of work and work-family perceptions relate to well-being?
 - a. What influences the level of well-being most for men and women, actual time in paid and unpaid work or work-family perceptions (Study I)?
 - b. Is there a relationship between work-family conflict and well-being and does it vary across countries (Study II)?
2. What are the cross-context differences in gendered time use, attitudes toward gender equality, work-family perceptions and well-being?
 - a. Do different levels of gender-equal labour markets and norms of women's employment relate to the level of work-family conflict and the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being (Study II)?
 - b. Have there been changes in gendered work division and attitudes toward gender equality during the last few decades and are changes related to gender context (Studies III and IV)?

5 Data and methods

This thesis includes four separate studies, which are presented in an equal number of research articles. An overview of the articles, aim, sources of data, participants and analyses used can be found in Table 1.

Table 1. Overview of studies I–IV with aim, data sources, participants and analysis used.

Paper	Aim	Data sources	Participants	Analyses
I	To investigate how involvement in paid and unpaid work and perceived work-related stress are related to the well-being of cohabiting men and women in Europe.	European Social Survey round 2: Family, work and well-being, 2004.	Employed men and women aged 18–65, married or cohabiting. Full European sample.	Logistic regression.
II	To deepen the understanding of the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being and to determine whether the context in which gender is constructed contributes to differences in this relationship.	European Social Survey round 5: Family, work and well-being, 2010/2011.	Employed men and women aged 18 to 65, married or cohabiting from 25 different European countries.	Multilevel analysis with random slope.

Paper	Aim	Data sources	Participants	Analyses
III	To explore how changes in parental leave policies over two decades are related to changes in gendered time use.	Multinational Time Use Study from 1990, 2000 and 2010.	Men and women aged 18–65, married or cohabiting with children from Spain (Basque Country) and Sweden.	Descriptive and OLS regressions.
IV	The aim of this article is to study whether and how the gendered division of housework and attitudes toward gender equality have changed between 1994 and 2012 across 21 countries in Europe and North America.	International Social Survey Programme: Family and changing gender roles module from 1994, 2002 and 2012.	Men and women, aged 18–80, married or cohabiting from 21 countries* (European and North America), represented at least at two time points.	Multilevel analysis with longitudinal effects.

* Germany is divided in west and east therefore the data set includes 22 cases on the second level

5.1 Data sources

Data used for this thesis come from three international surveys: the European Social Survey (ESS; www.europeansocialsurvey.org); the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP; www.issp.org); and the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS; www.timeuse.org/mtus). Below, each of the data sources will be further presented.

5.1.1 European Social Survey

The ESS has mapped attitudes and behaviours regarding politics, religion and moral question in Europe since 2002. Data have been collected since the start in rounds every second year, partially through face-to-face

interviews and partially through a self-completed questionnaire. For each round there are two sections, one core module and one rotating module. The core model contains questions regarding media and social trust, religion, politics, subjective well-being, gender, household composition, socio-demographic and human values. In rounds two and five, the rotating modules include questions about family life, attitudes toward gender equality, work division and health. Study I uses ESS round 2 and Study II uses ESS round 5.

ESS has representatives in each of the member countries which are responsible for selection and interviews. The population should include at least 1,500 respondents for each country and subjects are selected through a random probability method. A country representative is responsible for the translation of the questionnaire.

5.1.2 International Social Survey Programme

The ISSP is a cross-national collaboration that carries out attitude and behaviour surveys on varying themes of interest to the field of social science. Unlike the ESS, the ISSP has member states outside Europe. Data have been collected yearly since 1985 and each year has a regularly co-occurring theme. The theme of interest for this thesis is Family and changing gender roles conducted in 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012. Each country is responsible for selection of participants through simple or partly multi-stage stratified selection. Data collection has been carried out through either interviews or questionnaires. The questions have been modified over the years but are comparable over the years, and at each time point the same questions have been used in all countries. For Study IV data from 1994, 2002 and 2012 are used. The year 1988 was left out due to few participating countries.

5.1.3 Multinational Time Use Study

MTUS was first developed in the 1970s by Professor Jonathan Gershuny. It has since grown to encompass several data sets from 25 countries and data are collected at national level. In this thesis data from Sweden and Spain have been used; Swedish data were collected by Statistics Sweden and Spanish data by the Basque Statistics Office (Eurostat) and covers the Basque Country. Data included information on how respondents spend their time according to 150 different activity codes. Each respondent entered an activity every 10 minutes during a 24-hour period and this was reported as minutes per day, in the studies included in this thesis minutes has been converted to hours per day. An additional questionnaire was

given to the participants with background questions. From both countries, data were extracted from three time points in similar years. Basque data for time point 1 derived from 1992–1993, time point 2 from 2002–2003 and time point 3 from 2008, while in Sweden data for time point 1 derived from 1990–1991, time point 2 from 2000–2001 and time point 3 from 2010–2011 (MTUS, version world 5.5.3, 5.80 and 6.0, 2012). MTUS was used in Study III.

5.2 Variables and statistical method

5.2.1 Study I

5.2.1.1 Variables

The outcome variable in Study I, well-being, was measured using the WHO-five well-being index. The respondents were asked to respond on a six-point Likert scale (0–5) as to whether, during the last two weeks, they had felt cheerful and in good spirits, calm and relaxed, active and vigorous, had woken up feeling fresh and rested and felt that life had been filled with interesting things. The scores were added to an index reaching from 0–25, where a higher score represents better well-being (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.82$). The index was dichotomised with the first quartile as the cut-off point; 0–13 = 1 and 14–25 = 0.

The exposure variables in Study I were divided into two main categories: division of work and work-family perceptions.

1) Division of work

Division of work comprised three variables: time spent on paid and unpaid work, and share of housework. Time on paid work was measured as the total number of hours spent on paid work, including overtime, per week. The hours of paid work were limited to 100 hours per week – those exceeding 100 hours were treated as an internal bias and were excluded from the analysis. In the ESS round 2, there is no direct question regarding respondents' time spent on unpaid work. Instead respondents are asked about total time spent on housework within the household and the share that they and their partner carry out. The variable time in unpaid work was therefore calculated according to the method of Boye (2009, 2011) and was presented as hours per week. Share of housework was divided into four groups: 0 = up to 1/4 of the time, 1 = from 1/4 to 1/2 of the time; 2 = from 1/2 to 3/4 of the time; and 3 = from 3/4 to all of the time.

2) Work-family perceptions

Three variables described work-family perceptions. First, work-related stress was measured by one question regarding the respondent's feeling of having enough time to do work assignments. Second, housework-related stress was an index of 0–12 points, with null representing no stress. The index was comprised from three questions in the ESS questionnaire (Cronbach's alpha = 0.49). Using a five-point scale, the respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that they had enough time to get everything done at home, that their housework was monotonous and that housework felt stressful. The third variable, the perceived work-family conflict, was a computed index (0–12 points) based on three questions with answers on a five-point scale (Cronbach's alpha = 0.66). The questions concerned how often the respondent worried about work problems when not at work, felt too tired after work to enjoy the things he or she would have liked to do at home and felt that the job prevented him/her from giving the time he/she wanted to the partner or family. The above three variables were each divided into four quartiles: 1) no stress; 2) low stress; 3) moderate stress; and 4) high stress.

Control variables

The following background variables were included: total work time per week, disagreement about housework, education, number of children, age, and attitudes towards gender equality. Total work time was calculated by summing the time spent on housework and work hours. This variable was divided into three categories: 1 = 0–45, 2 = 46–55 and 3 = over 55 hours. The level of disagreement between the spouses about the division of housework and time spent on paid work constitutes of an index (0–12 points) which was dichotomised into no disagreement or disagreement less than once a month (0 = agree, 1–2 points) and disagreement ranging from once a month to every day (1 = disagree, 3–12 points). School systems differ across countries, so the variable education was based on the total number of years of education. This variable was divided into three groups: 1 = 0–9 years of education, 2 = 10–13 years and 3 = more than 13 years of education. Children were dichotomised into two categories: 0 = no children in the household and 1 = children living in the household. Age was divided into three categories: 18–33 years, 34–48 years and 49–65 years. The index of gender attitude was composed of three responses. The index (0–12) was coded so that a low value indicated a traditional gender attitude and a high value indicated a belief in gender equality. The index was dichotomised

into 0 = traditional gender attitudes (1–6) and 1 = gender-equal attitudes (7–12).

5.2.1.2 Statistical method

A multiple logistic regression was carried out using odds ratios (OR) with a 95 per cent confidence interval (CI). Results are presented for men and women separately. Two models were developed. In the first model, variables representing involvement in work were tested, and in the second model, work-related stress variables were added. Control variables were included in the models but not shown in the table. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 19 was used to analyse the data.

5.2.2 Study II

5.2.2.1 Variables

The outcome variable well-being was measured using a composite index of three questions asking whether, over the last two weeks, the respondent felt 1) cheerful and in good spirits, 2) calm and relaxed, and 3) active and vigorous. Questions were answered on a 6-point scale ranging from 'No time' to 'All the time', providing an index ranging from null (low well-being) to 15 (high well-being; Cronbach's $\alpha=0.821$). Work-family conflict was measured using three questions that were combined into an index ranging from null (low levels of conflict) to 12 (high levels of conflict; Cronbach's $\alpha=0.684$). These questions asked: 1) how often the respondent worries about work when at home, 2) feels too tired after work to enjoy the things they normally do, and 3) finds that their job prevents them from spending time with their family. The answers ranged from never to always on a five-point Likert scale.

Contextual measurement

In Study II, two contextual measurements were used as proxy for gender context. This first contextual measurement consists of the economic participation and opportunity section of the 2010 global gender gap index (GGI-E; Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2010), which was used to control for gender equality in working life across each country. The GGI-E consists of three areas: 1) the participation gap (i.e., the ratio of female workforce participation to male workforce participation); 2) the remuneration gap (i.e., the wage equity between men and women for similar work); and 3) the advancement gap (i.e., the ratio of women to men among legislators,

senior officials and managers as well as technical and professional workers). A value of one on the GGI-E score signifies perfect equality, whereas zero indicates the highest level of inequity.

The second contextual measurement comprises the norms of gender-equal working life. The variable is aggregated to the country level from the individual-level questions concerning respondents' attitudes towards women's labour market participation. Attitudes towards women's participation in the labour market were an additive index composed of two questions ranging from 0 to 8 (Cronbach's $\alpha=0.663$), where a high number signifies a relatively positive attitude towards women's labour market participation. Respondents used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 'agree strongly' to 'disagree strongly' to answer whether a women should be expected to decrease her amount of paid work for the sake of the family and whether men should have more rights to jobs than women when jobs are scarce. On the aggregated level, norms regarding women's employment ranged from 2.90 to 6.27, where in countries with a higher value, women's employment is more accepted than in countries with a lower value.

Control variables

Gender was coded as women (1) or men (0) with men as the reference group. Paid work was included as a control to constitute the estimated number of hours of paid work per week. Having children living in one's household likely increases work-family conflict and was therefore included as a control. Years of education and respondent age were also included as control variables.

5.2.2.2 Statistical method

In Study II a multilevel linear regression analysis (Hox, 2002) was performed including work-family conflict as a random slope variable. A multilevel approach allows the inclusion of measurements on the country level by visualising contextual differences across countries.

Analyses were performed in two steps. Initially country variance of both work-family conflict and well-being was tested. Additionally, work-family conflict and well-being were tested to determine the effect of the contextual measurements. Secondly well-being was imputed as the outcome variable with four models. First, work-family conflict was entered, and then, work-family conflict was allowed to vary across countries, resulting in variance in the slope measurement. Finally, the two contextual measurements were

imputed as interaction variables with work-family conflict in two different models.

The intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) is presented for all models. Model-fits are presented with the log likelihood (-2LL) value and models significantly improved. SPSS version 22 was used for all analyses.

5.2.3 Study III

5.2.3.1 Variables

For Study III three different groups of time use activities has been used:

1. Paid work time includes time spent on paid work as employed or self-employed per day.
2. Unpaid work time represents daily time spent on tasks often referred to as routine household work, such as cooking, washing up, making beds, doing laundry and maintaining clothes, cleaning, everyday shopping, money service, shopping for durable goods and services for upkeep of possessions.
3. Child care includes time spent on feeding and food preparation for babies and children, washing and changing, reading to and playing with the child, helping with homework and supervising and attending parental meetings each day.

5.2.3.2 Statistical method

In Study III data from three time points were used in order to study trends over time. An OLS regression was done to test whether the differences in mean time use for each time point, for paid work, unpaid work and child care separately, among mothers and fathers were significant. In the analysis mean differences in time use for mothers in comparison to fathers was modelled. In the tables the Beta value is presented with a 95 per cent confidence interval. SPSS version 21 was used to analyse the data.

5.2.4 Study IV

5.2.4.1 Variables

Two dependent variables were analysed in Study IV. The first, which measures the extent to which respondents feel that housework is divided between themselves and their partner, was a composite index ranging from

null to 16 composed of four survey items. The questions included asked who in the household does the laundry, does small repairs around the house, cares for sick family members and shops for groceries. Response categories: Always me, usually me, about equal or both together, usually my spouse/partner, always my spouse/partner, or done by a third person (the last alternative was coded as equal sharing). Responses was recoded to indicate whether it was the women who carried out the housework or her male partner, not taking same-sex couples in consideration. Null indicates that the woman was doing all the tasks at home and 16 that the man did all the housework (Cronbach's alpha for the total sample was 0.498). A score of eight indicated that partners shared housework equally. The index was positively skewed and most respondents (83.4%) reported a score between null and eight, indicating that in a majority of the families women did most of the tasks or that they share housework (Kurtosis=1.161, std. error=0.024 and Skewness=-0.028, std. error=0.012). A numerical increase in the index signifies in most cases a step towards greater equality and is interpreted as such and not as the man doing most of the housework.

The second outcome variable was attitudes toward women's employment, an index which ranges from null, indicating conservative gender attitudes, to 24, which represents more progressive gender attitudes. Cronbach's alpha for the total sample is 0.785. The six questions included were answered on a five-point Likert scale and asked to what extent the respondent agreed or disagreed about whether: a) a working woman can establish just as warm and secure relationship with her child as a mother who does not work; b) a pre-school child suffers if his or her mother has a full-time job; c) family life suffers when the women has a full-time job; d) what most women really want is a home and children; e) being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay; and f) a man's job is to earn money and a woman's job is to look after the home and family. The gender attitude index is fairly normally distributed.

Age was first entered as a continuous variable for both housework and gender attitude and results showed that the older one is, the more traditional the attitudes and the more unequal the share of housework. However, as we study change over time, those who were 20 in 1994 were 38 in 2012 and hence, during the studied time period participants exit and enter different age-generational cohorts. A generational cohort is a group of individuals that share the same historical events, macro-ecological changes and the same socialising processes (Baltes, Reese, & Lipsitt, 1980), indicating that values of gender and work might differ across generations.

For example, the generational differences in gender attitudes along with generational shifts might influence the effect of age on gender attitudes (Moen, Erickson, & Dempster-McClain, 1997). Generational cohorts were generated by grouping individuals born during the same period of time. In this part of the analyses only generational cohorts that are present throughout all three time points are included, that is to say, individuals born between 1932 and 1976. Five generational cohorts were constructed: born 1932 to 1941, 1942 to 1951, 1952 to 1961, 1962 to 1971 and 1972 to 1976, and regressed on our two dependent variables. As age groups were entered, the model fit for both housework and gender attitudes significantly improved, indicating that age groups were better suited than age as a continuous variable.

Contextual measurements

Included in Study IV were three contextual measurements representing the role of policy for changes in gender relations: I) norms of gender equality, II) women's employment ratio and III) family policy models. The first two variables represent indicators for change in policies while the third is used to capture changes across family policy models. Norms of gender equality consists of an index of attitudes towards women's employment, where a higher value indicates a more positive societal norm towards women's employment. The questions on which the gender-equal norm variable is based are the same as the six items measuring the respondents' attitudes towards women's participation in paid work. However, in the country variable the attitude index is aggregated to represent country mean. The gender norm variable is merely used to study changes in gendered division of housework. The second measure, women's employment ratio, is the share of women aged between 25 and 45 years who are working 20 hours or more among those in the studied population reporting that they are working. The difference between time points in norms as well as women's employment ratio has been calculated with the equation: $\text{change} = \text{mean for all time points} - \text{time point mean}$. Third, family policy model is used as a categorical variable to analyse whether (potential) changes differ across clusters of countries that belong to different family policy model as classified by Korpi et al. (2013) and Thévenon (2011). There are no indications that the classification of family policy models described above has changed a lot over the studied period and therefore no consideration is taken for change between years.

Control variables

In line with results from previous research, control variables comprise gender, children, work hours and educational level. Education is included as a proxy for socio-economic position and the variable is centred to the mean. In addition, weekly hours in paid work and presence of children in the household (yes=1, no=0) are included as control variables in the models where division of housework is analysed. Since the included population ranges from 18 to 80, only 50 percent report that they work one hour or more each week and therefore the effect of paid work is expected to be low.

5.2.4.2 Statistical method

In order to identify changes in gender relations over time, multilevel regression analysis (Hox, 2002) will be carried out using division of housework and attitudes towards women's employment as outcome variables. Multilevel longitudinal analyses of the data allow a move beyond purely cross-sectional analyses and instead simultaneously model changes over time using longitudinal comparative survey data. Data from the ISSP are cross-sectional, covering three time points, but when considering macro level changes cross-sectional data can be treated as longitudinal (Fairbrother, 2014). As individuals are nested in countries at a specific time point, two higher levels are constructed: country and country*time point.

The analyses will be conducted in four analytical steps. In the first step, the overall change in gender relations will be assessed: null-models will be estimated, modelling the variation of division of housework and attitudes towards women's employment across the two higher levels, and the bivariate relationships between time and division of housework as well as time and attitudes will be presented. In the second analytical step, the focus will be on the association between policy change and change in the two outcome variables. The third step will analyse possible differences in developments over time across family policy models, with the help of an interaction term between time and policy models. The fourth and final step will explore the change over time more deeply at the individual level, controlling that changes over time are not only due to generational shifts. This is done by analysing the interaction between generational cohort and time.

5.3 Ethics

Data used in this study derive from international data sets and the ethical considerations are different across the three sets.

The ESS ethical framework for data collection follows the Declaration on Ethics of the International Statistical Institute (ISI). All respondents gave written approval before entering the study and had the ability to stop the interview at any time. The ISSP adheres to informed consent from respondents and decoded answers. The MTUS data is collected by each country separately. In neither of the two data sets used in this thesis covering Spain and Sweden did I find anything written on ethics. Data for Spain were collected from the Basque Statistics Office (Eurostat). Swedish data were collected by Statistics Sweden who granted me ethical approval when accessing the data and sensitive data were removed from the data set.

6 Results

The results in this thesis derive from the work on four separate studies focusing on gendered division of work, work-family perceptions, well-being and contextual differences. In this chapter the main results from the studies are presented. Below, the results will be presented in three sections starting with 6.1) descriptive data, followed by 6.2) the relationship between gendered division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being and lastly in section 6.3) cross-country differences and the role of policies with regard to attitudes and behaviours.

6.1 Descriptive of data

Data from three different data sets (ESS, ISSP and MTUS) are included in this thesis. They are not comparable, but nonetheless in Table 2 data are summarised with the aim of presenting an overview. The summary shows that throughout the three data sets women compared to men spend more time on the unpaid work carried out in the households while men spend more time on paid work. Also, when respondents estimate the division of housework in the ISSP data set both men and women report that women do most of the housework. In all three data sets the descriptive data show a pattern of change over time. In the ESS and ISSP data sets tendencies show that over the years women have increased their time in paid work and decreased their time in unpaid work while men have done the opposite. In the MTUS data, paid work shows similar patterns while unpaid work differs for reasons that are not clear. Hence, data presented in Table 2 indicate that some changes seem to have occurred over the last decades.

Data of work-family conflict are analysed only in the ESS data set and results show that European men on average report somewhat higher mean levels of work-family conflict than European women and that respondents report a higher level of conflict in 2010 than in 2002.

Table 2. Time in paid and unpaid work along with work-family conflict across the three included data sets; ESS, MTUS and ISSP. Data show mean values for married or cohabiting men and women aged 18–65 years.

	Year	Unpaid work ^a		Paid work		Work-family conflict	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
ESS (hours per week) ^b	2002	17.2	38.5	44.9	36.1	5.5	5.3
	2010	9.7	21.8	43.0	37.3	5.6	5.4
Time use (hours per day) ^c	1	3.4	4.2	6.5	3.2	–	–
	2	2.2	4.8	6.3	3.6	–	–
	3	2.4	4.3	6.2	4.5	–	–
ISSP (hours per week)	1994	6.5	5.7	24.2	16.0	–	–
	2002	7.2	6.7	34.0	22.1	–	–
	2012	7.1	6.0	32.2	22.2	–	–

^a For ISSP unpaid work represents the share of housework and not hours. A higher number indicates a more equal share of unpaid work.

^b Unpaid work is measured differently in 2002 and 2010 and is therefore not comparable.

^c Including data of Sweden and Spain

6.2 The relationship between gendered division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being (research questions 1a and b).

The relationship between gendered division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being has been investigated using the ESS data set rounds 2 and 5 (Studies I and II). Initially, data presented in Table 3 (Study I) show that for women, spending more than 36 hours per week on housework is related to lower levels of well-being. In contrast, women who do more than half of the household work have higher odds of reporting high well-being. The positive relationship to well-being could in part be explained by the reference category being women who do less than a quarter of the housework tasks. For men the situation is the opposite. Generally as most women do more than half of the household tasks it could be anticipated that there is a selection bias among women who do as little housework as less than a quarter and that those women might for some reason be hindered in their work performance. This reason could very well be due to health complications that are negatively related to well-being, resulting in better perceived well-being among women who are well enough to carry out more of the housework. It is worth noticing that women who do more than three quarters of the housework seem to report lower well-being than those who carry out between half and three quarters of the housework. For men unpaid work is not related to well-being, but paid work is and a high number of hours on paid work is related to higher levels of well-being. For women, working about full-time is related to higher levels of well-being compare to working part-time.

Regarding perceptions of work and family, results show that for both men and women moderate to high stress compared to no stress related to housework increases the odds of reporting low well-being. Both men and women who report that they experience work-family conflict also report low well-being. The more conflict they experience, the lower the well-being. For men even a low level of work-family conflict significantly increases the odds of perceiving low well-being. Results indicate that there are gender differences in the relationship between experiences of work-family conflict and well-being, but this is not significantly certain. No significant relationship exists between work-related stress and well-being for either women or men.

Table 3. Multiple logistic regression models for men and women separately. The table shows Odds ratio (OR) with 95% Confidence Interval (CI) for low well-being among employed and married/cohabiting men and women. Controlled for by total work time per week, disagreement about housework, education, number of children, age, and attitudes towards gender equality. Data derive from ESS round 2.

	Men	Women
<i>Division of work</i>		
Time on unpaid work ^a		
11–20 hours	1.17 (0.94–1.46)	1.13 (0.80–1.59)
21–36 hours	1.02 (0.76–1.36)	1.40 (0.98–2.01)
over 36 hours	0.94 (0.62–1.40)	1.72 (1.15–2.57)
Share of housework ^b		
1/4 to 1/2	1.05 (0.87–1.28)	0.81 (0.61–1.08)
1/2 to 3/4	1.02 (0.75–1.39)	0.58 (0.43–0.79)
3/4 to all	1.57 (0.98–2.53)	0.61 (0.44–0.85)
Time on paid work ^c		
35–45 hours	0.75 (0.52–1.08)	0.77 (0.60–0.98)
over 46 hours	0.52 (0.33–0.84)	0.89 (0.60–1.32)
<i>Work-family perceptions</i>		
Housework-related stress ^d		
Low	1.25 (0.98–1.59)	1.27 (0.97–1.67)
Moderate	1.37 (1.10–1.70)	1.56 (1.24–1.95)
High	1.75 (1.37–2.23)	2.16 (1.71–2.73)
Work-related stress ^d		
Low	0.89 (0.58–1.35)	1.24 (0.88–1.75)
Moderate	1.04 (0.68–1.60)	1.02 (0.71–1.47)
High	1.22 (0.81–1.85)	1.15 (0.81–1.61)
Work-family conflict ^d		
Low	1.87 (1.42–2.48)	0.96 (0.76–1.20)
Moderate	2.41 (1.79–5.16)	1.30 (1.01–1.67)
High	3.91 (2.97–5.16)	2.63 (1.81–2.24)

^a 0 to 10 hours of housework is the reference category

^b doing up to 1/4 of the housework is the reference category

^c 0 to 34 hours of paid work is the reference category

^d No stress or work-family conflict are the reference categories.

The main finding from Table 3 is that for European men and women work-family perceptions have a greater negative relation to well-being than work time and work division.

Data presented in Table 3 consist of a total sample of European inhabitants. It indicates that experiences of work-family conflict are important for perceptions of well-being. In order to further increase the understanding of the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being, a multilevel analysis was carried out including working and cohabiting/married men and women from 25 European countries. Multilevel analysis is a suitable statistical tool when studying contextual differences and a mechanism that could influence these cross-country differences (Study II).

Table 4. Multilevel analysis presented in 3 models. Model 1 has work-family conflict as outcome and Models 2 to 3 have well-being as outcome. Model 3 includes work-family conflict both as a random and as a fixed variable. B-values, p-levels and intra-class correlation (ICC) is presented. In Model 3 control variables – gender, hours of paid work, having children living in the household, years of education and age – are tested. Data derive from ESS round 5.

	Model 1: Work-Family conflict	Model 2: Well-being	Model 3: Well-being
<i>Intercept</i>	5.525***	9.940***	11.807***
Work-family conflict			-0.377***
-2LL	71759.236	77081.041	71110.488
Residual	5.582***	7.992***	7.102***
Country variance	0.283***	0.353***	0.242**
Work-family conflict			0.004*
ICC	4.8%	4.2%	3.3%

*p =< 0.001 ** p =< 0.01 *** p =< 0.05

Initially results from Models 1 and 2 in Table 4 show that both level of experiences of work-family conflict and perception of well-being vary across countries (Study II). Between four and five per cent of the variance between individuals can be explained by people being nested within countries (ICC). As in Table 3, results in Model 3 (Table 4) show that men and women who experience work-family conflict also perceive lower levels of well-being. In order to study variances in the relationship between work-

family conflict and well-being across countries, work-family conflict is additionally added as a random variable (Model 3). The results show that there is a variance in the relationship between experiencing work-family conflict and low well-being across countries. Hence, country context is important for the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being. Inclusion of work-family conflict as a fixed variable reduces the individual variance by eight per cent and the country intercept variance by 29 per cent, indicating that work-family conflict explains about a third of the country variance in well-being.

In sum, country context is important, and in the next step (presented below) mechanism explaining these differences will be further explored.

6.3 Cross-country and policy differences with regard to attitudes and behaviours (research question 2a and b).

Context and policies with regards to work, family and health have been explored in three of the four studies included in this thesis (Studies II, III and IV). First, the role of gender context for the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being was investigated (Study II). Secondly the impact of policies on level of and changes in gendered work division and attitudes towards women's employment during the last few decades has been outlined (Studies III and IV).

First policies and laws regulating gender equality on the labour market and norms of gender equality regarding women's employment were studied as mechanisms related to the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being (Study II). This was carried out by adding two contextual measurements (GGI-E and norms of gender-equal working life) to the multilevel analysis presented in Table 4 and by computing interaction variables between each of the contextual variables and work-family conflict. Table 5 (Model 1) show the interaction variable GGI-E*Work-family conflict and results indicate that the negative relationship between experiencing work-family conflict and low well-being was stronger in countries with higher GGI-E scores than in those with lower GGI-E scores. Thus, the regression slope was flatter in countries with lower GGI-E and steeper in countries with higher GGI-E. This imply that in countries with higher gender equality in work life compare to countries with less equality; individuals experiencing work-family conflict report lower well-being. Similarly, the negative relationship was stronger in countries with more gender-equal norms supporting women's

employment than in countries with less gender-equal norms. When the interaction variable was added, the variance of slope remained more or less the same and significant (for Model 1, it was borderline significant with a p-value of 0.059).

Table 5. Multilevel analysis with positive well-being as the outcome variable presented for 2 models. In both models, control variables – gender, hours of paid work, having children living in the household, years of education and age – are tested. B-values, p-levels and intra-class correlation (ICC) are presented.

	Model 1	Model 2
<i>Intercept</i>	6.021***	9.105***
Work-family conflict	0.373*	−0.170*
GGI-E	7.712***	
Work-family conflict*GGI-E	−1.073***	
Norms		0.498***
Work-family conflict*Norms		−0.045**
-2LL	71085.733	71096.106
Residual	7.100***	7.101***
Country variance	0.161**	0.099*
Variance of slope	0.002 ^a	0.003*
ICC	2.2%	1.4%

* p≤0.05 ** p≤0.01 *** p≤0.001
a p=0.059

Secondly the effect of parental leave policies on gendered division of work was studied in two countries representing two different family policy models: Sweden and Spain represented by the Basque Country (Study III). The framing of parental leave policies can either promote women to return to paid work as mothers or force women to choose between work and family life. Policies that give parents paid leave with universal coverage, non-transferable quotas for each parent and scheduled flexibility at the workplace give signals of equal value of both paid work and care responsibility and that work should be equally shared between men and women (Ray et al., 2009). By comparing the progress in gendered work division and changes in parental leave policies in two different welfare countries, one representing a traditional family policy model and one a

dual-earner family policy model (Ferrera, 1996; Korpi, 2010; Thévenon, 2011) throughout time the role of policies for the division of work is investigated.

Table 6. OLS regressions of the difference in time use between fathers and mothers for time points 1, 2 and 3, with fathers as the referents, in hours per day. MTUS data for Sweden and Basque country.

Time Point	Spanish mothers			Swedish mothers		
	Paid work	Unpaid work	Child care	Paid work	Unpaid work	Child care
1	-4.42*	3.92*	0.79*	-3.58*	2.16*	1.10*
2	-4.14*	3.47*	0.98*	-2.31*	1.32*	0.66*
3	-2.21*	2.14*	0.79*	-1.65*	0.95*	0.46*

* $p \leq 0.05$

During the studied time, from time point 1 at the beginning of the 1990s to time point 3 around 2010, Sweden developed parental leave policies towards greater gender equality. They have for instance introduced parental leave reserved for each parent (first in 1995, then extended in 2002). In the manuscript of Study III a thorough presentation of policy development for both Sweden and Spain can be found. Meanwhile, results from Table 6 show that gendered work task specialisation in Sweden has progressively become more equally divided between parents. Until 2000 parental leave policies in Spain and the Basque Country supported a breadwinning culture where women stayed at home taking care of children and household with no financial compensation. In 2000, Basque politicians made changes in parental leave policies allowing both parents to stay at home with their children with a flat-rate benefit. The change towards gender-equalising parental leave policies in the Basque Country is reflected in the results in Table 6. Few changes in gendered work task specialisation occurred between time points 1 and 2 in Spain. Data from time point 3 showed that Spanish mothers and fathers shared work more equally than in previous years.

Next changes over time with regard to the gendered division of housework and to attitudes towards women's employment across 21 countries (22 cases) were studied (Study IV). A multilevel analysis with longitudinal effects was used (Fairbrother, 2014). The contextual measurements included in the analysis represent proxy for policies; I) norms of gender equality, II) women's employment ratio. Also, changes across family policy model (Korpi, 2000, 2010; Thévenon, 2011) were investigated.

Initially, changes over time is visualised (Tables 7 and 8). Analysis show that changes over time are present with regard both to division of housework and to attitudes towards women's employment. Results show that the variance for both outcome variables is related to people being nested in a country at a specific time point (model 1a). There is a significant change over the three time points; gendered division of housework and attitudes towards women's employment have become more equalised among European couples over the two studied decades (Model 1b). Secondly the role of policies for changes in attitudes and behaviours is further depicted (Table 7 model 2a and 2b and Table 8 model 2a). Results show that the average level of gender equality norms is significantly related to the gendered division of housework. There is some evidence that changes in norms do affect changes in household division of work over time, even if its direct effect is not significant. When norms are included in the analysis, the difference between 2002 and 2012 becomes non-significant. Important to note here is that the level of gender equality norms has changed only little over the studied period of time, which could be a reason why change of norms is non-significant in the model. The second policy indicator, the mean level of labour market participation of women in childrearing age, does not show a significant association with the gendered division of housework or with attitudes towards women's employment. Moreover, the change in women's labour market participation over time did not relate to changes in attitudes or division of housework.

Table 7. Multilevel linear model presented in 5 models with division of housework as outcome. A three-level fit of data where level 1 constitutes individuals, level 2 countries and level 3 countries at a specific time point. Model 2a-b and 3a-b control for gender, weekly work hours and children living in the household. B-values, p-levels and intra-class correlation (ICC) are presented. ISSP data.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3a	Model 3b
<i>Intercept</i>	6.547***	6.504***	5.893***	6.800***	7.656***	7.607***
Time point (ref=2002):						
1994		−0.318*	−0.468*	−0.568***	−0.551***	−0.163
2012		0.383**	0.275	0.416**	0.373**	0.319
Age group (ref=65–80):						
18–24			0.842***	0.841***	0.842***	0.841***
25–39			0.269***	0.268***	0.269***	0.268***
40–64			−0.119**	−0.119**	−0.119**	−0.119**
Norms mean			0.097*			
Norms diff			0.003			
Women's employment mean				6.567		
Women's employment diff				−5.454		
Policy model (ref=dual-earner):						
Market model					−0.619*	−0.712*
Traditional model					−0.418	−0.267
Eastern model					−0.753**	−0.601*

Policy cluster*time point:

Market*94	0.010
Traditional*94	-1.081*
Eastern*94	-0.731
Market*12	0.164
Traditional*12	0.151
Eastern*12	-0.008

-2LL	185051	185032	148028	148012	148020	1488011
Residual	5.491***	5.491***	5.017***	5.017***	5.017***	5.017*
Level 2	0.109	0.145*	0.096	0.141*	0.071	0.124*
Level 3	0.224***	0.116***	0.128***	0.115**	0.125***	0.079**
ICC Level 2 (%)	—	2.6	—	2.7	—	2.4
ICC Level 3 (%)	3.9	2.1	2.5	2.2	2.4	1.6

* p < 0.001 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.05

Table 8. Multilevel linear model presented in 5 models with attitudes towards women's employment as outcome. A three-level fit of data where level 1 constitutes individuals, level 2 countries and level 3 countries at a specific time point. Models 1b, 2a, 3a and 3b control for gender and children living in the household. B-values, p-levels and intra-class correlation (ICC) are presented. ISSP data.

	Model 1a	Model 1b	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 3b
<i>Intercept</i>	13.207***	13.127***	9.535***	12.559***	12.379***
Time point (ref=2002):					
1994		-0.974***	-.974***	-0.996***	-1.195*
2012		0.955***	1.258***	1.279***	1.791***
Age group (ref=65–80):					
18–24			3.377***	3.377***	3.378***
25–39			3.063***	3.063***	3.063***
40–64			2.010***	2.010***	2.010***
Women's employment mean			17.458		
Women's employment diff			3.945		
Policy model (ref=dual-earner):					
Market model				-1.965*	-1.676
Traditional model				-1.204	-1.250
Eastern Europe				-4.594***	-4.252***

Policy cluster*Time point:

Market*94					0.645
Traditional*94					0.681
Eastern*94					−0.410
Market*12					−0.954
Traditional*12					−0.193
Eastern*12					−0.615
<hr/>					
-2LL	379551.526	379512.782	320700.436	320686.004	320671.722
Residual	22.780***	22.780***	20.805***	20.805***	20.805***
Level 2	4.024**	4.205**	4.300**	1.211**	1.395**
Level 3	1.208***	0.384***	0.333**	0.326***	0.234***
ICC Level 2 (%)	15.0	15.6	17.1	5.5	6.2
ICC Level 3 (%)	5.0	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.1

*p <= 0.001 ** p <= 0.01 *** p <= 0.05

Whether and how changes in gendered division of housework and attitudes towards women's employment has occurred across family policy models is displayed in Table 7 and Table 8, models 3a and 3b. The results show that family policy models are significantly related both to attitudes and behaviours. In order to depict possible changes over time across the different family policy models, an interaction variable between time point and policy model was constructed. Furthermore, a coefficient indicating the rate of change in each policy model was calculated based on the regression coefficient of each slope. The interaction term is statistically significant in relation to the division of housework, and significant on the 10 per cent level in relation to the measure of attitudes towards gender equality. In all policy models, the gender division of housework has become more equal over time. However, for the models that started out on a lower level the rate of change has been greater, especially between 1994 and 2002. Thus, the family policy models approach each other with regard to the division of housework. Patterns of changes in attitudes towards women's employment across policy models show that attitudes seem to have diverged across models.

From previous studies it is well known that generational differences are prominent, with regard to attitudes towards women's employment and the gendered division of housework. Generational differences have therefore been further analysed in order to rule out if changes are mainly due to generational movements over the two studied decades. Younger generations divide the housework more equally and hold more positive attitudes towards gender equality than older generations. With regard to the outcome variable measuring attitudes towards women's employment, the cohort variable partly explains the change in attitudes over time (the change between 1994 and 2002 becomes non-significant). As to the gendered division of housework however, the change over time is still significant even after controlling for generational cohort. This indicate a change over time which is more salient among older generations. For attitudes, on the other hand, generational differences persist (the interaction between time point and generational cohort is non-significant).

7 Discussion

This thesis has focused on division of work, work-family perceptions and well-being across different policy contexts. The findings in this thesis add new knowledge and give strength to previous research in the field of work, family and health from a gender perspective. In the sections below these new findings will be further elaborated. Initially results will be discussed framed by the research questions (section 7.1). Thereafter an overall discussion will be held with an in-depth focus on gender relations and work (Section 7.2). The overall discussion moves beyond the scope of the four studies included in this thesis and focuses on some important findings.

7.1 Result discussion

7.1.1 Work, family and health

This thesis confirms previous results that there are relationships between gendered work time, work-family perceptions and well-being (see for example Bird & Fremont, 1991; Boye, 2009; Canivet et al., 2010; Gjerdingen et al., 2000; Lunau et al., 2014). Additional knowledge presented in this thesis is that work-family perceptions seem to affect well-being to a greater extent than actual time spent on paid and unpaid work (Research question 1a). When more focus was placed on work-family conflict it was found that there are cross-country differences both in the level of conflict and in the strength of the relationship between experiencing conflict and low well-being (Research question 1b).

As stated in the introduction, there is a major transition going on; more and more women are taking part in the labour market and the number of dual-earner families is increasing in Europe. Meanwhile, there has been a change from enterprise and state benefits towards wage dependence. People are less secured by the state and employment does not mean social and health insurance. Employees are to a higher degree dependent on wage level and steady income than during industrialisation (Standing, 2009). This means that greater efforts are put on family financial contribution. At the same time, labour markets have changed and today, compared to earlier, there is a growing precariat and people to a greater extent rely on flexible work situations and fewer long-term contracts. Perhaps, as the conditions on the labour market have changed, the previous focus on gendered division of work as a strong factor affecting health and well-being might be outdated. Instead, with higher financial demands and more men

and women in paid labour, the balance in life seems to have become more important. The focus on balance in relation to work for the level of life satisfaction is also discussed in a study by Drobnič et al. (2010). For the family to maintain economic standards women, and especially mothers, of today also need to contribute to household earnings. As more time has been placed in paid work over the last few decades, less time is left for household activities, as indicated in the time use data for Spain and Sweden. It could be anticipated that the curvilinear effect on well-being that women working long hours experience (Table 3) is related to the fact that their level of conflict between work and family life increases. Also, working long hours might increase feelings of time strain related to not having time to do the necessary housework. It has previously been shown that women's perception of work-family conflict increases with increased time in paid work and also that housework-related stress tends to increase feelings of conflict (McGinnity & Calvert, 2009). Data presented in this thesis show that it is chiefly women who experience stress related to housework, and that housework-related stress increases the odds of reporting low well-being more for women than for men.

Although there has been no previous consensus, this thesis leans towards a stronger relationship between work-family conflict and low well-being among men. The labour market is gender-segregated and women to a greater extent work in caring occupations that generally have lower status, lower salary and higher levels of sick leave (Elwér, Aléx & Hammarström, 2010). Those with higher-status jobs, who in a segregated labour market more often are men, tend to report higher levels of work-family conflict (McGinnity & Calvert, 2009). Also, the effect of work-family conflict on a person's health could be moderated by working conditions (Winter, Roos, Rahkonen, Martikainen & Lahelma, 2006). The segregated labour market might be part of the explanation why health consequences of conflict for men and women differ. However, more research on the factors affecting the relationship between work-family conflict and health is needed.

Though evidence from this thesis indicates that from a public health point of view more emphasis should be placed on work-family conflict and stress related to housework, equalising work tasks is still important. Results show that equalised division of housework tends to be related to higher well-being among women while men's well-being remains at the same level, which supports previous findings (cf. Bird, 1999). Paid work, on the other hand, is related to higher well-being for both men and women.

(also found by Bird & Fremont, 1991; Boye, 2009). However, working more than full-time is related to lower well-being (Cähler & Rudholphi, 2004), which the results presented here confirm but only for women. Thus, equalising work seems beneficial primarily for women. However, it is important to notice that women often report lower levels of well-being compared to men (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004), and equalising work might imply that the gender inequalities in well-being also decrease.

It is often argued that high well-being related to paid work time is a result of the healthy worker effect, meaning that it is only the healthy that are able to work full-time. The results presented in this thesis do not take account of the healthy worker effect and the belief that those who have health also have the energy and possibility to work cannot be neglected. Thus, with this in mind, the positive health effect of equalising gendered work time shown in this thesis should still be considered and in a public health perspective working towards greater gender equality within a country should be a main aim as a step to reduce inequalities in health.

7.1.2 Contexts and policies

In this thesis cross-country differences have been addressed to identify the role of policies and context with regard to gendered time use, attitudes towards women's employment, and to the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being. An important question posed was how changes over time in policies are related to changes in gendered work time and attitudes towards women's employment, and the results are somewhat diverse (Research question 2b). On the one hand, the structuring of parental leave policies towards more gender-equal policies appears warranted to increase equality in gendered division of work. On the other hand, changes in women's employment rate and norms regarding gender equality do not seem to be related to changes in the gendered division of housework or to attitudes towards women's employment. Haas (2003) demonstrates that family-friendly policies are an important factor for women to be able to take part in the labour market when they have become mothers. Enabling women to combine work with children and not having to choose between the two increases per se women's time in paid work and decreases their time in unpaid work. This would in turn equalise the gendered work division, at least by appearance. What appears less clear is whether the equalisation of housework is a result of women spending less time on housework or that couples divide housework more equally. Results presented in this thesis show that there are indications that men and women also perceive that they share work more equally today than two

decades ago. In the light of findings it appears warranted to say that some extent of equalisation over the last few decades has occurred, with regard to both paid and unpaid work.

Generally it could be anticipated that in couples with more gender-equal attitudes towards women's employment, work is more equally shared (cf. Fuwa, 2004; Nordenmark, 2008). Women more often report more egalitarian attitudes than men, and as Kunovich and Kunovich (2008) state, norms of gender equality in a country reduce the gap of gender attitudes between men and women. Results from this thesis show that attitudes towards women's employment vary significantly between countries. Over the course of two decades individuals have adhered to attitudes that to a greater deal support women's employment. Meanwhile, a gradual equalisation of work seems to have occurred. When Hochschild in the 1980s carried out her study of American couples, her aim was to investigate the revolution in the gendered division of work but she found that though the participation of women in the labour market had increased, in the homes there was what Hochschild referred to as a '*stalled revolution*' and that housework remained marked by gender structures (Hochschild & Machung, 2003). Today, three decades later, based on the present findings, the hypothesis is that there is a progression towards more gender equality, but at a low pace. Work and attitudes towards women's employment are still marked by gendered beliefs. Thus, housework remains as an arena where men and women do gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The revolution is moving – slowly.

The level of equality in the division of housework and the level of support of women's employment differ by family policy models. Dual-earner countries compared to the other family policy models have and for many decades have had well developed laws and policies supporting gender equality (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Korpi, 2000; Thévenon, 2011). During the last few decades countries in other family policy models have implemented more policies supporting gender equality, and possibilities to combine work and family have improved. Therefore it might be hypothesised that the level of equality in the division of work and attitudes towards women's employment would have changed differently across family policy models. Regarding attitudes towards women's employment, results indicate that attitudes diverge across family policy models over time. Those who started at a higher level of gender-equal attitudes have continued to progress towards even more equal attitudes, while the rate of change in more conservative countries remains slow. Looking at the

perception of equal share of housework, changes over time occurred at different rates and cross-policy model differences converge. Individuals living in countries where housework was perceived as very unequal at the beginning of the 1990s have made greater progress towards gender equality than in family policy models where housework was perceived as more equal.

Both division of housework and attitudes towards women's employment seem to differ by generation, and younger generations have more gender-equal attitudes and share work more equally than older generations. Looking at changes over time, attitudes towards women's employment tend to move parallel across generations over time. Meanwhile, behavioural changes in division of housework seem to be more salient in the older generations. As the generational differences in gendered division of housework are converging over the two studied decades, the progress towards more equality among the younger age groups seems to have stalled. The question arises whether future changes are about to come to a halt. Although generational differences are visualised in the result, an important conclusion is that the change over time is not related to generational cohorts but to other factors.

In sum, results from this thesis show that general policies supporting women's employment do not seem to contribute to any major changes in the division of housework. However, results indicate that parental leave policies that support equal sharing of child care (e.g. leave reserved for each parent) increases men's time in the household. In countries where parental leave is reserved for both parents, fathers' time with children increases (Duvander & Johansson, 2012) and in due time perhaps stay-at-home fathers can become a norm which equalises the gendered division of housework.

Contextual differences in work-family conflict and well-being are also explored. Policies and laws regulating gender equality in the labour market along with norms regarding women's labour market participation appear to play an important role for the relationship between work-family conflict and well-being (Research question 2a). The level of work-family conflict is lower in countries that have policies and norms that support a more gender-equal labour market than in other countries. However, those who experience conflict in these countries to a higher degree also perceive low well-being. This warrants questions about whether men and women in more gender-equal countries to a greater extent suffer from combination of demands due to the dual-earner nature in these countries, as suggested by

van der Lippe et al. (2006). In countries where women to a greater extent are involved in paid work (which includes the dual-earner countries in the north of Europe) the expectations for women to work and have a career are probably higher than in countries where women are expected to take care of the home and family. Additionally, there are still expectations in dual-earner countries that women should take the main responsibility for the second shift at home and for the children (see Hochschild & Machung, 2003). In these countries the norm of good motherhood includes dimensions of being irreplaceable as a mother and responsibility for the child and family well-being (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001). Also, the experience of work-family conflict may also be seen as a greater failure in a context where the norm is that one should manage to be highly engaged in both work and family life, and this may generate increased frustration and a lower level of well-being. In the next section this will be discussed more thoroughly in a gender perspective.

In sum, there seem to be processes of change, albeit somewhat slow, in attitudes towards women's employment and in the gendered division of work among individuals, but the mechanism driving these changes needs further investigation. Perhaps the changes in attitudes towards women's employment and gendered division of work in the home sphere is the driving force for changes in society and in turn in institutions and policies? Perhaps one could say that society with its policies is left behind and that in the homes a revolution of gender equality is happening? However, the gap between society and changes in gender relations in the families creates demands and expectations that are sometimes difficult to handle and affect people's well-being negatively, as with the case of work-family conflict. In the future, further testing to establish the role of policies and contexts with regard to work task specialisation and attitudes towards gender equality will be needed.

7.2 Overall discussion

In the following section some of the results will be discussed more thoroughly from a gender-theoretical perspective.

7.2.1 Equalising work and the norm of masculinity

In western society earning money and pursuing a career is more highly valued than taking care of the home and family. Breadwinning activities, spending time in paid work and providing for the family are strongly connected to masculine features (Connell, 2008; Messerschmidt & Connell, 2005). As masculine capabilities are more highly valued in the public space

than feminine ones, the result is that men as a group are the norm in society (Hirdman, 1990). The work of equalising gendered work tasks takes place in this context, where men as a group are the norm. In the discourse of equalising work, more emphasis has been laid on women entering the labour market, earning money and having a career than on sharing housework and child care. In the meantime femininity is still closely related to responsibilities for housework, nursing and taking care of the children. Women seem to be stuck between an endeavour to be equals and responsibilities in the home. On the one hand they try to become equals of men by working according to male standards and on the other need to affirm their femininity by taking care of home and family. A conclusion is that a conservative gender relation exists in parallel with the promotion of gender equality. Trying to adhere to both spheres – being equals and being feminine – will lead to a conflict and a role burden. This could be one factor explaining why the negative relationship between work-family conflict and well-being is stronger in countries where work life is more gender-equal and where women's employment is supported.

In dual-earner countries it has been argued that gender is constructed around an understanding of an idea of similarity. The idea of similarity implies that men and women possess the same qualifications to care for children and the household as for breadwinning activities (Elvin-Nowak & Thomsson, 2001), though it seems to be more true for breadwinning activities than for housework. Men's time with children in general has increased over the last few decades, and in Sweden for example more fathers use days of parental leave (Statistics Sweden, 2012). However, the acceptance in Swedish society and in the labour market for fathers to stay at home with children is still weak (Haas, Allard & Hwang, 2002). Men who like to take a greater part in housework and child care strive against masculine societal norms. The wish to be a stay-at-home father and the ambition to be gender-equal regarding child care might therefore also be a factor that increases the strength of the negative relationship between work-family conflict and well-being.

Thus, gender equality in today's society seems to be based on a norm of masculinity and women need to become 'more masculine' in order to be equal. Also, men meet difficulties with regard to acceptance when they try to take greater responsibility at home. For societies to become more gender-equal the norms of femininity and masculinity need to meet on an equal footing and the power relations between men and women need to be addressed. Also, unpaid work and care for the family need to be valued

equally to paid work. In this thesis tendencies show that policies aiming directly at equalising care responsibility (parental leave quotas for both parents) tend to result in men spending more time with children and at home. These types of policies focus more directly on increasing gender equality in the home sphere and could perhaps lead to care work being more valued in society.

7.2.2 Changing gender relation and family organisation

The construction and reconstruction of gender through division of work and work task specialisation is important both for children and for adults and is established both in the home and in society in general (Connell, 2009). Early childhood experiences are important for the transmission of attitudes and behaviours across generations. Children do what we do and learn from our attitudes, and what shapes masculinity and femininity is constructed, unfolded and changed over time and can take on different shapes across nations and cultures (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). For instance, in countries with family-friendly policies supporting fathers to stay at home with their children, men pushing the baby stroller become more and more common. After some time men's role as involved fathers out waking their babies becomes more accepted in society and the norms of parenthood slowly change (cf. Brighthouse & Wright Olin, 2008). In this thesis results indicated that gender-equal attitudes have changed more over the last few decades in already gender-equal countries compared to more conservative countries. This confirms the idea that when children grow up in families where mothers are working and parents more often share household duties and in societies where more and more fathers take parental leave, the norms of what is valued as feminine and masculine might change.

Along with changing gender attitudes and gendered work time there is a change in family structures. Compared to a couple of years ago, today there are more single-person households, fertility rates have decreased considerably and there is an increase in variations in family composition (Daly, 2005). In these new times individuals and families have new expectations of the support they need, although needs are often unmet and there is a gap between expectations and reality (Daly, 2005). It is shown that the structure of the household is important for how balance between work and family is perceived and, depending on the structure, the need for organisational support to find balance in life differs (ten Brummelhuis & van der Lippe, 2010). Although the matter requires further testing, perhaps

the imbalance between work and family increases when there are big gaps between needs and reality.

An absence of more gender-equal family-friendly policies and policies supporting a balance between work and family could lead to a reduced fertility rate due to a postponed transition to parenthood (European Commission, 2013). There are decreasing fertility rates and an emerging demographic risk within the European Union. Countries face a community with an ageing population and low replacement rates (European Commission, 2013). The role of institutions and policies for the gendered division of work and attitudes towards women's employment has been elaborated in this thesis. Results show that states have a position in supporting the needs of individuals in balancing work and family life and for supporting women to participate in the labour market while becoming mothers. Haataja (2005) show that only the Nordic countries, with their strong social and family policies have managed to sustain a fertility rate while increasing women's participation in the workforce. Hence, for countries it might be necessary to focus on equalising family-friendly policies for future demographical challenges.

7.2.3 Gender relations in the family and the global world

As seen and as argued in this thesis, changes do occur within heterosexual families and a transition towards greater gender equality seems to be in progress. Furthermore, the relationship between work division, perception of work and family and well-being has been elaborated from a gender perspective. However, the gender order in families and the close society are dynamic and interwoven in a world society (Connell, 2012). Connell (2012) argues that if we are to come to terms with the gender processes that affect health such as that of work and family, we need to include the complex social terrains on which gender relations emerge, and furthermore put these issues on a world scale. In our equalised world the issue of outsourcing work and care arises. In Spain and other Mediterranean countries care is directed to the family, but as a growing share of mothers return to work after parental leave, the care responsibility is left to the grandmothers (Badenes Plá & López López, 2011), an older generation of women. Another issue is the outsourcing of housework and care which has become a significant part of the international labour markets (Hochschild, 2002). Women from the Philippines, African nations and other poorer countries migrate to find work to finance the family needs at home. Their migration changes family formation at both ends, leaving their children at home with others to care for them while they themselves care for someone

else's home and children (Ehrenreich, 2003). Hence, when women and mothers in western society enter the labour market and their time in unpaid work is reduced, other women do the feminine everyday tasks in the home. So, the question arises whether the gender revolution in the home sphere and in western societies is a result of equalised gender attitudes and behaviours or of a transition of gender relations to a global gender order that we have failed to acknowledge in the field of work, family and health research?

7.3 Methodological discussion

Several instruments measuring both paid and unpaid work have been developed and are regularly used in data collection. Most often researchers collect data through time diaries or questionnaires about estimated time spent on paid and unpaid work or estimated share of unpaid work. However, qualitative interviews, direct observations and discourse analysis are also used (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996). Time diaries, where individuals are asked to log time spent on various activities often for a period of 24 hours, are considered to be the most accurate measurement of time allocation (Coltrane, 2000). However, in time diaries simultaneously preformed activities are sometimes ignored or underestimated. Furthermore, 24-hour diaries are not adjusted to the fact that activities can change on a day-to-day basis, and if the day selected is not representative of life in general, biases may occur (Niemi, 1993). In instruments where respondents are asked to estimate work time or the share of work division, both men and women tend to overestimate their own contribution. Some studies suggest that men tend to overestimate their time or share more than women because of the salience effect or ego-enhancement (Shelton & John, 1996). McDonald and colleagues (2005) also report that men and women tend to underestimate their spouse's time or share of unpaid work.

Because of the somewhat more multifaceted content of unpaid work compared to paid work it is often more difficult to measure. Warren (2011) argues that in the conceptualisation of unpaid work from a gender perspective four key dimensions are of concern: housework specialisation (who does what), relationship (for, from and with whom), negotiation (how), and meaning of housework (for those carrying out unpaid work and others). None of the existing databases containing questions about unpaid work – including the three used in this thesis (ESS, ISSP and MTUS) – have all these dimensions (Warren, 2011).

Another important dimension is the distinction between performing and planning a specific task. Planning is seldom included but adds a dimension of responsibility and mental awareness for time allocation. For example, time spent cooking the dinner does not include or imply that the same person plans and schedules what and when to eat. Gaspar and Klinke (2009), as well as Harryson and colleagues (2012), found that women compared to men take greater responsibility for household tasks and that they are carried out. It could be anticipated that perhaps when respondents are asked to estimate time in unpaid work they include the planning dimension, which would explain some of the overestimations. However, for the data included in this thesis there is no way to identify whether this is the case or to determine time that men and women have spent on planning and taking responsibility for child care and housework. In order to further understand the gendered division of work, new instruments to collect data including several dimensions are needed.

Other variables used in this thesis are based on questions regarding respondents' well-being, work-family conflict and attitudes towards gender equality. As with work, estimations of subjective well-being and work-family conflict might be over- or underestimated depending on the feeling that day or the period of time just before being asked. Thus, responses can therefore rather reflect a momentary state of mind and not the life situation as such. Using longitudinal data instead might reduce this problem to some extent. Regarding the variable measuring attitudes towards gender equality questions (in both ISSP and ESS) are framed in such a way that they chiefly concern women's employment and not men's participation in housework and child care, thus missing one important dimension of gender equality. And as argued in the discussion, questions are then based on a masculine norm where paid work is seen as more highly valued.

Data used in this thesis are cross-sectional, which means that no causal relationships can be established. However, data have been collected at several time points using the same type of questions. Fairbrother (2014) argues that cross-sectional data can be treated as longitudinal on aggregated level because it detects trends on country level. The author argues that a country context will remain the same or very similar over time, and when data is aggregated individual differences at each cross-sectional time point can be neglected. This method has been applied in Study IV and to some degree in Study III where country trends have been studied.

Despite my argument that gender should not be seen as a dichotomous polarisation of femininity and masculinity, in the statistical analysis in this thesis it has been treated as such. To date, there is no known way of treating gender as a continuum in statistical analysis.

Also, West and Fenstermaker (1995) argue that studies of inequalities are incomplete when they leave out ethnicity and class. Their conclusion is that we cannot add or subtract classism and racism in a gender discourse, but that there is an interactional accomplishment between them creating social differences. In the studies included in this thesis statistical models are controlled for by income and/or education when possible. However, ethnicity is not taken into consideration.

8 Implications

8.1 Implication for future research

In a health perspective it is important to further investigate the relationship between and mechanisms affecting gendered division of work and work-family perceptions in relation to health and well-being. In order to further deepen the knowledge about the relationship between well-being, gendered division of work and work-family perceptions longitudinal data is needed. In addition, future research needs to approach factors such as gender-stratified labour markets as well as working conditions, job control and demands and socio-economic position from a gender perspective with regard to work-family conflict and well-being.

In studies of work and health, for example healthy workplaces, working life health, rehabilitation and healthy leadership, a whole-life perspective should be taken. Workplaces are not isolated, and in order to understand what affects the well-being and health of employees and self-employed it is important also to include work-family conflict and household demands.

A central task for public health and sociology is to further explore the role of institutions and policies for the relationship between conflict and well-being. To achieve this there should be more focus on changes over time in relation to different macro level factors.

This study included men and women, married or cohabiting. However, family structures are changing (Daly, 2005) and hence researchers need to acknowledge these facts in the field of work, family and health by studying different family compositions. Furthermore, the role of the globalised migration of nannies and domestic helpers in the gender division of work need to be outlined and investigated.

8.2 Implication for society

The results of this thesis suggest that the constraints of balancing work and family life could be a determinant of health. In public health planning, especially with regard to work life health, it is important to have a whole-life perspective. Dimensions of balance between paid work and family demands should be included.

Institutions and policies play a role with regard to how work is divided and how gender is conceived in a social context, but also in the relationship between work, family and well-being. This needs to be acknowledged in the framing of policies and laws. Questions should be raised about the

value of paid and unpaid work in society. Policies that support an equalisation of housework and care, for example parental leave reserved for each parent, might eventually change norms of gender equality. In turn, unpaid work might be valued more.

9 Conclusions

The main findings and conclusions in this thesis are summarised below:

- For individuals' report of well-being, work-family perceptions tend to be more important than actual time spent on paid and unpaid work and for future research work-family perceptions (primarily work-family conflict) should be considered as a mediating factor in the relationship between work and well-being.
- The level of work-family conflict experienced by individuals depends to some degree on country of living. Similarly, the negative relationship between work-family conflict and well-being also depends on country of living.
- In more gender-equal countries (where the labour market is more gender-equal and individuals hold more gender-equal norms), individuals who experience high level of work-family conflict report lower levels of well-being than individuals who experience high levels of conflict in less gender-equal countries. Hence, a discussion needs to be initiated regarding values of paid and unpaid work in society.
- When studying gendered division of work over time, family-friendly policies seems to play an important role, while women's employment rate and norms of gender equality do not. Hence, policies focusing on sharing responsibility between mother and father seems to increase the chance of gender equality and need to be pursued more both in society and in research.
- In studying gender relations in families across policy clusters, cross-model differences persist. This could be due to a continuation of developing policies towards more gender equality, such as the parental leave reserved for each parent implemented in the Nordic countries.
- More emphasis should be placed on using gender theories in analyses within the field of work, family and health.

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