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**What factors can explain gender role
attitudes toward division of work
between parents**

Comparative analysis of 24 European countries

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Abstract

This master thesis aims to examine factors that can explain gender role attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work in couples with preschool children in 24 European countries. These countries differ from each other in terms of cultural, social political and gender ideological contexts which might have impact on their citizen's gender role attitudes. At the same time, differences between individuals within national societies are assumed to be decisive in guiding them to certain beliefs about proper roles of men and women. Previous research indicates transition of European societies toward more egalitarian gender ideologies, though the pace of this development varies considerably across the boundaries.

From theoretical point of view, gender role attitudes and gender practices are results of bargaining between partners with point of departure in their personal resources and gender roles they have been socialized to. Macro-level perspective suggest that personal resources, particularly of women's, may be "discounted" or "enforced" by contextual characteristics as for example, position of women in politics and in the labour force. In addition, different family policies send certain signals about proper roles of women and men by different measures as parental leave or provision of childcare services.

Module *Family and Changing Gender Roles* of ISSP year 2012 provides empirical material for this thesis. The question about most desirable division of family life for couples with preschool children serves as a measurement of gender role attitudes. In the analysis a number of individual and country level variables are used to examine their possible impact on gender role attitudes. Country indicators are mainly taken from different OECD databases.

Descriptive analysis has shown that citizens of Nordic countries are most egalitarian in their gender role attitudes toward division of work between parents. Anglo-Saxon and Eastern European countries appear to be least gender equal oriented in their gender ideologies.

Continental European countries occupy a middle position between most traditional and most egalitarian countries. All in all, the revealed attitudinal pattern reflects different welfare strategies and family policies in Europe.

Macro-level analysis in this thesis has demonstrated that strong position of women in Parliament and wide provision of childcare for the youngest children are positively associated

with egalitarian gender attitudes. The findings can partially explain the leading egalitarian position of Nordic countries and predominant traditionalism in Anglo-Saxon and Eastern European countries. Nordic countries started earlier than other European countries both to introduce gender quotas to require more women in politics and to invest in public childcare services. Full childcare coverage also for the youngest children stands on family policies' agendas in the most of the Nordic countries. Female labour force participation rate, including analysis for part-time female labour force participation rate, has not proved to be statistically significant in my analysis. This does not implicate that women's connection to labour market is not related to gender role attitudes. The results suggest that more components of women's integration in the labour force are needed to be examined in order to understand how different aspects of women's position in labour force may affect gender ideologies.

Individual level analysis has shown that educational attainment is predominantly related to gender equal attitudes, both for men and women. High education is positively and significantly associated with egalitarianism in 18 of 24 studied countries. In some countries educational effect on gender equal ideology is stronger for men than for women. Left-wing political affiliation is statistically related to egalitarian views in 15 countries. Being young, less religious and employed are statistically correlated to egalitarian gender attitudes in 11 of studies countries, while being a woman are more egalitarian than men in 10 countries.

Separate analysis for men and women has shown that women's individual education and employment are mostly related gender equal attitudes in Western societies compared to Eastern Europe where female individual resources are associated to egalitarian views to far less extent. These results support the theoretical assumption about "discounted" value of women's personal resources in societies with greater gender inequality on macro-level.

The thesis highlights the importance of including both micro-and macro factors in study of gender role attitudes.

Preface

It has been an intense and interesting process to write this master thesis. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Steinar Stjernø, for outstanding guiding me throughout the project. Steinar has commented my work and answered my questions even if it was Easter vacation or he was far away from Norway. His wise comments made me think, doubt and reflect. Thanks to Asbjørn Johannessen who has shown me how easy dummy variables are. I am grateful to Per-Arne Tufte who has helped me with analysis in SPSS.

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Introduction

The topic of this thesis is gender role attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work between parents with preschool children in different welfare regimes. I include 24 European countries in my analysis. Main research question of the thesis is:

What factors can explain variation in gender role attitudes toward division of work between parents in 24 European countries?

Based on micro- and macro-level theoretical approaches, I have divided main research question further in two questions:

What individual characteristics can explain variation in gender role attitudes?

What country-level characteristics can explain gender role attitudes?

Previous empirical studies have demonstrated development toward more egalitarian gender values and gender practices in European societies (Esping-Andersen, 2009, Hook, 2006). However, the pace of this development has varied between different welfare regimes (ref). Nordic countries are often presented as the most egalitarian in terms of gender equality in public and private spheres (Goldscheider, 2015).

Macro-level approach suggests that variation in individual gender role attitudes may be attributed to different social policies that favour traditional or egalitarian division of work between genders. It has been argued that social policies in Continental European countries encourage traditional family organization while Nordic countries promote equal division of work responsibilities between men and women (Korpi, 2000, Thévenon, 2011). I analyze relation between gender role attitudes and macro-level characteristics; female labour force participation rate, including female part-time labour force participation rate, share of women in Parliament, enrolment rate in public childcare by the youngest children and entitlements for parental leave.

On the other hand, micro-level approach assumes that individual characteristics are as determinant for shaping people's ideologies as national contexts (Baert and da Silva, 2010). I explore relation between gender role attitudes and individual characteristics gender, age, educational attainment, integration in the labour force, political affiliation and religiosity. The thesis consists of three main parts. In the first part I define the concept of gender role attitudes and go through some previous studies of gender relations in welfare regimes. Then, theoretical perspectives are presented. Part one ends with discussion of macro-level characteristics of the countries. In the second part I present empirical data and methodological approach. In the third part, I first analyse similarities and differences in gender role attitudes within and between groups of countries. Then, I analyse relation between gender role attitudes

and macro-level factors with help of scatterplots and bivariate correlation matrixes. The analysis of macro-level factors and gender role attitudes continues by multilevel analysis. Finally, individual characteristics and gender roles beliefs are analysed with help of multiple regression analysis.

Part I. Theoretical Framework

Chapter 1

Gender role attitudes

The research of forming and changing of attitudes is not a new phenomenon. It is one of the most active research within social psychology with its peaks and downs of interest (Cooper & Croyle, 1985:395, Schwarz & Bohner, 2001:437).

From wearing a broad definition that includes a complex mixture of cognitive, affective, motivational and behavioural elements, the definition of attitude in the past decades has been minimized to its judgmental, or evaluating, component. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) define attitudes as “psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour (ibid, 1993:1). In the same line, Schwarz and Bohner refer to the contemporary definition of attitudes as “likes and dislikes” (Daryl Bem in Schwarz and Bohner 2001:437).

The concept of attitudes toward gender roles is far from being restricted just to social psychology. After Esping-Andersen’s (1990) book “The three worlds of welfare capitalism” saw the world’s light, the interest for comparative welfare research increased rapidly.

Reviewing the body of literature in this field, one finds the increased interest in analysing individual and public attitudes in different welfare states. The definition of attitudes in these studies is usually borrowed from social psychology; sometimes the definition is merely dropped, or used along with such concepts as “opinions” or “support” (Mischke, 2012).

Gender roles refer to “proper” roles of both men and women in the sphere of the home and in the society (Sjöberg, 2004, Stickney and Konrad, 2007, Uunk, 2015). Within the field of social science and especially of welfare states, gender roles have received a special focus, due to the concern of inequality of genders in modern welfare states. Studies of welfare and gender policy are often centred in the effects of social policies on differentiation processes, specifically men’s and women’s participation in paid and unpaid work (Motiejunaite and Kravchenko, 2008). As Hook (2010: 1480) puts it “Why men and women spend time in different activities is at the heart of gender inequality in modern welfare states”.

Thereby, definition of gender-role attitudes combines described above concepts of “attitudes” and “gender roles”, and can be put in the following way: gender-role attitudes are beliefs regarding proper activities and responsibilities for women and men in the home and in the society (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Public gender role attitudes can be defined as shared

“expectations about appropriate (qualities and behaviours) that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified gender” (Eagly, 1987:12). On individual level, gender-role attitudes refer to the individual’s expectations of the proper roles for women and men in the family and in society (Johannesen-Schmidt and Eagly, 2002)

Traditionalism vs. egalitarianism

It is common to distinguish between traditional and egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles. The degree of importance that is placed on marital, familial and occupational roles determines the level of egalitarianism versus traditionalism (Johannesen-Schmidt and Eagly, 2002).

Traditionalism refers to the belief in gender-role separation where the female role is restricted to that of caregiver and in charge of marital and familial support, while the male role is mainly that of income provider (Brooks and Bolzendahl, 2004). On the Continent, this pattern for family life and gender roles are based on so-called Catholic social doctrine that supports the main role of woman as a caregiver. Motherhood is considered as the first and most important vocation of a woman (Sjöberg, 2004). Traditionalism in gender roles is associated with complementarity of sexes, that means that roles of men and women are different and the women’ subservient role is supposed to compliment the one of the man (Manganaro and Alozie, 2011: 517).

Egalitarianism reflects flexible attitudes toward appropriate activities and responsibilities for women and men. Egalitarianism in gender roles refers to the view that both women and men can practice caregiving and housework, as well as to be “breadwinners” (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). The concept of egalitarianism goes hand in hand with the idea of gender equality. Esping-Andersen (2009) introduces a concept of new gender-equality equilibrium that implies that modern citizens combine work and family in an egalitarian way. Egalitarian couples tend to be dual-earners and dual-caregivers with the result of less separation and specialization of gender roles.

Radical women-oriented attitude accounts support of a family form where man takes the major part of the domestic responsibilities and women is the one who earns money. Latshaw and Hale (2016) call this relatively unexplored phenomenon for *stay-at-home fathers in female breadwinner families*. My and previous studies (Edlund and Öun 2016) show that this type of attitudes and practice is rarely found in real life. Therefore, the main interest of my study is to examine the factors that impact either traditional or egalitarian attitudes toward gendered division of labour within couples with small children.

Goldscheider's two halves of gender revolution

Traditional roles of both men and women have experienced a resounding historical transformation due to changes in the society, family and labour market (Apparala et. al, 2003, Coltrane, 2000, Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2012). In the post-war period, the male breadwinner family model was continuously questioned, and traditional division of labour between women and men was contested (Sjöberg, 2004). Sjöberg (2004) mentions two main reasons for this development. The first one is the increased number of women entering paid work market in the industrialized world. Second, almost every industrial country has not just introduced measures that facilitated women into the labour market, but through its institutional arrangements has constructed new norms regarding proper roles of men and women within spheres of family and work.

The student revolt of 1968 speeded re-evaluation of family ideology and gender relations.

With the increasing participation of women in the labour market since 1960s, one could see European women taking full-time jobs in 1980s (Halvorsen and Stjernø, 2008). Motherhood began to get a new look replacing homemaker mother by a working mother.

Goldscheider et.al (2015) present a theoretical framework that ongoing gender revolution has two phases, they call it for “the two-part gender revolution”. The first half is attributed to women’s entrance into public sphere and is characterized by increased female labour force participation. Women were able to undertake new roles partially due to the demographic change in direction of smaller families and longer lives. Caring for children was no longer full-time and lifelong female occupation. The female dramatic rise in the labour force was associated with straining of family (women’s new roles were in little grade accompanied with the relief of their family responsibilities), lower fertility rate and higher divorce rate (ibid, 2015).

The second part of gender revolution in Goldscheider’s framework reflects degree of men’s involvement in the private, traditionally considered as female, domain of home and family. This phase has “barely begun”, but is under development in several European countries (Goldscheider, 2014a: 880). Authors document that men are little prepared for the new roles as home-keepers and caregivers, as they still have to achieve social approval if they want to reduce their work time in order to be with their families. Paid paternity leave is an example of making new male role socially acceptable (ibid, 2014). By entering into the second half of modern gender revolution, the separation of private and public spheres is finally dissolved. Men’s active contribution in taking care of children and homes strengthens the family (ibid, 2014).

Critics of traditional versus egalitarian gender roles opposition

Constantin and Voicu (2014) are critical to the opposition traditionalism versus egalitarianism in attitudes towards gender roles. They present Jelen's typology of attitudes towards gender roles that consists of four different attitudes. The *traditionalist* attitudes reflect the idea that the woman is different from and inferior to the man; the *specialist* attitudes consider the woman as equal to the man, but socialized in different responsibilities; the *androgynist* attitudes refuse the female inferiority and gender specialization; and the *chauvinist* attitudes accept women's inferiority but do not support gender role specializations (Jelen in Constantin and Voicu, 2014). The authors argue therefore that there is no clear opposition between gender equality and inequality, and measuring gender roles attitudes in cross national surveys does not mirror the grade of preferred gender equality or inequality (Constantin and Voicu, 2014).

I have however chosen to follow theoretical opposition traditionalism versus egalitarianism due to its wide usage in gender issue literature and in numerous comparative attitudinal researches.

Why study attitudes?

As outlined above, beliefs about the appropriate role of both men and women have undergone profound changes in the past several decades pointing to the more gender-equal direction. This transformation has, however, different pace in the sphere of workplaces and the sphere of family life. Changing of assumptions about who is supposed to perform unpaid family work has been far slower than about paid work. Women still shoulder a greater share of household labour; an average woman does three times more of household of unpaid family work than an average man (Coltrane, 2000, Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2012).

The gendered division of unpaid family labour, including childcare, is often considered as the last step in the process of achieving gender equality (Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2012 or Goldscheider, 2014a). Studying attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work between parents may reveal how far (or how close) beliefs about proper roles of women and men are from the "final" step toward gender equality in European societies.

Study of attitudes can also help to depict gender practices across Europe. I do not provide attitudinal-behavioural analysis in this thesis, but others have found a positive relationship between attitudes and behaviour with respect to distribution of work within genders (Coltrane, 2000, Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2012). Though the degree of convergence between attitudes

and practice varies among individuals within and across national boundaries (Bühlmann et.al. 2010), gender role attitudes can serve as a reasonable indicator of fathers' actual contribution to childcare and mothers' participation in the labour force.

Examining gender role attitudes embedded in different contextual circumstances helps to understand how personal attitudes are affected and shaped by certain institutional frames (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). On the other hand, attitudes toward gender roles in cross-national contexts can contribute to enhanced understanding of political path dependency in different states. Previous studies have demonstrated that citizens' aggregate policy preference is a factor behind welfare state persistence (Brooks and Manza, 2006). It is reasonable to argue for similar relationship between gender roles attitudes and national family policies' development.

From international point of view, pointing out main factors that impact gender role attitudes can give some implication for European social policy-makers who deal with challenges of greying society, low fertility, lack of labour force and gender inequality. As mentioned above, unpaid work is a private domain that European couples continue to divide unequally.

Goldscheider (2014a and 2014b; Hook, 2006) argue that men's increased involvement in childcare and home responsibilities has a potential for increasing fertility, stabilization of family unions and better child well-being. Thus, knowing factors that can contribute to egalitarian gender role attitudes in private sphere is a potential move toward better well-being of families and children.

Chapter 2

Previous research in the field of gender role attitudes

Previous research on gender relations indicates a move toward more egalitarian gender role beliefs in modern European societies (Motiejunaite and Kravchenko, 2008, Stickney and Konrad, 2012, Sjöberg, O. 2004). Some studies focus on gender issues in public sphere and some concentrate on private sphere, therefore Coltrane (2010: 791) asks “*why don't more studies model divisions of paid and unpaid labor simultaneously?*” In this chapter I present some previous researches on gender role attitudes, on relation between gender values and gender practices and general trends in comparative studies of gender role attitudes.

Comparative studies of gender role attitudes

Stickney and Konrad (2012) studied individual beliefs regarding appropriate roles of women and men in 14 countries with different social policies. Their research focuses particularly on societal institutions in order to explain existing cross-national variations in gender values. Findings in this study demonstrate significant associations between national policies at country level and gender role attitudes at individual level. Specifically, more egalitarian views were found in countries with taxation systems that favour dual-earner families. Further, very short and very long parental leave were associated with traditional views, and mid-length leaves with most gender equal attitudes. The authors argue that certain social policies can influence normative beliefs of appropriate gender roles, first by explicitly legitimizing a particular pattern of gender relations, and second, by guiding people through incentives and barriers to fit the social norms (ibid, 2012:243).

The study of Sjöberg (2004) examines attitudes toward female labour force participation, using socio-economic and institutional factors in a sample of 13 European countries. He demonstrates that respondents in countries where family policies support dual-earner families hold more positive attitudes toward female participation in the labour force. The study demonstrates the impact of education on gender role attitudes, though it is modified by specific institutional context (ibid, 2004:119). Sjöberg (2004) points out that in order to understand cross-national variance in gender-role attitudes, one should begin with systematization of institutional differences between countries.

Comparative studies of attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work between genders are covered by, for example, Apparala et.al. (2003) or Edlund and Öun (2016). Apparala et.al.

(2003) explored attitudes toward fathers and mothers' involvement in childcare and household tasks in 13 European countries. They found that gender role attitudes were related to several individual and macro-level factors. On individual level, respondents were more likely to have egalitarian beliefs if they were young females with liberal political attitudes. On macro level, the findings indicated that countries with high score on women's empowerment in public sphere had citizens with more gender equal attitudes toward division of household and childcare tasks (*ibid*, 2003:201).

Edlund and Öun (2016) provide one of the recent studies concerning attitudes toward gendered division within couples in five European countries. They focus on two aspects that reflect level of gender equality, division of paid parental leave and division of economical provision and unpaid work. They find the strongest support for traditional organization of family life in Poland, while the highest support for egalitarian sharing of work responsibilities is found in Sweden. The most egalitarian Sweden, Denmark and Finland differ in their support of full-time and part-time work solutions for parents with small children. The research of Edlund and Öun (2016) suggests that one should look at family policies in studies of gender role attitudes, as they found that the political support of different family structures in Europe is significant for shaping individual preferences for certain family models.

Studies of relationship between gender role attitudes and gendered practice

It is argued that gender ideology is the main prerequisite for gender practice (Coltrane, 2000). Thus, for some authors gender role attitudes serve as a predictor for individual behaviour.

Uunk (2015) uses national gender-role attitudes to explain individual female labour supply in 33 countries. He demonstrates association between egalitarian gender role attitudes and high female labour supply. Most gender equal oriented Norway and Denmark have the highest female labour force participation rate, and the most traditional countries, Malta and Northern Cyprus have the lowest participation rate in the work force among women. Uunk's (2015) study shows that relatively many Eastern European countries appear to have traditional gender role ideology, but high female labour force participation rate(*ibid*, 2015:188).

Other researches focus on value-practice configurations. Bühlmann et.al. (2010) have studied the effect of life-course and welfare state policy on value-practice configurations in 20 countries. Their analysis reveals that most European couples live in egalitarian value-practice configurations until they get their first child. After the birth of the first child, parents tend to

transform to egalitarian value –gendered practice configuration. Couples in liberal countries seem to adopt gendered value-practice configurations when children get older. In contrast, parents in social democratic countries turn to gender equality when children reach school age. Families in conservative regimes display a similar pattern as in liberal regime, but not so prominent. Couples in Eastern European countries report more frequently traditional values and practices. The study highlights the importance of including national context to understand relation between gender values and practice over life-course, and how to return to equality after a transition period of traditional practice and egalitarian values (ibid, 2010).

Kjeldstad and Lappegård (2012) had a similar research on attitudes-practice configurations in Norway. They demonstrate that as regards childcare most of the couples live in egalitarian value-practice unions, followed by traditional configuration, and the fewest in the configurations where values and practice do not converge. Most Norwegian families report non-convergent configurations with respect to housework. Kjeldstad and Lappegård (2012) find that Norwegian women are more likely to report egalitarian value- traditional practice configurations than Norwegian men do. The socio-economic factors as employment, especially women's full-time, both partners' high educational level and relatively equal income are most significant in their study for equal practice configurations (ibid, 2012:17).

Tendencies in comparative attitudinal gender role research

There can be observed two main tendencies in comparative attitudinal gender role research. First, some scholars (Stickney and Konrad, 2012 or Sjöberg 2004) refer that previous studies focused mainly on individual characteristics to understand and explain differences in gender role attitudes, or lacked specific macro-level indicators to explain the cross-country differences in gender beliefs. Recent comparative research demonstrates that institutional approach seems to have been adopted in cross-national studies of gender role attitudes (Apparala et. al. 2003, Edlund and Öun, 2016, Coltrane, 2010).

Second, family issues have for long time been considered as a female domain in the field of cross-country comparative attitudinal research (Edlund and Öun, 2016). Both national and cross-national studies of gender relations have concentrated exclusively on female labour force participation, and the gender focus was limited to the one of the woman (for example Sjöberg, 2004 and Kitterød, 2002). Men's role in the sphere of paid and domestic work has thereby been considered as static (Edlund and Öun, 2016). Recent studies of gender role attitudes aim to capture wider concept of gender relations by including roles of both men and

women in attitudinal research (ibid). This trend mirrors the changes in social and political debates in many of modern European countries. The main question is no longer about whether or not women should be in the labour market, but also about men's and father's contribution to domestic unpaid work (Scholz et. al., 2014).

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

In quantitative study of a phenomenon, here gender role attitudes, the theoretical background is important to embrace complexity and mechanisms behind this multidimensional concept, as well as to assume what factors may be related to gender role attitudes.

In comparative studies of gendered division of work three theoretical approaches are prevalent; relative resource perspective, time-availability model and gender ideology perspective (Coltrane, 2010, Esping-Andersen, 2009: 33). Some authors supply these approaches with for example concept of postmaterialism (Apparala et. al., 2004) or Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance (Stickney and Konrad, 2007). Most cross-national comparative studies in gender research include macro- and micro perspectives. Coltrane (2010) and Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard (2010) provide an overview of the most frequently used theories in recent journal articles on household labour. In this thesis I choose to focus on macro-level and individual theoretical approaches, which I underpin by relative resource theoretical perspective and gender ideology perspective.

Micro-level approach

Micro-level theoretical perspective can be traced back to sociological approach called "micro interactionism". Micro interactionism assumes that active and creative actors construct a social world by face-to-face interaction (Aakvaag, 2008: 90). Individual perspective avoids explaining interaction between individuals in terms of system environments. The main idea of micro-level perspective is assumption that individuals are able to reflect over own behaviour and thoughts, thus having certain "agency" over their situation (Baert and da Silva, 2010: 101).

Micro-level perspective in gender studies aims to understand gender relations from the individual point of view. Applied for this thesis, one should start from studying individual differences in order to explain variation in gender role attitudes.

Previous studies have shown that socio-demographic characteristics as *age* and *gender* are related to individual gender ideologies. Previous research has demonstrated that young people hold more egalitarian attitudes than their older counterparts do (Apparala, et al. 2003, Edlund and Öun, 2016). A number of empirical studies have also shown that women in general hold more egalitarian gender values than men (Sjöberg, 2004, Motiejunaite and Kravchenko,

2008). Socio economical individual factors as *educational attainment* and *employment status* may also be associated with gender-role beliefs. Various researches on differences in gender role attitudes (Edlund and Öun, 2016, Fuwa and Cohen, 2007, Sjöberg, 2004) prove that high education and female integration in the labour force play a significant role in shaping of personal and public egalitarian beliefs and practices.

Individual attitudinal characteristics as *political attitude* and *religiosity* have also shown to be related to gender role attitudes. Liberal political attitudes are often associated with egalitarian gender roles (Apparala et al. 2003). Sjöberg (2004) is occupied by the religious effect on gender-role attitudes. He comes to the conclusion that the factor of being “strong” Catholic and “strong” Protestant draws gender role attitudes toward traditionalism, and with roughly equal power. The effect of being “weak” Protestant or Catholic is not significant in his study. This reflects notion that Catholic and Protestant thinking has shared the basic traditional family ideal (ibid).

Macro-level approach

Macro-level perspective in comparative studies aims to examine impact of national contexts and social policies on individuals’ behavior and beliefs (Coltrane, 2010). The perspective’s crucial point is that macro-level factors are as important as micro-level individual factors in order to “arrive at a more complete understanding of the human social world” (Lanchance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010:774). Macro-level perspective is based on the idea that cultural and institutional circumstances shape individuals in their own home, including their gender ideologies (ibid).

Women’s position in public sphere is one of the main factors on macro level that is used to explain development in gender relations. In light of macro-level perspective, it is argued that women’s national empowerment in spheres of politics and labour force goes beyond personal bargaining process between men and women (Lanchance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010:774). The empirical study of Apparala et.al (2003) demonstrates that citizens in countries with higher female empowerment in public sphere hold more egalitarian views. Hook (2006) finds out that higher female labour force participation has impact not only on married men’s more time spent on housework, but it influences also single men.

Social policy, in particular family policy, is another macro-level factor assumed to be a key contextual element that guides people in their preference for traditional or egalitarian division of work (Fuwa and Cohen, 2006:516). Social policy gives certain signals about proper roles

of men and women by economically supporting one or another way of division of care and work. Moreover, social policy influences to which extent women may exploit their economical independence in private negotiations (ibid). For instance, study of Stickney and Konrad (2012) has shown that too long and too short parental leaves reinforce traditional gender role attitudes, while mid-length parental leaves are associated with egalitarian views. Other studies have shown that micro-level negotiations vary between widely defined welfare regimes, leaving more specific macro-level factors still to be investigated (Geist in Fuwa and Cohen, 2006: 513).

Scott (2005) contributes with two important considerations to institutional approach. First, it is essential to recognize that institutional environments are not monolithic. It implies that some societal organizations within the same national context are not necessary aligned and can undermine the effects of each other, providing “checks and balances” in social structures (Scott, 2005:11). Second, while recognizing that individuals are institutionally constructed, we need to affirm that their reaction to the societal rules, norms and beliefs may vary between individuals. Thus, consideration of “agency” is another important aspect to include when applying institutional approach to understand individual characteristics (ibid, 2005:12).

Relative resource perspective

Relative resource theoretical perspective is based on the assumption that wives and husbands use their resources to bargain to contribute less to unpaid household work. The perspective was first presented by American sociologists, Blood and Wolfe, in 1960 who found that personal resources provide a power to make decisions in marriages (Blood and Wolfe, 1960). According to resource perspective, a partner with more socio economical resources, as education, income, and employment status, will be less involved in household tasks. Education and income are associated with power in gender relations and make it easier to bargain to avoid routine unpaid work (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). On micro-level resource perspective assumes that women with more individual resources, mainly education and employment, would hold more egalitarian views. In the same vein, men who possess more resources in relationship would tend to have more traditional attitudes (Apparala et. al., 2003).

On macro-level, resource perspective suggests that citizens of countries with higher female empowerment in public sphere are more egalitarian in their gender role attitudes, while in male dominated cultures people are more traditional in terms of labour division between men

and women (Apparala et. al., 2003). The resource perspective implies that increase in female labour force participation leads to more egalitarian couples (Lam and Haddad in Apparala, 2003).

Linkage between micro- and macro-levels can be described as nesting system where women's individual educational and economical power may vary between certain national contexts (Fuwa, 2004). Women's power in actual bargaining process may be reduced, or "discounted" by male dominance at macro-level domains as politics, economy and culture. Similarly, in the national contexts with more gender-equal orientation on macro level, women can expect to exploit their personal resources to a greater extent (ibid).

The main critics of resource perspective is the lack of explanatory power on why women still stand for the "lion's share" of household and childcare tasks despite their comparable to men resources. Some empirical studies suggest that the relation between women's economical independence and division of unpaid work is curvilinear, i. e. that allocation of household duties are most traditional in couples where woman earns less, and in couple where women's income is higher than the man's (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010: 771, Esping-Andersen, 2009: 34).

Gender ideology perspective

Gender ideology perspective differs from relative resource perspective in terms of placing gender in center in order to understand gender relations. Gender perspective assumes that men and women socialize into different normative social roles. Gender ideology guides men and women into the roles of employee or homemaker based on the gender ideology they have been exposed to, mainly through childhood (Apparala, 2003; Hook, 2006). Social norms about proper gender roles reinforce and reproduce gender role patterns, thus making them robust to changes (Esping-Andersen, 2009: 34).

Gender construction perspective is a variant of gender ideology approach which suggests that performance of unpaid work within home is arena for expression and construction of gender roles (Hook, 2006). According to gender construction perspective, unpaid work as caring for family is associated with appreciation and is more attributed to female role (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010: 773).

At macro-level, gender ideology perspective suggests that strong position of women in public sphere established more gender equal societal norms, which leads both women and men toward more egalitarian gender role attitudes (Apparala, 2003).

A number of empirical studies have proved the robustness of gender ideology in explaining gender relations in terms of division of work between men in women (Aassve et. al., 2014; Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010: 773). However, Esping-Andersen (2009) argues that gender ideology comes to short as a general theory due to evidences that genuine process towards gender equality is underway, though mainly in highly educated couples. Further, he argues that gender ideology perspective does not capture all mechanisms behind “social selection process” in the couples that end up with a traditional division of work.

Chapter 4

Welfare regimes, gender policy models and family policy packages in Europe

A body of literature on welfare regimes and family policy underlines considerable differences in gender outcomes between welfare regimes, or family policy models. Countries differ in the extent of state intervention and in the degree of benefit generosity (Mandel, 2011). A number of studies have attempted to classify countries in categories or welfare regimes. Arts and Gelissen (2002) provide a profound overview of different classifications. In this chapter I present typologies of Esping-Andersen (1990), Korpi (2000) and Thévenon (2011).

Welfare regimes in Esping-Andersen's typology

The most known is typology of Esping-Andersen (1990) that distinguishes between three welfare regimes; conservative, liberal and social democratic. Esping-Andersen (1999) presents the concept of “defamiliazation” that indicates to what extent citizens are dependent on their family members. Conservative welfare regimes are characterized by important role of corporatism combined with the historical legacy of Catholic Church. The subsidiarity principle is dominating in conservative regimes; state interferes into family life only when family and network's capacity is no longer sufficient. As a result of Church influence with its aim to preserve a traditional family model, married women in these regimes are discouraged from participation in the labor force (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 142). Austria Belgium, France, Germany, Finland and Ireland are grouped in the conservative welfare regime by Esping-Andersen (1990:74).

Esping-Andersen (1999) argues that Scandinavian countries have “defamiliazated” some of the family traditional functions as for example childcare. Basing social policy on universal services and protection, rather than on traditional family, individuals are more protected from both market- and family failures. Women, with or without children, in this kind of welfare regimes are encouraged to participate in the labour force, particularly in public sector (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 142). Esping- Andersen (1990:74) defines Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden as social-democratic welfare regimes.

According to Esping-Andersen's typology, liberal countries provide minimum of family services, and families rely mostly on private care services (Esping-Andersen. 1999). In this type of welfare regime women are encouraged to participate in the labour market, especially

in the service sector (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 141). The United Kingdom and Switzerland are representatives of liberal welfare regime in Esping-Andersen's typology (1990:74).

Gender policy models in Korpi's typology

Korpi (2000) incorporates gender in his division of different countries and reasons his classification on gender policy models. Korpi's (2000) typology focuses on political and economical citizenship, i.e. education, political representation and position in the labour market, as means toward gender equality. Korpi (2000) acknowledges that personal achievements are dependent on cultural gender logics in different welfare states. Institutions and gender-relevant social policies in his typology are decisive for gender outcomes (Hobson, 2000: 239).

From the 1970s left parties in Nordic countries initiated policies to facilitate female full-time and continuous labor force participation by separate taxation for spouses, expansion of childcare provision also for children under three years old, by parental leave entitlements that insure return to paid work after childbirth and encouraging fathers to take part in childcare. Korpi (2000:22) refers the described above gender policy model as a *dual-earner/ dual-carer* model. Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden represent this type of gender policy model. In Continental countries, Christian Democratic parties supported policies to preserve traditional family with stay-at-home mother, but facilitating her part-time and temporary participation in the labour force. This type of gender policy model can be characterized by extension of part-time pre-school childcare services, mainly for children above three years, and long periods of parental leave with low compensation rate, thus discouraging fathers to take it. Korpi (2000) defines this gender policy model as general family policy, or *traditional family* model, and places Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Netherlands here (ibid, 2000:22).

In states with dominant secular centre-right parties the family is left free to solve care responsibilities by means of available market services or by family itself. This gender social policy is described as *market-oriented policy* model (ibid). United Kingdom, Ireland and Switzerland are placed within this category of gender policy model.

Eastern European countries are not included either in Esping-Andersen' (1990) or in Korpi's (2000) typologies. Eastern European countries are often grouped together due to their belonging to post communistic block. Eastern European countries are characterized by shared transition from socialistic to capitalistic social systems from the early 1990s (Bühlmann el. at

2009:55). In Eastern European countries the influence of Soviet power and communism pronounced egalitarianism by high share of women in the labour force and education. It is argued that after the fall of Iron Wall the former communistic countries have taken direction toward traditionalism (Aassve et.al. 2014). Recent re-familization policy in Eastern European countries has encouraged women to leave labour market and return home (Ellingsæter and Wel, 2012).

Thévenon's grouping of countries

Thévenon (2011) has studied family policies of OECD-countries and has identified clusters of countries based on a broadly comparable family policy packages, namely leave entitlements, cash transfers and provision of services. Thévenon (2011:66) suggests following grouping; Nordic, Continental, Anglo-Saxon, Southern and Eastern European countries.

Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden) provide substantial support to reconcile family and work for parents with children under three years old. Anglo-Saxon countries (Ireland and United Kingdom) support poor families, single caregivers, and parents with preschool children. Continental countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland) occupy a middle position with respect to supporting working parents. Southern European (Spain) countries have limited assistance to families and Eastern European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) move toward means-tested support and focus less on enabling mothers to combine family and work responsibilities (ibid). I will discuss differences and similarities in family policy packages between and within these groups in chapter 7.

Critics of division countries in welfare regimes, gender policy models and family policies

Typical critics addressed to any typology of welfare regimes or social policies is so-called hybrid cases (Arts and Gelissen, 2002: 151). Arts and Gelissen (2002) argue that giving more attention to some characteristics than to others, adding new attributes or remove previous, may result in different classifications. For instance, Switzerland and Netherlands are examples of hybrid welfare states, rather than representatives of a specific welfare regime (ibid).

Part II. Methodological approach and empiri

Chapter 5

Choosing data

In order to choose items that are reliable to measure gender role attitudes toward gendered division of paid and unpaid work, I went through several cross-country surveys, namely International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), Generations and Gender Programme (GGP), European Social Survey (ESS), European Value Study (EVS) and The World Value Study (WVS). While reviewing surveys, I had in mind three main criteria. First, I was looking for questions that reflect attitudes toward both fathers and mothers participation in unpaid and paid work. Second, the survey had to include a sufficient number of European countries. Finally, only quite recent surveys were of my interest.

International Social Survey Programme of year 2012 with its module Family and Changing Gender Role went out with the best result considering mentioned above criteria. In this chapter I describe the process of choosing ISSP.

Comparison with other surveys

ISSP module 2012 includes questions about attitudes toward both fathers' and mothers' participation in childcare, namely regarding paid parental leave and division of paid work and unpaid work at home when a couple has children under school age (ISSP Research Group, 2016).

GGP has a group of relevant items related to parent's participation in childcare and housework. I had to go further in my search due to limited number of participating European countries in GGP (12 countries in the latest wave, 10 of them are European) (GGP, 2017). ESS from 2010 has also a group of questions labelled Family Work and Well-being, but the items about childcare are concentrated solely on woman's role in childcare and paid work (ESS, 2017). The World Value Study (WVS) 2010-2012 wave has just one relevant question, and it regards relationship between working mother and children (WVS, 2017). So, neither ESS nor WVS did meet my requirements since the men's role in parental care was not explicitly expressed in these surveys.

European Value Study (EVS) of 2008 presents several statements about the relationship between working mother and children, and two statements about the fathers. The first one is

related to, fathers' skills in childcare, the second one is about men's responsibilities at home and in taking care of children (EVS, 2017).

Thereby, I found two surveys, EVS and ISSP, which explicitly include fathers in their topic about childcare. My choice was correspondently standing between EVS and ISSP. After thorough comparison of the items in EVS and in ISSP I concluded that questions in ISSP are more precise, they reflect combination of paid and unpaid work in couples with small children and they include a specific question about the division of parental leave. In addition the data from ISSP is 4 years more recent than from EVS. In this way, my conclusion was to go for ISSP's survey as data material for my thesis.

Description of data

ISSP is a cross-national and continuing annual programme that covers topics important for social science research. The ISSP runs several different thematic modules with approximately 10 years interval; Role of Government being most recent achievement in 2016, and Social Network and Social Resources planned in 2017. The latest module of Family and Changing Gender Roles was conducted by ISSP in 2012 (Scholz et. al, 2014).

In total, 41 countries participated in ISSP's Family and Changing Gender Roles module of 2012. As only European countries were of my main interest, I selected following states; Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Check Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom. In total, 24 countries are taken into my analysis.

The reason behind choosing these countries is to make comparative analysis most meaningful. These countries share some similarities. First, the geographical position is limited to Europe which makes socio-demographic structures relatively alike. Second, all countries, are either members of European Union (EU) or OECD sharing the same purposes of human rights, equality and economical growth (EU, 2017 and OECD, 2017a). Third, in global perspective all the countries are ranked with a high or very high human development index¹ (HDI) (United Nations Development Programme, 2017). At the same time, the countries differ from each other in political, economical and cultural contexts, which builds fundament for theoretical explanation of international variations in gender role attitudes.

¹ HDI' includes following components; a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable and have a decent standard of living, source: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

Data was collected in period from year 2011 to year 2014, depending on the country (Gendall, Joye and Sapin, 2016). Data collection was carried out either by face-to-face interviews (15 countries), self-completion with interviewer involvement (in Great Britain) or by self-completion by mail (four countries). In four countries mixed mode was used. The questionnaire was presented to participants in the languages of their respective country. The sample was designed to be representative either of only citizens of country (in 7 countries) or of adults of any nationality (in 17 countries) (ibid).

Response rate in selected countries varies between 25.1 % in Ireland and 72.6 % in Spain. ISSP does not provide non-response analysis besides giving information about the number of ineligible, non-contact and refusal responses (Gendall, Joye and Sapin, 2016: 34-35). Based on others' non-response analysis it is reasonable to assume that also in ISSP 2012 module the response rate was lowest among men, among those with lower education and among the youngest and the oldest age groups (Bringedal, 2011:55).

The lower age cut-off for the most of the countries was 18 years, with exception of Finland and Island, where the youngest participants were 15 year-olds, and Switzerland where the lowest age was 19. There was no upper age cut-off in the majority of the countries. In Denmark and Norway the upper age-cut was 79 years old, whereas in Finland and Latvia it was 74 (ibid).

The internal Research committee coordinates the methodological research in the ISSP. The committee works on six different areas with the goal of equivalence; demography, non-response, weighting, mode effects, questionnaire design and translation. (ISSP, 2017a)

The advantage of using items from the ISSP questionnaire is that the validity and reliability of the questions and topics are thoroughly controlled; as well they represent a high comparison value.

Different measurements of gender role attitudes

The concept of gender role attitudes is a complex phenomenon with a number of different dimensions, crosscutting minimum two different spheres: power balance between the genders and between private and public areas where gender roles are manifested (Constantin and Voicu, 2014). According to what dimension one chooses to focus on, the concept of gender role attitudes can change in content, understanding and interpreting. Existing literature on the topic makes it possible to divide measurements of gender role attitudes in two main groups, attitudes toward gender roles in private and in public spheres (ibid).

The usual measurement tool in comparative attitudinal studies is creating an index based on the extent of traditional or egalitarian beliefs, for example on the grade of agreement/disagreement with statements of the type “A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother work” or “A man’s job is to earn money; a women’s job is to look after the home and family” (ISSP 2002 used by Sjöberg, 2004). In indicators that consider who should perform different childcare and domestic chores in a family, like “changing the baby’s nappies” or “playing sport with the children”, egalitarianism index can be created by counting the percentage of respondents’ “both parent” answers (Euro-barometer surveys of 1993 used by Apparala et al 2003). Sometimes it is not expedient to merge items; in these cases researchers study them separately. Edlund and Öun (2016), for example, have a separate analysis of three attitudinal aspects regarding preferred division of labour in a family (ISSP of 2012). Other studies that use single items to measure concept of gender ideology are of Arrighi and Maume (2000) and Parkmann (2004).

Measuring of gender role attitudes toward division of work between parents

The issue about the preferred division of labour within couples is captured by following question in ISSP:

Consider a family with a child under school age. What, in your opinion, is the best way for them to organize their family and work life?

1. The mother stays at home and the father works full-time. 2. The mother works part-time and the father works full-time. 3. Both the mother and the father work full-time. 4. Both the mother and the father work part-time. 5. The father works part-time and the mother works full-time. 6. The father stays at home and the mother works full-time.

The ISSP 2012 Module contains two other items that aim to measure attitudes toward gendered distribution of paid and unpaid work within a couple with a small child. These questions ask about the best way of division of paid parental leave between parents and the least desirable way of organizing family life (Scholz et al., 2014). Due to low Cronbach Alpha and not high enough correlation index between these three items, I have chosen the question

about the best way of organizing family life as it captures a wider aspect of gender role attitudes.

Definition of traditional and egalitarian gender role beliefs (ref. to chapter 1) serves as a basis for interpretation of the answers. Emphasize on women's role as homemakers and mothers, and male main role as breadwinner, indicates traditional gender role beliefs. On the other hand, more flexible views about gender roles, i.e. both women and men can perform as caregivers and as employees indicate egalitarian gender role attitudes. Answers in ISSP give also possibility of choosing so-called "radical women-oriented" attitude where father stays at home and mother is a breadwinner in a family.

Theoretically, the question about desirable division of work within couples with a preschool age child may capture attitudes toward gender roles both in public and private domain. In public sphere it touches dimension of gender roles in the labour market by giving a choice who of parents should work and to what extent. In private sphere it reflects both parents' roles with respect to home and childcare, which is traditionally considered to be a female domain. Thus, this item unites two dimensions of gender roles attitudes as it includes both genders' contribution in domestic and public spheres.

Operationalization of dependent variable

For the question about the best way of organizing the family life for a couple with small children, I consider two alternative answers as gender-equal. First, I assume that the opinion that both parents should work full-time (alternative 3) is an egalitarian attitude. Second, I interpret the answer that both mother and father should work part-time (alternative 4) also as gender-equal attitude, though this alternative emphasizes more family-oriented preference compared with the former one. I recoded both answers to value 3, meant to represent egalitarian views about gendered division of labour within a family.

The alternatives 1, the mother stays at home and the father works full-time, represents the most traditional beliefs. Alternative 2, the mother works part-time and the father works full-time, is less traditional than the previous answer as it encourages mothers' part-time participation in the labour force. I define alternative 2 as in-between or half-traditional attitudes. The response remains with its original value of 2.

Alternatives 5 and 6 support women-oriented attitudes as they prefer father staying at home and mother being a breadwinner. In total, 89 persons in all countries prefer fathers staying at home and mother working full-time (alternative 6) and 133 respondents think that the best

way of organizing the family life is with the father working part-time, and the mother working full time (alternative 5). These answers correspond to 0.3 per cent of all responses. I have excluded these answers from the analysis due to their low percentage.

Consequently, I created an ordinal scale for the dependent variable going from the most traditional gender-role attitudes toward division of work between parents (value 1), through half-traditional (value 2) and to the most egalitarian gender role attitudes (value 3). My scale fulfils criteria for ordinal scale that variables should be exclusive and can be logically ranked (Johannesen, 2009).

For analysis in scatterplots and correlations matrixes, the country mean of dependent variable is used, measuring aggregated gender role attitudes on country-level.

Validity of gender role measurement

Content validity indicates the accuracy to which measurement tools reflect target theoretical concept. Non-precise measurement tools can mislead our understanding of a concept. At the same time, content validity depends on the way a researcher defines theoretical concept (Constantin and Voicu 2014). Dealing with multidimensional concepts, it is argued that at least one measure for each domain is needed to achieve content validity (ibid, 2014: 739).

The definition of gender role attitudes in this thesis is based on theoretical framework and departures from the definition of traditional versus egalitarian beliefs about gender roles. The measurement tool is provided by professional work of the ISSP 2012 Module. As reasoned earlier, the item touches attitudes about gender roles in public and family spheres, thus satisfying to some degree the criteria of at least one measure for each domain.

However, I have to account the weakness of using only one item to measure gender role attitudes. Its capacity to capture multidimensionality of gender role concept is reduced compared for example to a scale created from several items. Therefore, I have to underline that this item measures only the aspect of preferred division of work within couples with a small child, and does not aim to measure the whole complexity of gender role attitudes in private and public sphere.

Since this item is a new one in ISSP, it is difficult to access researchers' earlier experience of its validity and reliability. The results from pre-test done by ISSP have shown that this new attitudinal item in general worked well (Scholz et al., 2014). Edlund and Öun (2016) employed the question in their article "Who should work and who should care" to measure the

desirable division of labour between mothers and fathers. They argue that the statement captures individuals' attitudes toward gendered division of paid and unpaid work.

My operationalization of the variable can reduce validity of measurement. By merging alternative 3, both parents should work full-time, and alternative 4, both parents should work part-time, I lose some important nuances in measuring particularly egalitarian beliefs. The first alternative supports full-time labour force participation for both parents, thus pointing out the importance of both genders in public sphere. The second alternative emphasizes the importance of both parents in domestic sphere, as both should cut on their paid work in favour of childcare responsibilities. I have to consider this drawback in my analysis.

Preferences for ideal family life organization are likely to differ across structural and societal context of the respondents. Theories about gender relations depending on the political support of the specific family models (Korpi, 2000) or family policies facilitating combination of work and family life in different ways (Thévenon, 2011) may have impact on personal views about gendered division of work. Individuals that live in a country with poor childcare provision, no incentives for fathers to participate in childcare and facilitating mother to take long parental leave, will most likely choose a more traditional response than inhabitants in countries with opposite family policy. Consequently, the following question emerges; does my item measure individual or institutional gender norms?

My own interpretation and definition of the item and the answers can distort the understanding of attitudinal gender role concept. Since I base my interpretation on theoretical framework and previous research, it reduces possible subjective misinterpretation of the question and the responses.

I need to consider that respondent may perceive the question and the alternative responses differently. The items that are directed to child care issues can be associated with sensitive information. It can be assumed that there is a possibility for adjustment of the answers according to the actual labour division between genders in a family (Bringedal, 2011). It is impossible to draw conclusion about which of the two, attitudes or practice, has more effect on each other. This thesis aims neither to examine this complex phenomenon; therefore I restrict reasoning about relationship between these two concepts as mutual and reciprocal.

Operationalization of individual-level indicators

The variable *age* in SPSS is coded with the number corresponding age of the respondent. In order to give meaning to constant in regression analysis, I centred the age variable around average age in my sample that is 49 years old.

I encoded *sex* of the respondents as 0 for men and 1 for women, with “woman” as a reference category. The variable is treated as nominal.

Education level is measured by the highest completed degree of education. To ease the interpretation of regression analysis, I encoded education to dummy variable; *low education* that merges responses reporting lower than university/college education (value 0), and *high education* combining university and college degrees (value 1).

For variable *political attitude* a scale was created “far right” = 0, “right, conservative” = 2 far left (communist etc.)” = 1, “centre, liberal” = 2 “left, centre left = 3 and “far left” = 4. This variable is treated as a scale variable.

Religion affiliation is measured by frequency of attendance of religious services. I created a scale from 0 = “Several times a week or more often (incl. every day and several times a day)”, 1 = “One a week”, 2 = “2 or 3 times a month”, 3 = “Once a month”, 4 = “Several times a year”, 5 = “Once a year”, 6 = “Less frequently than once a year”, to 7 = “Never”.

Variable *currents employment status* represents respondents’ employment status. I created dummy variable with alternatives “never had paid work” and “currently not in paid work, paid work in the past” as value 0 and “currently in paid work” as value 1.

Operationalization of country-level indicators

Female labour force participation rate is represented by percentage of women, aged 15-64.

Participation is highest in Iceland with its 86.4 % of women in paid labour marked, and is the lowest in Poland where 61.6 per cent of women contribute to paid labour marked.

Part-time labour force participation indicates the share of female part-time force participation rate of the total labour force. The lowest part-time labour force participation rate among women is in Hungary (6 per cent) and the highest in Netherlands (60.7 per cent). Scatterplot for female part-time labour force participation and gender role attitudes has revealed a reverted U-form relationship between these two (ref. chapter 9). Linear correlation between dependent and independent variable is a prerequisite for linear regression. Therefore, I created an additional variable, squared female part-time labour force participation rate, in order to solve this problem (Eikemo and Clausen, 2012)

Indicator *women in Parliament* is represented by percentage of women in Parliament. The range for this variable is between 10 per cent in Hungary and 43.6 per cent in Sweden. The next variable on country-level is *enrolment rates in public childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds*. Czech Republic has least enrolment rate of 5.6 per cent and Denmark has the highest enrolment rate of 65.2 per cent. I considered to add *public spending on early childhood education and care* to my analysis to encompass a wider aspect of public investment in preschool education, but due non-available data for this variable in some countries I did not include it.

All country-level indicators are treated as continuous variables in SPSS.

Ethical statement for ISSP

The ISSP General Assembly approves questionnaires based on their scientific merit, sociopolitical relevance and ethical appropriateness. All the ISSP members must act according to the given legal requirements in their countries. Before saving the data in the ISSP archive, it is anonymized so that respondents cannot be identified (ISSP, 2017b). Thus, the collection and disposal of the sensitive data in ISSP creates no ethical challenges for this thesis.

Chapter 6

Analytical strategy

All data in this thesis is analysed in software SPSS for Windows (version 22), except for scatterplots that were made with help of Excel for Windows. I start analysis with descriptive statistics to illustrate similarities and differences in distribution of gender role attitudes both between and within groups of countries. Then, bivariate analysis is used with help of scatterplots and correlation matrixes to examine relations between macro-level variables and degree of country egalitarianism. In scatterplots and correlation matrixes, country mean of gender role attitudes serves as an indicator of egalitarian or traditional gender views. The analysis proceeds to regression analysis. First, multilevel analysis with random intercept model is conducted to study relations between macro-level factors and gender role beliefs. Finally, I analyze correlation between individual characteristics and gender role attitudes using multiple OLS regression analysis. Tables and models are used to illustrate the results and to ease the interpretation.

Since I use panel survey, I cannot draw conclusions about causal correlations as it is difficult to postulate that the cause comes before the effect (Johannessen et. al. 2010: 307). However, I discuss correlations between gender role attitudes and independent variables, as well as their possible effects based on theoretical framework, previous research and statistical correlations found in this thesis.

Missing values are automatically excluded by SPSS in all analyses.

Multilevel analysis

Multilevel analysis is a relatively new statistical approach used in social science research, though it can be traced back to Durkheim who attempted to find reason for such a personal phenomenon as suicide in national contexts. Multilevel analysis addresses research questions how individual phenomena can be influenced by interaction between micro- and macro-level factors, thus “contextualizing quantitative statistical analysis” (Ringdal, 2017). Applied for this thesis, multilevel analysis can capture to what extent variation in gender role attitudes is attributed to variation between country-level indicators.

In this study I assume that gender role attitudes vary between individuals in different countries, and groups of countries, as a result of interplay between individual and country

level characteristics. Consequently, my data in multilevel analysis is structured into two² levels, individual attributes as level one and countries' specific characteristics as level two.

Random intercept model

Random intercept models in multilevel analysis allows regression coefficient for intercept on level one be random among level two units, or between national contexts (Albright and Marinova, 2010). Random intercept model starts with “null” model, i. e. without explanatory variables. Then individual level variables are added to the null model, and in the end country level variables are added to the model with individual variables. I use Maximum Likelihood (ML) test to assess statistical goodness of fit in multilevel models. These three steps in analysis help first to estimate if variation in gender role attitudes between countries is considerable enough to apply multilevel analysis. It is called Intraclass Coefficient (ICC) and represents observed variation in the dependent variable (gender role attitudes) attributable to country-level characteristics (ibid, 2010: 8).

Second, the difference between goodness of fit in the model with only individual variables and the final model with added macro-level characteristics shows how well the model with added variables on country level fits the data. This statistic is defined as $-2LL$ and is assumed to be chi-square distributed, with the degree of freedom equal to the number of added variables. The $-2 LL$ for the model with only individual variables (K-H) and model with added macro-level variables is captures by the equation (Ringdal, 2017):

$$\chi^2_H = -2LL_{K-H} - -2LL_K$$

The regression equation for random intercept model can be expressed as follows:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * X_{1ij} + \beta_2 * X_{2ij} + \beta_3 * Z_j + u_{0j} + e_{ij}$$

Where Y is predicted dependent variable, X_1 and X_2 are independent level 1 variables, Z is an independent level 2 variable, β_0 is an intercept, β_1 , β_2 , and β_3 are estimated fixed effects of corresponding independent variables X_1 , X_2 and Z, while u_{0j} is level 2 residuals, and e_{ij} is

² Given the assumption that gender role attitudes also vary between groups of countries, I could operate with three levels in multilevel analysis, individual- , family policy- , and country- level. I have chosen to limit multilevel model to two levels in order not to complicate the analysis.

level 1 residuals (Ringdal, 2017). Interpretation of regression coefficients β_0 , β_1 , β_2 , and β_2 are the same as in the ordinal regression.

Furthermore, multilevel analysis may make it possible to test if the effect of individual determinates differ between macro units by estimating random coefficients or random slopes, in addition to random intercepts. These more advanced multilevel models allow the effect of individual variables vary between level 2 units, or countries (Albright and Marinova, 2010). I do not go further to random coefficient and random slope models in multilevel analysis.

Instead, I apply multiple regression analysis with individual factors for each of 24 studied countries to explore the variation in relations between individual characteristics and gender role attitudes across countries.

Discussion of multilevel analysis

There is no consensus in methodological literature about the sufficient number of units on country level in multilevel analysis (Bryan and Jenkins, 2013). It is preferable to have a high number of units, 100 or higher. However, there is no common rule that postulates an exact number. It is argued that multilevel analysis can be used for dataset with 10 to 100 units on the highest level, but one should account that some statistic problems can occur (Eikemo and Clausen, 2012). My dataset consists of 24 countries, which is relatively close to the lowest advisable limit. Leaning to methodologists' arguments that allow relatively low number of countries, as well as to other researches with similar number of units on level two (Fuwa, 2004 and Sjöberg, 2004), I decided to apply multilevel analysis in this thesis, though I have to tackle the limitations created by low number of countries.

Along with the progresses of contextual researches since 1970s, there emerged some critical arguments against using ecological data to explain relations between variables on individual level. The main argument in this critic is ecological fallacy that means to make conclusions on individual levels based on contextual findings (Ringdal, 2001).

Multiple regression analysis on individual level

Multiple regression analysis is a typical statistical tool applied when more than two independent variables are used to explain examined phenomenon. The central principle in regression analysis is based on estimation of effects of each independent variable on dependent variable, controlling for other variables assumed to have influence on the dependent variable (Dietz and Kalof, 2009). I use multiple Ordinal Least Square (OLS)

regression analysis when I study effects of individual factors. OLS employs least squared errors criterion, aiming to minimize the sum of squared deviations from the predicted values for the dependent variable. For diagnostic of goodness of fit Adjusted R squared is used. Mathematically, the equation of multiple OLS regression can be expressed as follows:

$$Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + e$$

Here, Y is predicted value of the dependent variables, X_1 , X_2 , and X_3 are independent variables. α is called intercept, or constant, and indicates estimated value of dependent variable Y when all independent variables in the regression are equal to 0. β_1 , β_2 and β_3 are regression coefficients for the correspondent independent variables. A regression coefficient indicates change in the dependent variable Y when the independent variable changes with one unit, whilst all other independent variables are held constant. Residual, or error, is expressed by e . (Hutcheson, 2011, Dietz and Kalof, 2009).

Multicollinearity

One of the prerequisites for regression analysis is absence of multicollinearity between independent variables. Multicollinearity is a definition used when independent variables are strongly correlated (Eikemo and Clausen, 2012). If this is a case, variables measure more or less the same phenomenon. Correlation index between two variables Persons r higher than 0.8 (according to Eikemo and Clausen, 2012: 158), or higher than 0.7 (according to Johannessen, 2009) indicates multicollinearity, and should be examined closer by tolerance test. The tolerance-test provides statistical measure for multicollinearity by parameters Tolerance, or VIF. The tolerance parameter equal to 0 gives perfect multicollinearity (Eikemo and Clausen, 2012)

The correlation matrix for individual level-variables used in the analysis has not indicated multicollinearity (table not shown here). The discussion of multicollinearity for macro-level factors is discussed in chapter 10.

Part II. Analysis

Chapter 7

Contextual characteristics in different groups of countries

In nowadays Europe, countries face the same challenges of population aging, low fertility rate and integration into the global economical market. This fact suggests assumption about more convergence in modern European countries with regard to their family policy (Thévenon, 2011). For example, low fertility rate and lack of labour force put work and family reconciliation on agenda for EU's goals about mothers' work possibilities and expansion of childcare services (Morgan in Bringedal, 2011).

In fact, all industrialized European countries established the social policy that in one way or another supports the reconciliation of family life and work. Nevertheless, the development of family policy has had different directions and pace in European countries. Cross-national differences in how care and paid work are distributed within families have shown to be robust and resistant to changes (Ellingsæter and van der Wel, 2012).

In this chapter I discuss country characteristic that may be related to gender role attitudes. Country indicators female labour force participation rate, female part-time labour force participation rate, share of women in Parliament, enrolment in public childcare by the youngest children and entitlements for paid parental leave are captured in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Specific country level characteristics

	Female labour force participation (age 15-64)	Female part-time labour force participation (age 15-64)	Women in Parliament	Enrolment rate in childcare and pre-school services for 0-to-2-year-olds	Paid parental leave reserved for fathers	Paid maternity and parental leave available for mothers
Unit	Percentage of the same age groups	Percentage of total labour force	Percentage of total seats	Percentage of the same agegroup	Length in weeks	Length in week
Year	2015	2015	2014/2015	2014	2015	2015
Continental European						
Austria	71,3	35	30,6	19,2	8,7	60
Belgium	63,3	30,2	39,3	54,7	17,3	32,3
France	67,5	22,3	26,2	51,9	26	42
Germany	73,3	37,4	36,5	32,3	8,7	58
Netherlands	74,7	60,7	37,3	55,9	0	16

Spain	69,2	23,1	41,1	38,1	0	16
Switzerland	80,6	45	30,5	38	0	14
Group average	71,4	36,2	34,5	41,4	8,7	34
Eastern European						
Bulgaria	69,3	2,4	25	11,2	0	110,4
Croatia	66,8	7	24	16,9	8,7	56
Czech Republic	66,4	7,4	19	5,6	0	110
Hungary	62,4	6	10,1	14,5	0	160
Latvia	73,6	9,4	18	24	0	94
Lithuania	74,1	10,5	24	28,8	0	62
Poland	61,6	9,4	24,1	11	0	52
Russia	73,4	5,6	14	17,1	0	72
Slovakia	65	7,8	18,7	6,4	0	164
Slovenia	67,9	12,1	36,7	40,3	0	52
Group average	68,0	7,8	21,4	17,6	0,9	93,2
Nordic countries						
Norway	76	26,7	39,6	54,7	10	91
Denmark	75,5	25,8	38	65,2	0	50
Finland	74,4	16,4	42,5	27,9	6	161
Iceland	86,4	23,7	41,3	59,7	13	26
Sweden	80,1	18	43,6	46,9	8,6	60
Group average	78,5	22,1	41	50,9	7,5	77,6
Anglo-Saxon countries						
Ireland	63,1	35,4	16,3	35	0	26
United Kingdom	71,8	37,7	22,8	33,6	0	39
Group average	67,5	36,6	19,6	34,3	0	32,5
OECD average	71,3	16,8	29,3	34,4	7,2	54,1

Source: OECD databases³

Women's position in the labour force

Relative resource theory assumes that increased female labour force participation leads to more egalitarian couples (Apparala et. al., 2003). Employment enriches women with economical resources in bargaining process to more gender equality both in private and public spheres. According to Goldscheider's (2014 a-b, 2015) theoretical framework, women's

³ For female labor force participation <https://data.oecd.org/emp/labour-force-participation-rate.htm>, for female part-time labor force participation <https://data.oecd.org/emp/part-time-employment-rate.htm#indicator-chart>, for women in Parliament <https://data.oecd.org/inequality/women-in-politics.htm>, for enrolment rate in childcare for 0-to-2-year-olds <http://www.oecd.org/social/database.htm>. Data for enrolment rate and parental leave entitlements for Russia is taken from Sinyavskaya (2016).

entrance into labour force is the first step in ongoing gender revolution. Thus, national female labour force participation rate is usually considered as a good indicator of gender equality (Constantin and Voicu, 2014).

Parallel to total female labour force participation rate, share of women holding part-time jobs is often discussed in literature about gender inequalities. Hook (2010: 1487) argues that although part-time work solution may reduce work-family conflicts, women's part-time participation in the labour force signalizes that home and children remains their primary responsibility. Consequently, in countries where female part-time work is predominant, the gender specialization and inequality persists (ibid). Empirical studies have demonstrated that women who work part-time, perform the same amounts of unpaid work as housewives do (Stier and Lewin- Epstein in Hook, 2010)

Nordic countries score highest in terms of both female labour force participation rate and women's presentation in politics (table 7.1). Particularly in Iceland and Sweden women seem to have strongest position in public sphere, based on table's numbers. Female labour force participation rate for Nordic countries varies between 74.4 per cent in Finland and 86.4 per cent in Iceland, which is higher than OECD's average of 71 per cent. Share of part-time working women is lowest in Finland making up 16.4 per cent. Norwegian women work most part-time among Nordic countries (26.7 per cent).

Continental, Eastern European and Anglo-Saxon countries follow after Nordic countries both in terms of female labour force participation and women's position in politics. In Continental countries female labour force participation rate vary between 63.3 per cent in Belgium to 80.1 per cent in Switzerland. The average rate for female labour force participation in Continental countries is 71.4, which is approximately the same as the average for OECD countries (71.3), but lower than in Nordic countries. Percentage of part-time working women in Continental countries is relatively high, with the group average of 36 per cent. The share of part-time working women in Continental countries is more than doubled compared to OECD average of 16.8 per cent. Netherlands stands out with 60 per cent of women working part-time, followed by Switzerland where 45 per cent of working women hold part-time jobs (table 7.1).

Female labour force participation rate in Eastern European countries is lowest in Hungary and Slovakia, with respectively 62.4 and 65 per cent, and is highest in Latvia, Lithuania and Russia, with respectively 73.6, 74.1 and 74.3 per cent. The group average of 68 per cent for Eastern Europe is lower than OECD average of 71.3 per cent, and it is also lower than the average in Nordic and Continental countries. However, Latvian, Lithuanian and Russian female participation in the labour force are higher than OECD average and are close to some

of the Nordic countries, as Finland or Denmark. Part-time jobs are least common among Eastern European women compared to other European countries. For example, in Bulgaria only 2.4 per cent of female labour force is held by part-time working women. The share of part-time working women is highest in Slovenia with 12 per cent (table 7.1).

In Ireland female labour force participation rate is 63.1 per cent and in the United Kingdom 71.8 per cent. These percentages are comparable to Continental and Eastern European countries. Looking at part-time female labour force participation rate in Anglo-Saxon countries, we see that women's working pattern is more similar to Continental countries, as in both groups the share of part-time working women is relatively high compared to Nordic and Eastern European countries (table 7.1).

Women's position in politics

According to Goldscheider (2014 a-b, 2015), gender equality in public sphere is the first half of gender revolution. Presentation of women in so male-dominated public sphere as politics is a good indicator to assess how successful gender revolution is in its first step. Previous studies (Apparala et.al, 2003 Fuwa, 2004) have indicated that women's stronger position in politics is positively associated both with egalitarian gender role attitudes (Apparala et. al, 2004, Norris and Inglehart, 2000) and with more equal division of household labour within couples (Fuwa, 2004). Moreover, the effect of women's individual resources is stronger in countries where women have more economical and political power on macro-level (Fuwa, 2004). In this thesis, I use percentage of women in Parliament as an indicator of women's position in politics.

Nordic countries stand out by having highest percentage of women in Parliament with the highest share in Sweden (43.6 per cent) and Iceland (41.3 per cent) and lowest in Finland (38 per cent). The indicator of women's voice in politics for Nordic countries is far above OECD's average of 29.3 per cent (table 7.1).

Share of women in Parliament in Continental countries is situated in a range between 26.2 per cent in France to 41.2 per cent in Spain, with the average for this group 34.5 per cent, which is higher than the average for OECD countries of 29.3 per cent, but lower than in Nordic countries. Presentation of women in Parliament in Eastern Europe varies between 10 per cent in Hungary to 36.7 per cent in Slovenia, thus making it difficult to make a common conclusion about position of women in politics based only on these numbers. However, the pattern demonstrates that the percentage of women in Parliament in Eastern Europe is far

lower than in Nordic countries, and to some extent lower than in Continental countries. A share of parliamentary women in Ireland is 16.3 per cent and in the United Kingdom 22.8, which is on average lower than both in Nordic and Continental European countries (table 7.1).

Family policy packages

Family policies in industrialized countries have recently focused on reconciliation of family and work life. Different instruments of family policy may support possibility of combining paid and unpaid work in a different way, like leave entitlements, cash transfers, provision of services and taxation system (Thévenon, 2011). In this thesis I focus on two aspects of family policy, provision of childcare for children under three years old and entitlements for paid parental leave.

Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2 year-olds

Most of family policy packages in European countries include support for early childhood development. Wide provision of public childcare for the youngest children facilitates women's return to job after childbirth and minimizes possibility of remaining in solely mother role. It is assumed that better provision of formal childcare promotes gender equality in sharing paid and unpaid work (Hook, 2006, Thévenon, 2011).

Nordic countries have the highest enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds (table 7.1). In Denmark this rate reaches 65 per cent, followed by Iceland (59.7 per cent), Norway (54.7) and Sweden (50.9). Attendance of formal childcare in Finland is less common, as 27.9 per cent of Finnish children under three years old are enrolled in public childcare (table 7.1).

Thévenon (2011) refers this "low" rate to relatively high freedom Finnish parents have to choose between work and care, due to relatively long parental leave and cash allowance until child turns three years old. On the other hand, he calls Denmark and Iceland as "extreme" cases of typical Nordic countries. Both public spending on early childhood and enrolment rate in formal childcare by the youngest children are high in these countries, supported by tax system encourage both parents' employment. The pattern is rather stable, and parents have few other choices in organizing their family life (ibid).

The next best provision of formal childcare for the youngest children is found in Continental countries. Enrolment rate is highest in Netherlands (56 per cent), Belgium (55 per cent) and France (52 per cent), and lowest in Austria with 19 per cent of children under three years old enrolled in public childcare (table 7.1). France's investment in early childcare stands out by

the highest public spending in early childhood among Continental countries, which makes up 1.3 percent of GDP in France compared to Belgium or Netherland with respectively 0.8 and 0.7 percent (OECD, 2017b). France started investment in formal childcare earlier than for example Germany, and continues to promote policies to support family and work balance by steady increasing spending on childcare provision (Fagnani, 2011). By contrast, though German family policy since 2000s has undergone considerable family policy changes by introducing new laws concerning parental leave and child care, there still is a shortage of German public childcare provision (ibid).

In Anglo-Saxon countries the average enrolment rate in formal childcare is lower than the average for Continental and Nordic European countries, but higher than in Eastern European countries. In Ireland 35 per cent and in the UK 33.6 percent of the youngest children attend day-care services. The cost of childcare services in market-oriented countries is relatively high and makes up a considerable percentage of parent's income, even after tax reduction (Thévenon, 2011:69). On contrary, the enrolment rate by pre-school children is high, and public spending on pre-school care and education is higher than for younger children (ibid). Eastern European countries provide the poorest formal childcare provision than other groups of countries, with an exception of Slovenia where enrolment rate by 0-to-2 year-olds is above 40 percent (table 7.1). In the rest of Eastern European countries, the percentage varies between 5.6 per cent in Czech Republic and 29 per cent in Lithuania. Group average for this group is 17.6 percent and is far below the OECD average of 34.4 percent (table 7.1). Eastern European countries provided generous childcare services and parental leaves under the Communistic regime, but they were reduced after its collapse (Fuwa and Cohen, 2007: 512). Slovenia managed to maintain most of the advantages and achievements of preschool services even during the difficult period of transition (Stropnik and Šircelj, 2008). In addition, childcare services in Slovenia are affordable due high subsidies rate from public source (ibid).

Parental leave

Paid parental leave gives mothers a concrete resource, namely possibility to be absent from job after childbirth without threat of job loss, thus securing their return to labour force (Hook, 2010; Stickney and Konrad, 2012). At the same time, long parental leaves send a message to women that they should stay at home and care for children. In some countries parental leave is as long as up to three years, which may result in several year out of labour force for a mother of more than one child. For example, in Austria 95 per cent of eligible mothers take out

parental leave lasting two years, and only few return to job immediately after this period (Stickney and Konrad, 2012: 1487). Too long parental leave, especially combined with absence of father quota, is associated with promoting traditional division within families as it favors mothers with small children to forgo paid work. By contrast, mid-length leave may encourage couples to more egalitarian organization of family life (ibid).

Paternity leave, or “daddy quota”, is defined as pro-active policy that challenges traditional gender ideology. In Scandinavia, introduction of paternity leave in 1990s had an explicit goal of attitude change (Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Going back to Goldscheider’s (2014 a-b, 2015), a degree of men’s involvement in home and child responsibilities indicates progress of gender revolution on its second and final half.

Eastern European countries in average provide the longest parental leave, up to 164 weeks in Slovakia and 160 weeks in Hungary (table 7.1). The payment rate is usually relatively low, for example, in Russia this rate is equal to forty percent of average earnings (Sinyavskaya, 2016). Long parental leaves in Eastern Europe are combined with approximately no social policies’ incentives for fathers to participate in childcare. Only in Croatia, fathers are eligible to 8.7 weeks of paid parental leave.

Nordic countries vary in terms of paid parental leave length. In Finland it is longest, 161 weeks, and it is shortest in Iceland, 26 weeks (table 7.1). Parents in Nordic countries are offered relatively high compensation rate while taking out parental leave; Nordic countries spend 53 percent of per capita GDP for every child, compared to average of 21 percent in OECD countries and 10 per cent in Anglo-Saxon countries (Thévenon, 2011: 66). In addition, gender equality in these countries, except for Denmark, is promoted by introduced fathers’ quota.

In Continental countries leave entitlements are quite heterogeneous. Austria, Belgium and France provide relatively long period with a fixed rate. In Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland, the parental leave is shorter, and for example in Nederland it is taken on part-time basis (Thévenon, 2011). German parental leave system has undergone substantial changes by replacing long leave period with a flat rate to well-paid short period (Thévenon, 2011). Fathers are eligible to take out paid parental leave in 5 of 8 Continental countries. The pattern for Continental countries shows that these countries “fairly heterogeneous as regards leave entitlements and care service provision” (Thévenon, 2011:72).

Chapter 8

Descriptive analysis

In this chapter I present the descriptive data for the dependent variable, question “In your opinion what is the best way of organizing family life for a family with a small child?” I have considered answers that are in favor of male breadwinner family model, with mother staying at home as the most traditional gender beliefs. Responses that prefer mother working part-time are assumed to support one-and-a-half-earner family. I defined these answers as “in between” or “half traditional”. Preference for both mother and father to work full-time or both parents to work part-time is assumed to be egalitarian (ref. chapter 5).

Attitudes in different welfare regimes

Based on the work of Thévenon (2011), I have grouped the outcome of results in four blocks; Continental European, Eastern European, Nordic and Anglo-Saxon countries. In my thesis Spain is the only representative form Southern European countries in Thévenon’s classification and it does not appear in Esping-Andersen (1990) or Korpi’s typologies. In order not to create too detailed groups, I have grouped Spain together with Continental countries, following its categorization in Bühlmann’s et. al.(2010) study. This way of presenting data highlights differences and similarities between countries. Traditional versus egalitarian attitudes by country are presented in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Distribution of opinions about best way for a family with a child under school age to organize their family and work life, in per cent by country

	Traditional (mother at home, father full-time) (%)	Half traditional (mother part- time, father full-time) (%)	Egalitarian (both parents part or full-time) (%)	Total (N=)
Continental				
Austria	46,4	40,3	13,4	1011
Belgium	22	50,3	27,7	1917
France	21,4	49,2	29,4	2005
Germany	23,4	50,8	25,8	1525

Netherlands	20,1	32,8	47,1	1169
Spain	26,1	42,6	31,3	2398
Switzerland	26,3	40,3	33,3	1176
Group Average	26,5	43,8	29,7	11201

Eastern European				
Bulgaria	55,1	33	11,9	891
Croatia	35	39,9	25,1	955
Czech Republic	59,1	29,2	11,7	1614
Hungary	54,9	32,5	12,6	971
Latvia	59,6	30,5	9,9	947
Lithuania	59,3	32	8,7	1076
Poland	46,1	31,8	22,1	1033
Russia	62,9	30,4	6,7	1415
Slovakia	57,5	29,7	12,8	1053
Slovenia	22,8	42,2	35	891
Average	51,2	33,1	15,7	10846

Nordic				
Denmark	5,8	48,1	46,1	1246
Finland	19,8	44,3	35,9	966
Iceland	6,6	46	47,5	1064
Norway	9,6	42,8	47,6	1250
Sweden	11	32,8	56	867
Average	10,6	42,8	46,6	5393

Anglo-Saxon				
Ireland	29,4	52,5	18,1	988
Great Britain	42,1	47,5	10,4	760
Average	35,8	50	14,2	1748
Average	31,0	42,4	26,6	29188

Around 3/4 of respondents in these countries report traditional or half traditional beliefs about gendered division of labor, while 1/4 of respondents support equal share of work and family responsibilities. This is in line with previous studies that find out that both practices of (Craig and Mullan, 2011 or Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010) and attitudes toward gendered

division of paid and unpaid work in Europe (Edlund and Öun, 2016) are gender asymmetric, i.e. women still perform a “lion” share of unpaid work.

Differences in attitudes between welfare regimes

Descriptive analysis shows that there exist differences in gender role attitudes both intern and between the groups of countries. The average share of respondents in Nordic countries with egalitarian attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work is 46.5 per cent, which is highest among the blocks. Next preferable way of family organizing in Nordic countries is one-and-half-earner family that includes around 43 per cent of support. Respondents in Nordic countries seem to leave behind the traditional male breadwinner ideal, as only 1/10 of respondents favor this family form.

Respondents in Continental countries who hold gender equal beliefs constitute the average of almost 30 per cent. The overweight of the responses (almost 44 per cent) is concentrated in favoring one-and-a-half-earner family. Around ¼ of the respondents in Continental countries prefer pure traditional family life with mother staying at home.

Anglo-Saxon countries seem to favor one-and-a-half-earner family as the half of the respondents in these country reports prefers this organizing of family life. More than 30 per cent support traditional male breadwinner family with staying-at-home mother, and the rest 14 per cent of respondents hold gender equal attitudes. Thus, the support for traditional family life in Anglo-Saxon countries is clearer than in Continental countries.

The most traditional countries are Eastern European countries where more than a half of respondents prefer mother staying at home, and about 1/3 prefer mother work part-time. Only 15.7 per cent of respondents in these countries support gender equal division of paid and unpaid work within a couple. In Eastern European countries the share of egalitarian views does not deviate significantly from Anglo-Saxon countries, but their dominating support of mother staying at home makes Eastern Europe the most traditional.

The difference in percentage average of egalitarian views between the most traditional Eastern European countries and the most egalitarian Nordic countries is equal to 31.7. The absolute range between egalitarian Sweden (56 per cent egalitarian) and traditional Russia (6.7 per cent egalitarian) is 49.3 percent points, which demonstrates substantial differences in social norms and beliefs in Europe about proper gender roles in work and care.

Northern countries stand out by being most gender equal oriented, Eastern European states are most traditional. Citizens in Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries prefer one-and-a-half earner family, though Continental countries are represented by a bigger share of egalitarian

beliefs. Gender role attitudes expressed by country mean support the pattern for gender role attitudes in studied countries (appendix, table 1).

The next question is to what extent these groups of countries are homogenous in terms of gender attitudes. I continue to discuss differences and similarities within groups of countries.

Continental countries

Within Continental countries, the Netherlands stands out with 47 per cent of respondents supporting gender equality. On the other side, Austria is the most traditional where 13.4 per cent report gender equal attitudes. The dispersion of 33.7 percent points raises doubts about grouping these two countries together. The share of egalitarian attitudes in Netherlands can be compared to Nordic countries, whereas Austria is approximately on the same level of traditionalism as Anglo-Saxon countries.

The rest of the Continental group, Belgium, France, Germany, Spain and Switzerland, seems to be more homogenous with respectively 27.7, 29.4, 25.8, 31.3 and 33.5 per cent being gender equal oriented. The distribution of support for pure traditional and half-traditional families in these countries is also similar.

Given French intensive investment in early childcare provision, and Thévenon's (2011) placing family policy in France close to Nordic countries, one could expect the share of French people's egalitarian attitudes closer to Nordic countries. However, we find France exactly in the middle of Continental block. It can be attributed to strong position of Catholic Church in France, compared for example to Lithuanian Germany.

On the other hand, similarities of the Dutch family policy to Anglo-Saxon welfare regimes (Thévenon 2011) would predict overrepresentation of traditional attitudes among the Dutch. However, my results show that Netherlands holds a relatively high share of gender equal beliefs.

A possible explanation can be the Dutch family policy's focus on family-work reconciliation, or so-called "combination scenario". It aims to give mothers opportunity to work more and to support father to work less (Nimwegen et.al., 2003:215). New laws have come into force to ease parental childcare responsibilities by giving parents more freedom in choice and access to public childcare (ibid). The gains in increased female labor force participation, especially for mothers, in Netherlands, are also seen in the past two decades (Adema et. al., 2014: 33). Looking at country parameters of Austria, we see that in terms of women labour force participation rate, women in politics and paternity leave, there are no considerable differences

with other Continental countries, while enrolment rate in public childcare services for 0-to-2 years-olds is the lowest in this group. 19.2 percent of Austrian youngest children are enrolled in formal childcare, whereas in Belgium and France the rate is 54.7 and 51.9 respectively. All in all, descriptive analysis for gender role attitudes toward division of work within couples with a small child for Continental European countries reflects their family policies that support one-and-a-half earner families, as almost 2/3 of respondents in these countries prefer mother staying at home or work part-time and father working full-time.

Eastern European countries

The most traditional of Eastern European countries is Russia with less than 7 per cent of respondents with gender equal attitudes, and almost 63 per cent preferring mother staying at home. By contrast, in Slovenia 35 percent of participants support gender equality in division of work and childcare, and 22 per cent favors mother to stay at home. This constitutes a considerable gap of 28.3 percent points in gender equal and 40 per cent points in traditional attitudes, thus the question about grouping of the countries arises again.

Croatia and Poland have some higher rate of egalitarian views with respectively 25 and 21 per cent, though Croatians are considerably less in favor of mother staying home than the Polish are. On the other hand, Lithuania and Latvia appear to be most traditional after Russia, having 8.7 and 9.9 per cent of gender equal respondents, and approximately equally high share of support for the most traditional way of organizing family life.

In the middle of Eastern European countries we find Bulgaria, Check Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia with egalitarian percentage in a range from 11.7 to 12.8.

Relatively high support for gender equality by Slovenian respondents can be explained by the fact that Slovenia, compared to other post communistic countries, has a relatively high-developed family policy, in particular on early childcare and parental leave (Stropnik and Šircelj, 2008). Country characteristics used in this thesis show that Slovenia stands out from other Eastern European countries by the highest rate in both share of women in Parliament (36.7 percent compared to group average of around 21 per cent) and enrolment rate for the smallest children in childcare (40 per cent compared to group average of 15 percent). As concerns parental leave, Slovenia shares the second place with Bulgaria with 2.1 weeks reserved for fathers.

In conclusion, the overrepresented support for traditional gender views in Eastern European countries is in line the “re-familization” policy of post socialistic countries that encourages women to stay at home (Ellingsæter and Wel, 2012).

Nordic countries

Sweden with its 56 percent of respondents being gender equal oriented is not only the most egalitarian within Nordic countries; it is also a leading egalitarian country among the countries analyzed here. Moreover, Sweden is the only country where more than a half of the respondents support gender equality in division of paid and unpaid work between parents. The least egalitarian among Nordic countries is Finland where around 36 percent report gender equal views. The difference between gender-equal attitudes within this group is 20 percent points, which is less than in Continental or Eastern European block, but still substantial. Denmark, Iceland and Norway are relatively homogenous in terms of gender role attitudes. The gap between these countries and Sweden (most egalitarian) is between 8.4 and 9.9 percent points, and the distance to Finland is approximately the same, thus making Denmark, Iceland and Norway clustered in the middle of the group as regards egalitarian gender views. Sweden’s leading position as regards egalitarian views can be attributed to the distinct Swedish model of gender equality policy which has developed over the last 40 years that reached most policy fields (Svensson and Gunnarsson, 2012). The march of Swedish women into the labour market started earlier than in other Nordic countries. The statutory entitlements for fathers to take parental leave were also first introduced in Sweden in 1974, followed by Norway in 1978.

Finland is distinct from other Nordic countries by lowest rate of the smallest children enrolled in formal childcare; almost 30 percent of 0-to-2-year olds attend public childcare services in Finland, while for example in Denmark and Iceland the percentage is around 65 and 60. Thévenon (2011: 68) links this “low” rate to degree of freedom for Finish parents of very young children to choose between work and care, which provides the longest parental leave combined with cash allowance. The consequence is women’s overrepresentation as caregiver for the youngest children.

All in all, Nordic countries’ leading positions in gender equal beliefs is consistent with their welfare strategy and family policy that promote gender equality in public and private spheres.

Anglo-Saxon countries

Anglo-Saxon countries are represented by Ireland and United Kingdom. The percentage of egalitarian views in Ireland is 18.1, while it is lower in United Kingdom where 10.4 per cent support equal division of work within families. The share of respondents supporting the most traditional one-earner family is also lower in Ireland than in United Kingdom.

The country indicators for these two countries do not differ in a significant way. Taken into consideration the Catholic Church's influence in Ireland, one could expect more traditional beliefs in Ireland than in Protestant England. The descriptive analysis shows that Ireland is slightly less traditional than the United Kingdom. However, the response rate for Ireland is low and can raise the question about its representative value.

Discussion of different typologies and gender role attitudes

Referring to grouping of countries by Thévenon (2011), the pattern of distribution of gender role attitudes in studied countries is as following; Nordic countries, except Finland, are the most egalitarian in their attitudes. Continental Europe, with the exception of "egalitarian" Netherlands and "conservative" Austria, has major preference for half-traditional division of labour. Eastern European and Anglo-Saxon countries are least egalitarian countries, the former being most traditional in terms of gender role beliefs.

The observed heterogeneity in gender role attitudes within groups, particularly in Continental and Eastern European blocks, contributes to the debate about the validity of excising typologies of welfare regimes or social policies. However, I have to consider that typologies of countries are based on their historical, cultural or political characteristics, while the results of the descriptive analysis reflect only the attitudinal aspect.

In terms of egalitarian attitudes toward division of work between women and men, the Netherlands can be classified together with the Nordic countries. In fact, in Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology, the Netherlands scores relatively high on social democratic characteristics, but neither very liberal ones. Korpi (2000) and Thévenon (2011) attribute more liberal traits to Netherlands. Switzerland is classified as liberal welfare regime by Esping-Andersen (1990), but Korpi (2000) and Thévenon (2011) place it together with traditional gender policy, or continental countries. The pattern of gender role attitudes in Switzerland matches well the Continental group. Regarding the rest of Continental countries, the typologies of Esping-Andersen, Korpi and Thévenon are reasonable for explanation of their dominant support of male breadwinner family with a part-time working mother.

There are little differences in the theoretical classification of Nordic countries, with the exception of Finland. Esping-Andersen (1990:74) as many social democratic characteristics as conservative ones to Finland; Korpi (2000) and Thévenon (2011) categorize Finnish gender and family policy as supporting dual-earner/ dual-career family, or family policy with high support of reconciliation of work and family life (ref. to chapter 4). My analysis proposes that Finland is less egalitarian than the rest of the Nordic countries, but slightly less traditional than the most of Continental countries.

Ireland and United Kingdom belong to Anglo-Saxon, or liberal category in typologies of Korpi (2000) and Thévenon (2011). Esping-Andersen (1990) excludes Ireland from this group, but adds Switzerland. In terms of gender role attitudes, the Anglo-Saxon countries' outcome demonstrates relatively traditional gender values. Korpi's (2000) typology depicts no particular support of either traditional or gender equal family model in Anglo-Saxon countries, while Thévenon (2011) points out the support of poor and single-carer families. Distribution of gender role attitudes in these countries may indicate that marked-oriented family policy is rather associated with traditional than egalitarian views. However, these two countries differ in terms of religion, as Catholic Church is predominant in Ireland and Protestant Church in England, but my analysis has not caught this religious difference. Eastern European countries appear in Thévenon's (2011) grouping of countries. I have enclosed more Eastern European countries in my analysis than the number studied by Thévenon (2011). In general, Thévenon's (2011) theoretical background for grouping Eastern European countries fits reasonably well the outcome in their gender role attitudes. The overwhelming support for traditionalism with respect to division of paid and unpaid work in Eastern European countries can be associated with their recent "re-familizing" family policy (ref. chapter 4).

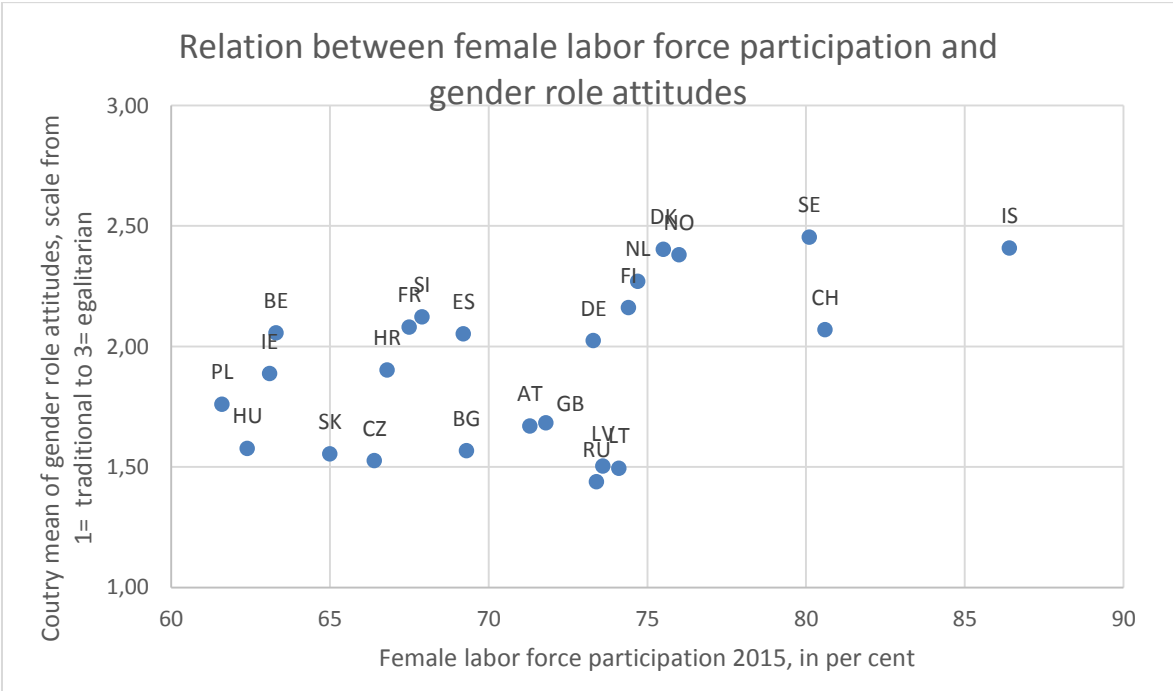
Chapter 9

Bivariate analysis of macro-level factors and gender role attitudes

Female labor force participation rate and gender role attitudes

As discussed earlier, resource and gender ideology theoretical perspectives as well as previous research (Fuwa, 2004, Hook, 2006) imply that higher female labour force participation is associated with more support for gender equality both within family and in the public sphere. Female labor force participation in countries analyzed here varies between 61.6 per cent in Poland and 86.4 in Iceland. The scatterplot below captures relation between female labor force participation and gender role attitudes. Female labor force participation is measured by percentage of women aged 15-64 in labor market related to the total group of women of the same age, year 2015.

Table 9.1. Relation between female labor force participation rate (%) and gender role attitudes (country mean)



Female labor force participation rate does not seem to have any visible effect on gender role attitudes in the range within 60 to 70 per cent, as the mean of attitudes neither decreases or declines in this interval. From 70 per cent and upwards the effect seems to be different for Nordic and other countries. For Nordic countries attitudes become more egalitarian with increased female labor force contribution, whereas for the Eastern European countries attitudes become more traditional. Russia, Lithuania and Latvia are clustered together with

relatively high female labor force participation, but very traditional gender norms, which is in line with previous research that have demonstrated the same combination for Eastern European countries (Uunk, 2015)

Bivariate correlation analysis between attitudes toward best way of organizing family life and female labour force participation shows statistically significant correlation (table 9.2).

Table 9.2. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and female labour force participation rate (%)

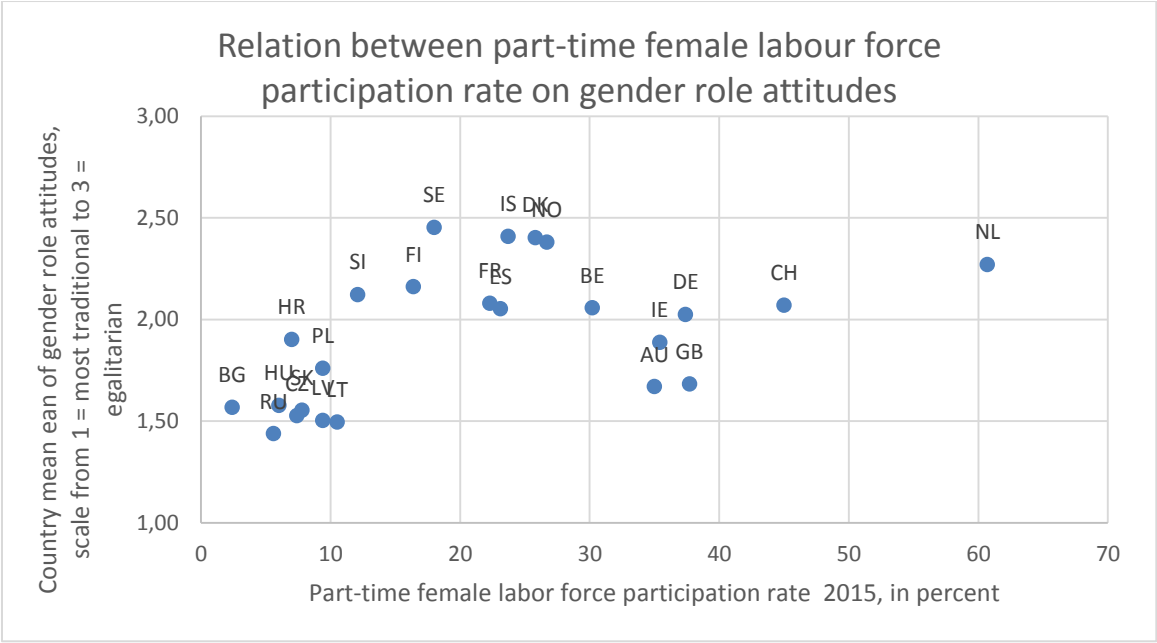
Pearson Correlation	,495*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,014
N	24

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Pearson coefficient equal to 0.495 indicates positive correlation between gender roles attitudes and female labour force participation. I can not postulate any causal effects here, as it is reasonable to assume that more egalitarian gender attitudes contribute to higher female participation in labour market (Uunk, 2015), and vice versa, increase in labour force participation among women may result in accept for non-traditional gender roles (Hook, 2006).

The indicator of female labor force participation used here does not distinguish between full- and part-time working hours, which potentially can hide significant differences in extent of female participation in labor market. Therefore, I continue to examine relationship between gender role attitudes and female part-time labor force participation rate (tables 9.3 and 9.4) Gender role attitudes are measured by country mean, female part-time labour force participation rate is measured in per cent.

Table 9.3. Relation between part-time female labor force participation rate (%) on gender role attitudes (country mean)



The relation between part-time female labor force participation and gender norms approaches reversed U-form, or parabola, that means that the lowest part-time female labor force participation is associated with traditional gender views. With the increased part-time participation rate attitudes become more egalitarian to a certain maximum point, and then they turn back to traditional beliefs with increased part-time female labor force participation. Thus, the respondents in countries with the lowest and the highest part-time participation rate are the most traditional, and countries with the medium participation rate are the most egalitarian. Eastern European countries are clustered in the left foot of the parabola. The family policy strategy aiming to call women back home can be a logical explanation for the observed pattern. The Nordic countries with medium part-time participation rate top the inverted parabola. The position of Nordic countries indicates that family policy’s moderate favoring of part-time working hours for women affects gender role attitudes in an egalitarian direction. Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries occupy the right foot of the parabola. That indicates that greater facilitating of women in part-time work reinforces traditional gender roles within one-and-a-half male breadwinner model.

The U-form effect of female part-time labor force participation rate on gender role attitudes is similar to the effect of length of maternity leave on gender role attitudes discussed by Stickney and Konrad (2012). Thus, some social policy instruments may have positive effect on egalitarian gender norms up to a certain point, after which the effect becomes negative and reinforces traditional division of work within families. Based on the scatterplot, female part-

time labour force participation rate and egalitarian views are positively correlated up to circa 20-25 percent of part-time female workers, after this point the relationship becomes negative. This decline in gender equal beliefs with increase of female part-time labour force participation supports previous argumentations that women's still heavily part-time employment in some nations keeps “demands off fathers” (Hook, 2006:655). The correlation analysis for female part-time labour force participation and gender role attitudes toward division of paid and unpaid work is shown below.

Table 9.4. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and female part-time labour force participation (%)

Pearson Correlation	,487*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,016
N	24

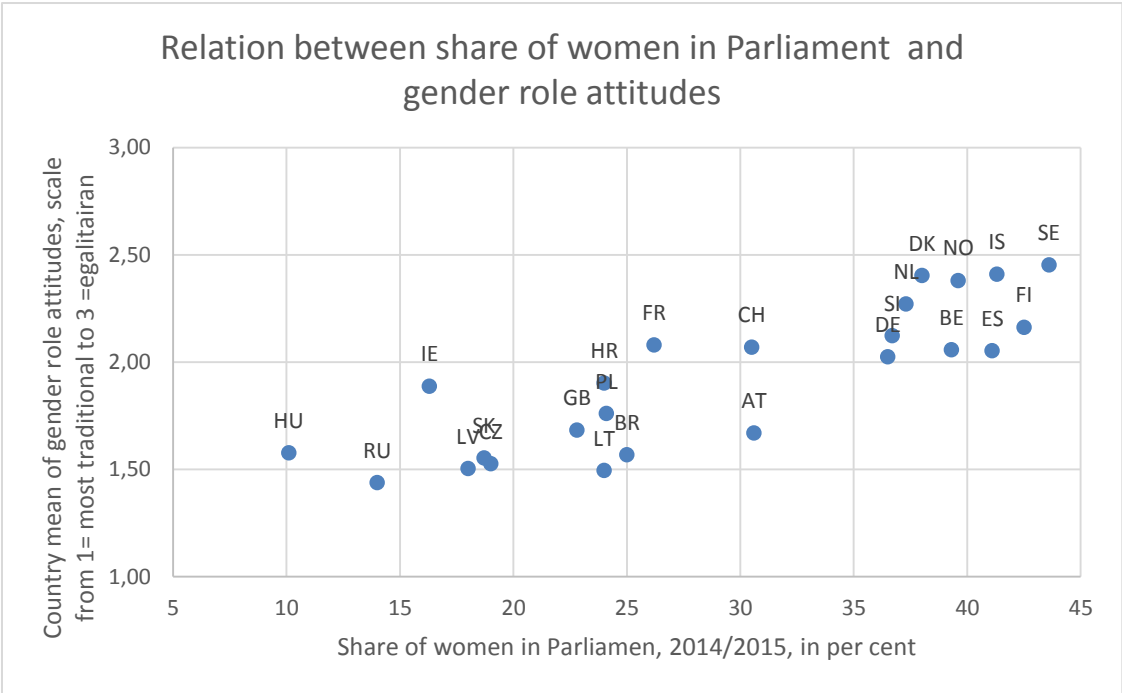
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlation matrix for female part-time labour supply and gender role attitudes are similar to the one between total female labour force participation rate and gender attitudes. The correlation is significant and positive with Pearson coefficient 0.487. Neither scatterplot nor correlation matrix provide any causal relation between gender role attitudes and female part-time labour force participation rate. Consequently, the causal effect for female part-time workers and gender role attitudes may be assumed to be mutual.

Women in Parliament and gender role attitudes

As discussed in chapter 2 and 3, resource and gender ideology perspectives and previous empirical studies indicate positive relation between egalitarian norms and strong position of women in politics. Relation between gender role attitudes and share of women in Parliament is shown in table 9.5. Gender role attitudes are measured by country mean, share of women in Parliament is measured by percentage of total seats.

Table 9.5. Relation between share of women in Parliament and gender role attitudes



The relationship between share of women in Parliament and gender role attitudes seems to be linear. It is visible that countries with more than 35 per cent of women in Parliament are most egalitarian. Countries with share of women in politics between 20 and 35 per cent are less egalitarian than those with higher percentage of women in Parliament, and countries with less than 20 per cent of female parliamentarians appear to be most traditional. The observed association between gender role attitudes and women’s position in Parliament support previous findings that egalitarianism is positively correlated with percentage of women in Parliament (Norris and Inglehart, 2000).

The special position of Slovenia within Eastern European countries can be partially explained by this pattern as relatively high share of women in Parliament in this country is associated with relatively egalitarian views of the Slovenians. The same explanation can be applied to Russia, but with an opposite conclusion. Sweden’s high score on gender egalitarian views fits with the highest share of Swedish parliamentary women compared to other countries. It can be one of the explanations of Sweden’s leading position in terms of gender equality in attitudes.

The bivariate correlation analysis (table 9.6) proves the observed relationship between gender attitudes and share of women in Parliament.

Table 9.6. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and share of women in Parliament (%)

Pearson Correlation	,848*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000
N	24

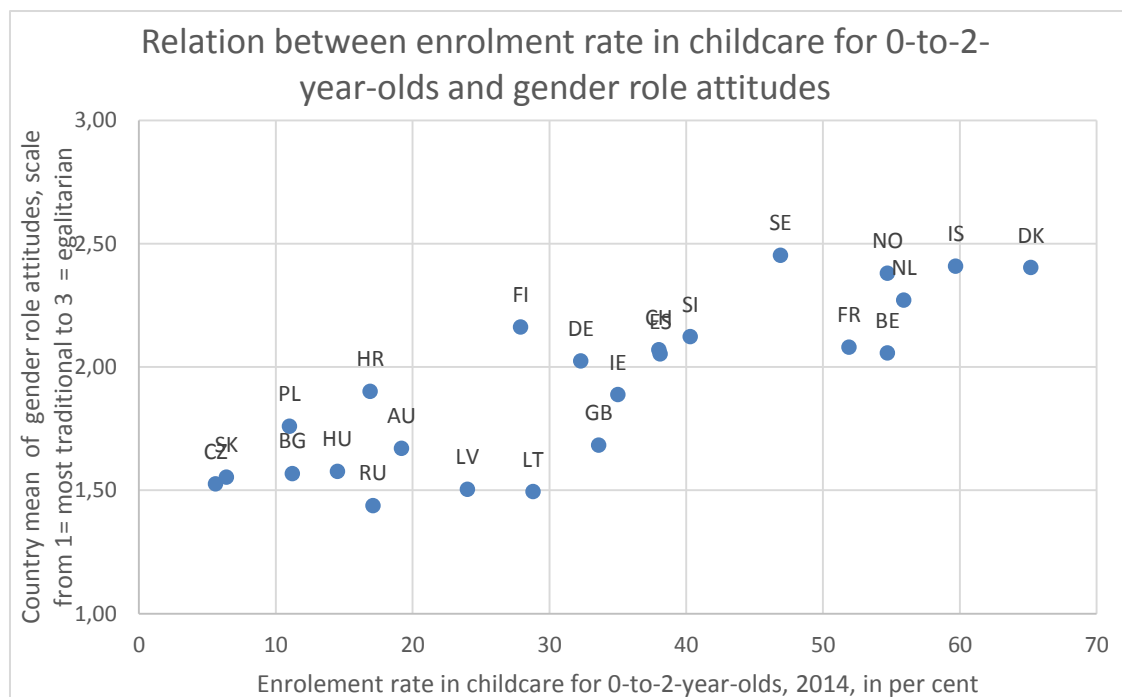
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The Pearson coefficient of 0.848 indicates a strong positive correlation between gender role attitudes and share of women in Parliament. The coefficient is almost doubled compared to ones for female labour force participation rate. Thus, attitudes toward division of work between men and women have stronger association to women's position in politics than to female labour force participation, included part-time work participation. I cannot establish any causal pattern in relationship between share of women in Parliament and egalitarian views. It can be assumed that more egalitarian views may persuade women that they should candidate themselves as politicians, as well as gender role attitudes can influence the results of elections (Norris and Inglehart, 2000). It is also plausible to assume that strong position of women in Parliament may change citizens' gender role attitudes toward egalitarian direction.

Enrolment rate in public childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds and gender role attitudes

Enrolment rate in formal childcare for the smallest children, 0-to-2-year-olds, is another country level indicator assumed to be related to gender role attitudes (chapter 8). Degree of access, payment rates and quality of pre-school care are prerequisites for women's possibility to return to job after a birth. Table 9.7 shows relation between gender role attitudes (country mean) and enrolment rate in public childcare of the youngest children (per cent).

Table 9.7. Relation between enrolment in public childcare for 0-to-2-year-olds and gender role attitudes



The relationship between enrolment rate by the youngest children in public childcare and support for gender equality seems to be linear. The increased rate of enrolment in childcare is associated with higher score on egalitarian views. On the top of the line, or in the right upper quadrats, we find countries with highest enrolment rate and more egalitarian views (Denmark, Island, Norway and Netherlands). Countries with lowest enrolment rate of the youngest children in childcare and the most traditional beliefs are located in the left, down quadrates (most of Eastern European countries and Austria). The results support the assumption about more gender equal attitudes in countries with better provision of public childcare for the youngest children.

The pattern can help to understand Austria, Slovenia and Finland's different positions in terms of gender role attitudes within their respective groups. Austria is far behind France, Germany and Belgium as regards enrolment rate in childcare by the youngest children. The scatterplot places Austria among Easter European countries with the respect to youngest children's low enrolment rate in childcare services and traditional gender attitudes.

Finland keeps a distinct distance to other Nordic countries by lower provision of childcare for the smallest children and less gender equal attitudes. Though this pattern suits Finland, it does not bring clearness on Sweden's leading position. On contrast, Sweden provides a lower enrolment rate for 0-to-2-year-olds than for example Norway, Island or Denmark, but scores higher on egalitarian attitudes.

Slovenia stands out by being the “best” provider of childcare services within Eastern European countries. The relatively high enrolment rate of the youngest children in childcare in Slovenia is related with relatively higher score of gender equal beliefs.

Bivariate correlation analysis proves significant positive relation between attitudes toward division of labour within couples and enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds (table 9.8).

Table 9.8. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds

Pearson Correlation	,844*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000
N	24

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Pearson coefficient of 0.844 indicates strong positive correlation between attitudes and enrolment rate. Analogically to other correlations between gender role attitudes and country-level indicators, the causal arrow can go both ways here. It is reasonable to assume that egalitarian views favoring mothers’ quick return to job after childbirth result in higher rate of enrolment in public childcare services for children under three years. On the other hand, sufficient provision of childcare for the youngest children signals social accept of working mothers, thus promoting egalitarianism.

Parental leaves and gender role attitudes

I have also examined attitudes’ association to paid maternity and parental leave available for mothers and fathers’ eligibility to take paid parental leave. Correlation matrix for paid maternal and parental leave for mother and gender role attitudes is shown in table 9.9.

Table 9.9. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and paid maternity and parental leave available for mothers, in weeks

Pearson Correlation	-,411*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,046
N	24

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The length of paid maternity and parental leaves for mothers is negatively related to egalitarian gender views (Persons $r = -0.411$) and with p-value of 0.046 that is close to non-significance at 0.05 level. This negative correlation supports assumption that too long parental leaves are related to traditional gender role beliefs (Stickney and Konrad, 2012)

The correlation between gender attitudes and fathers’ eligibility to take paid parental leave is statistically significant and positive is shown in table 9.9.1.

Table 9.9.1. Correlations between gender role attitudes (country mean) and paid parental leave reserved for fathers (fathers not eligible =0, fathers eligible =1)

Pearson Correlation	,494*
Sig. (2-tailed)	0,014
N	24

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Pearsons $r = 0.421$ and P-value of 0.041 indicates position relation between incentives for father to take part in care of small children and egalitarian views. This positive correlation is in line with previous similar finding about positive relation between equal gender practice and “daddy-quotas” (Hook, 2006). The reasoning about causal effect that can go both ways applies also for relation between gender role attitudes and entitlements for paid parental leaves.

Conclusion

Scatterplots provide a visible relationship between gender role attitudes and female labor force participation rate (included part-time participation rate), women in Parliament and enrolment rate in childcare by 0-2 year-olds. Total female labour force participation, women in Parliament and enrolment rate in childcare by the youngest children seem to have positive linear relations with gender role attitudes. Part-time female labor force participation appears to have a reverted U-form relation with gender beliefs. Correlation matrixes supply with statistically significant relations. Gender role beliefs about desirable division of work within couples with small children have positive, statistically significant correlation to all country-level indicators described above. The degree of correlation for women in Parliament and enrolment rate in childcare for 0-to-2-year-olds is highest compared to other country level characteristics.

I cannot conclude about causal effects in scatterplots or in bivariate correlation analysis, but I can argue for existence of correlations between gender values and all country-level indicators used in the analysis.

Chapter 10

Can macro-level characteristic explain variation in gender role attitudes?

Multilevel analysis

I use random intercept model of multilevel modeling in linear regression analysis. As discussed in chapter 6, random intercept model allows intercept, or mean for respondents, vary between units on level 2, here between countries. Indicator for goodness of fit in this multilevel analysis is Maximum Likelihood. I start regression analysis with “null model”, i.e. a model without explanatory variables, then I add individual level variables, and in the end macro-level indicators are added. The results for the “null model” in my dataset is shown below (table 10.1)

Table 10.1 Multilevel linear regression analysis, random intercept, “null model” without explanatory variables.

Estimates of Fixed effects^a

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	Df	T	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	1,918572	0,066514	23,994	28,844	0,000	1,781291	2,055853

Estimates of Covariance Parameters^a

Parameter	Estimate
Residual	0,493329
Intercept [subject = country]	0,105741

a. Dependent Variable: Attitudes toward gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian.

The regression coefficient (1.92) in this model estimates grand mean of the dependent variable, here average gender role attitudes for the whole sample. The individual deviation from the mean constituted the residuals (0.49) (table 10.1). The main aim of the null model is to find out the proportion of variance in gender role attitudes that stems from the variation between countries, or so-called Intraclass Correlation Coefficient (ICC). The ICC in my “null model” is equal to 0.1765, calculated as $0.105741 / (0.105741 + 0.493329)$. The ICC indicates that around 17.7 percent of all variation in gender role attitudes in my sample is due to variance between countries. The “thumb-up” rule for evaluation of the ICC is that if it is higher than 0.05, the variance between level 2 units should not be ignored, and multilevel analysis is an appropriate method to apply (Ringdal, 2017). The ICC does not explain the

variation in gender beliefs, but it indicates that there exists a significant country variation in gender ideologies with regard to division of work.

In addition to multilevel analysis, I have analyzed country effect on gender role attitudes by using OLS regression with countries encoded as dummy variables (table not shown here). The analysis with countries as dummy variables has indicated that 16 percent (adjusted R square) of variance in gender role attitudes can be attributed to country characteristics. This is convergent with the ICC calculated for the “null model” above.

At the next stage of multilevel analysis I have added independent variables on individual level into the model (appendix, table 2). The effect of individual level variables is fixed; the intercept remains random as in the “null model”.

The reason behind constructing model with only micro-level variables is to test how well the next model with added macro-level indicators fits the data. I don’t present individual level model here, and only use it to calculate the -2LL between models with and without macro-level variables.

Finally, I have added macro-level variables into the model. Macro-level indicators used here are female labour force participation, female part-time force participation, share of women in Parliament and enrolment rate in formal childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds. The final model with macro-level characteristics is shown in table 10.2.

The regression coefficients in the table indicate change in average value of dependent variable, gender role attitudes, with increase of one point in independent variable. The sign of the coefficient shows if the effect of independent variable is positive, contributing to more egalitarian views, or negative, leading to more traditional views. This interpretation applies to all models in the analysis. Statistical significance of the coefficients is shown in column “Sig.”. The regression coefficient is significant at 95 % confidence interval.

Table 10.2. Multilevel linear regression analysis, random (between countries) intercept model with individual variables (fixed effect) gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity as level 1 variables, female labour force participation, female part-time labour force participation, women in Parliament and enrolment rate as variables on level 2 (fixed effect).

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	Df	T	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	0,945592	0,371227	22,667	2,547	0,018	0,177027	1,714157
Gender (male = 0, female = 1)	0,096038	0,010487	16716,347	9,158	0,018	0,075483	0,116593
Age (ref. 49)	-0,004219	0,000368	16725,977	-11,473	0,000	-0,00494	-0,003498

Education (University/ College degree = 1, Lower = 0)	0,248616	0,011833	16726,768	21,011	0,000	0,225423	0,27181
Work-status (not in paid work = 0, in paid work = 1)	0,099367	0,012323	16718,926	8,063	0,000	0,075212	0,123522
Political attitude (far right = 0, far left = 4)	0,066695	0,005113	16731,249	13,045	0,000	0,056674	0,076717
Religiosity (never = 0, several times a week = 7)	0,028794	0,002825	16454,058	10,191	0,000	0,023256	0,034332
Female labour force participation ratev (%)	-0,002031	0,005885	22,633	-0,345	0,733	-0,014215	0,010153
Female part-time labour force participation rate (%)	-0,005199	0,007997	22,585	-0,65	0,522	-0,02176	0,011362
Squared female part-time labour force participation rate	0,000000	0,000126	22,392	0,679	0,504	-0,000176	0,000347
Share of Women in Parliament (%)	0,017056	0,004449	22,731	3,834	0,001	0,007848	0,026265
Enrolment rate in childcare services by 0-to-2-year-olds (%)	0,007514	0,002676	22,399	2,808	0,010	0,001969	0,013058

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian
Significance within 5 %-level ($p < 0.005$)
Maximum Likelihood as goodness of fit

The change in -2LLs, or “deviance”, between the model with only individual variables and the model that includes macro level variables is 34 (table not shown here). The difference of the -2 LLs between two models is assumed to be chi-square distributed with the degree of freedom being the number of variables on level 2 (Ringdal, 2017). The -2LL of 34 is significant with degree of freedom 5 and alpha 0.001 (Dietz and Kalof, 2009: 528). The statistical test indicates that macro-level factors used here significantly improve the model with only individual variables.

Another important prerequisite for further analysis is absence of multicollinearity between independent variables on macro-level. Multicollinearity can especially occur among country-level characteristics. First I created correlation matrix for all macro-level variables to check Pearson correlation index (appendix, table 3). The high correlation between female part-time labour force participation and female part-time force participation squared is as expected since the latter variable has been created out of the former in order to satisfy the criteria of linearity in linear regression analysis. Eikemo and Clausen (2012: 158) underline that the

explanatory power of such correlated variables is higher than what we lose by tolerating high correlation.

Women in Parliament and enrolment rate in daycare by children under three years old are another pair of macro-level variables that correlates strongest, with Pearson correlation of 0.678. This value is critically close to the advised value of 0.7 (Johannessen, 2009). Pearson correlation for other couples of macro-level factors is between 0.261 and 0.453 (appendix, table 3). The tolerance test for all macro-level independent variables conducted in dataset with 24 countries with dependent variable, measured by country mean for gender role attitudes, and all five independent variable on level 2, does not indicate multicollinearity between macro-level variables⁴ (appendix, table 4).

According to the table 10.2, two macro-level variables, share of women in Parliament and enrolment rate in childcare services by 0-to-2-year-olds are statistically correlated to gender role attitudes, when controlled for all other included independent variables. Total female labour force participation and female part-time labour force participation do not appear to be statistically significant.

The regression coefficient for macro-level variable share of women in Parliament is 0.017. It indicates a positive effect of gender equal beliefs, controlled for other macro-level and individual characteristics included in the model. As share of women in countries analyzed here varies in a range between 10.1 percent (Hungary) to 43.6 (Sweden), the maximum positive effect of parliamentary women for studied countries is $0.017 \times (43.6 - 10.1) = 0.57$ points. Taking into consideration that gender role views are situated on a scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, the effect of 0.57 can be considered to be relatively strong. Hence, according to my analysis, the inhabitants in countries with a greater percentage of women in Parliament in average are considerably more egalitarian-oriented than their counterparts living in countries with fewer shares of women in Parliament.

Enrolment rate in childcare services of the youngest children is another macro-level variable that is statistically significant in final model, when controlled for other variables included in the analysis. Its regression coefficient equal to 0.0075 indicates a positive correlation between public childcare provision for the youngest children and egalitarian views. The enrolment rate in childcare services by 0-to-2-year-old differs between 5.6 percent in Czech Republic and 65.2 percent in Denmark. The maximum effect of enrolment rate in childcare by

⁴ Strong correlation between variables female part-time labour force participation rate and female part-time labour force participation rate squared is discussed in previous abstract and applies also for the tolerance test in table in appendix

the youngest children for the countries analyzed here will be $0.075 \times (65.2 - 5.6) = 0.46$ points. The maximum effect of childcare enrolment rate of the youngest children is lower than the maximum effect of women in Parliament, but it is still considered to be strong. Hence, the analysis demonstrates that in average citizens of countries with better provision of childcare services for children under three years old hold more gender equal attitudes than citizens in countries where the provision is poorer.

Neither total female labour force participation rate nor female part-time labour force participation rate have proved to be significantly correlated to gender role attitudes, according to my analysis. Their indicators of statistical significance are not even close to be significant at $p < 0.05$ level. Previous empirical studies (for example Hook, 2006), and theoretical framework (relative resources and gender ideology perspectives) suggest that share of women in labour force do matter for gender ideology. Hence, non-significance of female total and part-time labour force participation revealed in this analysis was unexpected.

I have controlled for the effect of paid parental leave reserved for fathers and the length of paid parental leave available for mothers (tables not shown here). I included parental leave indicators into the final multilevel table. The variables measuring part-time female labour force participation were taken out from the model and replaced separately by paid parental leave reserved for fathers and the length of paid parental leave available for mothers. None of the parental leave parameters proved to be statistically significant. In addition the -2LL for the models including separately parental leave for fathers and for mothers was no longer significant and had a negative sign indicating that these variables did not improve model's goodness of fit compared to the model with only individual characteristics. Hence, I have excluded both variables from the final multilevel model.

In addition to main multilevel analysis, I controlled macro-level characteristics separately for men and women (appendix, tables 5 and 6). The female labour force participation in this analysis appears to have a greater negative effect on women's egalitarian views than on men's, though still insignificant for both genders. Enrolment rate in childcare for the youngest children has shown to be stronger associated to men's gender equal ideologies than to women's.

Discussion of women in Parliament and gender role attitudes

The positive correlation between more shares of women in Parliament and egalitarianism in this analysis is in line with previous research. Norris and Inglehart (2000) have found similar

positive association between percentage of women in Parliament and gender equal beliefs in their study about cultural barriers towards women's leadership based on 55 countries from all over the world. However, Norris and Inglehart (2000) argue that it is egalitarian beliefs that lead to more women in politics, so the reasoning about mutual causal effect remains also here. Studies of Apparala et. al. (2003) and Fuwa (2004) indicate that countries where women have relatively strong position in political and economical spheres have citizens with more egalitarian gender norms (Apparala et. al. 2003) and more egalitarian gender practices (Fuwa, 2004). In their analyses they use United Nation's gender empowerment index (GEM) that includes both share of seats in Parliament held by women, percentage of technical and professional female workers and women's contribution to earned income. Hence, it is difficult to distinguish the effect of each component, but it gives strong indications that women in politics may have positive impact on egalitarian views. The difference between these studies and my thesis is that I explore women in Parliament as a separate indicator for women's position in public sphere.

Results about positive relationship between higher share of women in Parliament and egalitarian gender role attitudes lend to support of relative resource and gender ideology perspectives. Strong position of women in public sphere gives women more resources to bargain to equality with their male counterparts. Further, leaning to gender ideology perspective, a strong position in politics obtained by women may establish gender equal norms in society resulting in more egalitarian couples.

Positive correlation between women's strong position in politics and citizen's egalitarian gender role attitudes found in this thesis, and in previous research, highlights the importance of effective policy tools that aim to recruit more women in politics. Norris and Inglehart (2000) argue that use of "positive discrimination" strategies, as gender quotas and certain proportion of women candidates have proved to be most successful means to provide more females to politics. Many political parties in Nordic countries adopted gender quotas in the 1970s, followed by Social Democratic parties in Germany, Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Development in Eastern European countries has been more complex in terms of women's position in politics, although also here the left parties have been more positive to their introduction. During the dominance of the Communistic party the use of gender quotas was widespread, but after the fall of the Communistic block the quota was abandoned (ibid, 2000: 13-15).

Given the pattern of women holding seats in national Parliaments, the leading position of Nordic countries in terms of egalitarian views, can partially be associated to their highest

shares of women in politics. On the other hand, relatively low percentage of women in Parliament in Eastern European and Anglo-Saxon countries can help to understand prevalent traditional orientation in these countries. The results reflect that although industrialized countries are underway toward gender equality, the gender revolution is still “incomplete” (Esping-Andersen, 2009) and Scandinavian countries are the most advanced compared to other industrialized countries in terms of both halves of gender revolution (Goldscheider 2014a).

Discussion of enrolment rate in public childcare by the youngest children and gender role attitudes

Multilevel analysis has shown positive correlation between egalitarian beliefs and enrolment rate in childcare by the children under three years old. Previous studies provide diverse results in terms of association between childcare provision and gender issues. Stickney and Konrad (2012) have not revealed statistical approve for their hypothesis about individuals’ more gender equal attitudes in countries with larger public spending on early childcare. Neither in the research of Fuwa and Cohen⁵ (2007) there was found support for effect of childcare enrolment rate for the youngest children on equal division of housework between spouses.

However, Craig and Mullan (2010) connect less time pressure for parents in France and Denmark with wider use of nonparental childcare in these countries, compared to Italy, United States and Australia. Most gender equal division of parental care in their comparative study was found in Denmark. The authors attribute this finding mainly to the fact that Danish mothers share their maternal care loads not only with Danish fathers, but also with provided public substitutes (ibid).

The finding about positive relation between enrolment rate for very young children and egalitarian beliefs supports relative resource perspective. Publicly provided childcare for very young children serves as an extra resource for women and as facilitation for female employment. Moreover, the access to day care services for children under three years old, compared to older pre-school children, provides a resource for women to come back to labour force relatively short time after a birth thus reducing mothers’ entrenchment in a role as caregiver (Hook, 2006).

⁵ On contrary, Fuwa and Cohen (2007) have found support for positive impact of parental leave on fathers’ involvement in childcare and housework, while in my regression analysis parental leave has not shown to be statistically correlated to gender role attitudes.

Positive relation between egalitarian beliefs and enrolment rate in childcare by the youngest children reflects also gender ideology perspective. In many postindustrial countries, the ongoing debate about provision of childcare for young children departs from the point of what is the best for child development. In Austria and United States a strong normative idea that young children need constant parental care raises discussion where public childcare harms child development (Graig and Mullan, 2012). On contrast, in Denmark the discourse in childcare provision is focused on child rights and need for socialization (Hook, 2010). So, in addition to be a concrete resource for women, extend and quality of nation public childcare services signalize desirable way of childcare in society, implicitly indicating proper role of mothers (Ellingsæter in Hook, 2006).

In research literature it has been arguing that public childcare provision may have a countervailing effect on gender role attitudes. While challenging mothers' traditional role, the publicly provided childcare may maintain views about men's non-involvement in childcare making it easier for men to persuade traditional gender ideology (Hook, 2006:644). The additional separate analysis for men and women in my thesis has shown that higher enrolment rate by young children in daycare, on contrary, has more positive effect on men's egalitarian views than on women's. This finding can indicate the general shift in European countries towards gender equal orientation, also among men. At the same time, the positive effect of childcare provision for the youngest children on men's egalitarianism indicates that social policies initially directed towards women's emancipation may also have positive impact on men's gender equal ideology.

Why female labour force participation is not related to gender role attitudes?

Finding about non-significance of female labour force participation for egalitarian views has not confirmed relative resource and gender ideology perspectives that propose that women's stronger position in the labour force is associated with gender equality.

The results do neither support some previous empirical studies that have demonstrated that high female labour force participation promotes equality in gender relations. In Hook's (2006) study of men's unpaid work in 20 countries female labour force participation was the only country-level factor that had significant direct effect on men's more time spent on home responsibilities; that effect also embraced single men (ibid, 2006: 655). Different results about female labour force participation may be attributed to different analytical models. Hook

(2006) controls for national weekly working hours for men and women, enrolment rate in childcare for the youngest children and entitlements for parental leave, but women's position in politics is not included in her study.

However, some studies, as Apparala's et.al.(2003), neither have found support for their hypothesis that female labour force participation is significantly correlated to gender role attitudes.

Results about no statistically correlation between female part-time labour force participation and gender role attitudes does neither support assumption about more traditional views in countries where women's part-time work is predominant (Hook, 2010). An outlier Netherlands with its highest percentage of women working part-time and relatively high score on egalitarian views may have contributed to non-significance of female part-time work. In fact, analysis without Netherlands has brought considerable changes both on female part-time work regression coefficient and its significance, the regression coefficient for female part-time labour force participation rate has changed from -0.005 to -0.018 but it still has remained not statistically significant (appendix, table 7).

Analysis for individual long working hours has revealed that women are likely to be more egalitarian and men more traditional in their views the more they work (table not shown here). It proves relative resource perspective on individual level. Hence, although national indicators of women's labour force participation have not proved to be significant, individual time spent on paid work indicates that degree of connection to labour force does matter for gender role attitudes.

One possible explanation for not finding significant correlation between female labour force participation and gender role attitudes may lie in relatively low number of countries (24) in multilevel analysis⁶. Thus, statistical non-significance does not automatically mean that there is no effect of national female labour force participation on citizen's beliefs about division of paid and unpaid work between genders.

Another plausible explanation is that indicators of female labour force participation used in my analysis do not reflect whole complexity of women's position in labour market.

Constantin and Voicu (2014) argue that female participation in the labour force is usually considered as a good indicator of gender equality, but it is sensitive to national contexts. In some countries paid work really may help women to gain status similar to men, while in other countries women earn too little to reach gender equality. Hence, female labour force

⁶ The same applies to Apparala's et. al. (2003) study that includes 13 countries.

participation has different meaning and consequences in different national contexts (ibid, 2014: 741). Though, female part-time employment is examined in my analysis, I did not explore other important aspects as, for example, wage gap between typically male and female occupations. Gender inequality in labour market is still a visible trait in many industrial societies (Lewin-Epstein and Stier, 2017). Thus, adding more aspects of women's position in labour force would provide a more nuanced picture of relation between female labour force participation and gender role norms. At the same time, more variables at macro level are not welcome from statistical point of view, as low number of countries in multilevel analysis restricts number of macro-level variables.

Chapter 11

What individual characteristics can explain variation in gender role attitudes?

The relation between individual characteristics and gender role attitudes toward division of work and care is analyzed by multiple OLS regression, separately for each country. Similar to descriptive analysis, I have grouped countries in four groups: Continental European, Eastern European, Nordic and Anglo-Saxon countries.

The individual factors are sex, age, degree of education, work-status, political affiliation and religiosity⁷. Variables sex (male/female), degree of education (university or college degree or not), work-status (in paid work or not) are dummy variables. Age is a continuous variable centered on grand mean, which is 49 years old in my sample. Political attitude is an ordinal variable with a scale from 0 (far right) to 4 (far left). Religiosity is an ordinal variable with a scale from 0 (attendance of religious services several times a week) to 7 (no attendance of religious services).

The results for individual-level analysis are shown in table 11.1. In addition to main analysis on individual level, I analyzed individual characteristics separately for men and women, mainly to control for individual resources education and occupation status (appendix, tables 8 and 9).

Table 11.1 Relation between gender role attitudes and individual variables gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity. Multiple OLS regression analysis, unstandardized regression coefficients (*B*), multiple regression coefficient (Adjusted R square), 95 % confidence interval)

	<i>Const.</i>	Gender (male = 0, female = 1)	Age (ref. 49)	Education (University / College degree = 1, Lower = 0)	Work status (not in paid work = 0, in paid work = 1)	Political attitud e (far right = 0, far left = 4)	Religiosity (never = 0, several times a week = 7)	Adjusted R square
Continental countries								
Austria	1,235	0,081	-0,002	-0,010	0,096	0,074	0,043	0,049
Belgium	1,559	0,040	-0,004	0,371	0,127	0,039	0,043	0,141
France	1,451	0,037	-0,001	0,257	0,177	0,060	0,052	0,106
Germany	1,491	0,112	-0,003	0,195	0,116	0,093	0,038	0,086
Netherlands	1,711	0,123	-0,004	0,428	0,021	0,100	0,025	0,134
Spain	1,650	0,223	-0,009	0,282	0,122	0,063	0,011	0,153

⁷ I have also controlled for individual working hours, place of living, presence of children, and respondent's mother's working experience in the multilevel model, but their regression coefficients were lower than for included here individual variables (tables not shown here).

Switzerland	1,394	0,178	-0,004	0,336	0,147	0,258	0,006	0,228
Eastern European countries								
Bulgaria	1,521	-0,015	-0,003	0,171	0,030	-0,027	0,020	0,012
Croatia	1,677	0,058	-0,008	0,030	-0,002	0,059	0,028	0,029
Czech Republic	1,377	0,031	-0,003	0,009	-1,300E-05	0,018	0,007	0,000
Hungary	1,252	0,109	0,003	0,258	0,169	0,014	0,021	0,030
Latvia	1,650	0,060	-0,003	0,057	0,080	-0,068	-0,021	0,007
Lithuania	1,340	0,052	-0,002	0,121	0,034	0,002	0,007	0,006
Poland	1,341	0,172	-0,007	0,386	-0,074	0,154	0,019	0,096
Russia	1,283	0,006	0,000	0,086	0,090	NA	0,016	0,011
Slovakia	1,271	0,249	0,002	0,076	0,247	-0,002	0,020	0,038
Slovenia	1,696	0,106	-0,006	0,207	0,030	0,103	0,028	0,084
Nordic countries								
Denmark	1,977	-0,053	-0,007	0,189	0,145	0,050	0,030	0,103
Finland	1,411	0,133	-0,006	0,235	0,058	0,018	0,102	0,099
Iceland	1,926	-0,009	-0,005	0,217	0,102	0,082	0,032	0,095
Norway	1,605	0,100	-0,005	0,294	0,040	0,116	0,056	0,141
Sweden	2,012	0,108	-0,003	0,355	0,196	0,049	0,007	0,141
Anglo-Saxon countries								
Ireland	1,191	0,204	-0,003	0,155	0,181	0,133	0,027	0,105
United Kingdom	1,166	0,138	-0,003	0,196	0,160	0,070	0,034	0,069

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for coding of independent variable see chapter 5. Question about political attitude was not asked in Russia, its regression coefficient is replaced by NA. Significance at $p < 0.05$ level is marked with **bolded** text.

Differences between countries

Estimated constants in the table predict average gender role attitudes when all independent variables are equal to 0. Based on encoding of individual independent variables, constants estimate average gender role attitudes for a 49-year-old European man without university degree and currently without job; he never attends religious services and he voted far right political party in last election. Though constants per se have little theoretical value, they estimate lowest degree of egalitarianism in my model and can be used to compare gender role attitudinal pattern.

Regression coefficients for constants indicate significant variance in gender role attitudes, which supports both earlier descriptive analysis (table 8.1) and multilevel analysis with

adding of macro-level indicators (table 10.1). Estimated constants in regression analysis bring some new nuances to the descriptive analysis.

Anglo-Saxon countries now are predicted to be most traditional among studied countries as they possess lowest regression constant coefficients (1.19 for Ireland and 1.17 for the UK). Scandinavian countries remain most gender equal-oriented in terms of division of labour between couples with constant coefficients varying from 1.41 in Finland to 2.01 in Sweden. Finland again is the most traditional and Sweden is the most egalitarian within Nordic countries. According to this analysis Norway (1.6) appears to be more traditional than Iceland and Denmark (1.93 and 1.98 respectively). Probably, the regression coefficient captured Norwegian general lagging behind other Nordic countries in terms of introducing women-friendly social policy (Halvorsen and Stjernø, 2008).

Among Continental countries the Netherlands is still predicted to be most egalitarian (1.7) and Austria most traditional (1.2). However, Spain and Belgium have some higher constant coefficients than the rest of Continental group.

In Eastern European block of countries, regression coefficients for constant show that, in addition to already discussed “egalitarian” Slovenia, also Croatia and Latvia are predicted to be most egalitarian in their gender role attitudes within this group. Hungary and Russia are estimated to be most traditional among Eastern European countries.

Gender

Gender coefficient is statistically significant in 10 of 24 countries, controlled for other individual variables in the table 11.1. Coefficient’s positive sign indicates that women in average adhere to more egalitarian beliefs than their male country mates. The results about women holding more egalitarian attitudes are convergent with previous research (Apparala et al, 2003; Sjöberg, 2004). For example, Apparala et.al. (2003) found that in nearly half of 13 European countries in their analysis, women were more egalitarian than men in their gender role attitudes.

My analysis demonstrates that women in general are more egalitarian in their views in the most of Scandinavian (except Iceland and Denmark), Continental (except Austria, Belgium and France) and both Anglo-Saxon countries. In Eastern European countries, men and women do not appear to have statistically significant differences in their gender role attitudes.

According to my analysis, only in Slovakia and Poland, women tend to be more gender equal oriented than men (table 11.1)

The effect of the gender, according to this analysis, is greatest in Slovakia (0.24) and is least pronounced in Norway (0.1), meaning that Slovakian women in average 0.24 points more egalitarian than Slovakian men. Norwegian women are 0.1 points more egalitarian than Norwegian men. The gender coefficient for Slovakia cannot be generalized to the rest of Eastern European countries since in the most of these countries gender effect is close to 0 and is not significant. On contrary, estimated Norwegian gender coefficient does not differ considerably from for example Sweden or Finland.

The results about Western European women being more egalitarian than their male country mates, compared to Eastern European women who tend to be as traditional as Eastern European men, may indicate that the ongoing gender revolution in Western societies described by Goldscheider (2014a, 2014b and 2015) and Esping-Andersen (2009) needs women who hold egalitarian views and stand for their equal to men rights. The exception of Icelandic and Danish women that appear to be homogeneous with men in their egalitarian attitudes, may be attributed to several decades of social policies promoting gender equality and parents' little freedom in these countries to choose other than egalitarian way of organizing their family life (Thévenon, 2011).

Age

The regression coefficient of age is significant in 11 of 24 countries, controlled for other individual characteristics. The sign of age coefficient is negative, meaning that older respondents in average hold more traditional beliefs than younger respondents. Nordic countries stand out from the rest of the countries by having younger generation more gender-equal oriented their parents and grandparents.

Out of Continental countries we observe young generation's shift toward more egalitarian views in Belgium, Netherlands, and Spain. Among Eastern European countries, young people of Croatia, Poland and Slovenia tend to be more egalitarian in their views compared to older generation. Yet in the majority of Eastern European countries attitudes among younger and older generations are almost identical. The analysis shows that in none of Anglo-Saxon countries there exist significant differences in gender role attitudes between young and old people. The effect of age variable is most distinct in Spain, but it does not vary considerably between countries.

The results of this analysis about younger respondents holding more egalitarian views than older ones support previous findings (Motiejunaite and Kravchenko, 2008; Sjöberg, 2004).

The results about younger generation's more gender equal orientation in some countries, but not in others, are also in line with previous studies (Norris and Inglehart, 2000).

Norris and Inglehart (2000) have demonstrated similar pattern in gender role attitudes toward women in politics, i.e. younger people in postindustrial countries are more egalitarian than their older generations compared to post-Communist and developing countries. They argue that through the natural process of demographic turnover, attitudes towards women's position in public are likely to become more gender equal in the most affluent countries, while there is little evidence that the transforming process has started in Eastern European and developing countries. Following this argument, the results for Scandinavian countries uncovered in my analysis may imply that in these countries the process toward gender equality in terms of division of work between men and women will continue to proceed even if no additional institutional reforms to hasten this development will be introduced. Further, according to my analysis and Norris and Inglehart's reasoning about generation shifts toward egalitarianism, Eastern European and Anglo-Saxon countries where traditional beliefs are dominant among young and old generations, the process of transformation to gender equal values is likely to demand more efforts. However, in Anglo-Saxon countries age is the only individual indicator that has not proved to be significant, compared to the pattern in Eastern European countries. Thus, the conclusion about more efforts in process toward egalitarianism can be restricted to Eastern European countries in this analysis.

Education

Educational attainment is an individual characteristic that is statistically significant in 18 of 24 countries, when controlled for other individual variables included in the model. Positive sign of education coefficient indicates that high education contributes to a move toward more gender equal attitudes. High degree of completed education has a significantly positive effect on gender equal values in all Continental countries, with exception of Austria. In all Anglo-Saxon and Nordic countries high degree of education is associated with more egalitarianism. In half of Eastern European countries (in 5 out of 10) educational regression coefficient is statistically significant.

As educational variable is encoded to 0 = lower than university/college degree and 1 = university/college degree, the education coefficient estimates average increase in gender equal beliefs for respondents who have attained high degree of education compared to respondents without university degree. The highest statistically significant effect of high

education on gender equal beliefs is found in Netherland (0.43), while Russia has the weakest effect of education (0.09) on egalitarian values.

Disaggregated analysis for men and women for each country (appendix, tables 8 and 9) shows that high education attained by women is significantly related to their egalitarian views in all Nordic countries. The same pattern is discovered for Nordic men's higher education and egalitarian views, with exception of Finnish men who, according to my analysis, do not change their gender role attitudes with attained degree of high education. The effect of education is stronger for women than for men in Nordic countries with the smallest gender differences in Denmark and Norway, respectively 0.07 and 0.05 points, and with most pronounced effect for Finnish women due to their significant coefficient of 0.26 and not significant coefficient of 0.2 for Finnish men. In Iceland the difference between women and men in education effect on egalitarian values is equal to 0.1. Sweden is an exception here, as education regression coefficient for men is 0.39 compared to women's 0.31, meaning that positive effect of education on gender equal attitudes is slightly stronger for Swedish men than for Swedish women.

Significant positive relation between high degree of education and egalitarian values are found in the most Continental countries both for men and women. Only in Austria educational attainment is not significantly connected with gender role attitudes, neither for men nor for women. In Switzerland, education seems to contribute to gender equal attitudes for men with a relatively strong effect (0.44), but education is not significantly correlated to women's gender role attitudes. In Netherlands and Belgium, educational attainment has approximately equal positive effect on egalitarian ideology (0.36 for women and 0.39 for men in Belgium and 0.431 and 0.435 for respectively Dutch women and men). The effect of high education is stronger for French (0.31) and German (0.24) women compared to French (0.23) and German (0.17) men. On contrary, in Spain the educational effect is more than doubled for men (0.44) than for women (0.2).

In Ireland high degree of education is significantly related only to egalitarian values among Irish women with the regression coefficient 0.17. In the UK, higher educational attainment is significant for men's egalitarian views, but not for women's.

Among Eastern European countries in Hungary (0.43) and Poland (0.27) women's higher education is significantly related to egalitarian views, but not for men. On contrary, in Bulgaria (0.30) and Poland (0.55) only men's education is positively correlated to their gender equal attitudes, but not for women. In the rest of Eastern European countries educational

attainment has not proved to be significantly associated with gender role attitudes both for men and women.

Results about education prevalent positive correlation to gender equal views (18 out of 24 countries) are in line with previous research (Sjöberg, 2004, Apparala, 2003, Ellingsæter and Wel, 2012), that also have demonstrated that education contributes to more egalitarian attitudes, though with various effect in different national contexts (Ellingsæter and Wel, 2012, Sjöberg, 2004)

Results separately for men and women demonstrate quite diverse pattern of educational effect on gender role attitudes described above, particularly in Continental countries. However, the analysis depicts a pattern that education attainment has a positive effect on gender egalitarian views for both men and women in the majority of Western European countries, compared to Eastern Europe where education attainment does not seem to have the same prevalent effect. The results for Eastern Europe support the assumption that women's individual resources may be "discounted" in actual bargaining by male dominance at macro-level in politics, economy and ideology in these countries.

High education matters also for men's egalitarian values, and in some countries its effect is even stronger for men than for women. This implies that education is not purely female resource on the way to egalitarianism. My results demonstrate that highly educated men may contribute equally much in the process of transition towards more egalitarian ideologies.

Individual integration in the labour force

The indicator of currently holding paid job is statistically significant in 11 of 24 countries, controlled for other individual factors. In Continental countries, having connection to labour market is positively associated with egalitarian views in all countries, except for Austria, Netherlands and Switzerland. The significant effect of being in paid work varies between 0.116 in Germany and 0.127 in Belgium, which in general considerably lower than the effect of education attainment in these countries. In Anglo-Saxon countries holding paid work is statistically significant and positively related to egalitarian views both in Ireland and the UK with correspondent coefficients of 0.18 and 0.16.

In Nordic countries occupation status is statistically correlated to gender role attitudes only in Denmark and Sweden with respectively 0.145 and 0.196 in regression coefficients. Also for these countries the effect of education is stronger than the effect of being in paid work.

Among Eastern European countries only Hungary, Russia and Slovakia have statistically

significant job status coefficients, with the lowest effect in Russia (0.09) and the strongest effect in Slovakia (0.25).

The separate analysis for men and women (appendix, table 8 and 9) indicates that being in paid job is mainly significant and positively associated with gender equal attitudes among women, but not among men. The analysis suggests that in Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland women who participate in the labour force in average hold more egalitarian views than women who are not integrated in the labour market. The effect of individual labour force participation in these countries is lowest in Belgium (0.15) and highest in France (0.224) and Switzerland (0.223), which is lower than the effect of female education attainment in these countries.

Among Nordic countries Norwegian and Swedish employed women in average are more gender-equal oriented compared to their unemployed female counterparts, with corresponding coefficients 0.13 and 0.24. Also in Norway and Sweden female individual participation in labour force seems to have a weaker effect than educational attainment. In Anglo-Saxon countries the analysis proposes that Irish employed women adhere to more egalitarian attitudes than women who do not participate in labour force. The job coefficient for Irish women of 0.18 is marginally higher than the education coefficient of 0.17. According to my analysis, there are no significant differences in gender role attitude between employed and unemployed women in Great Britain.

In Eastern European group, only Hungarian and Slovakian employed women tend to be more gender equal oriented compare to women who are not integrated in the labour market. The significant effect of individual female labour force participation, 0.27 in Slovakia and 0.26 in Hungary, are highest among all 24 countries.

Among all countries, only Danish and Spanish employed men hold significantly more egalitarian attitudes than unemployed men. In the rest of the studied countries paid job is not significantly associated with gender role attitudes for men.

Finding about positive relation between female employment and egalitarian attitudes supports previous research (Fuwa and Cohen, 2006; Kjeldstad and Lappegård, 2012) that have demonstrated that women's full-time employment brings equalizing effect on division of household tasks.

Prevalent for women positive relation between individual participation in labour force and egalitarian views found in this analysis confirms relative resource theory. Paid job gives women an important resource in the process of negotiation toward more egalitarian attitudes. The significance of individual female labour force participation only in two of ten Eastern

European countries, similarly to the dominant absence of female educational effect in these countries, can be attributed to female employment's "discounted" value by male dominated national contexts. Eastern European women may meet more difficulties to exploit their personal paid work resource than women in more gender-equal national contexts (Fuwa, 2004, Sjöberg, 2004)

Political affiliation

Political affiliation is statistically significant in 15 of 24 countries. All regression coefficients for political attitude are positive, meaning that being left-wing oriented is related with egalitarian values in terms of division of work between men and women. In all Continental and Anglo-Saxon countries political attitude is connected to preference of division of labour between genders. Among Nordic countries, only in Finland political affiliation is not significant for gender values. In the most Eastern European countries political orientation is not significantly associated with gender role attitudes, with exception of Poland and Slovenia. Regression coefficients for political attitude vary considerably between countries, being highest in Switzerland (0.528) and lowest in Denmark (0.05) and Sweden (0.049). Given the coding of this variable in a scale form 0 = far right to 4 = far left, the maximum effect of left-wing political affiliation on egalitarian gender role attitudes is even more visible. For example, in Switzerland respondents who hold with far left political party in average 1.3 points more egalitarian in their gender role attitudes than respondents who voted far left party in the last election. The same difference for Sweden is 0.25.

The prevalence of significant connections between political affiliation and gender role attitudes in Anglo-Saxon, Continental and Nordic countries, compared to Eastern European block, may be explained by various degree of focus on gender equality in left-wing parties in Western and Eastern Europe. For instance, left-wing political parties in Scandinavian countries explicitly place family issues and equality between genders on their political agenda. The Left political party (SV) in Norway declares gender equality as one of their five most important tasks (SV, 2017). For comparison, Latvian Socialist Party (LSP) focuses on anti-corruption and Latvian independency and although women's rights are mentioned in their program, the gender equality is not explicitly pronounced⁸ (LSP, 2017) Thus, voting for left-

⁸ The interests of women are mentioned in In the charter of Latvian Socialistic Party in line with interests of working class, peasants, intelligence class, children, pensioners, youth and invalids, but I did not find gender equality explicitly pronounced as their main task (ibid)

wing parties in Eastern Europe may not necessarily be as strongly associated with gender equality ideology as in Western Europe.

The results about positive correlation between left-wing political affiliation and egalitarian views in some of the countries are in line with previous researches. Apparala et. al. (2003) found that roughly in half of 13 countries in their analysis conservative political ideology was significantly correlated to egalitarianism in a negative way.

Religiosity

Religious affiliation has proved to be statistically significant in 11 of 24 countries. Positive regression coefficients indicate that more religious respondents in average hold more traditional gender values when other individual variables are held constant. In 5 of 7 Continental countries higher degree of religiosity is significantly positively associated with more traditional views. Spain and Switzerland do not have significant religion coefficients. In all Nordic countries, except for Sweden, religiosity is statistically associated with gender ideologies. In Anglo-Saxon countries, Ireland and the UK, religiosity and gender values are statistically related. Religiosity is the only individual variable that has no statistically significant relation to gender role attitudes in any of Eastern European countries.

The significant effect of religious intensity is highest in Finland (0.1) and lowest in Netherlands (0.025). Beside these two countries, the difference in significant effect is not considerable.

Results about positive relation between greater intensity of religiosity and traditional gender values in the majority of countries, with the absolute exception of Eastern Europe, reflect Catholic Church and different Protestant churches' role in guiding people's ideologies related to the family. Both Catholic and Protestant thinking has established a proper role for women as caregivers and mothers (Sjöberg 2004). Consequently, more religious people in Western Europe are more likely to adhere to traditional attitudes following firmly established religious norms.

Non-significance of religious affiliation in Eastern Europe does not mean that dominating religious in these countries (Catholic in Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia; Orthodox in Bulgaria and Russia and Protestant in Latvia) differ considerably in their ideologies. Insignificant relation between gender role attitudes and religiosity indicates rather that non-religious people in Eastern European countries in general are as traditional as their religious country mates.

How well do individual characteristics explain variation in gender role attitudes?

In general, the model with individual factors is more suitable to explain variation in gender role attitudes in Western societies compared to Eastern Europe. Individual factors have proved to be statistically significant in very few Eastern European countries. Adjusted R square is also lowest among these countries (between 0.00 in Czech Republic to 0.096 in Poland), while for example in Nordic countries it varies between 0.095 in Iceland to 14.1 in Norway and Sweden. It may be attributed to homogenous traditional ideologies in Eastern European societies and to women's personal resources "devaluated" by macro-level, but it can also be assumed that my model lacks individual characteristics that are able to explain variation in gender role attitudes in these countries.

On the other hand, prevalent significance of individual factors in Western Europe indicates that certain social groups, as women, young and highly educated people, move these societies toward more gender equal ideologies.

The question about causality between gender role attitudes and variables age and gender does not offer much discussion. It is more reasonable to assume that age and gender affect attitudes and not vice versa. The causal effect in relation between socioeconomic variables education and integration in the labour market and attitudes can go both ways. It is plausible to assume that people get less traditional the longer they study and when they get paid job (particularly women), but it can also be assumed that exactly people with egalitarian attitudes choose to get higher education and paid job (again particularly women). Relation between variables political affiliation and religiosity and gender role attitudes may be even more complicated as these variables are attitudinal. So, though I talk about "effects" of individual variables on gender role attitudes, the causal arrow can go both directions in these relations.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

Gender role attitudes is a complex and multidimensional concept that reflects attitudes towards proper roles of women and men in both private and public spheres (Constantin and Voicu, 2014, Stickney and Konrad, 2012). Previous research has demonstrated development toward more egalitarian views in European societies during the several last decades. At the same time, women still perform a “lion’s share” of unpaid work at home (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard, 2010). Measuring such a multidimensional concept by a single survey item, as I have done in this thesis, weakens internal validity, but the advantage is its precise formulation and explicitly inclusion of fathers’ role into the question about desirable division of paid and unpaid work.

A move toward more gender equal beliefs and practices has had different paces in different national contexts, due to diversity in social policy’s focuses and different historical and ideological developments in European countries (Constantin and Voicu, 2014). Some authors have tried to group countries according to their similarities and difference in terms of state-family-market relationship, or social policies encouraging either traditional or egalitarian family model. The process towards gender equality can be divided into two steps, where the first half is women’s entrance into the public sphere, particularly in the labour force. The next step is men’s involvement in the private sphere on the same terms as women. This thesis has aimed to explore what individual and country characteristics may be related to gender role attitudes in Europe.

The descriptive analysis has shown that respondents in Nordic countries are most egalitarian in their gender role beliefs, while Eastern European people endorse most traditional gender ideologies. Continental European countries occupy a middle position between Nordic countries as an egalitarian pole and Eastern Europe as a traditional pole. All in all, patterns of gender role attitudes demonstrated in this thesis, reflect different welfare policies in European countries.

Macro-level analysis has aimed to point out what country characteristics are associated with gender role attitudes. The results have shown that citizens in countries with stronger position of women in Parliament and wider provision of childcare for the youngest children are more egalitarian than in countries with weaker position of women in politics and poorer provision of childcare services for children under three years old. Nordic countries score highest on position of women in Parliament and childcare provision, compared to other countries. Thus,

their leading position in terms of egalitarian views can be associated with social policies in these countries focusing on full childcare coverage also for very young children and early introduction of gender quotas encouraging women to be more active on the political arena. On the other hand, the traditional orientation in Eastern European and Anglo-Saxon countries may be attributed to their low investment in public childcare services for the youngest children and few shares of women in Parliament.

Although female labour force participation has shown to be insignificant in my analysis, its concept is crucial for understanding changing gender relations in modern societies (Apparala et. al 2004). Theoretically, female labour force participation is an important concept both for resource and gender ideology perspectives. Decomposition of female labour force participation into gendered wage gaps, typical positions occupied by women, share of female managers and leaders might have shown a more nuanced relationship between women's position in the labour market and gender ideologies.

Based on micro-level approach, I analysed relation between six individual characteristics and gender role attitudes. The analysis has demonstrated that young age, female gender, university/college degree, participation in the labour force, left-wing political attitudes and less religiosity are individual factors that are associated with egalitarian beliefs. Probably, the main finding on individual level analysis is demonstrating the prevalent importance of high education for gender equal ideologies. University or college degree of educational attainment has shown to be statistically positively related to egalitarianism in most countries. Moreover, high education was not only related to women's gender equal attitudes, but it did matter for men's egalitarian gender ideologies. In some countries the effect of education was greater for men than for women. This finding indicates that education is not purely women's but also men's resource in the process toward gender equality.

Since multilevel analysis in this thesis stops at random intercept model, I cannot draw a direct link between macro- and micro-level variables, as for example how effect of individual educational attainment varies with increased share of women in Parliament. However, the analysis of individual characteristics for each country provides a solid background to discuss the linkage between micro- and macro-levels.

My analysis shows that women's individual education and integration in the labour force are related to egalitarian attitudes predominantly in Western societies, compared to Eastern Europe where these two individual resources matter to far less extent. These results support the assumption about "discounted" value of women's personal resources in male-dominated national contexts. On the other hand, in societies where women's position in public sphere is

relatively strong, women may find it easier to exploit their personal achievements. Fuwa (2004) calls this phenomenon “ironical”, as women who live in less-egalitarian contextual environments and are most likely to be bounded to traditional division of work, may not profit their individual resources in negotiations toward egalitarianism. Following Fuwa’s (2004) conclusion, the results in this thesis suggest that changes in individual resources are not enough to reach gender equality without reducing gender inequality on national level. I have not controlled for all possible indicators that may be related to gender role attitudes. The model with individual variables in this thesis has “failed“ to explain variation in gender role attitudes for Eastern European countries. I could, for instance, add other individual characteristics as income, type of job and education, multi-cultural experience and number of children into the model, I could also control for living in urban or rural areas in these countries. Another limitation applied for individual indicators is missing data for *relative* resources, as both education and work status are absolute variables in my analysis. Theoretically, these two variables do not measure relative resources within couples. Including only relative indicators of personal resources would exclude some important social classes from my analysis, for example single or separated parents.

On macro-level, I could control for alternative indicators as economical development (Fuwa, 2004), educational parity (Stickney and Konrad, 2012), for taxation system or cash allowance (Thévenon, 2011), as well as for different aspects of women’s position in the labour force. Since this thesis applies quantitative design, it provides an overview over gender role attitudes, but it does not capture the whole complexity in mechanisms behind shaping and changing gender ideologies. Qualitative studies, or comparative studies with fewer countries, are needed to explore these complex mechanisms in details. It would be interesting to analyze processes behind Dutch move toward egalitarian views, found in this thesis, or go into depth of how higher education brings egalitarianism in men’s gender ideology.

Relation between gender role attitudes and actual practice in division of labour between men and women is not studied here. Therefore, I cannot conclude to what extent gender views and practice cohere in studied countries. I lean to gender ideology theoretical perspective and previous research that indicate that gender ideology is a reliable predictor of actual behavior. Future studies of value-practice configurations as ones of Bühlmann et. al. (2010) and Kjeldstad and Lappegård (2012) will enhance gender relation research in this particular issue. An important issue concerning validity of survey data used in comparative studies is discussed by Constantin and Voicu (2014). They argue that cross-cultural differences in gendered division of labour are deeply rooted in historical and political factors of a particular

society, making certain family model prevalent. Thus, the survey items tapping attitudes toward a specific family model and gender roles might not be suitable for cross-national comparison studies, due to their reference to a certain reality that exists only in some national contexts (ibid). Based on this argumentation, there occurs a question about what actually is measured in my study, individual gender role attitudes or societal structures promoting certain gender norms? Coltrane's (2010:792) expresses it as follows: "*Is "gender ideology" as measured by telephone survey questions solely an individual attitude, or does it reflect something about social networks or the larger sociocultural system?*".

My thesis has not aimed to answer this question, but it indicates that attitudes toward gendered division of paid and unpaid work are shaped through complex processes both on micro- and macro-levels. It has been argued that gender equality in private sphere may lead to more stable family unions, higher rate of fertility and improved child well-being (Goldscheider 2014a-b, Hook, 2006). Hence, it is important to continue to study individual characteristics as well as social, political and cultural contexts in order to understand the multifaceted nature of gender relations and what factors may change it (Lachance-Grzela and Bouchard 2010:778).

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Table 1. Country mean of gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian

Country	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
AT-Austria	1,67	1011	0,699
BE-Belgium	2,06	1917	0,703
BG-Bulgaria	1,57	891	0,696
HR-Croatia	1,90	955	0,769
CZ-Czech Republic	1,53	1614	0,696
DK-Denmark	2,40	1246	0,597
FI-Finland	2,16	966	0,729
FR-France	2,08	2005	0,708
DE-Germany	2,02	1525	0,702
HU-Hungary	1,58	971	0,704
IS-Iceland	2,41	1064	0,611
IE-Ireland	1,89	988	0,680
LV-Latvia	1,50	947	0,670
LT-Lithuania	1,49	1076	0,652
NL-Netherlands	2,27	1169	0,774
NO-Norway	2,38	1250	0,654
PL-Poland	1,76	1033	0,790
RU-Russia	1,44	1415	0,617
SK-Slovakia	1,55	1053	0,710
SI-Slovenia	2,12	891	0,751
ES-Spain	2,05	2398	0,756
SE-Sweden	2,45	867	0,684
CH-Switzerland	2,07	1176	0,770
GB-Great Britain and/or United Kingdom	1,68	760	0,652
Total	1,93	29188	0,770

Table 2. Multilevel linear regression analysis, random (between countries) intercept model with individual variables (fixed effect) gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity.

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	Df	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	1,504272	0,063491	27,589	23,693	0,000	1,37413	1,634413
Sex (male = 0, female = 1)	0,096172	0,010488	16711,795	9,17	0,000	0,075615	0,116729
Age (ref. 49)	-0,004204	0,000368	16717,418	-11,429	0,000	-0,004925	0,003483

Education (University/College degree = 1, Lower = 0)	0,24933	0,011833	16726,274	21,071	0,000	0,226136	0,272523
Work-status (not in paid work = 0, in paid work = 1)	0,099489	0,012324	16714,799	8,073	0,000	0,075333	0,123646
Political attitude (far right = 0, far left = 4)	0,066777	0,005116	16721,856	13,052	0,000	0,056749	0,076805
Religiosity (never = 0, several times a week = 7)	0,029267	0,002831	16728,223	10,337	0,000	0,023717	0,034817

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for coding of individual independent variables see chapter 2. Significance within 5 %-level ($p < 0.05$). Maximum Likelihood as goodness of fit

Table 3. Correlation matrix for macro-level independent variables female labour force participation rate, part-time female labour force participation rate, female part-time force participation rate squared, share of women in Parliament and enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds

		Female labour force participation rate	Female part-time labour force participation rate	Female part-time labour force participation rate_Sqr	Share of women in Parliament	Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds
Female labour force participation rate	Pearson Correlation	1	,287**	,261**	,431**	,391**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	32929	32929	32929	32929	32929
Female part-time labour force participation rate	Pearson Correlation	,287**	1	,949**	,453**	,587**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000		0,000	0,000	0,000
	N	32929	32929	32929	32929	32929
Female part-time labour force participation rate_Squared	Pearson Correlation	,261**	,949**	1	,310**	,437**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000		0,000	0,000
	N	32929	32929	32929	32929	32929
Share of women in Parliament	Pearson Correlation	,431**	,453**	,310**	1	,678**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000		0,000
	N	32929	32929	32929	32929	32929
Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds	Pearson Correlation	,391**	,587**	,437**	,678**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,000	
	N	32929	32929	32929	32929	32929

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4. Tolerance test for five macro-level independent variables, OLS regression

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	1,249	0,390		3,201	0,005		
Female labour force participation rate	-0,002	0,006	-0,029	-0,256	0,801	0,678	1,476
Female part-time labour force participation rate	-0,003	0,008	-0,133	-0,351	0,730	0,060	16,589
Female part-time labour force participation rate squared	4,027E-05	0,000	0,103	0,300	0,768	0,073	13,715
Share of women in Parliament	0,017	0,004	0,521	3,783	0,001	0,456	2,195
Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year olds	0,010	0,003	0,527	3,404	0,003	0,360	2,774

Note: dependent variable: Gender role attitudes measured by country mean (see table Nr) in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, number of countries = 24, for coding of macro-level independent variables see chapter 2

Table 5. Multilevel linear regression analysis separate for women, random (between countries) intercept model with individual variables (fixed effect) gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity as level 1 variables, female labour force participation, female part-time labour force participation, women in Parliament and enrolment rate as variables on level 2 (fixed effect).

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	1,109362	0,406713	22,709	2,728	0,012	0,267415	1,951308
Age	-0,002412	0,000486	9013,459	-4,966	0,000	-0,003364	0,001460
Education	0,256514	0,015907	9016,507	16,126	0,000	0,225334	0,287695
Work status	0,115309	0,016072	9010,001	7,175	0,000	0,083806	0,146813
Political attitude	0,061023	0,006784	9023,970	8,996	0,000	0,047726	0,074321
Religiosity	0,029397	0,003760	8848,900	7,818	0,000	0,022026	0,036767

Female labour force participation rate (%)	-0,003206	0,006446	22,661	-0,497	0,624	-0,016552	0,010141
Female part-time labour force participation rate (%)	-0,002723	0,008748	22,489	-0,311	0,758	-0,020842	0,015396
Female part-time labour force participation rate squared	0,000000	0,000138	22,211	0,488	0,631	-0,000218	0,000353
Share of women in Parliament (%)	0,017595	0,004868	22,666	3,614	0,001	0,007516	0,027673
Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds	0,006139	0,002927	22,292	2,098	0,048	0,000000	0,012205

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for operationalization of Independent variables see chapter 2. Significance within 5 %-level ($p < 0.005$).Maximum Likelihood as goodness of fit

Table 6. Multilevel linear regression analysis separate for men, random (between countries) intercept model with individual variables (fixed effect) gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity as level 1 variables, female labour force participation, female part-time labour force participation, women in Parliament and enrolment rate as variables on level 2 (fixed effect).

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	0,841107	0,341805	21,640	2,461	0,022	0,131563	1,550650
Age	-0,006318	0,000563	7707,547	-11,214	0,000	-0,007423	0,005214
Education	0,255017	0,017788	7705,645	14,336	0,000	0,220147	0,289886
Work status	0,075906	0,019078	7699,642	3,979	0,000	0,038508	0,113304
Political attitude	0,073139	0,007724	7700,745	9,469	0,000	0,057998	0,088280
Religiosity	0,029724	0,004249	7335,473	6,996	0,000	0,021396	0,038053
Female labour force participation rate (%)	-0,000284	0,005420	21,619	-0,052	0,959	-0,011537	0,010968
Female part-time labour force participation rate (%)	-0,008153	0,007378	21,756	-1,105	0,281	-0,023463	0,007157
Female part-time labour force participation rate squared	0,000112	0,000116	21,230	0,967	0,345	-0,000129	0,000353
Share of women in Parliament (%)	0,016379	0,004118	22,164	3,978	0,001	0,007843	0,024916
Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds	0,008881	0,002455	21,113	3,617	0,002	0,003776	0,013986

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for operationalization of Independent variables see chapter 2. Significance within 5 %-level ($p < 0.005$).Maximum Likelihood as goodness of fit

Table 7. Multilevel linear regression analysis for 23 countries without Netherlands, random (between countries) intercept model with individual variables (fixed effect) gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity as level 1 variables, female labour force participation, female part-time labour force participation, women in Parliament and enrolment rate as variables on level 2 (fixed effect).

Parameter	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Intercept	1,102855	0,418864	21,685	2,633	0,015	0,233451	1,972259
Gender	0,094780	0,010748	15781,889	8,818	0,000	0,073712	0,115848
Age	-0,004273	0,000377	15791,496	-11,331	0,000	-0,005012	0,003533
Eductaion	0,235034	0,012218	15792,306	19,236	0,000	0,211085	0,258983
Work Status	0,104771	0,012634	15783,752	8,293	0,000	0,080008	0,129535
Political attitude	0,063941	0,005295	15796,237	12,075	0,000	0,053562	0,074321
Religiosity	0,028944	0,002911	15518,105	9,943	0,000	0,023238	0,034650
Female labour force participation rate	-0,003887	0,006354	21,656	-0,612	0,547	-0,017076	0,009302
Female part-time labour force participation rate	-0,017869	0,017753	21,921	-1,007	0,325	-0,054695	0,018956
Female part-time labour force participation rate_squared	0,000352	0,000356	21,945	0,988	0,334	-0,000387	0,001091
Share of women i Parliament	0,018511	0,004840	21,825	3,825	0,001	0,008470	0,028553
Enrolment rate in childcare by 0-to-2-year-olds	0,008966	0,003200	21,548	2,802	0,011	0,002321	0,015612

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for coding of independent variables see chapter 5. Significance within 5 %-level ($p < 0.005$). Maximum Likelihood as goodness of fit

Table 8. Separate analysis for men. Relation between gender role attitudes and individual variables gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity. Multiple OLS regression analysis, unstandardized regression coefficient (B), multiple regression coefficient (Adjusted R square), 95 % confidence interval

	Constant	Age	Education	Work status	Political attitude	Religiosity	Adjusted R square
Continental							
Austria	1,027	0,001	0,107	0,164	0,072	0,075	0,062

Belgium	1,558	-0,006	0,392	0,075	0,066	0,039	0,142
France	1,506	-0,008	0,232	0,098	0,091	0,047	0,155
Germany	1,520	-0,005	0,171	0,061	0,058	0,057	0,067
Netherlands	1,833	-0,010	0,435	-0,069	0,102	0,020	0,130
Spain	1,601	-0,012	0,420	0,141	0,085	0,005	0,181
Switzerland	1,511	-0,001	0,443	0,090	0,223	-0,009	0,153
Eastern European							
Bulgaria	1,486	-0,007	0,301	-0,021	0,003	0,019	0,028
Croatia	1,662	-0,008	-0,162	0,002	0,020	0,057	0,021
Czech Republic	1,318	-0,003	-0,105	0,073	0,032	0,006	-0,002
Hungary	1,258	0,002	0,041	0,061	-0,014	0,043	-0,007
Latvia	1,841	0,001	-0,007	-0,007	-0,050	-0,046	-0,016
Lithuania	1,400	-0,002	0,076	0,002	-0,013	0,007	-0,015
Poland	1,291	-0,009	0,546	-0,098	0,161	0,029	0,120
Russia	1,349	-0,001	0,086	-0,001	NA	0,014	-0,003
Slovak Republic	1,350	-0,001	0,027	0,195	-0,036	0,034	0,019
Slovenia	1,671	-0,007	0,194	0,023	0,149	0,015	0,076
Nordic countries							
Denmark	1,970	-0,008	0,157	0,257	0,054	0,019	0,131
Finland	1,628	-0,007	0,206	0,039	-0,048	0,087	0,062
Iceland	1,946	-0,005	0,171	0,129	0,100	0,021	0,062
Norway	1,651	-0,010	0,279	-0,084	0,156	0,054	0,135
Sweden	2,000	-0,002	0,387	0,130	0,078	0,003	0,094
Anglo-Saxon countries							
Ireland	1,081	-0,010	0,133	0,161	0,226	0,019	0,152
United Kingdom	1,287	-0,005	0,263	0,162	0,021	0,029	0,101

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for coding of independent variable see chapter 5. Question about political attitude was not asked in Russia, its regression coefficient is replaced by NA. Significance at $p < 0.05$ level is marked with **bolded** text.

Table 9. Separate analysis for women. Relation between gender role attitudes and individual variables gender, age, education, employment, political affiliation and religiosity. Multiple OLS regression analysis, unstandardized regression coefficient (*B*), multiple regression coefficient (Adjusted R square), 95 % confidence interval)

	<i>Constant</i>	Age	Education	Work status	Political attitude	Religiosity	Adjusted R square
Continental							
Austria	1,444	-0,004	-0,103	0,063	0,079	0,018	0,040
Belgium	1,613	-0,002	0,364	0,151	0,013	0,049	0,138
France	1,469	0,005	0,308	0,224	0,033	0,056	0,097

Germany	1,577	-0,001	0,240	0,164	0,127	0,017	0,106
Netherlands	1,763	0,001	0,431	0,080	0,098	0,031	0,128
Spain	1,890	-0,006	0,198	0,109	0,047	0,020	0,096
Switzerland	1,534	-0,008	0,168	0,223	0,287	0,007	0,324
Eastern European							
Bulgaria	1,542	0,000	0,101	0,054	-0,047	0,021	-0,002
Croatia	1,680	-0,007	0,224	-0,007	0,116	0,003	0,039
Czech Republic	1,438	-0,003	0,141	-0,046	0,004	0,009	0,000
Hungary	1,330	0,004	0,438	0,256	0,054	0,002	0,082
Latvia	1,623	-0,006	0,077	0,129	-0,078	-0,007	0,023
Lithuania	1,348	-0,002	0,147	0,055	0,014	0,007	0,009
Poland	1,537	-0,005	0,268	-0,039	0,162	0,006	0,047
Russia	1,273	0,000	0,082	0,136	NA	0,015	0,019
Slovak Republic	1,401	0,003	0,153	0,272	0,050	0,008	0,019
Slovenia	1,827	-0,005	0,208	0,028	0,064	0,040	0,073
Nordic countries							
Denmark	1,881	-0,005	0,227	0,041	0,051	0,047	0,085
Finland	1,379	-0,005	0,261	0,067	0,069	0,113	0,126
Iceland	1,887	-0,006	0,273	0,060	0,054	0,048	0,135
Norway	1,672	-0,001	0,331	0,133	0,079	0,061	0,139
Sweden	2,138	-0,005	0,313	0,236	0,023	0,013	0,171
Anglo-Saxon countries							
Ireland	1,529	0,000	0,168	0,179	0,063	0,032	0,047
United Kingdom	1,196	-0,002	0,112	0,130	0,117	0,040	0,056

Note: dependent variable: gender role attitudes in scale from 1 = traditional to 3 = egalitarian, for coding of independent variable see chapter 5. Question about political attitude was not asked in Russia, its regression coefficient is replaced by NA. Significance at $p < 0.05$ level is marked with **bolded** text.