Performative Parenting: Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave Entitlements

Juliet Louise Allen
Girton College
September 2021

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

I hereby declare that my thesis/dissertation entitled:

Performative Parenting: Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave Entitlements

- Is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.
- Is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.
- does not exceed the prescribed word limit.

Performative Parenting: Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave Entitlements

Juliet Louise Allen

Abstract

Fathers' use of parental leave is a crucial policy issue in relation to gender equality and at the root of gendered caring norms and unequal divisions of labour throughout the life course. Using comparative mixed methods and a framework that conceptualises parenting as gendered and performative (Butler, 1999), this research contributes knowledge of the influence on fathers' parental leave decisions of three dimensions of norms: policy, discourse and cultural norms; workplace cultures; and peer and family group norms. I compare the effect of social norms on the decisions made by fathers working for the same multinational firm in three countries: the UK, Sweden and Portugal. I argue that a Butlerian understanding can help answer the question frequently posed in the literature: why, when we know couples have egalitarian intentions prior to the birth of a first child, do couples slip back into conservative gender roles once the child has arrived (Fox, 2019; Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; Miller, 2011)?

I provide a comparative backdrop to the three focus countries, to contextualise the path dependencies underpinning the enabling parental leave policy and culture in Sweden and the contradictory and ambiguous parental leave policies and cultures in the UK and Portugal. I use data from the 2017 wave of the European Values Study to demonstrate the differences in attitudes towards gender roles between the three countries. I find that overall, Sweden holds the most egalitarian values, followed by the UK, and then Portugal, where the data reflects 'normative ambiguity' (Wall, 2015).

I then theorise the extent to which each of the three domains of norms shaped fathers' use of leave in the three countries, through analysis of qualitative data collected in 45 interviews with fathers. I argue that the widespread normative support for gender equality embedded in Swedish culture, alongside the enabling policy framework first introduced in 1974, contributed to the existence of a robust 'citation' (Butler, 1993) for fathers' use of parental leave entitlements, which cannot fully exist in Portugal and the UK under the current discursive and material

conditions. My argument, via a Butlerian critique of regulation that posits parental leave policy frameworks as both regulated by and regulating gender, thus contributes to the body of work foregrounding the centrality of non-transferable leave entitlements to fathers' use of leave.

At work, despite conducting interviews with fathers at the same firm in each country, organisational culture was highly divergent between the nations. Bringing organisational culture studies together with Butler's performative ontology of gender, I thus theorise organisational culture *as* gender regulation and conceptualise the 'performative breadwinner', articulating the inability of many of the fathers to cease reproducing the masculine 'ideal worker' norm. The micro-level insights documented demonstrate how fathers' everyday experiences are shaped by cultural backdrop, peer behaviour and forms of social constraint that form the choice architecture that shapes individual decisions. The research offers an original, granular account of the iterative process through which 'father-friendly' leave entitlements, combined with discursive changes, contribute to wider uptake of leave entitlements, and how shifts in norms over time are made possible – or not – through citationality.

Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude is owed to the fathers and their partners who participated in interviews in Sweden, the UK and Portugal. Despite their busy lives, they made time to share, with honesty and warmth, their experiences and accounts of their parental leave decisions. Meeting and spending time with these parents, and sometimes meeting their babies too, was a privilege. I hope to have done justice to their accounts, and I hope that this research helps to undo the forms of constraint that remain in fathers' access to rights to care for children.

I also wish to thank the partners and staff at 'PYP' in the three countries, whose agreement to participate was the very foundation of this project. Their assistance identifying respondents, time spent explaining organisational details and culture to me, and patient responses to my myriad information requests, was inordinately valuable.

I have been incredibly fortunate to be supervised by Professor Jude Browne and advised by Dr Maria Iacovou. Their incisive, detailed and critical feedback, and wider support and encouragement, have been utterly fundamental to the progress I have made throughout conducting this work, as well as the final outcome of the research. I am profoundly grateful for their intellectual rigour, wisdom and kindness.

The friends and comrades I have made throughout the research process have been a central part of my academic life, and an emotional and practical resource upon which I have drawn deeply. The Gender and Working Lives reading group has been a primary source of this support, especially the online forums we established after Covid-19 turned our worlds upside down. My deepest thanks go to Asiya Islam, Siby Warrington, Yasmeen Arif and Clare Walsh. I am also very grateful to my friends and colleagues at the Centre for Gender Studies, whose help and support has been invaluable throughout the myriad challenges of doing a PhD: Kerry Mackereth, Sharmila Parmanand, Hakan Sandal-Wilson and Elizabeth Yarrow in particular.

The important and influential work of feminist scholars before me has, as is perhaps clear in the thesis, been a profound influence on my thinking. I would like to thank Professor Sumi Madhok, Dr Ania Plomien, and Professor Sue Himmelweit, for inspiring my doctoral journey, and without whose intellectual generosity it may not ever have begun.

Finally, this research would not have been possible without the support of my friends and family, most of all Andrew Morris, Sheena Watney, Lisa Ommanney, Max Morris and Emily Clark. Without their help, love, kindness and joy, this research and Covid-19 would have been far less liveable.

List of Abbreviations

APL	Additional Paternity Leave (former UK policy)
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
ESeC	European Socio-economic Classification
EVS	European Values Study
FO	Fathers' Only days (Portugal paternity entitlement)
IPL	Initial Parental Leave (current Portugal policy)
PYP	The firm at which the fathers I interviewed worked. PYP is an alias.
SPL	Shared Parental Leave (current UK policy)

Table of Contents

DECLARATION 2

ABSTRACT 3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 5

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 6

TABLE OF CONTENTS 7

1. INTRODUCTION: CONTEMPORARY GENDER EQUALITY AND FATHERS' USE OF PARENTAL LEAVE 12

This project and research questions *13*
Gender, work and care *15*
Fathers' Use of Leave *18*
Work 18
Policy 20
Sweden 21
Table 1: Parental Leave Entitlements: Summary Information 22
UK 24
Portugal 26
Culture, welfare state and 'gender arrangement' 27
Social Norms *30*
The relationship between policy, norms and practice 31
'PYP' *32*
Thesis structure *33*

2. PERFORMATIVITY, SOCIAL NORMS AND FATHERS' USE OF LEAVE: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 36

Performativity: A Generative Framework 36
Parenting, Performativity and Citationality 40
Thinking Gender, Parenting and Performativity 45
Theorising Parenting, Performativity and Change 51
Sullivan et al.'s Model of Lagged Generational Change and Coleman's Boat *54*
Figure 1: Lagged Generational Change (Sullivan et al., 2018, p.269) 55
Figure 2: Adapted model of citational change (Based on Sullivan et al., 2018, p.269) 56
Conclusion 57

3. PERFORMATIVE PRACTICE: METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION 59

Introduction 59
A Feminist, Comparative, Mixed Methods Methodology 59
Comparative approach *59*
Mixed Methods *60*
Feminist methodology *61*
Country Selection *63*
Research design 64
Implementation *64*
Quantitative Methods *64*
Data Source 64
Pilot quantitative analysis: EVS 2008 wave (results not reported) 65
Table 2: EVS 2008 variables 65
EVS 2017 wave (results reported in chapter 4) 66
Table 3: EVS 2017 (final analysis) variables 67
Recoding variables 69
Small cell sizes 70
Data Analysis 70

Qualitative Methods ... *70*
Data Tools ... 70
Interview guide ... 71
Data Collection ... 71
Sampling and Target group ... 71
Identifying a firm ... 72
Planning the sample ... 73
Gatekeepers/Liaison Contacts ... 74
Conducting the Interviews ... 76
Analysis ... 77
Figure 3: Example of parent-child coding relationship in NVivo 12 ... 78
ETHICS ... 79
Voluntary Participation and Consent ... 80
Feedback to participants ... 81
Reflexivity, positionality and interpretation ... 81
Interpretation ... 82
RIGOUR AND ROBUSTNESS ... 83
Quantitative component: The EVS Data ... 83
Qualitative component ... 84
Triangulation ... 84
DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH ... 85
LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH ... 85
CHAPTER 4: THE NORMATIVE ENVIRONMENT: COMPARATIVE CONTEXT AND ATTITUDES TO GENDER ROLES IN THE THREE COUNTRIES ... 89
PART I: SETTING THE CONTEXT: A COMPARATIVE BACKDROP TO SWEDEN, PORTUGAL AND THE UNITED KINGDOM ... 89
Sweden and gender equality ... *89*
Table 4: Comparative social, gender equality, labour market and time-use indicators ... 90
Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in Sweden ... 92
Gender, work and care in Sweden ... 93
Gender norms, discourse and culture in Sweden ... 95
Figure 4: Weightlifter 'Hoa Hoa' Dahlgren in the 1978 Försäkringskassan (Social insurance agency) advertising campaign ... 97
Fathers, work and care, and masculinities in Sweden ... 97
Figure 5: 'Hoa Hoa' Dahlgren in the Försäkringskassan 'Daddy on Leave' Campaign ... 98
Parental leave policy development in Sweden ... 99
The UK and gender equality ... *99*
Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in UK ... 100
Gender, work and care in the UK ... 101
Gender norms, discourse and culture in the UK ... 103
Fathers, fathering and masculinity in the UK ... 104
Parental leave policy development in the UK ... 106
Portugal and gender equality ... *108*
Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in Portugal ... 109
Gender, work and care in Portugal ... 110
Gender norms, discourse and culture in Portugal ... 112
Fathers, fathering and masculinity in Portugal ... 113
Parental leave policy development in Portugal ... 114
PART II: ESTIMATING NORMS: QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AS PROXY FOR SOCIAL NORMS ... 115
Sample and measures ... *116*
Table 5: Country sample by gender ... 116
Measures ... *116*
Results ... *119*
Figure 6: The composite index variable: Overall attitudes towards gender roles ... 121
Attitudes towards gender roles ... 123
Figure 7: percentage disagreement with 'A man's job is to earn money…' ... 124
Figure 8: percentage disagreement with 'When jobs are scarce, men have more...' ... 125
Attitudes towards women's role at home and at work ... 126
Figure 9: percentage disagreement with 'Children suffer when women work …' ... 127
Figure 10: percentage disagreement with 'Family life suffers when the woman has...' a…' ... 128
Attitudes towards the domestic division of labour ... 129
Figure 11: percentage agreement that 'sharing household chores' is important ... 130
Attitudes towards women's motivations and preferences ... 132
Figure 12: percentage disagreement with 'A job is alright, but what women really want…' ... 133

Attitudes towards women's and men's aptitudes and leadership qualities ... 135
Figure 13: disagreement with 'On the whole, men make better political leaders…' ... 136
Figure 14: percentage disagreement with 'Men make better business executives...' ... 137
Discussion ... *138*
Conclusion ... *141*

5. THE FACTORS AT PLAY: NATIONAL NORMS, POLICY, DISCOURSE AND PEER GROUP EFFECT ... 144

INTRODUCTION ... 144
Conceptual Definitions: ... *145*
FATHERS' USE OF LEAVE ... 147
Table 6: Parental leave use in days, by country ... 147
i. 'What everybody does': Normative practice and citationality ... *148*
ii. Peer and family norms ... *152*
iii. 'National' norms and discourses ... *162*
iv. Gender and National Policy ... *174*
CONCLUSION ... 182

6: FATHERS AND PERFORMATIVITY AT WORK ... 184

INTRODUCTION ... 184
ABOUT PYP ... 185
Comparing PYP cross-nationally ... *185*
Table 7: Comparative facts and figures of the PYP firms ... 185
PYP as Multinational Enterprise ... *187*
FATHERS USE OF LEAVE AND ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE ... 189
Organisational Culture Studies ... *189*
The Culture-Iceberg Simile ... *191*
Figure 15: 'Levels of Culture' (Schein, 2004, p.26) ... 192
National and Organisational Culture ... *193*
Culture as gender regulation ... *194*
Figure 16: Culture iceberg diagram representing the organisational culture at PYP Sweden ... 194
Figure 17: Culture-iceberg diagram representing organisational culture at PYP UK ... 197
Figure 18: Culture-iceberg diagram representing organisational culture at PYP Portugal ... 201
Organisational Policy Default and Gender Regulation ... 204
Sweden ... 204
The United Kingdom ... 206
Portugal ... 208
Organisational socialization and performativity ... *209*
Social capital, associability and citationality ... *211*
Career progression and 'sponsorship' ... 215
Conceptualising the 'performative breadwinner' ... *218*
Undoing Gender? Organisational culture, change and resistance ... *221*
CONCLUSION ... 224

7. CONCLUSION: PARENTING IS PERFORMATIVE AND FATHERS' LEAVE USE IS CITATIONAL ... 226

INTRODUCTION ... 226
THE THESIS IN REVIEW ... 227
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE ... 231
Multinational enterprises and employers: ... 232
Governments: ... *234*
Sweden: ... 234
UK: ... 234
Portugal: ... 236
Civil Society: ... 236
Fathers: ... 237
NEW DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH ... 238
FINAL COMMENT ... 240
Figure 19: Fathers' babywearing responses (Twitter, 2021) ... 242
Figure 20: Al Jazeera AJ+ Social Media Video covering 'papoosegate' (AJ+ 2018) ... 243

8. APPENDICES ... 245

1. APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY 245
Recruitment email to multi-national firms. *245*
Recruitment letter sent out to multi-national firms *246*
Project information template sent out to multi-national firms *247*
Participant information sheet and consent form. *249*
Consent Form *251*
Interview Guide: *252*
2. APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 4: THE NORMATIVE ENVIRONMENT: COMPARATIVE CONTEXT AND ATTITUDES TO GENDER ROLES 256
Table 8: EVS 2017 variables pre-coding and recoded 256
Country sample breakdowns: *260*
Table 9: Country sample by age category and gender 260
Table 10: Country sample by socio-economic group and gender 261
Table 11: Country sample by education level and gender 261
Chi Squared Tests: Result Tables *262*
Table 12: Crosstabulation results for 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family' 262
Table 13: Crosstabulation results for 'A job is alright, but what women really want is a home and children' 263
Table 14: Crosstabulation results for 'Sharing household chores is important for a happy marriage' 264
Table 15: Crosstabulation results for 'When a mother works for pay, the children suffer' 265
Table 16: Crosstabulation results for 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job' 266
Table 17: Crosstabulation results for 'When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women' 267
Table 18: Crosstabulation results for 'On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do' 268
Table 19: Crosstabulation results for 'On the whole, men make better business executive than women' 269
T-test Result Tables *270*
Table 20: All countries by gender: statistical significance of differences between mean value for men and women in each category 270
Table 21: Sweden: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender 270
Table 22: UK: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender 271
Table 23: Portugal: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender 271
3. APPENDICES TO CHAPTER 5: THE FACTORS AT PLAY: NATIONAL NORMS, POLICY, DISCOURSE AND PEER GROUP EFFECT. 272
Table 24: Parental leave days: Absolute usage 272

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY 276

Dedicated to my late father, Leith Jardine Allen.

1. Introduction: Contemporary Gender Equality and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave

> The ways in which lives are lived and men and women as mothers and fathers care for their children emanates from deeply embedded, 'durable' practices in which biological assumptions, patriarchy and power remain explicitly or implicitly woven together.
>
> McNay, 2000, in Miller, 2011b, pp.7–8

Gender inequality is ubiquitous. It is deeply embedded in societies worldwide and can be measured by a range of indicators in domains such as power and representation, the economy, violence and unpaid labour (Barbieri et al., 2020; UNDP, 2020a; World Economic Forum, 2020). However, progress towards equality is also clear. Globally, dramatic gains in gender equality have taken place over the past 50 years, due to changing legal frameworks, shifts generated by supra-national conventions, such as the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (UNHR, 1979) and the Beijing Platform for Action (UN Women, 1995), and changing norms. In northern and western Europe, transformations in women's formal labour force participation since the 1970s have catalysed significant improvements in women's earning power, financial independence and cultural status. Women are better educated than men across the European Union (Eurostat, 2021e), country-level pay gaps[1] are slowly decreasing (OECD, 2021a) and, worldwide, there is an upward trajectory in terms of female participation in the labour market, even as this been interrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic (World Economic Forum, 2021). Despite overall gains, though, women remain underrepresented at senior level across industries (Kaur, 2020) and human capital indicators score women consistently lower than men (World Economic Forum, 2017). Unpaid caring responsibilities – to which parenthood is central – are a key cause. One fundamental inroad to shifting this imbalance is for men to share parenting equally with women. However, notwithstanding decades of feminist organising, an unequal gendered division of labour persists to varying degrees across Europe and the world. Enabling fathers to use parental leave is therefore an urgent policy issue for gender equality.

[1] Defined as the difference between median earnings of men and women relative to median earnings of men (OECD, 2018).

Extensive scholarship examines fathers' access to and use of parental leave, frequently highlighting norms as a key barrier to more equitable distribution of caring labour and use of parental leave entitlements (Bergqvist and Saxonberg, 2016; Brandth and Kvande, 2009, 2012; Hobson and Fahlén, 2009; O'Brien and Wall, 2017). To date this literature has primarily focused on the consequences of policy design, work-life interface, and workplace constraints. Social norms are a structuring force in society (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Pfau-Effinger, 1998, 2004) and are, I argue, at the root of entrenched gendered divisions of labour. Cultural values and their imbrication with social institutions shape norms that affect who provides care. These ideas are influenced by national and international discourses of parental responsibilities as well as through norms that operate at the micro level in domestic, workplace, peer group and community contexts (Duncan and Edwards, 1998; Folbre, 1994; Pfau-Effinger, 1998). Yet, in the context of the wider literature on fathers' use of leave, less focus has been placed on the impact of social norms. Furthermore, existing scholarship has, thus far, relied on theoretical frameworks that, I posit, cannot account for our compulsion to reproduce normative gender.

This project and research questions

There are good reasons for this lack of attention to the effect of norms on fathers' leave use: social norms are relational, conceptually amorphous, and vary across space and time. Although some consensus exists on the basic definition of a norm (see below), frameworks for understanding norms shift by discipline and ontology. Furthermore, measuring the influence of norms on individuals' decision-making suffers from methodological recalcitrance, since individuals tend to underestimate the effect of social norms on their choices and decisions (Nolan et al., 2008; Nolan, 2015), providing a challenge to researchers. I take on this challenge by answering the central question: 'What are the ways in which gendered social norms impact on decisions regarding fathers' use of parental leave?' Hobson and Fahlén, in their work on fathers' capabilities to achieve desired work-life 'balance' (2009) identify three 'competing' domains of norms: 'within policies and discourse, within workplace cultures, and within networks of friends and family' (2009, p.229). These domains, and their attendant tensions and overlaps, offer a generative framework for exploring different social dimensions of gender norms and their effect on fathers' use of leave. Thus, my project will ask the following questions: How do the normative environments in relation to gender role attitudes differ in Sweden, the United Kingdom and Portugal? What are the ways in which gendered social norms impact on decisions regarding fathers' use of parental leave entitlements in the three countries? How do gendered social norms impact on decisions regarding *how much* and *which types of* parental leave fathers use

in Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom? Do distinct dimensions of gendered norms influence uptake of paternal leave? Finally, the project asks which, if any, of these dimensions of gendered norms creates the most significant barriers to fathers' uptake of leave in the three countries considered. In answering these questions, I hope to develop a cross-national perspective on the effects of social norms on fathers' leave use.

I mobilise Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity (1993, 1999 [1990]) to build an innovative theoretical lens that conceptualises parenting as both gendered and performative: a new approach to theorising fathers' use of leave. Butler's scholarship elegantly articulates the compulsion to re-cite the gender norms that emerge through discourse and power. My work develops Butler's thinking into a generative framework for empirical analysis. My key contributions are threefold. Firstly, using mixed methods and a comparative approach, I compare the effect of the three dimensions of social norms on fathers' use of leave in Sweden, the UK, and Portugal. Secondly, I offer a case study of a 'Big Four' multinational company in the three countries ('PYP'[2]). Multi-country access to large multi-national firms is rare and acutely difficult to obtain. Big corporations are often hesitant to grant access to researchers, given understandable concerns about privacy and reputation. However, the access I was able to secure to multiple PYP offices is crucial, because it enables original comparison of the effect on fathers' leave use of norms embedded at the organisational level, and how these are connected to other dimensions of norms in the three countries. Finally, I argue that gender performativity can help us to understand why the pace of change is so slow when it comes to shifting the gendered division of labour. I evidence how performativity accounts for the barriers to making use of parental leave entitlements faced by fathers. Performativity facilitates articulation of why it is so hard, for both mothers and fathers, to battle against social convention when it comes to parents' use of leave. Overall, with this thesis I contribute to the goal of identifying persistent barriers to what Fraser calls the 'universal caregiver' model (2013), by analysing the impact of social norms on fathers' use of parental leave. Given the ever-contingent nature of gains in gender equality, and threats posed by changes in the socio-political landscape, most recently the Covid-19 pandemic, it is imperative to continue to identify barriers to more equal participation in both work and care. An approach using performativity to understand the effect of gender norms can illuminate powerful social and gendered limitations that constitute one such fundamental barrier and underpin other forms of institutional constraint.

[2] PYP is an alias.

This project, like all research, is limited and partial. What it does not do is seek to understand the motivations of couples as parents-to-be, since this has been done elsewhere using longitudinal methods (e.g. Grunow and Evertsson, 2016). It also does not examine the intra-couple dynamics of decisions on leave use (see Faircloth 2020). It will not theorise the impacts of fathers' use of parental leave on modes of masculinity, as this has been done elsewhere (e.g. Wall, 2014; Brandth and Kvande, 2016). Neither will it assess the impact of fathers' use of leave on involvement in childcare and domestic work, which has also been done in other scholarship (e.g. Almqvist and Duvander, 2014; Duvander and Johansson, 2019; Norman et al., 2014). Furthermore, although the research explicitly sought to include fathers in different social locations – specifically, class and race, it was ultimately not possible to recruit fathers from a broad range of backgrounds. While I did not exclude gay fathers from my study, neither did any come forward to participate. Thus, the final sample in each country was overwhelmingly white, heterosexual and middle class. I discuss the implications of this limitation in chapter 3.

The rest of this chapter will situate the project in terms of gender (in)equality and fathers' use of leave, briefly discuss social norms, introduce the multinational case study company, 'PYP', and provide an overview of the thesis chapters.

Gender, work and care

The fact that gendered caring norms structurally and normatively underpin gender inequality is well-established (Elson 1999; Folbre, 1994; Fraser, 1997, 2013; Hochschild and Machung, 2003 Scott et al., 2010).[3] Equality between men and women is increasingly observed until the point at which adults become parents (DeRose et al., 2019; Fusulier and Nicole-Drancourt, 2020; Slaugher, 2015). The degree to which women are responsible for unpaid labour, and its associated economic and social penalties, has been extensively documented. Feminists since the second wave have argued that women's responsibility for childcare 'has led to an entire social organisation of gender inequality, and men as well as women must become primary carers for children if that inequality is to change' (Chodorow, 1999, in Rich, 2003). In global terms, women spend between two and ten times as much time on unpaid care work compared to men (Ferranti

[3] These gendered caring norms, and the gendered division of labour, emerged through the bifurcation of 'spheres' that originated in the transition to industrialisation. This transition split 'productive' labour in the factory from 'reproductive' labour in the home and created the pathway for the hierarchical and entrenched gendered division of labour that pervades contemporary (European) societies and peaked during the 1950s glorification of female domesticity (Davis, 1983, Federici, 2010; Fraser, 2017).

et al., 2014). The gendered division of labour is a critical factor in women's unequal position in the labour market (Antonopoulous, 2008) and unequal representation throughout society. Labour markets continue to rest on the assumption that reproductive work sits separately to 'productive' work (Elson, 1999; Fraser, 2017), and parental leave policy frameworks often reinforce this notion, even as they are 'high on the policy agenda' and 'a staple of the modern welfare state' (Moss et al., 2020, p.1).

Gendered caring norms, beginning with parental care, affect women's valuation in societies around the world, as well as how society values caring labour and work associated with 'feminine' roles (Perrons, 2012). The arrival of children is a key moment that precipitates and maintains gender inequality, although this effect is moderated by social policy (DeRose et al., 2019). Theorists of human capital (Becker, 1985; Mincer and Polachek, 1974; Polachek, 1995, 2012) – mobilising an acutely partial framework – argue that time away from the labour force impairs accumulation of human capital, decreasing workers' – or in structural terms, women's – market value. Scholars (England, 2005; Olson et al,. 2018) have evidenced how motherhood, occupational segregation[4] and discrimination account for significant components of the gender pay gap. In the UK, where the extent and pervasive nature of the pay gap has been recently documented through reporting legislation introduced in 2017 (Women and Equalities Committee, 2017),[5] the gender pay gap is 'relatively small or non-existent at around the time of labour market entry' (Costa Dias at al., 2016) and slowly increases into the mid-20s. The gap widens from late 20s onwards and gradually opens up further over the following 20 years of the life cycle. Women's time away from the labour market affects skills and human capital, leads to statistical discrimination (Blau, 2012) and perpetuates cultural norms that hold men primarily as breadwinners and women as mothers and carers. The idea underpinning this research project, then, is that fathers' increased sharing in responsibility for child-rearing, and resultant shouldering of associated human capital penalties and discrimination, would help address these inequalities.

Men's participation in reproductive labour, however, fails to reflect women's increased participation in the labour market (Kato-Wallace et al, 2014; Lyonette and Crompton, 2015;

---

[4] England's research shows how these two factors, contrary to the views of some economists', such as Becker, are not interrelated.

[5] Although this reporting requirement was suspended in early 2020, on paper to ease the pressure on companies dealing with the Covid-19 crisis. The 2021 deadline was extended by six months. Only one quarter of UK companies normally eligible to report their gender pay gap data did so in time for the April 2021 return date (Wisniewska, 2021).

Scott, 2006). Supra-national institutions recognise the human capital implications of women's care burden (White, 2017) and highlight improving men's engagement in care work as a priority (European Commission 2016).[6] The introduction of gender-neutral (though not always gender equal – e.g. Brandth and Kvande, 2012) policy frameworks in several European countries responded to EU directive 2010/18/EU, which set the objective of 'further improving the reconciliation of work, private and family life' (EU, 2010). Nevertheless, fathers' take-up of parental leave remains significantly lower than women's, even in countries with the most gender-sensitive frameworks including 'daddy quotas.'[7] In Sweden, increases in fathers' use of leave evidence slow but sure change, and the most recent data suggests fathers use around 30 per cent of total parental leave (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020; Duvander and Johansson, 2019). In other countries, fathers' uptake is far lower (Koslowski et al., 2021).

Goldscheider et al. (2015) developed a two-phase theory of the 'gender revolution': the first part comprising the dramatic shifts to female engagement in paid work that have taken place since the 1970s, and the second part, which is underway – with progress varying cross-nationally, comprising men's increasing participation in the domestic realm. Fathers want to be involved in their children's upbringing and time-use surveys indicate that they spend significantly more time with their children than in the past (Burgess and Davies, 2017; Sevilla and Borra, 2015): a trend that has been accelerated through the Covid-19 pandemic (Andrew et al., 2020; Burgess and Goldman, 2021; Sevilla and Smith, 2020). Yet, a wide body of literature demonstrates that although couples increasingly express egalitarian intentions, the arrival of a child precipitates a slide back towards a traditional division of labour for heterosexual couples (DeRose et al., 2019; Fox, 2019; Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; McMunn et al., 2020; Miller, 2011b; Ranson, 2010). The birth of a first child is a formative moment in the domestic organisation of work and care (Sundström and Duvander, 2002) and sets patterns that can endure through the life course (McMunn et al., 2017). Fathers' use of 'home-alone' leave is thus critical for gender equality through its potential to transform gendered caring norms: research shows that fathers who use longer periods of leave share domestic work more equally and are more involved with childcare in the long term (Almqvist and Duvander, 2014; Brandth and Kvande, 2001; Duvander and Johansson, 2019).

---

[6] Through programmes such as the European Union Strategic Engagement for Gender Equality 2016–2019, which states as an objective 'more equal sharing between women and men of time spent on care and household responsibilities and improved possibilities for balancing caring and professional responsibilities' (European Commission 2016, p.21).

[7] 'Daddy quotas' refers to individual, non-transferable entitlements for fathers, also known as 'use it or lose it' leave entitlements (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran, 2016).

Fathers' Use of Leave

Fathers' use of parental leave is underpinned and influenced by countless factors, including culture; institutional factors, including but not limited to the family, the labour market, the welfare state and social policy; as well as gendered norms, practices and expectations (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Pfau-Effinger, 1998; 2004). Moreover, there is significant interplay between these domains, for example: culture shapes and is shaped by norms of masculinity and femininity, while the structures of the family, the labour market and the welfare state interact and influence each other, and shape and are shaped by social norms (Bergqvist and Saxonberg, 2016; Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004; Pfau-Effinger, 2004). A significant body of literature examines fathers' leave use from a variety of perspectives. Given the extensive review of comparative context, including policy reform, effects on leave use and determinants of take-up detailed by country in chapter 5, this section engages with extant literature on the factors which enable and constrain fathers' use of leave, focusing on work, policy and welfare states, and culture.

Work

The gendered nature of work has been theorised by scholars since the 1970s. Gender shapes work, and work shapes gender (Kelan, 2008, 2010; Weeks; 2011). Organisations are conceptualised as gendered, rather than a site of gendered interactions (Alvesson and Billing, 1992; Cockburn, 1985; Game and Pringle, 1984; Knights and Willmott, 1985; McDowell, 1997; Phillips and Taylor, 1986). Acker (1990) theorised organisations as gendered processes which obscure both gender and sexuality through discursive gender-neutrality, calling attention to the 'disembodied' worker who exists to fill the 'abstract' role. For Acker, the 'closest the disembodied worker comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life is his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and children' (p.149). Similarly, Williams has theorised the ideal-worker norm, critiquing the arrangement of the labour market around the full-time and overtime worker who takes little-to-no time away to fulfil reproductive responsibilities (2001, 2012). Scholars have built on Acker's theorisation of the abstract worker and 'cloak' of organisational gender neutrality to conceptualise organisations as having a 'gender sub-text' (Bendl, 2008; Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998, 2012). This concept articulates latent, power-based processes which (re)produce gender via organisational and individual practices and arrangements (Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012). Labour markets thus remain 'significant loci of male power' (McDowell, 1997, p.23). Furthermore, several scholars have demonstrated that despite the declining prevalence of actual male-breadwinning, organisational gender subtexts mean that the performance of a 'masculine breadwinner

mentality' (Kelan, 2008, p.1172) is necessary for corporate success, progression and to mitigate employment insecurity (Gill, 2002; Kelan, 2008; Perrons, 2003).

Gender norms, then, are embedded within organisations (Pearse and Connell, 2016). The ideal worker and gender subtext privilege and perpetuate typically male patterns of employment, failing to acknowledge the responsibilities for children and kin that workers have at various stages throughout their lives. Women are thus penalised for periods away from the labour market (England, 2005). However, men who do not conform to the ideal worker model also experience pay penalties, are stigmatised and feminised (Albrecht et al., 1999; Rege and Solli, 2013; Rudman and Mescher, 2013); men are also more likely to perceive 'flexibility stigma' (Chung, 2020). Social reproduction scholars theorise this set of problems as produced and maintained by capitalism and its inability and unwillingness to recognise and provide for 'life-making work' (Jaffe and Bhattacharya, 2017, n.p.; see also Ferguson, 2020; Fraser, 2017). Furthermore, scholars have theorised the connections between capitalism, its reliance upon women's unpaid and un(der)valued reproductive labour, and 'transnational business masculinity' (Connell and Wood, 2005), as constitutive components of the gender binary via the heterosexual matrix (Rich, 2003; Butler, 1999). Through this lens, the ideal worker is inextricably linked to men and (hegemonic) masculinity, and is the diametric opposite of women's caring femininity in a binary framework of power. Masculinity, then, is a central organising logic within workplaces and organisations, and corporations are a central site for the reproduction of masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2017). As Acker and others have argued, 'much that passes as gender neutral and normal in organizations is in fact an unacknowledged expression of normative masculinity' (Kelan, 2008, p.1177). Masculinities are linked with work and not with domestic work or the care of young children, which continue to 'clash with hegemonic cultural ideals of masculinity' (Wall and Arnold, 2007; see also Connell, 2000; Doucet 2004a, 2004b, 2006).

Work, therefore, is central to men's lives and a 'major basis of identity and what it means to be a man' (Messerschmidt, 2017, n.p.; Dermott, 2008), and masculinity – however unacknowledged – is an organising principle in places of work. Scholars of work, fatherhood and parental leave have drawn widely on these theories to understand fathers' low use of leave entitlements and normative barriers to fathers' greater engagement in wider caring and domestic work (Doucet, 2009, 2017; O'Brien and Wall, 2017). Ranson has highlighted how there is no 'working father' equivalent to the term 'working mother' and that while discourses of involved fatherhood are increasingly prominent, they do not displace the 'breadwinning requirement' (2012, p.741). Thus,

Ranson argues, while work-family policies are frequently reframed in gender-neutral terms, this terminology masks 'the clear gender coding that entrenches the different work and family expectations of mothers and fathers' with the result 'that mothers rather than fathers continue to be the main users of whatever family-friendly programmes are available' (pp.741–742). In Portugal, Wall and Leitão highlight the constraints perpetuated by the 'totally career-invested and time-flexible male worker' (2017, p.48), while in the UK, Browne's analysis highlights the ways that these organisational norms are maintained by attitudes prevalent at the very top levels of large corporate institutions (2016; see also Schein, 2010).

Research suggests that men's use of parental leave could undo gender at work – through subverting the dominance of masculinity and challenging hegemonic, managerial notions of masculinity (Murgia and Poggio, 2009; Wahl, 2014). However, men's use of leave is constrained by institutional environment, including by the support experienced from colleagues and supervisors (Abendroth and Dulk, 2011). Men's perceptions of workplace attitudes shape their uptake of leave (Kaufman, 2017; Haas et al., 2002), but the workplace also shapes their expectations of possibilities around flexibility (Gregory and Milner, 2011). Workplaces continue to make gendered assumptions about preferences regarding leave and flexibility to care (Gatrell and Cooper, 2016), while fathers often seek to avoid appearing uncommitted (Kaufman, 2017; McKay and Doucet, 2010). Sector and employer type matter for both fathers' use of leave and work-life 'balance', with public sector employers offering greater formal flexibility options than the private sector (Gregory and Milner, 2011). Fathers working in small employers, the private sector and male-dominated occupations take less parental leave (Bygren and Duvander, 2006). In Sweden, scholars have shown how differences in company culture, measured through values and practices including care ethic, father friendliness, equal opportunities and senior management support, can have an enabling or limiting effect on fathers' use of leave (Haas et al., 2002). Corporate culture has been shown to impact on fathers' take-up of working hours reductions while children are small (Haas and Hwang, 2016), while other findings suggest that fathers' use of work-life 'balance' measures results from a complex interaction between sector, organisational culture and fathers' characteristics, while national policy, to which I will now turn, also plays a key role (Gregory and Milner, 2011).

Policy

A vast literature is dedicated to the effects of policy on fathers' leave use. Policy design has been shown time and again to matter considerably when it comes to the gendered dynamics of sharing

care of children, from birth onwards (Sundström and Duvander, 2002; Duvander and Johansson, 2012; Haas and Rostgaard, 2011; Hobson and Fáhlen, 2009). Financial considerations are central to fathers' use of parental leave (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran, 2016; Kaufman, 2017; O'Brien, 2009), and research has found a clear correlation between 'father-friendly' legislation and fathers' time spent caring (Smith and Williams, 2007). Research on the Scandinavian countries evaluating the effect of specific parental leave policy features including universality, a fathers' quota, additional leave, remuneration rate/generosity, flexibility and incentives, found that the non-transferable portion (the fathers' quota) was the most effective policy instrument overall (Haas and Rostgaard, 2011). Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016) constructed the 'Parental Leave Equality Index' (PLEI), to identify the factors that promote fathers' uptake of leave across European countries. It revealed that a majority of fathers use leave that is well-paid and non-transferable, while a small minority of men use leave of other forms (see also Moss and Deven, 2006). Crucially, the PLEI found that although Iceland's policy arrangement is most favourable, no country in the world offers a parental leave policy framework based on fully equal, non-transferable and well-paid parental leave policy.

Researchers have highlighted the ways in which policies designed to promote caregiving can be gendered or gender-neutral (Brandth and Kvande, 2009). In research exploring the relative impact of two types of care-promoting policy, a period of non-transferable father leave compared to a gender-neutral cash-for-care (at home) policy, Brandth and Kvande (2009) found that the fathers' quota promotes fathers' participation in childcare, whereas the cash-for-care policy fails to challenge existing gendered care arrangements. In later work (2012), they ask why don't mothers and fathers in Norway share parental leave more? They consider the weight of 'free choice' against 'gentle coercion', highlighting that allowing 'free choice' in how families share parental leave – i.e. through predominantly transferable or sharable leave models – does not challenge existing gender practices when it comes to fathers' engagement in care. They argue that 'fathers do not choose in a vacuum' (p.59) and that without taking purposive action through well-designed policy that facilitates fathers' use of leave, the institutional, structural and normative influences that shape gendered patterns of leave use go unchallenged. I will now detail the policy context of each country.

Sweden

Swedish parental leave policy provides 240 days to each parent as the default option, with scope to transfer up to 150 days to the other parent. 195 days per parent are well paid: paid at 77.6 per

Table 1: Parental Leave Entitlements: Summary Information

Country	Sweden	UK	Portugal
Maternity	10 days	52 weeks	42 calendar days
Paternity	10 days	10 days	25 days: 20 are obligatory and must be used in the first six weeks.[8]
Parental entitlement *italics = fathers rights are contingent on maternal eligibility*	480 days: 240 are allocated to each partner, 90 of which are non-transferable	*50 weeks (relies on maternal eligibility)*	IPL**:** *138 days (formerly maternity leave and relies on maternal eligibility). 30 days relies upon the sharing bonus.* Additional Parental Leave: 3 months' low-paid per partner if used immediately after IPL.
Transferable leave	150 days per partner (300 total)	50 weeks	138 days
Statutory pay	Maternity: 77.6% of earnings. Paternity: 77.6% of earnings up to ceiling of SEK 348,750 (£29,575.10).[9] Parental leave: 195 days at 77.6% of earnings, capped at SEK 486,000 (£41,214.30); 45 days at SEK 180 (£15.26).	Maternity: 6 weeks at 90% of earnings followed by 33 weeks at £151.97 per week. Paternity and SPL: £151.97 per week.	Fathers' only leave: Base salary paid at 100% IPL: Base salary paid at 80, 83 or 100% depending on time use configuration Additional Parental Leave: 25% of salary.
PYP enhancement	6 months enhancement to between 80–90% of salary for all parents (exact % dependent on salary).	Paternity: Full pay[10] SPL: 14 weeks at full pay; 10 weeks at 50% pay; 13 weeks at statutory pay (mirrors maternity pay).	Payment of performance-related pay (not annual bonus), over and above base salary. Only base salary is reimbursed by the social welfare agency (many fathers were not aware of this form of PYP enhancement).

cent of earnings, up to a ceiling of SEK 486,000 (£41,214.30[11]). In 2016, 45 per cent of parental leave benefit recipients were men and 55 per cent were women. 14 per cent of couples with children born in 2013 shared leave somewhat equally (between 40–60 per cent), a number that is

[8] 15 were obligatory at the time of data collection.
[9] Currency exchange provided by Oanda.com on 26 June 2021.
[10] This was increased to four weeks of paternity leave at full pay after I conducted the fieldwork.
[11] Currency exchange provided by Oanda.com on 26 June 2021.

slowly increasing (Duvander et al., 2017). In 2018, mothers used an average of 83 days and fathers 41 days (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020).

The Swedish state encourages fathers' active role in childcare, and a dual-earner, dual-carer model has come to prominence following decades of cultivation, with the value of gender equality at its core (see further discussion in chapter 4) (Gornick and Meyers, 2008). Although parental leave was introduced in Sweden as early as 1974, three key changes to the policy design have encouraged fathers' take up over time. The first was in 1995, when the initial 'daddy quota' month was introduced: from a total of fifteen months of leave (twelve paid at a high replacement rate and three at a low flat rate), one month of 'use it or lose it' leave was reserved for fathers, alongside one month reserved for mothers. The second major change was the introduction of a second month of reserved leave for each parent in 2002, when the total leave available also increased to sixteen months.[12] Thirdly, a third reserved month for each parent was introduced in 2016.

Data collected on leave usage by the Swedish Försäkringskassan (social security agency) provides unparalleled possibilities to investigate the effects of parental leave policy reforms (e.g. Duvander and Johansson, 2012, 2015, 2019; Ma et al., 2020). Duvander and Johansson (2012) analysed the immediate effect of the first three reforms by sampling the usage patterns of parents of children born for two weeks either side of the date of the policy reform. They found fathers' usage increased by an average of just under ten days following the first reform, just over seven days following the second reform, while the sharing bonus reform made no statistically significant difference to fathers' leave use. The first reform saw the percentage of fathers using any leave rise dramatically from 43 to 75 per cent. By contrast, the introduction of the second reserved month had a more modest effect, and the gender equality bonus had no effect. The authors suggest that increasing low levels of leave take-up may be easier than catalysing change from already significant usage patterns, and that reserved time/quotas may be more effective than economic incentives. A second study (2019) addressed some of the first's limitations – in which the impact of changing social norms on fathers' leave use over time could not be accounted for – and analysed the effect of the first two reforms on mothers' and fathers' use of Swedish statutory sick days for several years (12 for the first reform and 10 in relation to the second

[12] An additional change took place in 2008, when the new government introduced a gender equality, or 'sharing' bonus, which rewarded couples who used an equal number of leave days with the equivalent of around €5 per day of equal usage. However, this was not widely used or effective, and as such was dropped in 2016.

reform), using sick day usage as proxy for gender equality (validated in Eriksson and Nermo, 2010). Although they identified mothers' reduced use and fathers' increased use of sick days with the reforms, the effects were modest. Given the small effects, Duvander and Johansson concluded that 'the main influence from the reforms will be gradual and take time' (2019, p.84), and that these gradual effects are not observable within their study. This interpretation implicitly recognises that slow culture shift in usage patterns is a part of the policy reform process.

Ma et al. (2020) used Försäkringskassan data from 1993–2010 to establish how individual socio-economic and demographic characteristics are associated with changes in father's parental leave use over time and in response to the first two policy reforms. They found that Swedish-born fathers, fathers with higher education levels and fathers residing in metropolitan and suburban areas were early adopters of leave periods longer than two months. In contrast, low-income, foreign-born and young fathers lagged behind and were more likely to not use or to use shorter periods of leave. This is aligned to earlier scholarship that found fathers' earnings are strongly associated with leave-use (even more so than mothers' earnings) (Sundström and Duvander, 2002). This earlier research also highlighted that couples' relative earning parity is positively correlated with fathers' leave use, and found that younger couples are more likely to share entitlements.

UK

The UK's parental leave policy framework comprises an outdated, maternalistic model that fails to encourage sharing care between parents (O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). Current maternity, paternity and shared parental leave (SPL) rights form a complex framework in which fathers have an individual statutory right to only two weeks of leave paid at a low flat rate of £151.97. Maternity leave can be taken for up to 52 weeks: the first 6 are paid at 90 per cent of earnings and the ensuing 33 are paid at the same low flat rate, followed by 13 weeks of unpaid entitlement. 28 per cent of employers provide enhanced maternity pay (Javornik and Oliver, 2019) and use of the full period of paid leave is normative (Atkinson et al., 2020). In contrast, few employers enhance SPL (Javornik and Oliver, 2019), which is based upon a transfer model that allows mothers and birth parents to rescind part of their leave, and pay if it is during the paid period, for their partner's use, in a number of blocks (at the discretion of employers). However, eligibility for SPL rests upon the mother/birth parent's right to maternity leave, so if she does not qualify – through unemployment, casual/under-employment, or student status, neither partner qualifies.

Britain has been termed a 'latecomer' to parental leave policy, introducing its first form of parental leave entitlement: unpaid maternity leave, in 1975 – one year after Sweden introduced shared parental leave rights (Moss and O'Brien, 2020). Various changes to this maternity provision have been made by successive governments over the past 45 years, with the Labour government extending the total period of leave (but not pay) to 52 weeks in 2003. The UK now has one of the longest, but the lowest paid, maternity leave periods in the OECD (Chzhen et al., 2019). Fathers had no individual right to parental leave until 2003, when two weeks of low-paid paternity leave was introduced for fathers who had worked for the same employer for 26 weeks. In 2011, an 'additional paternity leave' (APL) policy was introduced, which enabled mothers and birth parents to transfer up to 26 weeks of their maternity leave to fathers/partners. This policy was revised and relaunched as the 'shared parental leave' (SPL) policy in 2015, with key changes including the ability to transfer 50 weeks (out of a total of 52) of the mother's leave, in addition to greater flexibility in use. However, fathers still do not have an individual right to parental leave beyond the two weeks of paternity leave. Thus – as predicted by parental leave scholars (Atkinson, 2017; Kaufman, 2017), SPL has not generated the 'desired change in fathers' leave uptake and the implementation has exposed several issues' (Javornik and Oliver, 2019, p.62).

In the UK, empirical analysis of policy reform as detailed above in Sweden is not possible, since the UK government does not routinely collect data on take up of any form of parental leave (Moss et al., 2020). Historical data shows that 91 per cent of fathers take some leave around the birth of their child, half of which take two weeks of statutory paternity leave and 75 per cent of whom used some of the statutory entitlement (Twamley and Schober, 2019; Chanfreau et al., 2011). 18 per cent used other forms of paid leave, while 5 per cent used unpaid leave (Atkinson et al., 2020).

A growing body of research explores the UK policy context in the light of SPL, while earlier literature explores reasons for low usage of the previous APL policy. Kaufman (2017) found four key barriers to fathers' use of APL: financial considerations and low replacement pay; gendered expectations, which shaped fathers' (dis)inclination to feel confident and entitled to use leave, constructed mothers as experts and underpinned mothers' resistance to sharing the leave; workplace barriers, or fathers' circumspection regarding the impact of leave use on perceptions of their commitment to work; and policy limitations. Kaufman's article accurately predicts low take up of SPL. One limitation is her lack of engagement with workplace communication

barriers and low awareness: SPL has faced issues with low public awareness and anecdotal reports suggest that awareness of APL was even lower (Women and Equalities Committee, 2018; Lewis, 2020). Atkinson (2017) also points to SPL's shortcomings and theorises its insufficient incentives to fathers, highlighting in particular the policy's lack of fathers' quota, low replacement pay, the employer veto on discontinuous periods of leave, and lack of a clear option to combine leave and part-time work. Birkett and Forbes (2019) find similar issues, including financial barriers – both the low rate of replacement pay and the fact that many employers enhance maternity pay but do not enhance shared parental or paternity pay; cultural barriers and gendered expectations; 'parental gatekeeping' – both maternal and paternal – whereby mothers mediate fathers' engagement in leave use (both positively and negatively), and where fathers are reluctant to use more leave for a variety of reasons including cultural expectations, assumed parental inferiority, career concerns, or support for breastfeeding; as well as policy barriers; organisational barriers; and communications barriers. Javornik and Oliver (2019) understand the transferable design of SPL as necessitating fathers' negotiation with the mother for access to both leave and pay (2019, p.70). Similarly, O'Brien and Twamley find the maternalistic design of the policy means that fathers' ability to use leave is predicated upon a 'gift exchange' from their partner (2017).

A survey of the attitudes, SPL take-up intentions and characteristics of mothers in London (Twamley and Schober, 2019) found 7.4 per cent of mothers intending to utilise SPL. Financial factors and concerns regarding impact on fathers' careers were given as primary barriers to wider use. The study found white British respondents were more likely to have heard of and approve of SPL than ethnic minority respondents (as a single category). Home ownership (as a proxy for socio-economic status) was correlated with a higher chance of SPL awareness and eligibility. Women born outside the UK were less likely to be aware of the policy, while employer-enhanced individual benefits for fathers and knowing others who had used SPL increased individuals' reported intention to utilise the policy.

Portugal

The current default parental leave option in Portugal is short and well paid but maternalistic. The policy framework provides a period of 'Initial Parental Leave' (IPL): 120 or 150 calendar days, depending on rate of payment, with the option of an extra 'sharing bonus' of 30 days (also referred to by fathers as the 'sixth month': for clarity I will hereafter refer to this as the 'bonus 30 days'), conditional upon both parents using either at least 30 consecutive days or two instalments

of 15 days. If 120 days are taken, payment for the whole period – including the 30 days if taken – is 100 per cent of earnings. If 150 days are taken, payment is at 83 per cent, including the 30 days. There is no upper limit on payments. IPL can be taken by either parent, although the first six weeks must be taken by the mother. Although the period of IPL is in theory a gender-neutral benefit, access for the entitlement relies on the mother's eligibility, i.e. six months of social security payments. In this way, the model is effectively a transfer of maternity benefit to the father. If the mother is not eligible for IPL, the father is only entitled to his 'Fathers-only parental leave' (hereafter called 'FO days'), which comprises 20 obligatory and 5 optional working days,[13] paid at 100 per cent of gross earnings (Wall et al., 2016a). 'Additional parental leave' is a separate benefit, which is a period of leave that can be taken unpaid at any time until the child's sixth birthday. However, if this entitlement is used directly after the IPL, then it is paid to either or both parents at 25 per cent of salary. Additional parental leave is an individual entitlement, but is not widely used (Correia et al., 2021).

Limited literature accessible in English explores the direct effects of Portuguese policy reform, partly because the nature of the Portuguese reforms prevents rigorous analysis of their effects and partly, as in the UK, because robust data is not collected by the social security agency that administers leave entitlements (Wall et al., 2016a).[14] A general trend is fathers' increased use of obligatory and optional 'fathers only days' as these have become more numerous in successive changes since 2009 (Cunha et al., 2017; Wall, 2015). However, in contrast, uptake of the IPL with sharing bonus – i.e. use of shared leave entitlements by fathers – 'continues to be well below its full potential' (Cunha et al., 2017, p.10). Given that the ineffectiveness of transferable quotas is well established in the literature, this is likely a key cause. Indeed, Karin Wall and colleagues call for the introduction of a non-transferable, fathers' only period of leave, distinct from the obligatory fathers' only days that must be taken alongside the birth parent in the first six weeks, in the *White Paper: Men and Gender Equality in Portugal* (2016a).

Culture, welfare state and 'gender arrangement'

Gender analysis is central to conceptualising the welfare state, not least because welfare is provided unpaid in the home as well as by the state, and therefore recognising the 'domestic relations under which such care-work is performed are not only an important part of the gender

[13] From 2015–2020 (i.e. including in 2018 when the research took place) FO days comprised 15 obligatory and 10 optional; from 2009–2015, FO days comprised 10 obligatory and 10 optional. This detail is relevant for chapter 5 where I describe the number of days used by fathers.
[14] This shortcoming is addressed as a recommendation in Wall et al., 2016a.

regime, but are also an important part of the understanding of the welfare system as a whole' (Walby, 2009, p.287; see also Daly, 2020; Daly and Lewis, 2000; Lewis, 1997; Orloff, 1996, 2009; Sainsbury, 1996, 1999; Walby 2020). Institutions and welfare states thus bear significant influence on gender equality (Addis, 2003; Lewis and Ostner, 1994; Orloff, 2009) and work-family 'articulation' (Marques et al., 2021; Crompton and Lyonette, 2006), including parental leave policy (Smith and Williams, 2007). Research demonstrates that parental investment in childcare varies by country (Gauthier at al., 2004) and that welfare state regime is salient in shaping the ways parenthood affects gender roles (Neilson and Stanfors, 2014; Gershuny and Sullivan, 2003).

Scholars have argued that a focus on the interrelation between gender (equality) and the welfare state is incomplete without attention to what Pfau-Effinger calls 'gender culture' (1998, 2004). She builds on work by Connell (1987) and Hirdman (1988, 1990) to conceptualise a tripartite structure of gender categories that together establish a theoretical framework for the study of culture, institutions, structure and agency in the context of gender. These comprise: gender culture, referring to the 'cultural values and ideals' surrounding the social roles and gendered division of labour between women and men, which are generally encountered institutionally in the form of relatively stable norms (p.42). The 'gender order' is borrowed from Connell (1987) and describes the 'actually existing structures' of gender relations, meaning the interactions between different social institutions in terms of the gendered division of labour. The 'gender arrangement' pertains to the whole model, encompassing supranational influences at the top, followed by gender culture and then the gender order, with dynamic interactions between the two as well as with social actors and women's employment behaviour. Pfau-Effinger does not encompass men's employment behaviour in the model – presumably because this framework was devised in the service of a project focusing on women's employment in Europe, but also because men's employment patterns, relative to women's, have experienced less change. However, given increasing casualisation, and flexibility in a 'post'-Covid world, it is a shortcoming. In establishing her model, Pfau-Effinger maps out the contradictions and convergences between value systems, cultural norms, institutional frameworks and gendered practices.

The effect of culture is relevant to various comparisons of work-life 'balance' across Europe. Crompton and Lyonette (2006) find a 'societal effect' (Gallie, 2003) whereby cultural values and politics are salient. Literature using Sen's capabilities framework to compare fathers' and mothers' norms, values and preferences in terms of work-family 'balance' against their

capabilities to attain these preferences has consistently highlighted a gap between the two, the size of which varies between countries (for example a gap remains in Sweden, but it is smaller than e.g. Hungary (Hobson et al., 2011; see also Hobson et al., 2006; Hobson and Fahlén, 2009; Hobson, 2011). Grunow and Veltkamp (2016) use the concept of the 'policy-culture gap' to assess country-level inconsistencies between the gender ideologies underpinning normative parental role expectations and the policy environment that governs access to these roles. Of my focus countries, only Sweden is included within their analysis, where the authors find a small policy-culture gap, based on widespread values of gender egalitarianism coexisting with a policy environment which also facilitates egalitarian division of work and family care, at least during the parental leave period. Applying Grunow and Veltkamp's analysis to Portugal and the UK, both of which produce degrees of normative ambiguity and ambivalence (Wall, 2015; Lewis et al., 2008) around gender equality, alongside structural inadequacies which constrain the reconciliation of work and family life, I contend that the policy-culture gap in both countries could be classed as medium and large, respectively. In Grunow and Veltkamp's theorisation, the larger the gap, the less the country's institutional framework will shape parents' decision-making.

Parental leave scholars have made much use of welfare state typologies (Moss et al., 2020). Smith and Williams (2007) find parental leave legislation is aligned with Esping-Andersen's seminal 1990 classification of liberal (anglophone countries), conservative-corporatist (continental Europe and Japan) and social democratic (Scandinavia) typologies. More recently, Baird and O'Brien (2015) have argued that liberal and conservative states, in spite of typically laissez-faire approaches to questions of social equality, have in fact made consistent advances in parental leave policy in support of promoting gender equality, including in times of economic restraint. Their findings suggest that attention to complexity and granularity in welfare regime and policy studies remains important.

Researchers thus often account for the influence of gender culture, norms and 'gender arrangement' in work exploring fathers' use of leave (e.g. Brandth and Kvande, 2016; Gregory and Milner, 2008; Karu and Kasearu, 2011), and it is to this sub-field that my research primarily contributes. Kremer (2007) uses a culture framework to investigate welfare states and parenting, however, fathers are largely secondary to forms of female care in the analysis. Bergqvist and Saxonberg (2016) use the concept of 'gendered moral rationalities' (Duncan and Edwards, 1997) to understand the differences in patterns of parental leave usage between parents in Sweden and Norway, despite the similarities in the two countries' policies. National ideals of parental care

differ in the two countries, with the ideal model for provision of care in Norway based on *partial* sharing between parents, whereas the national ideal of care in Sweden is based on *equal* sharing. They find that cultural ideals are a significant, although not the only, factor that shapes fathers' use of leave (see also Alsarve et al., 2016). Crucially, they highlight conflicting ideals in the Swedish context, where the ideal of equal sharing overlaps with the ideal of mothers staying at home for 9–12 months to breastfeed their babies. This conflict thus delimits the extent of couples' leave-sharing. Norms have been used conceptually in other studies relating to the gendered division of labour, parenthood and fathers' use of leave, such as to examine cross-national variation in partnership formation (Gimenez-Nadal et al., 2011), theorise the influence of supranational bodies on parental leave policy design (White, 2017), and as a response variable in a study assessing the effect *on* norms of fathers' use of leave (Unterhofer and Wrohlich, 2017).

Social Norms

Social norms are, clearly, central to this project. Yet, 'social norms' is a slippery term that defies easy or singular definition: a somewhat amorphous concept that wields utility across social, political, medical and environmental sciences and philosophy. The economist Young understands norms as the building blocks of social order: informal, unwritten codes that govern social interactions and expectations, and which pertain to public standards, family obligations, property rights, notions of right and wrong and conceptions of fairness (2015). He points out that norms are 'so embedded in our ways of thinking and acting that we often follow them unconsciously and without deliberation; hence we are sometimes unaware of how crucial they are to navigating social and economic relationships' (2015, p.360). Cislaghi and Heise note the disparate conceptual trajectories of social norms and gender norms, and propose a definition of gender norms as:

> social norms defining acceptable and appropriate actions for women and men in a given group or society. They are embedded in formal and informal institutions, nested in the mind, and produced and reproduced through social interaction. They play a role in shaping women and men's (often unequal) access to resources and freedoms, thus affecting their voice, power and sense of self. (2020, pp.415–416)

Both definitions wield utility for the project; Cislaghi and Heise's description in particular articulates the constraint that norms enact. Butler, however, instead of theorising social norms and gender norms as two frameworks that require imbrication, argues that gender itsef *is* a norm. In her work on gender regulation, Butler counters Foucault's 'subsumption of gender to regulatory power' and instead offers the suggestion that 'gender requires and institutes its own distinctive regulatory and disciplinary regime' (2004, p.41). She clarifies that norms are not rules,

and they are not laws. For Butler, norms are not regulations, but they do have a regularising – or normalising – effect.

Using work by Ewing (1991) and Macheray (1992) on norms, discourse and the law, Butler (2004) theorises what it means for gender to be a norm. She offers several conceptual qualities of the norm of gender which are generative within this study. Firstly, ontologically, norms possesses no independent status, but also cannot be reduced to the instances in which they are cited. They are thus (re)produced through their 'embodiment, through the acts that strive to approximate [them] through the idealizations reproduced in and by those acts' (p.48). Secondly, opposition to the norm is contained *within* the norm, and is central to its operation (p.51). Thirdly, the norm 'is a measurement and a means of producing a common standard' (p.50). Instantiations of the norm do not fulfil the entirety of the standard, but instead 'become subjected to an abstraction of commonality' (p.50). Fourthly, norms are not self-perpetuating entities and can only be understood existing in and through action (pp.51–52). Finally, and crucially, Butler conveys the centrality of citationality to the reproduction of norms: 'To the extent that gender norms are *reproduced,* they are invoked and cited by bodily practices that also have the capacity to alter norms in the course of their citation' (p.52). For Butler, then, gender is a norm with regulatory effects and which exists through and by action rather than ontologically prior to that action. Importantly, this form of regulation acts as a precondition for social recognition.

The relationship between policy, norms and practice

Is it clear from the literature that policy can have a direct effect on fathers' use of leave (Duvander and Johansson, 2012, 2015, 2019; Ma et al., 2021). However, while policy can impact on decisions – for example through mandating specific courses of action, incentivising certain patterns of behaviour, or introducing a 'default' effect – and may affect social norms, it does not always result in social change (Gheaus and Robeyns, 2011; McKenzie et al., 2006; Sunstein, 1996). Moreover, a complex relationship exists between norms, policy and behaviour. Norms, their influence on behaviour, and individuals' own self-perceptions can stymie the effectiveness of policy (Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004, p.455). In relation to a study investigating mothers' decision-making about the care of their pre-school children and their own employment, Himmelweit and Sigala (2004) found that, over time, initially resistant attitudes and behaviour in relation to use of market-provided childcare and working outside of the home mutually reconstituted each other: 'Mothers' attitudes changed not only as a result of their own experience, but also in line with the observed behaviour of other mothers' (2004, p.469). In this

case, shifts in behaviour – or as I will discuss later in the thesis, new citations for gender – in turn generated effects on attitudes and, by extension, norms. This phenomenon, which I will come to theorise in relation to my own research questions, conveys how the doing of gender itself is the norm, rather than ontologically prior, and demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between gender norms and policy, as forms of regulation, and action.

‘PYP’

‘PYP’ is an alias for a well-known multinational firm with a network of member firms operating under the same brand. PYP was originally founded in London in the mid-19th century and opened its first US office 35 years later. The company has been formed and re-formed through several international mergers. It is one of the largest professional services networks in the world, employing over 300,000 staff, 45 per cent of which are women, in offices across 150 countries. PYP Global is the umbrella body that sets transnational strategy and initiatives to unite the member firms and produce a strong global brand. The structure of PYP’s global network ensures provision of professional services to clients worldwide. I worked with three member firms: PYP UK, PYP Sweden and PYP Portugal, all of whom were members of the wider group PYP Global.[15]

PYP UK has headquarters in London and offices in 28 locations across the four nations. The firm has around 20,000 employees, 45 per cent of whom are female. The firm is led by 1,000 partners, 220 of whom are women. In the UK, the partner gender ratio was 82:18 when I began the research, and reduced to 78:22 by the time of submission. PYP UK 2020 gender pay gap was 17.8 per cent.[16] The ethnicity pay gap for BAME (Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic) employees was 12.9 per cent. BAME people made up 22 per cent of the workforce in 2018; however only 5 per cent of partners and 10 per cent of directors were BAME. PYP Sweden is headquartered in Stockholm, with 18 offices located across the country. The Sweden firm has around 1,400

[15] Each member firm is a legally independent entity providing services in a specific geographic location, incorporated according to local accounting regulations. At the time of data collection, PYP UK and PYP Sweden were both part of a wider trans-European ‘Europe: North-South (ESN)’ firm, comprising members in 13 countries, whereas PYP Portugal comprised its own member firm. The ESN firm set its own specific inclusion and gender targets which were agreed with PYP Global and were then adapted and implemented at country level. These targets were therefore likely to be more closely aligned between the Sweden and UK firms than the Portugal firm (though I was not able to access these targets in any country). However, the Portugal firm was also required to agree specific inclusion and gender targets with PYP Global as part of standard member governance terms, to which every member firm is subject. Given that culture and inclusion work (further discussed in chapter 6) was led at the Global level and implemented at the country level, and given the very different organisational cultures experienced by fathers across the three country firms, these differences had minimal effects on my findings.

[16] Based on mean hourly pay, in line with the UK ONS national figure.

employees, 54 per cent of whom are female. The firm is led by 98 partners, 31 of whom are women. When I conducted the fieldwork, the partner gender ratio was 74:26, which reduced to 68:32 by the time of submitting the thesis. Employers in Sweden are not obliged to calculate the gender pay gap, and legally cannot collect data on ethnicity. PYP Portugal is headquartered in Lisbon, with five offices located across the country. The Portugal firm has around 3,600 employees, 42 per cent of whom are female. The firm is led by 216 partners, with a 76:24 gender ratio. Portuguese firms are also not required to produce data on the gender pay gap and do not identify ethnicity in data collection.

The three country firms adhered, more or less, to the same hierarchy of positions: Partner, Director, Senior Manager, Manager, Senior Consultant, and Consultant. The same five key service areas and 22 departments structured the organisation in each of the countries, with minor idiosyncrasies whose detail is not relevant to this thesis. Aside from benefits governed by statutory policies, the benefits offered to employees across the three countries were broadly very similar, incorporating annual leave, enhanced paid sick pay, health insurance, life insurance, work flexibility initiatives, access to discounted services such as gym and communications packages, and forms of childcare assistance. The organisation's global governance framework is discussed further in chapter 6.

Thesis structure

A brief summary of the chapters and their contributions follows. Chapter 2 provides a detailed theoretical framework for the project, arguing for the utility of Butler's performative ontology of gender (1993, 1999), in which we become gendered through modes of disciplinary power that constitute our subjecthood and enable recognition, in analysing fathers' use of leave. I make a case for an understanding of parenting as performative, wherein the doing of the deed makes the doer, and citational, in which gendered actions re-cite existing modes of gendered being. I therefore theorise gender norms as constraints on particular types of actions and choices, and conceptualise change as iterative. I connect Butler's performative ontology of gender to Coleman's 'boat' (1990) and Sullivan et al.'s framework for lagged intergenerational change (2018), to create an 'adapted model of citational change' which shows how creating space for new citations of gender creates reciprocal shifts in normative practices.

Chapter 3 offers an account and justification of my methodological approach. I locate my work within a feminist epistemological framework and detail the rationale for the methodological

choices made and the methods deployed. I describe the research process, account for rigour and robustness, reflect on my own positionality and explore the project's uses and limitations.

Chapter 4 illustrates the differences and similarities in national attitudes towards gender roles in Sweden, Portugal and the UK, arguing that these differences underpin the differentials in wider gender equality and specifically fathers' use of parental leave. I build on the literature engaged with above to comprehensively outline the comparative context of the three countries. I then analyse attitude data from wave 5 (2017) of the European Values Study to gauge differences and similarities in attitudes towards gender roles and gender equality. Together, the differences in the socio-historical context, or 'path dependence' (Magnusson and Ottosson, 2009) of each country, and the data analysis, paint a picture of the different normative environments in the three countries and set a foundation for the qualitative analysis.

Chapter 5 brings the experiences of the fathers I interviewed into focus. My analysis highlights the convergent and divergent accounts of fathers across the three countries. I argue that different modalities of norms and wider normative environment have profound impacts across the three countries. I begin with analysis of the effect on fathers' decisions of normative practices and expectations, before considering the implications of gendered peer group norms, gendered discourses, and finally the effect of gender and policy on fathers' ability to utilise parental leave rights. I make an original contribution by theorising these norms as citational and performative. Mobilising a Butlerian critique of regulation (2004), I argue that gender norms precede and exceed policy, sometimes limiting its effect, and that non-transferable leave entitlements are central to shifting gendered norms of infant care. The Butlerian framing enables new, detailed theorisation of the centrality of this type of policy, which creates space for fathers to enact new citations of gender, to fathers' uptake of leave. Where policy is limiting, citations for engaged fathering remain partial and liminal, preventing fathers' use of leave from becoming widespread and normative.

Chapter 6 further analyses the qualitative data collected through interviews with fathers and their partners, shifting the location of the analysis to the workplace. I argue that, overall, work was the most salient factor in shaping fathers' decisions across the three countries. However, the factors underpinning the influence of work on fathers' decisions were concurrently inseparable from national leave policy and the normative context of each country firm. I build upon and extend the arguments made in chapter 5, foregrounding the ways in which gender performativity and

citationality enable and constrain fathers at work. I provide an account of the different organisational cultures and, bringing organisational culture studies into conversation with performativity, offer an original contribution by theorising organisational culture *as* gender regulation. I then build on this idea to conceptualise the 'performative breadwinner', before reflecting on change and resistance, and evaluating whether fathers use of leave contributes to 'undoing gender'.

Chapter 7, the conclusion, distils my findings to summarise the ways in which gendered social norms and discourses across the three domains acutely matter to fathers' leave use, how they interact to shape and constrain fathers' decisions around use of leave, and how they are undergirded by the divergent normative contexts of the three countries. I present the practical implications of the study, targeted at four key stakeholder groups – policy makers, corporates, civil society and fathers. I conclude by considering the most salient of many possible future directions for the research.

2. Performativity, Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Leave: A Theoretical Framework

Existing frameworks theorising gender and the transition to parenting fall short, particularly when it comes to exploring how gender is reproduced. Scholars have used symbolic interactionist (West and Zimmerman, 1987, 2009) and structural frameworks (Connell, 1987, 2005; Risman, 1998, 2004) to account for the gendered dynamics of parenting (e.g. Doucet, 2009; Fox, 2019; Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; Ranson, 2010; Wall, 2014). None of these approaches is without merit. However, given the extent to which Butlerian (and Foucaultian) conceptions of gender and power have been acutely valuable within gender studies, based on their explanatory value for gender norms, the absence of such a lens in this field is surprising.[17] Rarely is such an approach used to understand the role of gender norms in the gendered division of labour and parenting responsibilities. While 'gender as a structure' approaches (Connell, 1987, 2005; Risman, 1998) acknowledge that forces external to ourselves compel or pressure us into reproducing gendered modes of being, symbolic interactionist frameworks – based on my reading – seem overly reliant on a volitional ontology when it comes to the reproduction of gender. I argue that these two paradigms cannot sufficiently theorise the persistence of oppressive gender norms, or the significance of power to the formation of the subject (Butler, 1997). Instead, Butler's work on performativity offers a more comprehensive and sophisticated analysis of the effects of social power.

Performativity: A Generative Framework

Butler's theory of performativity marked a profound shift in understandings of sex, gender, sexuality and theories of gendered subject formation (Layton, 1997). Performativity argues that 'what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body' (1999, p.xv). She argues that dimorphic sex and the 'internal coherence' of gender are 'regulatory fictions that consolidate and naturalise the convergent power regimes of masculine and heterosexist oppression' (1999, p.44). Butler's view is founded upon the notion that there can be no 'self' prior to discursive power and no intrinsic, pre-formed identity that 'maintains "integrity" prior to its entrance into this conflicted cultural

[17] An exception being Nentwich (2008) whose study theorises the possibilities for subversion through 'new subject positions' for mothers and fathers, such as lesbian motherhood and involved fatherhood. While Nentwich's paper is a relevant and useful mobilisation of Butler's theory in the context of parenthood, my study has different ambitions.

field'. Rather, she argues that we become gendered by and through the operation of modes of disciplinary power that constitute our subjecthood, asserting that: 'there is only a taking up of the tools where they lie, where the very "taking up" is enabled by the tool lying there' (1999, p.185). Gender is therefore an obligatory matrix of power. For Butler, the 'heterosexual matrix', the 'ontological, epistemic schema through which a normative […] relationship between sex, gender and sexuality is sustained (Tyler, 2019), is formed though 'tacit constraints that produce culturally intelligible "sex" […], understood as generative political structures rather than naturalized foundations' (1999, p.187). For Butler, there is no prediscursive 'I'; no originary essence. We come into being and are shaped by the social worlds in which we exist; our thoughts, desires and gendered identities are only expressible by and through the context of normative social codes.

Butler's theory of gender performativity has elicited a vast response over the past 30 years. Drawing on a great many theorists, philosophical traditions and disciplines including poststructuralism, linguistics and psychoanalysis, her dense prose was not always well-received. Gender performativity was accused of being 'essentially unpsychoanalytic' (Layton 2013); critiqued for insufficient attention to the materiality of the body (Bordo 1993; Grosz 2005; Martin 1994); for its understanding of gender as 'radically voluntaristic and antimaterialist' (Prosser 1998, p.28); for failing to distinguish the material or existing subject with its position in discourse (Benjamin 1994); for conflating queer and transgender (Prosser 1998); and for presupposing 'a remarkably deterministic view of individuation and socialization processes' (Nicholson 1995, p.10) that leaves little room for agency. For Benhabib (1995), Butler's theory fundamentally undermines female agency.[18]

Perhaps the fiercest of all Butler's critics has been Nussbaum, who attacked almost all aspects of Butler's work, from her 'ponderous and obscure' writing to the 'virtually complete turning [away]

[18] Benhabib's (mis)understanding of Butler's proposal of there being "no doer beyond the deed" led her to argue that:

> [...] if we are no more than the sum total of the gendered expressions that we perform, is there ever any chance to stop the performance for a while, to pull the curtain down, and let it rise only if one can have a say in the production of the play itself? Isn't this what the struggle over gender is all about? (1995, p.21).

Butler responded to Benhabib's interpretation in the same volume ('For a Careful Reading', pp.133–137). Here, Butler notes Benhabib's attempt 'to reduce "performative constitution"' to a behaviourist model in which the term "expressions" are said to construct or fashion a social self', and explains that the intended use of performativity 'runs directly counter to the one that Benhabib describes' (1995, p.134). Butler then provides a great deal of clarity on her conceptualisation of performativity and the way in which it is influenced by Derrida's reading of J. L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words*. Butler shows how Benhabib's mis-reading of *Gender Trouble* 'misconstrues [Butler's] theory of performativity […] by grammatically reinstalling the subject "behind" the deed, and by reducing the […] notion of performativity to theatrical performance' (p.135).

from the material side of life, toward a type of verbal and symbolic politics that makes only the flimsiest of connections with the real situation of real women' (Nussbaum, 1999, n.p.). Nussbaum's polemical criticism centred on a reading of *Gender Trouble* that saw Butler's work as focused only on the symbolic, and an approach to feminism that effectively 'collaborates with evil' through limiting scope for change and resistance. She famously labelled Butler the 'Professor of Parody' (Nussbaum, 1999) and implied a contemptible negligence in her 'proud neglect of the material' and failure to provide scope for equality and justice for those 'real women' experiencing the violence of gender inequality.

While scholars in disciplines including education, geography and (feminist) organisation studies have deployed a Butlerian framework to powerful effect (e.g. Borgerson, 2005; Hancock and Tyler, 2007; McDowell and Court, 1994; McDowell, 1997; McDowell et al., 2007; Tyler and Cohen, 2008, 2010), critiques such as those outlined above perhaps go some way to explaining why the mobilisation of Butler's ontology of gender in social policy and parental leave remains scant, as far as I have found.[19] Walby, for example, classifies Butler within an approach to gender theory that radically destabilises 'all analytic categories', making 'substantive analysis, which requires distinctions between categories, rather hard' (2009, p.257, see also Miller, 2011b). However, I argue that such an interpretation of the limitations of Butler's work is based on a common (mis)understanding of a Butlerian framework. It is true that a poststructuralist approach does seek to destabilise identity categories, revealing them as produced by the very power that we seek to challenge when we are concerned with social justice. However, I think we can find ways to keep the proverbial baby whilst draining the bathwater.

Butler has responded extensively and generously to critiques of her theory of performativity. *Bodies that Matter* (1993) set out to deal with challenges based on 'inattention' to bodily materiality, providing clarity on questions of determinism and agency. Here, Butler explicitly rejected interpretations of performativity based upon a volitional subject who picks and performs theatrically the gender of their choosing. She counters arguments that her inattention to the material is 'dangerous', pointing out that materiality is also constructed through, not prior to, and cannot escape, productive power. Critiques such as Benhabib's, that performativity is predicated upon a determinism that diminishes women's agency, are directly addressed, with Butler theorising whether agency could itself derive from the idea of 'gender as the effect of

[19] Moreover, published scholarship that deploys performativity inappropriately (for example, Markussen, 2005; Oh, 2009) convey the extent of and risks of misinterpretation of her work.

productive constraint' (1993, p.x) in the preface. In *Politics of Piety,* Mahmood traces Butler's framework of norms and agency to highlight its value, noting that for Butler, performativity 'informs [a] conceptualization of agency' (2005, p.19). Mahmood argues that Butler's framing of agency is via the potential for each iteration of a norm to fail and thus undergo reconstitution or re-signification: 'the iterability of performativity *is* a theory of agency' (Butler, 1999, p.xxiv; Mahmood's emphasis; see also Tyler, 2019). Over time, this process contributes to reshaping the norm: 'Since all social formations are reproduced through a reenactment of norms, this makes these formations vulnerable because each restatement/reenactment can fail' (Mahmood, 2005, p.19). This understanding of agency as possible but only through iteration, subversion and repetition, is particularly pertinent to my research on social norms and parental leave, and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Thus, performativity highlights the instability of identity categories and their production through powerful discourses, at the same time as recognising that identity categories have utility because we experience a social location through the very categories we might simultaneously interrogate.[20] A Butlerian framework, far from being unviable or not valuable, calls attention to the matrix of power that shores up gender at the same time as demonstrating that we are produced by this power, and that if we want to think about how we might undo gender, we must acknowledge its constructed nature. In other words, in spite of the proliferation of gender, many people continue to exist in gendered ways; gender continues to have meaningful implications for life outcomes (Butler, 1993; Williams, 2014).

Returning to the literature on parenthood, gender and equality, a question posed in the introduction to the volume *Couples Transitions to Parenthood*: *Analysing Gender and Work in Europe* (Grunow and Evertsson, 2016) offers an example of the gap-filling potential of Butler's theory of performativity:

> Instead, research consistently shows that the decrease in traditional family arrangements has been moderate, leading to a widening gap over time between increasingly egalitarian gender ideologies and actual patterns of behaviour […]. But why would couples sharing egalitarian gender ideologies and living fairly egalitarian lives adopt traditional gender practices? The answer provided by the social sciences to this question is yet incomplete.' (Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016, p.8).

This question puzzles researchers working in the field of parental leave, work-family interface, flexible working and gender and the labour market. As the authors acknowledge, we still don't

[20] Leading to what Spivak calls 'strategic essentialism' (1988).

have a comprehensive answer, although we know several factors, which include social norms and, perhaps by extension, gendered preferences, the gender pay gap, and institutional constraint. What I want to propose is that an analysis of performativity can contribute to a missing link here. Butler's theory of gender wields great explanatory power for why, even in the face of egalitarian ideology and policy, gender norms – which are also raced and classed – persist.

Parenting, Performativity and Citationality

I argue that performativity is a fruitful lens through which to consider social norms and gendered parenting practice because it illuminates the ways in which parenting conventions are laid out for us, the ways in which parents exist 'in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the performer and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the performer's "will" or "choice"' (Butler 1993, p.234). Thinking of parenting as performative reveals how our choices and modes of operation are constrained by 'inapproximable ideals' that 'none of us choose, but each of us is forced to negotiate' (1993 p.237). Compliance with these ideals is the result of 'regulatory practices that generate coherent identities through the matrix of coherent gender norms' (1999, p.23) and that enable intelligibility within the heterosexual matrix. My argument is that in becoming parents, we become compelled to cite and to reiterate particular, gendered norms of behaviour. These normative ways of being circulate through disciplinary dispersion, constructed through our social circles, in public discourse as well as filtering through the institutional structures that shape our lives.

Butler's understanding of gender as performative rests on a number of major theoretical interventions made before her. I will now briefly review the most important of these: Foucault's conceptualisation of power, Althusser's theory of interpellation, Austin's work on performative speech acts, and Derrida's reworking of speech act theory through his concept of citationality. These four ideas underscore and make possible the deployment of performativity to investigate gendered social norms and their impact on fathers' leave use.

Butler makes clear early in *Gender Trouble* that the notion of performativity is predicated upon a Foucaultian conception of power as productive. Foucault's rejection of the depiction of power as always repressive and instead as diffuse, multivalent and mobilised via 'a generalized surveillance' (Foucault, 1991, pp.208–209) has been deployed widely in gender studies, offering explanatory value for the way power is exercised on and through the body and implications for the operation of and compliance with gender norms. In particular, Foucault's framing of the ways in which

'the operation of power *constitutes* the very subjectivity of the subject' (Bartky, 1988, p.80, my emphasis) forms a central basis for Butler's understanding of subjectivity and for my understanding of the parenting subject.

Althusser's concept of interpellation is a second component of gender performativity that wields utility in theorising parenting. Butler explicates:

> Where there is an 'I' who utters or speaks and thereby produces an effect in discourse, there is first a discourse which precedes and enables that 'I' and forms in language the constraining trajectory of its will. Thus there is no 'I' who stands behind discourse and executes its volition or will through discourse. On the contrary, the 'I' only comes into being through being called, named, interpellated, to use the Althusserian term, and this discursive constitution takes place prior to the 'I'; it is the transitive invocation of the 'I'. Indeed, I can only say 'I' to the extent that I have first been addressed, and that address has mobilized my place in speech; paradoxically, the discursive condition of social recognition precedes and conditions the formation of the subject: *recognition is not conferred on a subject, but forms that subject.* (Butler, 1993, p.225–226, my emphasis).

This theorisation of the 'I' that comes to be intelligible through being named or 'interpellated', this social recognition that 'precedes and conditions the formation of the subject', reveals the way in which the parenting subject is brought into being. My argument is that in becoming a parent, a person is compelled into compliance with, or refusal of, the normative gendered role for which parenting calls. Thus, the parenting subject discursively precedes the parent that is interpellated into that role. A normative mode of parenting is always already denoted; identification of the parent always takes place through and by that framework.

A third critical foundation for mobilising this theoretical framework is Austin's work on performative speech acts. Specifically the illocutionary performative, which proposes that 'to say something is to do something, or in saying something we do something' (Austin, 1962, p.94), is foundational to Butler's understanding of performativity. The final component is Derrida's critique of Austin's speech act theory, through the concept of citationality. Derrida argues that without prior linguistic convention –which he calls citation or iteration – performative utterances would not be possible (1988). As Butler explains,

> The force or effectivity of a performative [is] derived from its capacity to draw on and reencode the historicity of those conventions in a present act. This power of recitation is not a function of an individuals' intention, but is an effect of historically sedimented linguistic conventions. (Butler, 1995, p.134)

Using citationality, Butler enriches her theory of performativity, explicating that performativity does not rely on a single act. Rather, it rests upon the reiteration of norms; this reiteration itself

conceals the fact that the norm is no more than a repetition of convention (1993, p.12). In a sub-section entitled *Performativity as Citationality,* Butler thus 'refigures sex as citational law' (Prosser, 1998, p.29) clarifying that gender is reproduced via symbolic prohibitions. As Prosser explains, '*Bodies that Matter* argues [that] sex comes into effect through our citing it, and, as with a law, through our compulsion to cite it' (1998, p.28). Butler draws on Derrida's formulation of the reliance of performative utterances on their capacity to recall pre-coded social meanings, stating:

> [T]he norm of sex takes hold to the extent that it is 'cited' as such a norm, but it also derives its power through the citations that it compels. And how is it that we might read the 'citing' of the norms of sex as the process of approximating or 'identifying with' such norms? (1993, p.13)

In other words, the norm gains traction through being enacted by subjects in service of that norm, but these instances of the norm's enactment further bolster the strength or power of that norm over what is considered appropriate and inappropriate. At the same time, the subject's citing of the norm itself *is* the process of becoming the subject, i.e. the subject, the individual, that is produced by that norm. Performativity, then, is a 'a kind of 'citational practice, by which sexed and gendered subjects are continuously constituted' (Hollywood, 2002, p.94).

Butler's conceptualisation of performativity and citationality deals with the norms that govern gender (i.e. the social roles ascribed on the basis of perceived sex). Her argument is that because gender is a highly constraining, powerful framework – in Butlerian terms, matrix, or 'regulatory apparatus of heterosexuality […] which reiterates itself through the forcible production of "sex"' (1993, p.12) – through which society is organised, gendered discourses *precede* gender, existing in diffuse forms all around us, profoundly shaping how we experience and understand the world. We come into being and are shaped by those discourses of gender, becoming gendered subjects *through* those often harmful and constraining norms. Butler's interrogation of 'the way "constraints" produce domains of intelligibility and domains of the unthinkable' (Borgerson, 2005, p.65) conveys that there is no 'outside' of gender, no ontologically 'before' gender, because its discourse pre-exists us; there is only what Butler calls a 'constitutive outside' – i.e. that which is non-normative, abject or other, and to which normative gender is defined in relation (1993, p.8).

Thus, we are shaped by these discourses and compelled to enact modes of gendered being that reflect, reiterate and cite discourses of gender. We are subjectivated by gender discourse, our subjectivities are produced through citation. Let's use my child, born in 2019, as an example. Upon the arrival of the until-now-ungendered baby, as Butler has described (1999), one member

of my birth 'party' – I don't recall who (it was a long labour) proclaimed: it's a boy! In that moment, a *boy* was born, not a new human, being, or baby. As he grows, he learns gender and gendered roles. In spite of our best attempts, those around us gender him and reproduce gender: he is praised 'good boy' by our childminder and his grandparents and, troublingly often by me, without intent. He comes to learn that 'he' is a boy and that boys do certain things, have certain interests, play with certain toys. We too are implicated: when swimming, I dress him in swimming pants rather than a full swimsuit; I can't bring myself to dress him in 'girls' clothes, although I had thought I might, for fears of others' judgement of my parenting choices. Already my partner and our childminder invoke a cis-heteronormative future for him. Later, at school and in the community, he will learn more about what grown boys do and what is expected of them as adults, encountering discourses of masculine toughness, success, power and lack of emotion. He will learn expectations of him as a boy, a young man, and a man, and in doing so become subjectivated by gendered discourse, *whether or not* he is compliant with normative modes of boyhood/manhood. The production of my child as a boy takes place through discourse, and in being produced as a boy, he becomes a sexed subject, reproducing and reifying binary sex and binary gender. The actions he chooses will often be gendered, for example if he chooses to become involved with a football team, if he chooses to try swimming, if is interested in certain hobbies or subjects. Through these pursuits, he will cite gender. He might choose these for any number of reasons, which may or may not include normative gender, but in doing these activities, he will citationally reproduce gender. This citational enactment of activities is unlikely to be deliberate. He will inevitably be subjectivated by gender. Crucially, however, even if he doesn't intend to reproduce gender, he will be recognised, or intelligible, as a gendered human pursuing (normative) boy's interests. These citations will be understood through gender, whether or not they in fact stem from sex, and thus are always already gendered, perpetuating the production of gender. Should he subvert expectations of normative boyhood, this subversion will cite normative gender even in its repudiation.

For Butler, reiteration and citation are central to performativity, and such reiteration and citation, in which we are all implicated on a grand scale, produce the effects that they name (1999). She explicates that the force of the norms of sex stems from 'approximation and citation' of those very norms. That is to say, the fact that we reproduce norms all the time is what makes them seem intractable. As I understand it, citationality points to the way in which we repeat, repeat and repeat again the conventions of gender, each time alluding to, or citing, those very conventions. Later in *Bodies that Matter,* Butler clarifies:

> Here, at the risk of repeating myself, I would suggest that performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms. And this repetition is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject. This iterability implies that 'performance' is not a singular 'act' or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the production, but not, I will insist, determining it fully in advance. (1993, p.95)

I argue that that parenting is one of the gendered discourses that produce, reify and maintain gender, and that this explains the slow pace of change in terms of fathers' use of parental leave. Performativity and citationality prevent fathers (and mothers) from boldly stepping out of convention in terms of leave use.

Gendered parenting norms, then, are a constituent, citational component of gender discourse. We may, via Chodorow, use gendered caring norms as an example. In *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1999 [1978]), Chodorow argues that 'the contemporary reproduction of mothering occurs through social structurally induced psychological processes' (p.7). Drawing on psychoanalytic thought, Chodorow posits that women's roles as mothers produce daughters who see their mothers' mothering and themselves desire to mother as a result. Here, I wish to turn Chodorow's example on its head and rework it in a Butlerian vein. Rather than a psychoanalytic lexicon that contemplates identification, cathexis and desire, we can consider the mother's mothering as performative and citational, and the daughter's 'desire' as a form of subjectivation, produced by the heterosexual matrix, via performativity and through citationality. Both the daughter's future parenting and expectation of parenting are citational, and so is that of her peers, and of her own possible daughter. Girls learn that women do care work, so they cite gendered caring norms, at home, at work, and in public in ways that are bold and obvious, for example reducing working hours, and also ways that are less obvious, such as automatically tidying up after lunch at a friend's house or clearing the mugs after a business meeting.

Chodorow explains that men's family role is 'less affective,' given their primary social role of participation in the 'impersonal extra-familial world of work and public life' (1999, p.7), and that sons' need for and nurturing capacity is systematically repressed as a result of mothers' affective labour. Again, we can understand this as citational: fathers may be less expressive, do less at home, are less involved with regular childcare and work longer hours, so sons too become subjectivated by gendered norms and reproduce these patterns, citing gendered formations in

their own lives, both inside and outside of the family. What about same-sex and single parent families? Chodorow does not substantively engage with these family forms, however, citationality functions beyond the confines of the heteronormative nuclear family; indeed part of Butler's point via the 'heterosexual matrix' is that gender shapes us outside of any one social domain. A son raised by lesbian parents might not have a household dad or witness the gendered division of labour in the household,[21] but he will still develop through systems of gender at school, in the playground, through media, in community settings and through friendships. Multivalent, diffuse discourses of gender proliferate, bringing gendered subjects into being and compelling them to cite gender in normative ways. The reiteration of gendered practices, repetition of gendered behaviours and ongoing citation of gender norms is what produces gender and, in turn, subjectivates us as gendered beings.

Thinking Gender, Parenting and Performativity

Citationality is essential to my use of performativity to understand gender norms and fathers' use of parental leave entitlements. Parenting can be understood as citational to the extent that the web of parenting actions, responsibilities and norms pre-exists and predefines the parent's role even before they have entered into the realm of parenthood. We can see this through the ways in which parental norms are cited in the everyday practices, methods and techniques of parenthood. The question raised by Butler in regard to the process of approximating or 'identifying with' norms can also be deployed usefully in an analysis of parenting, since the modes of practice that are enacted during parenting behaviour can be understood as generative of becoming a parent. In undertaking the daily responsibilities of parenting, it takes work to *not* cite that which has gone before, whether through discursive construction of gendered norms, socially prescribed normative role adoption, or norms of embodied parental behaviour (e.g. Ranson, 2015). Subversion or refusal can take place, but a parent can never place themselves 'outside' of, or before, the discourse that constructs normative parenthood, since there is no ontological prior to these discourses. The process of becoming a parent, of practicing parenting in particular ways and modes, cites prior norms of parenting; thus, the parenting subject cannot *not* approximate these norms.

Deploying Butler's theory of performativity in the context of parenting does, of course, have some limitations. One such shortcoming is the fact that the gendered subject who becomes a

[21] Though he might still experience a parental division of labour.

parent is already a gendered subject *prior* to becoming a parent. This could inhibit an understanding of parenting as performative: since gender is already performative, parenting has no consequence for gender. Is gender formation not already in progress by the time a new baby arrives? Is the performative gendered subjectivity not already being enacted, this subject heretofore citing gendered norms and codes? While this criticism is relevant, there is, I believe, a convincing counter-argument. Butler makes the point that gender is iterative: the 'stylized repetition of acts through time and not a seemingly seamless identity' (1999, p.179). I argue, following Butler, that gendered parenting acts and the reiteration of gendered parenting norms are a part of this 'stylized repetition' and therefore constitute part of gender performativity. Parenting practices, engagements and behaviours *are part of* how gender is maintained, repeated and reiterated. It is therefore useful to consider the ways in which parenting is performative, in order to expose the operation of the norms that govern society in ways that reinforce gender inequality.

For Butler, performativity does not only characterise what we do, but how power – both institutional and discursive – affects us, 'constraining and moving us in relation to what we come to call our "own" action' (2015, p.64). This obligatory dimension, the *compulsion* to re-enact, shows how enmeshed we are within this matrix of normative behaviour, how these norms come to form our very subjectivities and how difficult it becomes to subvert or change these norms as a result. As discussed, much parenting, gender and care literature (Faircloth, 2020; Fox, 2019; Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; Ranson, 2010) demonstrates how couples frequently slip back into gendered divisions of labour, despite their egalitarian ideals. There are

> a number of complex and interrelated reasons why this happens, including policy shortcomings, workplace culture, and the wage gap between men and women. The persistence of many traditional cultural understandings of motherhood and fatherhood also figure into this mix. (Wall and Arnold, 2007, p.509)

I argue that these structural and institutional factors form parts of the heterosexual matrix, which operates as a barrier to change through circumscribing constraints in the form of gender norms.

Doucet provides an example of her male partner attending a mothers group and his receipt of an unwelcoming response (2009, p.104), while more recent studies of fathers on leave alone (O'Brien and Twamley, 2017; Tremblay and Lazzari Dodeler, 2017) highlight the subtle and inadvertent exclusion of men from baby-based social spaces as well as the discursive realm (Burgess and Davies, 2017). These instances convey the ways access to gendered parenting

spaces can be enforced, both formally and visibly as well as subtly and informally. The ways in which new parents are able to socialise with their babies, and how they are welcomed and included or excluded from the social infrastructure around early childcare and wellbeing, articulates gendered constraints that delimit the space, options and opportunities for individuals' parental actions and behaviour. Butler makes clear the relevance of institutions in understanding performativity:

> [T]he embodiment implied by both gender and performance is one that is dependent on institutional structures and broader social worlds. We cannot talk about a body without knowing what supports that body, and what its relation to that support—or lack of support—might be. (2015, p.65)

This social delimiting inhibits the ways in which we are able to construct and understand ourselves and are intelligible as parents. Inclusion or exclusion from particular gendered parenting spaces forces the citation of normative action and behaviours in parenting practice.

The performative enactment of the gendered parenting subject begins prior to a new baby's arrival. Throughout the planning of a pregnancy or adoption and the ensuing process, the parent begins to iterate normative signifiers of the parent-subject. In the context of a two-person partnership, the citation of gendered parenting norms begins in the process of decision-making in regard to who can and/or will use leave. The discursive power of the twentieth century breadwinner model pre-exists the parents, regardless of whether the couple is same-sex or heterosexual. Within both the United Kingdom and Portugal, heteronormative policy frameworks elicit an initial citation of gendered parent norms. UK and Portuguese parental leave remains structured by policy design that explicitly privileges maternity (see chapters 1 and 4).

These policy arrangements must be negotiated prior to the arrival of the baby. The process of establishing entitlements and eligibility for both parents is an early mechanism through which the subject is interpellated as parent. Conversations take place in the workplace, with peers and with family about how a couple will utilise the leave, which part will be transferred to whom, or how the employer's provision is over and above (or not) state entitlements. In considering the available options, conditions and combinations of parental leave, the parent in question is forced to cite gendered norms of parental time-use, performatively constructing a gendered subjectivity. As Doucet recognises, 'mother presence and assumptions of expertise […] shadow negotiations between parents and workplaces around parental leave time for infants' (2017, p.18). In the instance of working mothers, the consideration and processing of available options, conditions, financial implications and possible transfers of maternity leave can be understood as the

citational production of the gendered (female) parent. The different discursive context of a father's engagement with the same process shows how citing the norm of parenthood continues to take place. Regardless of whether a father is considering compliance with the historical breadwinner mode (i.e. where he is in a heterosexual partnership and his partner will take the majority if not all of the parental leave entitlement), or whether he is considering deviation from this normative pattern through any number of configurations (e.g. same sex partnership/planning to become the primary carer/multi-person partnership/planning to split parental leave exactly equally), the citation of the normative gendered mode occurs. Wall and Leitão find a necessity for Portuguese fathers to enter negotiations regarding parental leave with employers, on the basis that 'employers did not readily accept fathers' leave use as a *natural* right beyond the 2–4 weeks of paternity leave' (2017, p.53, my emphasis). They provide the example of Alfredo who negotiates with his employer:

> I think that it's because you're a man that they say: 'this is not necessary, you're doing this because you want to, you don't really need to do this'. That's their idea of things, 'look, man, you don't need to do this, but if you really think you need to… well, it's difficult to do without you here, but it's your choice.' Whereas the mother, everyone accepts that the mother goes on leave, that's how it is… (2017, p.53)

It is evident here that a normative gendered role (in the framing of mother as primary carer for the infant and father as breadwinner) is cited, which underscores this entire negotiation, thus producing the gendered parenting subject *via* that norm. The citation of the norm takes place regardless of whether the normative model is complied with or subverted, because it is always already discursively inherent in the circumstance.

Doucet, building on a definition of parental care from Ruddick (1989) as well as Tronto's seminal work on care (1993), establishes a framework encompassing three types of parenting responsibilities: emotional, community and moral (2017, p.15). Emotional parenting responsibilities 'are skills and practices' of attentiveness and responsiveness (2017, p.16), comprising 'knowledge about others' needs' and 'attentiveness to the needs of others' (Tronto, 1993, pp.176–8). Community parenting responsibilities recognise that 'parenting is not only domestically-based but also community-based, interhousehold, and inter-institutional and involves a set of cognitive and organizational skills and practices for coordinating, balancing, negotiating, and orchestrating those others who are involved in children's lives' (Doucet, 2017, p.16). The third type, 'moral' parenting responsibilities, reflect the social context in which parenting responsibilities are situated, noting that in addition to responding to children's emotional and material needs, parenting practice is also governed by social groups, social values,

'gendered ideologies and gendered discourses of mothering and fathering.' Crucially, these

> moral responsibilities also encompass expectations and gendered norms about breadwinning and caregiving where 'masculine norms create workplace pressures that make men reluctant or unable to contribute significantly to family life' and that women face 'hydraulic social pressure to conform to societal expectations surrounding gender' (Williams, 2010, p.149). (Doucet, 2017, p.16)

Based on empirical work, Doucet reviews fathers' broad engagement in these three models of parenting responsibility. She argues that men can and do provide emotional parenting, that they increasingly provide community parenting, but that the 'moral' domain is where shifts in gender norms are slowest. Given the entrenchment of gender norms, this is hardly surprising, as I will now unpack. An analysis of parenting as gendered and performative, particularly as citational, can extend and deepen understanding of the problem and its underlying factors.

Emotional parenting responsibilities, where fathers are most involved, have been constructed as part of fathering since the late twentieth century (Hearn, 2002, p.263). Thus, fathers' meaningful and quotidian engagement with this responsibility can be comprehended as the citation of a modern normative fathering model. These fathers are income providers, possibly the breadwinner, are unlikely to be the primary carer for a child, and are not at the fore of the organisational and administrative work of maintaining a child-rearing household (Haas and Hwang, 2008). But they are active in contributing to the child's wellbeing: they provide love, affection, play and attend to material and nurture needs of children, all culturally acceptable models of masculine care. This mode of parenting is consistent with and is active in citing a modern normative father. In providing this type of care, fathers that do so performatively enact a gendered, culturally intelligible subject, compliant with the norms that constrain this form of masculine subjectivity.

Community parenting responsibilities are further embedded in the complex set of social norms that surround parenthood. In reference to the community model, Doucet articulates that in over twenty years of research and interviewing fathers, the majority have 'narrated at least one uncomfortable experience in community settings with children, especially in parent–infant playgroups' (2017, p.17). Doucet's explanation that fathers are somewhat engaged but not completely absorbed in the realm of community parenting can be analysed using the conceptual tools provided by performativity. This aspect of parental responsibility is, historically and thus normatively, feminised, and so women's primary engagement in this realm can be understood as citational: I argue that women so often become primarily responsible for this type of work as a

result of the gendered citations that construct this aspect of parental labour as women's work, and *not* men's work. As recognised in the literature on sharing parenting responsibilities, women very often 'sleepwalk' (Fisher, 2010) into primary responsibility, regardless of initial intention. Much scholarship examining men's experiences of father-alone leave (Doucet, 2009; Doucet, 2017; Duvander, Haas and Thalberg, 2017; Twamley and O'Brien, 2017; Wall and Leitão, 2017) highlights the social isolation felt by men engaged in community-based care, drawing attention to the ways in which participation in parent activities, groups and initiatives remains outside normative ideals and practices of fatherhood. Analysing parenting as performative highlights that when men as fathers do enter these spaces, the norms that interpellate this gendered parenting subject *fail* on account of the unintelligibility of this type of subject in such a space, except as a form of subversion (Mahmood, 2005, p.19). Here, the prior 'historical sedimentation' of linguistic convention structures who can encounter recognition in these 'estrogen-filled worlds' (Doucet['s respondent], 2009, p.17), thereby constraining the field of possible action in terms of gendered roles and responsibilities. The existence of fathers in these spaces is not culturally intelligible; these 'generative political structures' (Butler, 1999, p.187) symbolically prohibit their full engagement. In *not*-citing the fathering norm, the gendered parenting subject is performatively re-produced, re-inscribing gendered limitations on parenting practices, actions and behaviours. This, I argue, can explain fathers' partial involvement in Doucet's community-based parenting realm.

The third category Doucet proposes is 'moral' parenting responsibilities. Here, she highlights the normative roles and values that shape who performs and who is *allowed* to perform these types of parenting responsibilities. Doucet draws attention to the role of 'gender ideology,' showing the operation of social pressure to comply with normative gendered behaviour. Doucet quotes Peter, a respondent from Canada:

> When he was a tiny baby, there was always that sense that I was babysitting rather than taking care of my child like I do every day—where I had to understand his wants and needs because he can't speak. That's where I felt it was very different from women. There was a bit of an assumption that I felt like I was just tiding things over until the real mother showed up, or the person who really knew what they were doing would show up (p.18).

This quote from Peter, in his description of 'that sense that' and 'an assumption that,' highlights the centrality of recognition to subjectivation: the failure of his primary carer role to elicit the recognition of others renders (public) parenting uncomfortable for him, even as he refuses rigid parenting norms. Doucet argues that '[m]oral responsibilities are especially marked with infants where there are strong assumptions that the care of infants is women's work' (2017, p.18).

Peter's example articulates the power of the forced citation of the norm in coding and thus symbolically restricting which work is done, where, and by whom. Butler reminds us that 'the very injunction to be a given gender takes place through discursive routes: to be a good mother, to be a heterosexually desirable object, to be a fit worker' (1999, p.185). In the case of Peter, the compulsory citation within a social framework shapes how parenting is and is not intelligible. His experience reveals the ways in which parenting is both gendered and performative, constructed discursively, and how this constrains the field of action for parenting subjects, with repercussions for (un)intelligibility and recognition.

Theorising Parenting, Performativity and Change

Is it possible to escape the heterosexual matrix? Do refusal and subversion offer alternatives? Butler asks:

> What would it mean to 'cite' the law to produce it differently, to 'cite' the law in order to reiterate and coopt its power, to expose the heterosexual matrix and to displace the effect of its necessity? (1993, p.15)

In asking this question, Butler seeks to consider ways to 'cite' gender differently, in ways that expose its lack of ontological original, the fabricated status of gender norms, so that we may undo gender, or loosen its grip on our subjectivities. However, responding in part to her own question, she reminds us of the 'paradox of subjectivation', which is

> precisely that the subject who would resist such norms is itself enabled, if not produced, by such norms. Although this constitutive constraint does not foreclose the possibility of agency, it does locate agency as a reiterative or rearticulatory practice, immanent to power, and not a relation of external opposition to power. (1993, p.15).

In other words, we may not revolt against gender, or refuse it altogether, because we have already been produced, or subjectivated by those very norms. What we can do is enact citations of gender that begin to move away from existing citations, or that deviate in small ways from the norm. The same, I consider, is true of parenting practice. We may not dispense altogether with existing gendered parenting convention, but we can practice parenting in ways that contravene expectations in seemingly incremental ways.

Returning to Doucet's understanding of community parenting responsibility offers a way of thinking about citationality and performativity with a focus on 'proliferation' and 'subversion' (Butler, 1999). As Doucet recognises, participation by men over time in all forms of parenting responsibility is increasing and 'fathers in community spaces help to shift assumptions' (2017,

p.17). Existing in or occupying a space, but remaining outside of the normative subject that is 'readable' in that space, has the power to disrupt the norm that is cited and, in doing so, 'cite the law differently'. Through citing this specific norm differently, fathers' existence in these community parenting spaces may begin to 'undo' the gendering of the parent-subject that is intelligible within that sphere. Doucet asserts that, 'Fathers taking time alone with infants […] can begin to engender change and to lay a foundation for an ongoing dismantling of gendered responsibilities' (2017, p.18). The father in the community parenting space creates a new citation for fathering practice. As this new citation is reiterated again and again, this mode of care can achieve recognition as normative father-parent act. Butler theorises that:

> Although gender norms precede us and act upon us (that is one sense of their enactment), we are obligated to reproduce them, and when we do begin, always unwittingly, to reproduce them, something may always go awry (and that is a second sense of their enactment). And yet, in the course of this reproduction, some weakness of the norm is revealed, or another set of cultural conventions intervenes to produce confusion or conflict within a field of norms, or, in the midst of our enactment, another desire starts to govern, and forms of resistance develop, something new occurs, not precisely what was planned. (2015, p.30–31)

Thus resignifying the father-parent, it becomes possible to 'reencode the historicity of those conventions in a present act' (Butler 1995, p.134). The forcible *not*-citing that takes place in rejection of the 'original' normative father becomes a way to subvert that very norm, recoding it in the form of new citation.

We can also theorise citationality, subversion and resistance in the context of Doucet's emotional parenting responsibilities. Ranson (2010), for example, has highlighted the slow but persistent ways in which household gender relations change through sharing of caring responsibilities. Wall (2014) and Brandth and Kvande (2016) find that fathers' caring practices whilst on 'leave alone' have potential to shift notions of masculinity and 'undo' gender norms. Rehel's study into couples' transition to parenthood finds that fathers' use of leave enables their transition from 'helper to co-parent' (2014, p.127). Wall (2014) conceptualises four father profiles, based on their experience of being on leave alone. The first profile, 'supported,' are those who regard themselves as playing a traditional role, always striving to 'help' their partner, but whose caring role is seen as secondary to and mediated by the mother's. The second, 'fundamental break' profile comprises fathers for whom being on leave alone provided time and space to move from 'helper' to 'independent caregiver.' The third is the 'innovation and independence' profile, for whom 'the period of leave brings little in the way of new learning of basic tasks, but […] is experienced as a final step towards becoming an independent caregiver to whom all tasks may be

delegated' (p.205). Finally, fathers in the 'innovation and deconstruction' profile experienced similar periods of home alone leave as fathers in the third innovation and independence profile, but expressed greater reflexivity in terms of the leave's impact on gender roles and norms (p.206). Wall's framework shows how, in the second, third and fourth profiles, fathers' ability to spend a period of time on leave alone pushed them to become further involved in and responsible for emotional fathering, in doing so, citing their own fathering, as well as normative fathering, differently. I want to understand Wall's fathers as conveying a citational continuum, whereby the allocation of an independent caring experience moved each father along this trajectory, each time citing fathering in ways that diverged from historic or 'traditional' citations of breadwinner masculinity. Each one of these citations, and each of their iterations, disrupts the gendered norm that governs mothers' and fathers,' or women's and men's, appropriate participation in childcare. This disruption subverts the heterosexual matrix:[22] performative subversion, or resignification of the gendered category of 'parent,' interrupts normative citational chains. Such re-citations, as I will argue, are only possible as a result of public policy that makes space for fathers' use of leave and allows us to gender parenting differently.

Building on these ideas, later in the thesis (chapters 5 and 6) I develop two arguments in relation to performativity, citationality and policy: firstly, that gender norms precede and exceed parental leave policy, and that this can impede policy efficacy; and secondly, that policy configuration can provide the space and time necessary to enable new citations of gender. Butler's later work explicitly recognises the importance to performativity and recognition of what she calls 'infrastructural support' (2015, p.65) – that is, the specific material conditions required for existence: employment, food, shelter and health care. While my research focus in this thesis is not the role of financial considerations on fathers' leave use,[23] it would be absurd to deny the role of economic factors on fathers' decision-making. Changes to policy that introduce more leave time for fathers, and that attend to material and cultural barriers to take up (such as payment and non-transferability), have been shown to impact on fathers' take up of parental leave entitlements (Duvander and Johansson, 2012). However, this change takes place over time. Research in Sweden demonstrates both the immediate impact of policy reforms and also the gradual nature of reform effects, which take time to cascade through society (Duvander and Johansson, 2012, 2019). Where leave that addresses structural constraint (i.e. work, finances and norms) is provided, fathers begin to use it. Non-transferable leave provides space that *may not* be

[22] Even as it is insufficient to destabilise gender altogether (Miller, 2011b; Nentwich, 2008; see chapter 6).
[23] As I will describe in chapter 3, my research design was careful to only sample men who had the option of well-paid leave, as a method of 'controlling' for economic considerations within my study.

used in accordance with normative gender expectations and that cannot be refuted by employers, within which fathers can enact different citations of fathering. As more and more fathers enact new citations of gender, these citations proliferate, enacted by other fathers who encounter and reiterate such citations. These alternative citations of fathering gain more power, snowballing as they become cited more and more and eventually become normative, as we see in the Swedish 'lattepapa.'[24] This norm gains traction through being enacted by subjects in service of the norm, and these instances of the norm's enactment further bolster the strength or power *of* that norm.

Before concluding this chapter, I will now connect the pathway to change I have described to Sullivan et al. (2018) and Coleman's (1990) model of social change.

Sullivan et al.'s Model of Lagged Generational Change and Coleman's Boat

A second theoretical thread upon which I draw is Sullivan et al.'s model of lagged generational change, which itself draws on builds on Coleman's two interconnected levels of change, societal and individual, known as 'Coleman's Boat'[25] (Coleman, 1990; Sullivan et al., 2018). While Coleman's Boat emerged via rational choice theory – and thus may appear a strange bedfellow alongside my Butlerian theoretical framework – the link between individual subjectivation, discourse and wider social practices is well-articulated in a model that links the micro and the macro level. Importantly, Sullivan et al.'s deployment of Coleman's Boat has the advantage of explicitly incorporating economic and financial considerations. As I noted above, Butler has recognised the importance of the material to performativity, but the benefit of including Sullivan et al.'s model is that material circumstances are explicitly foregrounded in the model of change they use, alongside changing norms, regulatory environments and hegemonic conditions.

The reason for connecting my own mobilisation of Butler's theory of performativity to this model of change is for theoretical and instrumental clarity. Without an empirical framework articulating change, the contribution I seek to make risks simply floating free. What is at stake in my claim that gendered parenting acts are citational and that the prevalence or lack of prevalence of particular citations shapes what fathers may do/not do as parents? How does it help us

[24] The term 'lattepapa' is a colloquial term for men on leave with their children – referring to fathers juggling babies and coffee (Somerset, 2017). Its emergence as a 'cultural phenomenon' (Will, 2017) reflects the fact that 45 per cent of all leave recipients in Sweden are men. While fathers use 30 per cent of total leave, it is still markedly less than mothers' total leave usage.
[25] Sometimes known as 'Coleman's Bathtub' (Sullivan et al., 2018).

understand the specific barriers to and modalities of wider change, without contextualisation in a macro-micro feedback framework?

Sullivan, et al. challenge the notion of the 'stalled revolution,'[26] arguing instead that progress in the context of gender equality should be understood as long-term and uneven. They explain that:

> to understand the long-term processes of gender transformation, we need to adopt a longer-term framework that can take account of both the policy and the ideational levels of analysis, as well as the individual-level interactions and socialization that reflect and also influence those levels. (2018, p.264).

They use longitudinal time-use data from the Multinational Time Use Study to describe lagged but continual long-term, cross-national developments on a trajectory of increasing gender equality, which pertain to both paid and unpaid work. While this finding is salient to my study, my specific interest in their work concerns their theoretical mobilisation of Coleman's Boat (Coleman, 1990) as a model for the reciprocal dynamic between individual actions and wider social change.

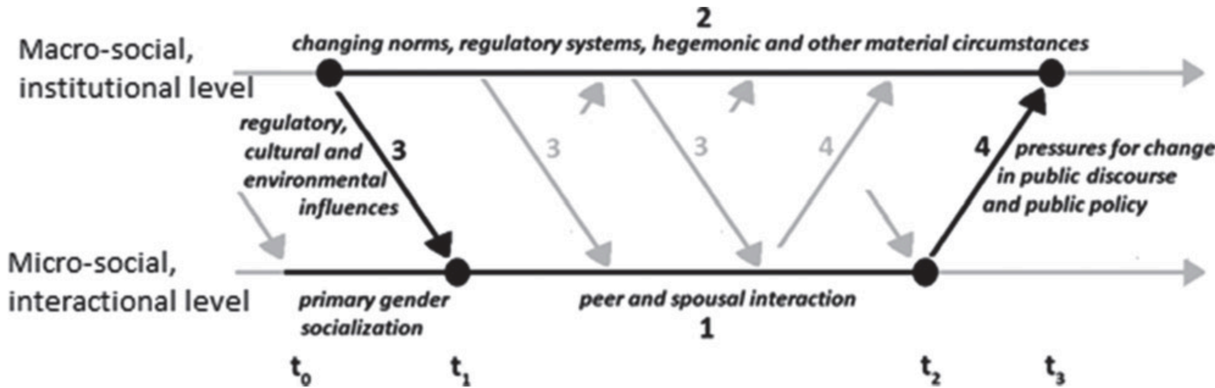


Figure 1: Lagged Generational Change (Sullivan et al., 2018, p.269)

Sullivan et al. embellish Coleman's 'boat,' as illustrated in figure 1. Coleman's own diagram denotes the micro and macro level with the black lines labelled 1 and 2 respectively. These levels interact to mutually influence each other, from macro to micro and vice versa, denoted by black arrows 3 and 4 respectively. Sullivan et al. add the grey arrows demonstrating the constant feedback between individual action and institutional and ideological apparatus. Their row of 't's across the bottom denotes the passing of time. According to the authors, what is especially useful about the model it 'its explicit longitudinal dimension, which links early gender

---

[26] Including its 'second coming' in the late 2000s.

socialization to peer and spousal interactions in later life, all within a wider context of ideological norms, regulatory systems and material constraints' (p.269). I would like to slightly repurpose their adaption of the 'boat' in service of my argument about fathers' use of parental leave, modifying the micro-social interactional level to depict the citational feedback loop that I articulated above and which builds on scholarship suggesting that the length of time a(n effective) policy has been in place, the greater uptake occurs (Duvander and Johansson, 2019; Duvander and Löfgren, 2020; Ma et al., 2020; Rege and Solli, 2013). Throughout the thesis, I develop the core argument that citations for gendered practice are central to what people, in this case fathers, do, because gender is performative. As will become clear in chapter 5, fathers without exposure to citations for involved fatherhood and proactive leave use take leave less than fathers with exposure. I will show how among my respondents in Portugal and the UK, we see a 'partial citation' for fathers' leave use. However, in Sweden, a fuller citation for leave-use exists for the fathers I interviewed – the result of decades of enabling policy that facilitated new gendered norms around using parental leave. I argue that as space, which addresses regulatory, financial and material constraints, is provided for new citations, they can gain traction, becoming more robust and widespread, further contributing to social change itself through a normative 'snowball' effect. If such space is not provided, this cannot and does not take place, as we see in the UK and Portugal. Thus, I would propose specific adaptations to Sullivan et al.'s use of Coleman's Boat to illustrate my argument about the reciprocal effects of citationality:

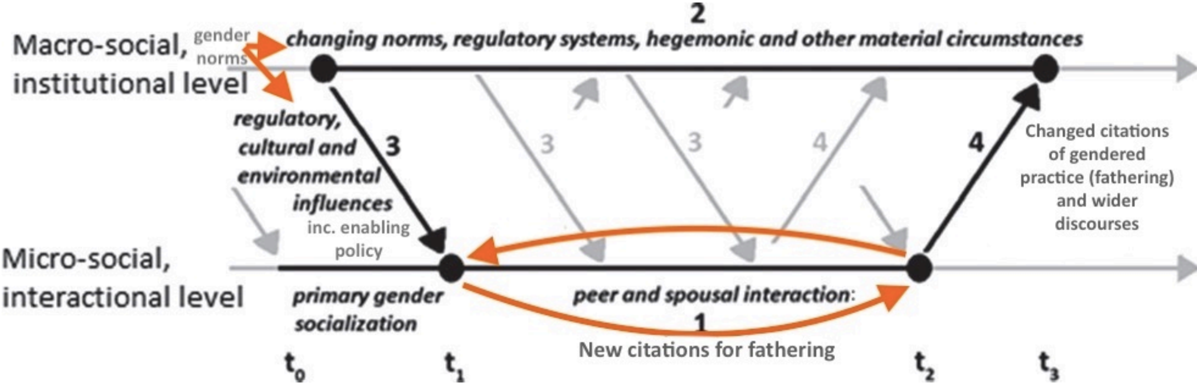


Figure 2: Adapted model of citational change (Based on Sullivan et al., 2018, p.269)

In my model, demonstrated in figure 2, the reciprocal feedback mechanisms between the macro and micro level are the same. However, I add two details. Firstly, the adapted model articulates the ways in which gender norms precede (and exceed) regulatory systems, institutions and cultural and environmental influences. Secondly, the specific peer and spousal interaction that my adaptation highlights is the emergence and strengthening of new citations for involved

fathering made possible within an enabling policy context, meaning not only that fathers have access to parental leave, but that such leave is well-paid and non-transferable. As these citations grow in common practice, I argue, use of leave and sharing of parental responsibility at the micro/individual level becomes more normative, reciprocally bolstering the citation and contributing to the dynamic between micro and macro level. These changes contribute to shifts in discourses around fathers' engagement and sharing parental responsibility. Throughout the thesis I will refer to this model as 'the adapted model of citational change.' In addition, I will use the term 'enabling policy' throughout the thesis to refer to policy entitlements which grant fathers well-paid and non-transferable parental leave. This language underlines the fundamental importance of material considerations in general, and paid parental leave in particular, to making space for new citations of gender, specifically in relating to fathering practices, to emerge.

Conclusion

To deploy Butler's theory of performativity in the context of a public policy issue such as parental leave is no doubt challenging. Yet, this theory offers fertile material in illuminating the ways parenting norms precede and exceed individual actions and agency. Butler writes:

> So let us assume, then, that performativity describes *both the processes of being acted on and the conditions and possibilities for acting*, and then we cannot understand its operation without both of these dimensions. That norms act upon us implies that we are susceptible to their action, vulnerable to a certain name-calling from the start. And this registers at a level that is prior to any possibility of volition. (2015, p.63, my emphasis).

Conceptualising parenting as constrained by norms that act upon us, that compel parental behaviours in particular ways and delimit what is possible in terms of *how* and *where* we are able to 'do' parenting, can perhaps offer a partial explanation of the glacial pace of change when it comes to norms about who does what work. Sweden is one of the world's leading countries for sharing parental leave, yet still sees only 30 per cent of total parental leave used by men (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020; Ma et al., 2021). The idea that gender performativity constrains the field of possibility for behaviours, actions and bodily enactment, and that change is possible but only through subversion, revision of norms, different citations and 'new formulations of gender' (Butler, 2015, p.65), generates insight into the sluggishness of shifts in parenting practice. Radical change is not forthcoming; thinking of parenting as performative and citational helps to explain why.

To conclude, I argue that Butler's theory of gender as performative is a valuable position from which to interrogate gendered parenting norms. Parenting norms are not complied with by a decidedly free agent who cares for a child and will decide exactly how they want to parent. Neither is it the case that parents have no agency in how they decide to parent and what they are and are not able to do. Rather, the parenting subject is subjectivated *through* parenthood and, as such, cannot be outside of or before the ways in which gendered norms denote the types of work and care men and women are expected to provide. My work shows how we can understand parenting as gendered and citational by analysing how parents necessarily experience parenthood through the policy frameworks in which they are embedded, and through parental caring practices. As Butler explains: 'choice, in fact, comes late in this process of performativity' (2015 p.64). My contribution, thinking parenting as performative, is fruitful because it conveys the ways in which normative expectations, workplace constraints and gendered parenting spaces force the citation of pre-existing gendered parenting norms and constrain the operation of new parents in the care of their child. Moreover, my innovative Butlerian framing explains how social institutions and structures maintain exclusionary norms that resist dramatic shifts in practice and behaviour. My theoretical framework thus highlights the importance of citationality to gendered parenting norms, enabling analysis of the processes through which citational shifts in fathering norms can and cannot occur. Such a perspective offers an illuminating lens through which to examine gendered social norms, their impact on fathers' use of parental leave entitlements, and the conditions required for change.

3. Performative practice: Methodology and data collection

Introduction

This chapter details the research methodology and justifies the choices made. Writing the methodology after completing the research enables hindsight; in places I will therefore reflect on what I might have done differently or how the project might have been improved.

A Feminist, Comparative, Mixed Methods Methodology

This project set out to understand the ways social norms shape fathers' use of leave in Sweden, the UK and Portugal. I therefore approached the project through utilising comparative mixed methods, specifically, the deployment of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Shorten and Smith, 2017). As a qualitatively-driven inquiry that set out to privilege 'exploration of the process of human meaning-making' (Hesse-Biber at al., 2015, p.3), the central component of the research comprised 78 semi-structured interviews with fathers and their partners across the three countries. My approach was underpinned by my belief in an interpretive or constructivist ontology, wherein social reality is comprehended as subjective meaning or narrative, constructed or co-created by actors within a particular social context (Hesse-Biber at al., 2015). Given the project's overall goal – to contribute to a greater understanding of the specific ways in which social norms influence fathers' use of leave, and whether these norms vary cross-nationally, an understanding of meaning – and of gender norms – as constructed (inter)subjectively was central. The quantitative analysis of wave 5 (2017) of the European Values Study acted as an 'auxiliary component' (Hesse-Biber et al., 2015, p.3) that provided details of the normative environment. This was an important element of 'scene setting' in terms of understanding the three different normative contexts. Combined with a review of the comparative literature on the three focus countries, the quantitative analysis enabled a comparative (if partial) overview of the prevailing gender norms in the three focus countries. It therefore contextualised the fathers' experiences as collected through the qualitative part of the methodology.

Comparative approach

I utilised a comparative approach to gain insight into the ways different constellations of normative values, discourses and policy inform fathers' subjectivities and behaviour. My approach was influenced by the comparative scholarship of Pfau-Effinger, whose work has

highlighted 'the mutual […] relationship between culture and structure' (1998, p.150). To incorporate norms into comparative welfare state analysis, she developed a 'new theoretical framework for cross-national analysis' (1998, p.150). Pfau-Effinger's framework articulates different dimensions of the interaction between norms, culture, welfare states and policy and has underpinned my comparison of the dynamic relationship between normative beliefs, values and subjectivity that shaped fathers in the three country contexts. Importantly, Pfau-Effinger highlights the importance of recognising divergence in norms and cultural value systems. Pfau-Effinger's framework is separate to but complements my conceptual deployment of Butler's performativity: for example the role of social actors in effecting social and cultural change as highlighted by Pfau-Effinger can also be read through Butlerian concepts of citation, reiteration and refusal and resistance (1993, 1999).

My analysis has foregrounded how differences between social and cultural norms facilitate or inhibit particular actions, identified specific barriers, and provided insight into whether these barriers exist in similar forms cross-nationally, or whether they are context-specific. Ultimately, comparative scrutiny of the three different national contexts has revealed – at least, for the fathers in my three samples – which norms matter, and which barriers are most significant, when it comes to fathers' decisions around use of parental leave entitlements.

Mixed Methods

A mixed methods methodology comprises the collection and integration of quantitative and qualitative data within one project (Leavy, 2017). Mixed methods research methodologies were first used in the late twentieth century and continue to evolve and rise in usage throughout myriad disciplines (Creswell, 2010; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018; Greene, 2008). The value of mixed methods approaches is rooted in the assumption that different forms of data generate different types of information, and that combining different information types can generate greater insight (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Greene et al., 1989). In addition, mixed methods approaches are fitting for multi-disciplinary research, since they bring together methods from a range of academic disciplines and situate them within open, interdisciplinary research structures – part of the work of 'de-disciplining' (Hesse-Biber, 2015, p.xxxiv; Richardson, 2000).

The question of the degree of method integration is prominent in scholarship on mixed methods: for some mixed methods scholars, the methods must be at least partially integrated, and studies in which this is not the case ought to be categorised as 'quasi mixed-methods'

(Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2006). For others, qualitative and quantitative findings can contribute jointly to research through 'examining, explaining, confirming, refuting, and/or enriching information from one approach with that from the other' (Kanbur, 2001; see also Cavalhero and White, 1997; Greene, 2008). In my project, the methods are not explicitly integrated, for example, they were not intended for sample selection, confirmation, or triangulation. My use of the two methods was intended to link or put the two different data forms in dialogue (Hesse-Biber, 2015; see also Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018). Specifically, the quantitative analysis provided some degree of explanation or contextualisation of the qualitative data, which itself offered subjective and variable understandings of fathers' experience. My deployment of a mixed methodology therefore aimed to generate a 'more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon under investigation' (Leavy, 2017, p.16).

Ethnographic methods were also considered for the project, but ultimately rejected because the comparative goals of the project would have been harder to fulfil without the quantitative component which directly compared attitudes towards gender roles, as proxy for norms, in each country. Utilising quantitative, interview as well as ethnographic data felt overly ambitious. Reflecting from my position at the end of this project, it would have been fruitful to have mobilised ethnographic tools to gain a deeper understanding of the organisational culture in each country firm. I may adopt ethnographic methods in future research.

Feminist methodology

Feminist epistemology reminds us that there is no value-free knowledge. Feminist methodology therefore rejects positivist-empiricist approaches to knowledge production and claims of objectivity and neutrality. Located as it is in a broader quest for gender justice, my research has therefore deployed a feminist methodology and a commitment to 'conscious partiality' (Mies, 1983).[27] The principle that knowledge is produced by different actors across various social locations (Code, 1993; Harding, 1993; Rich, 1986) relates to a responsibility to ensure my

[27] Second-wave feminists in the early 1980s built on existing critique of quantitative research paradigms (e.g. Mies, 1983; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992), critiquing them as synonymous with positivist empiricisms which 'intrinsically violates the agency and autonomy of those who are known about' (Oakley, 1999). While some researchers seemingly maintain these views, they are in the minority: many feminists later rejected such animosity towards quantitative methods, based on an understanding that all tools available should be utilised to draw attention to and generate understanding of the 'processes that underlie gender inequalities' (Scott, 2010, p.223; Hughes and Cohen, 2011; Oakley, 1999). Further, feminists 'suggest that there is subjectivity involved in quantitative analysis and that quantitative methods can be used without necessarily subscribing to the assumptions and underpinnings of a positivist epistemology' (Mauthner, 2020, p.9; see also Jayaratne, 1983).

positionality and my own biases have been reflected upon in my research design, research practice and thesis writing. Accounting for my own epistemic location has been a key part of the research process and is noted throughout the findings, including in a note on positionality and reflexivity in the ethics section below. Subjecting myself (and partner) to the same scrutiny I have applied to my respondents (McCorkel and Myers, 2003) has been an integral element of the research, and one which my own pregnancy and early parenthood during the implementation of the research made almost unavoidable.[28] Reflecting on my own positionality, bias and experience in the context of conducting my research has, in many ways, enriched both the research and my experience of early parenthood. I explore this in more detail below.

A key set of questions generated by feminist epistemology relates to what is 'knowable'. Scholars have highlighted the pitfalls of representation as well as the uneven power dynamic of the research subject and the research 'object' (e.g. Alcoff, 1995; Spivak, 1988). Feminist theorists have pointed out that access to the 'truth'[29] of any situation is always mediated through an individual's subjective account of their experience and, in the case of social research, is mediated a second time via the subjective lens of the researcher. Qualitative research then, is always partial and imperfect. It is necessarily interpretive (Kvale, 1996), even more so when a particular theoretical framework is mobilised. How can I truly hear what fathers have told me?[30] How can I justify the decisions I have made in interpreting and piecing together their experiences? How can I be confident in my theorisations? Rather than claiming I have interpreted fathers' words and experiences 'unfiltered', I seek to acknowledge the methodological shortcomings and necessary subjectivity inherent in qualitative research. This is possible through an ethical commitment to a 'partial perspective' (Haraway, 1988). This tenet has informed my analysis, interpretation and writing. Finally, to address the crucial matter of representation with integrity, I have mobilised an

[28] This was not a strategic intention on my part, although once pregnant I did wonder how it would affect my research.

[29] The very concept of truth has been problematised in philosophy for centuries: 'since Kant, more obviously since Hegel, it has been widely accepted that an understanding of truth that requires it to be free of human interpretation leads inexorably to skepticism [sic], since it makes truth inaccessible by definition' (Alcoff, 1995, p.103–104). In both feminist and postcolonial theories, this problem is theorised in terms of the unrepresentability of the 'other' (e.g. Anzaldúa 2002; Chow, 1997; Fanon, 1967; Irigaray, 1985; Spivak, 1988).

[30] These questions are further complicated by two aspects of my research. Firstly, the fact that my respondents in Portugal and Sweden were being interviewed in English, a second language for them, meant an additional barrier between their experience and the account that I was able to access. Secondly, the attempt I made to capture an understanding of the effect of norms on fathers' actions was complicated by the very human tendency to underestimate the extent to which we are guided by normative codes of conduct. Fathers thus also often underestimated their production through norms and discourses and my interpretation of their decisions did not always straightforwardly convey their responses. I will deal with these two problems later in this chapter.

ethic of care and of personal 'accountab[ility] for [my] knowledge claims' (Hill Collins, 2000, p.284) throughout my research, writing and dissemination of my findings.

Country Selection

The selection of countries was a key element of the research design. Given the objective to uncover the influence of gendered social norms on fathers' use of leave, and whether norms in different countries had differential effects on fathers' uptake, a necessary precondition to conduct the research was fathers' ability to use parental leave entitlements. Thus, I sought to identify countries where couples could split parental leave entitlements 50/50, at least in theory if not in practice.[31] Furthermore, to address the goal of understanding the effects of different gendered norms, I wanted to locate the research in three countries which had divergent normative environments. To identify appropriate countries I utilised the 2015–2017 editions of the International Network on Parental Leave annual report (Koslowski et al, 2021). Ultimately, I selected Sweden based on its default policy model (Browne, 2013; Gheaus and Robeyns, 2011), the breadth of literature focusing on the Swedish model, and the common understanding of Sweden as a world leader for gender equality.[32] The UK's 2015 policy reform had been an object of critical interest since its announcement while I completed my masters degree in 2014. Given that the 'new'[33] framework enabled 50/50 sharing in principle, as well as the classification of the UK as a liberal welfare typology in Esping-Andersen's classic welfare regimes model (1990), and my own location within the UK, the UK was selected as a second country. In my quest to understand the effect of different types of gendered social norms, I was curious about the salience of Roman Catholic familialistic cultures documented in the southern European countries of Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal. Although these countries were neglected in Esping-Andersen's original welfare regime classification, he later made a case for their representation through the hallmarks of the conservative-corporatist cluster (Esping-Andersen, 1999)[34], and it was on this basis that I made the decision to include a Southern European state. The only state in Southern Europe that offered the (hypothetical) ability to evenly split shared

[31] There is no country in the world where parental leave entitlements are commonly split 50/50.
[32] Even as digging into this literature dismantles such an understanding.
[33] As discussed in chapters 1 and 5, this new framework was essentially a series of modifications to a previously existing but little-known and little-used policy, 'Additional Shared Parental Leave'.
[34] As I discuss in chapter 4, scholars have found this claim contentious, arguing that the conservative-corporatist cluster better represents continental Europe (e.g. France, Netherlands, Germany, Belgium) and that a Southern European cluster is required to accurately capture the specifically familialistic dynamics of Southern European states (e.g. Ferrera, 1996; see also Alves, 2015; Petmesidou, 2012).

parental leave at the planning stage of this project was Portugal,[35] which led to its selection as the third focus country.

Research design

Implementation

In this thesis, secondary analysis of the European Values Study (EVS) is used to provide contextual information on norms and values in the three countries considered, while the main body of the work is based on qualitative interviews with parents. My original intention was to complete the quantitative analysis before embarking on my own data collection. However, the 2017 EVS data was not available at that time. My work was therefore undertaken in four phases. I first performed preliminary analysis of the 2008 EVS data in the summer of 2018. The second phase of work consisted of collecting the qualitative data, before transcribing and analysing this data, which made up the third phase. Finally, analysis of the EVS 2017 data formed the fourth stage.

Quantitative Methods

Data Source

The European Values Study (EVS) is a cross-national, large-scale repeated cross-sectional survey that has been conducted every 8–10 years since 1981. The fourth wave in 2008 conducted fieldwork in 46 countries and the fifth wave conducted fieldwork in 35 countries between 2017–2020. The study focuses on a range of attitudes and values with respect to family, work, and religious, political and societal values. The target population for each country sample is all adults aged over 18 who have an address of residence at commencement of fieldwork. The sample size is set at 1,000 for countries with populations of under 2 million and 1,200 for countries with populations of over 2 million. Considerations such as measurement comparability, weighting and imputation will be further discussed in the Rigour and Robustness section on pages 83–83.

[35] Spain revised its policy framework in 2019, introducing 12 weeks of paternity leave paid at full pay up to a ceiling of €4,010.70 (£3,494.46 – Oanda.com, 26th June 2021) compared to 16 weeks of maternity leave paid at full pay up to the same ceiling. This policy is far more progressive than its predecessor (in which fathers were entitled to five days of leave) – yet still does not enable fully equal sharing in practice.

Pilot quantitative analysis: EVS 2008 wave (results not reported)

First I conducted statistical analysis, using Stata and existing EVS 2008 data, to understand distribution of attitudes towards gender equality variables, as a proxy for social norms, at (1) national level, (2) between different social groups, and (3) between groups in different countries. Secondly, I planned to construct a multivariate model to control for the effect of confounding associations. The null hypothesis (H_0) was that there is no association between gender equality attitudes and demographic variables including country, age, occupation type and education level.

Table 2: EVS 2008 variables

Variable description	Variable recoded name	Type
Independent variables		
1. Age (recoded)	age_r	Ordinal
2. Sex	gender	Binary
3. Born in country	bornc	Binary
4. Socio-economic status/Occupation: ESeC classification	esec	Ordinal
5. Income (recoded)	hhinc_r	Ordinal
6. Highest level of education	hiedu	Ordinal
Dependent Variables		
7. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women	jobscarce	Ordinal
8. Happy in marriage:[36] Share household chores	hapmasha	Ordinal
9. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works	wmumsuff	Ordinal
10. Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person	wjobind	Ordinal
11. Both husband[37] and wife should contribute to household income	bothcont	Ordinal
12. In general, fathers are as well suited to looking after their children as mothers	fathercare	Ordinal
13. Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children	menshare	Ordinal

As outlined in table 2, above, I focused the analysis on six independent variables (1–6) and seven (7–13) dependent variables. I prepared two-way crosstabulations and chi square tests for each of the seven dependent variables and mapped out associations between the six independent

[36] The use of 'marriage' here rather than 'relationship' demonstrates the ways in which heteronormativity is so deeply embedded throughout social institutions. There is little reason why 'relationship' could not be used instead.

variables and the dependent variables. Secondly, I constructed a multivariate model using logistic regression. I conducted this work prior to conducting the fieldwork. Since this was a pilot study, I have not reported this work.[38] However, it was instructive in the development of what became my analysis, and the learning from it informed the variables and methods that I used when the 2017 EVS data was published. For example, I learnt that the income, education and socio-economic status variables had similar patterns of association with the dependent variables. I therefore elected to use only one of these three variables – socio-economic (or occupational) status – in the final analysis. Secondly, I had time to reflect on what 'born in country' represented and realised that as a demographic variable it is relatively opaque, since it collapses 'skilled' and 'unskilled'[39] as well as economic, refugee and asylum migrants into a single and thus clumsy category. I therefore decided not to use this variable in the final analysis.

EVS 2017 wave (results reported in chapter 4)

Much to my frustration, the EVS data for Portugal was late to be collected and not published until September 2020. At this point I was in the process of conducting and writing up my qualitative analysis. The delay in the data release had the unfortunate effect of precluding the conducting of multivariate analysis. There are clear advantages to using multivariate analysis, including the ability to control for the interrelation of independent variables and for confounding effects. Indeed it was my intention and hope to use multivariate analysis in my research and thesis. However, when the bivariate analysis was complete in late February 2021, my advisor and I discussed the merits of spending further time conducting multivariate analysis versus completing the write up of the thesis and submitting on time. Accordingly, I (somewhat reluctantly) prioritised writing up and submitting the thesis on time.

As I began conducting analysis of the fifth EVS wave (2017–2020), it became clear that four of the key dependent variables had been removed from the questionnaire. These included:

- 10. Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person
- 11. Both husband and wife should contribute to household income
- 12. In general, fathers are as well suited to looking after their children as mothers
- 13. Men should take as much responsibility as women for the home and children

[38] I considered including the 2008 data for the series of consistent variables and incorporating a longitudinal dimension to the quantitative analysis but this was not possible within the PhD timeframe.

[39] These terms are problematic and reflect classist assumptions on what kinds of work are skilled and what kinds of work are unskilled; however, they are the social categories that govern migration and border regimes and as such I have used them in this context.

To my disappointment, the specific questions regarding fathers' equal capacities for and responsibility for domestic work and childcare had therefore been omitted. Although this was frustrating and seemed to present a set-back, ultimately it did not bear on my ability to capture a comparative snapshot of the different countries' normative environments pertaining to gender roles, so I proceeded with the analysis. In place of these four variables, I utilised:

- A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children
- All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job
- A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the home
- Men make better politicians than women
- Men make better business executives than women

These variables measure attitudes to different dimensions of gender relations, but they are relevant nonetheless. The findings, as I report in chapter 4, show that these variables clearly measure differences in gender attitudes and norms within the three countries. A table of the variables used in the final analysis is provided below (table 3).

Table 3: EVS 2017 (final analysis) variables

Variable description	Variable recoded name	Type (recoded)
Independent Variables		
1. Age (recoded)	agecat	Ordinal
2. Sex	gender	Binary
3. Edulevel	edulevel	Ordinal
4. Socio-economic status/Occupation: ESeC classification	ocutyp2	Ordinal
Dependent Variables		
5. Happy in marriage: Share household chores	hapmasha	Binary
6. When a mother works for pay, the children suffer	wwcsuff	Binary
7. A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children	wwantchild	Binary
8. All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	wtfsuff	Binary
9. A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the home	tradgen	Binary
10. Men make better politicians than women	betterpol	Binary
11. Men make better business executives than women	betterexe	Binary

12. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women	jobscarce	Binary

To make clear the gender role attitudes these questions measured, and to facilitate meaningful analysis of these attitudes, I structured them into five measures. Inter-item reliability is reported, where relevant, in chapter 4.

- Attitudes towards gender roles, comprising 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family' and 'When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women'
- Attitudes towards women's role at home and at work, comprising 'When a mother works for pay, the children suffer' and 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job'
- Attitudes towards the domestic division of labour, comprising a single item: 'Sharing household chores is important for a happy marriage'
- Attitudes towards women's motivations and preferences, comprising a single item: 'A job is alright, but what women really want is a home and children'
- Attitudes towards women's and men's professional and leadership aptitudes, comprising 'On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do' and 'On the whole, men make better busines executives than women do'

In addition, to facilitate concise reporting, and to provide a broad overview of the variations in gender attitudes by country, gender and demographic characteristics, I generated a composite index of gender values using the Cronbach's alpha procedure. All the individual scales were considered for inclusion in the composite index. The procedure indicated that 'sharing household chores is important for a happy marriage' (the variable measuring respondents support for sharing domestic labour) reduced inter-item reliability, so this item was not included in the index. The composite index has a mean of 0.648 and a standard deviation of 0.325, with a high inter-item reliability of 0.81. I examined the relationship between one of the demographic dimensions considered (age, education and social class) and the composite index, and results were broken down by country and gender. I used t-tests to analyse whether differences were statistically significant (see chapter 4 and the t-test results in the Appendices, section 2, tables 20–23).

Recoding variables

In the analysis of both the 2008 and 2017 EVS waves I recoded several variables. The complete table of original and recoded variables is provided in the Appendices (section 2, table 8). All but one of the dependent variables were recoded from a four-point (five-point in the case of jobscarce) 'Likert-type' (Gracyalny, 2018) scale into a binary yes/no response. The exception was dependent variable 5 in Table 3 above: 'Happy in marriage: Share household chores.' This variable was part of a question that asked respondents to rate the importance of various conditions to making a successful marriage; responses comprised 'very important', 'rather important' or 'not very important'. This variable was recoded from three into two categories: 'important' (collapsing 'very important' and 'rather important') and 'not important'. The independent variables age and gender were recoded to remove missing values but were deployed using the original categories assigned in the dataset (six age categories, two genders). Educational level and socio-economic status/occupation type were recoded from several categories, which I will now describe. The original educational level variable (based on the European Survey International Standard Classification of Education; Schneider, 2020; UN 1997) contained seven response categories, ranging from '0 no formal or less than primary' to '7 Master's and higher level'. This variation provided greater granularity than was required for my purposes, so I recoded it into four categories:

- 0 primary or lower
- 1 lower/upper secondary
- 2 post-secondary / non tertiary / advanced vocational
- 3 graduate or higher

The post-secondary/non-tertiary category was small in each country, and resulted in few small cell sizes across each country sample that were particularly pronounced in Portugal (where 7 respondents where male, 6 were female and the total respondents in the category was 13; see cell sizes for all country samples in Appendices, section 2, tables 9–11). As a result, I struggled to decide whether to re-code it into a combined category with either secondary or tertiary education. However, since this level of education is substantively different in quality to both secondary and tertiary education, and I was not using regression analysis, I made the decision to keep it as a separate category. Socio-economic status was recoded from the original nine categories of the European Socio-economic Status classification (ISER, no date a) into three categories: low, intermediate and high. This was completed in line with guidance on using the classification (ISER, no date b).

Small cell sizes

A number of small cell numbers were in the final analysis (see Appendices, section 2, tables 9–11: Country Samples). Cell counts of 30 or under were observed in men aged 15–24 in Portugal (29); intermediate profession men in Sweden (19); intermediate men and women in Portugal (18 and 30 respectively); men with less than primary education in Sweden (30); and, smallest of all, men and women with post-secondary but non-tertiary education in Portugal (6 and 7 respectively). As described above, I proceeded with the analysis on this basis, but was mindful in my interpretation of the validity issues with these small n categories.

Data Analysis

Chi-squared tests were used to examine differences by country, age, gender, education level and occupation status. I used chi squared statistics to test differences within groups within each country. Although the crosstabulations demonstrated the different rates of agreement and disagreement in each country, I could not tell whether the differences across country were statistically different. I therefore also use the chi squared test to assess these differences, by creating a categorical variable combining Sweden, UK and Portugal observations. Finally, I used the chi squared statistic to test differences between men and women in the same group, both within countries and across countries. The crosstabulations and p-values of the chi-squared statistics are reported in the Appendices (section 2, tables 11–18).

Qualitative Methods

Data Tools

Qualitative methods are concerned with understanding and explaining social phenomena by analysing the experiences of individuals and groups, as well as interactions, communications, texts, and documents (Kvale, 2007, p.x). To collect the qualitative data for the project, I decided to use semi-structured interviews. Interviewing as a data collection method is utilised to gather data pertaining to respondents' subjective experiences, feelings and decision making (Flick, 2009). The semi-structured interview in particular is deployed by researchers based on the assumptions that individuals' viewpoints and perspectives are 'more likely to be expressed in an openly designed interview situation than in a standardized interview or a questionnaire' (Flick, 2009, p.150). To ensure consistency between the interviews conducted across the three countries, I developed an interview guide for the father interviews and a slightly modified guide for the interviews with their partners. The interview guide and adaptations for partners are included in the Appendices (section 1).

Interview guide

I followed Kvale's assertion that the interview guide should include an outline of topics to be discussed with suggested questions (2007, p.57). I designed the interview guide considering both the thematic and dynamic dimensions: i.e. ensuring that the questions elicited responses relevant to the thematic concerns of the research and research questions, but also ensuring they would be understood and interpreted by respondents as intended, and move the interview forward (Kvale 2007, p.57). I therefore devised five key sections of the interview, which pertained to the research questions and to the three domains of norms outlined in chapter 1. First, I opened the interview with some background to the project, thanked the participant for taking part, provided an opening to ask questions, and asked some biographical and relationship information to start the conversation, put them at ease, build trust and generate rapport. Secondly, I engaged the topic of their experience of planning and using/not using leave at work and the workplace-related factors that informed their decision. For the partner interviews, this section focused on their partners' (i.e. the fathers') workplaces, and I explained that I was aware that they might not feel able to answer all the questions. Thirdly, I asked about the parental leave practices, as well as remarks and values of peers and family, and whether the respondent felt their peers or family had made a difference to their decision-making. Fourthly, I devised a series of questions which attempted to capture the effect of the wider normative environment on fathers' use of leave. This was thematically oriented towards the project's Butlerian theoretical framework, and was the hardest part of the guide to design. Several iterations were developed and four kind friends, to whom I am extremely grateful, allowed me to test the whole interview guide prior to implementation of proper fieldwork. Finally, I posed a series of demographic questions and asked the participant to explain their understanding of their leave entitlement and the parental leave policy.

Data Collection

Sampling and Target group

How to identify a respondent sample in each country? This question offered a challenge, since as a comparative project it was important that some degree of standardisation of conditions was provided to mitigate the possibility of comparing 'apples' in one country with 'pears' in another (e.g. Flick, 2009, p.135). Initially I had planned to recruit a diverse sample of fathers using connections through play groups, early years centres and maternity and child services in each country, using purposive and then snowball sampling. However, while avoiding a homogenous,

middle-class sample was a key goal,[40] I realised that my intended sampling strategy suffered a significant flaw, in that, as discussed in chapters five and six, 'it cannot be assumed that there is cultural 'coherence' in society' (Pfau-Effinger, 1998, p.150). Group norms – e.g. by age, ethnicity and class – may differ to dominant cultural values and this is borne out in comparative research on, for example, gendered divisions of labour in domestic work and the care of infants (e.g. Chowbey et al., 2013; Kan and Laurie, 2018). Recruiting a sample through purposive and snowball sampling risked recruiting fathers working in very different sectors in the three countries, which would render it difficult to make a genuine comparison or conduct meaningful analysis of the differences. Furthermore, due to my research interest in norms and my intent to avoid the confounding influence of financial decisions as far as possible, I needed to identify fathers who had access to well-paid leave entitlements, whether statutory or contractual. Thus, through discussions with colleagues and my supervisor, I decided that the best route would be to identify a multinational company with offices in each of the three countries and recruit a sample of fathers working for the same company in each country. This would have the effect of, in theory, 'holding constant' the cultural environment of the workplace. In practice, as I will discuss in chapter 6, the organisational cultures in the three workplaces were markedly different; however, the constraints of the corporate consulting environment were at least somewhat similar.

Overall, I conducted 75 interviews and collected a wealth of vastly informative comparative data, which has shaped important findings. However, as I will explain in more detail later, due to the small size of the partner samples in Sweden and especially Portugal, the qualitative empirical work in this thesis is based on the 45 father interviews only: the partner interviews were excluded from the final thesis, due to problems with comparability as well as space limitations.

Identifying a firm

Identifying a firm that met my requirements was not straightforward. Although I had already selected the three countries in which to situate the research, I recognised that the policy framework in the UK, while enabling equal sharing of parental leave in principle, in practice made equal sharing difficult due to the combination of widespread employer enhancements of maternity leave entitlements but not shared parental entitlements, the low rate of statutory leave remuneration (£151.97 for the tax year ending April 2022), combined with the presence of the

[40] One which ultimately it was not possible to achieve, as I will describe.

gender pay gap in many heterosexual partnerships. Thus, I needed to find a multinational firm which met two key criteria:

- Offices in Sweden, the UK and Portugal (Portugal was the sticking point)
- Enhanced parental/paternity pay provision in the UK that matched the 'well paid' portion of maternity leave (i.e. at least six weeks of enhanced pay and ideally longer)

These two requirements narrowed my search down to four multinationals. I will not name them here, in order to preserve anonymity, as requested by the firm who ultimately agreed to participate. It is possible that further companies were suitable, but gathering details of a company's parental leave policy externally is quite difficult, as companies tend not to be terribly transparent about this type of benefit. Of the four multinationals I identified, one was a global, household name tech company, two were global accounting and consulting firms, and one was a global consulting firm.

The next phase in my search required trying to identify and engage with potential gatekeepers of these firms, which I did through emailing and sending a letter targeted at HR directors (see copies of both in the Appendices, section 1). It helped that my research focus was a topic of contemporary policy interest, and in the public domain and news cycle around the time that I was attempting to access the companies. I managed to obtain three leads. One declined due to insufficient capacity, one was essentially a wild-goose chase in which I was possibly being used as an incentive to generate a significant donation, and finally one of my contacts at the third company agreed to participate.

Planning the sample

My original plan was to recruit only fathers expecting a baby or who had had their first child in the preceding twelve months. I also intended to recruit a diverse sample of employees from different levels of the organisation. My ambition was to conduct interviews with employees in different European Socio-economic Classifications (ESeC)[41] within the firm, featuring roughly

[41] ESeC Classifications are as follows:
1: "Higher salariat": Large employers, higher grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations
2: "Lower salariat": Lower grade professional, administrative and managerial occupations and higher grade technician and supervisory occupations
3: "Higher grade white collar workers": Intermediate occupations
4: "Petit bourgeoisie or independents": Small employer and self employed occupations (exc agricultural)
5 "Petit bourgeoisie or independents" (agricultural): self employed occupations
6: "Higher grade blue collar workers": Lower supervisory and lower technician occupations
7: "Lower grade white collar workers": Lower services, sales and clerical occupations
8: "Skilled workers": Lower technical occupations
9: "Semi- and non-skilled workers": Routine occupations

half of respondents in roles classified in the higher ESeC classifications (e.g. 1 'higher salariat'/ 2 'lower salariat') and half classified further down the scale (e.g. 3 'intermediate occupations / 6 'higher grade blue collar' / 7 'lower grade white collar workers' / 8 'lower technical occupations'). When planning the sample, I recognised that achieving this aim might prove challenging, but hoped that the multinationals shortlisted would be large enough to make it possible. Unfortunately, this ambition proved difficult to achieve, as the country offices were not sufficiently large. In practice, identifying the sample relied on fathers within each firm who had recently had or were expecting a child within the next year, which narrowed the total number of reproductive age men working in the firms significantly. This pool shrunk to such a degree in the Sweden and Portugal firms that I had little choice but to relax my first-child-only criterion, and widen eligibility for the study to fathers who had had any child in the previous 12 months, or were currently expecting a child. Furthermore, my location outside of the firm, and the employer's necessary protections on sensitive personal data, meant that the approach we took was based on my internal liaison contacts, as described below, cascading information about the project to relevant employees, and putting me in touch with the employees if they agreed. This meant I had no control over the demographic/identity markers of my respondents. Furthermore, the type of firm and sector which the country, policy and benefit criteria necessitated resulted in a historically white, male, middle class profession, with a UK BAME representation rate of 22 per cent.[42] Thus, despite my intentions to seek a heterogenous sample with respondents from different social locations, my respondents were almost all white, highly educated and middle-class. The overrepresentation of white middle-class fathers in my research manifestly has particular effects on my findings, meaning they are not generalisable. Conversely, one advantage of this overrepresentation is the in-depth comparison it enabled between the norms shaping middle-class fathers, working in the same elite multi-national firm, in the three different countries.

Gatekeepers/Liaison Contacts

Upon the UK firm's agreement to participate in the project, I was connected with a project manager working closely with the HR Partner. This project manager acted as both gatekeeper and liaison. She was ultimately a key link in the project, without whose exceptional and generous help and assistance – in both connecting me to her colleagues in the UK and Sweden, and identifying fathers to participate in the UK – the project would no doubt have failed. We agreed

10: "Unemployed": Never worked and long-term unemployed

[42] This data is not available for the Sweden and Portugal firms.

that she would identify expectant fathers and fathers who had recently had a child through HR records. We realised however that one limitation of this approach was that only fathers who had notified of their impending arrival or their intention to use SPL would be reached in this way, since use of Paternity Leave did not necessitate any prior form-filling. We devised two routes around this problem: firstly, she agreed to put out an open call using the firm's intranet pages and other firm-wide communication channels, and secondly, I conducted snowball sampling via the fathers who had expressed interest through the HR records approach. The identification process was somewhat iterative, beginning with my being connected with a number of fathers who were expecting or had recently had their first child and were planning to use some period of SPL. The second stage was based on my concern to speak to fathers at PYP who *did not* plan to use SPL, whom we reached via the methods described above. Finally, I realised that all the fathers I had spoken with were client-facing, and asked whether it might be possible to speak with internal-facing fathers, who faced a slightly different constellation of work requirements and pressures. This iterative approach was consistent with theoretical sampling methods (Flick, 2009, p.117–118; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). 20 fathers were registered for the study in the UK and all but one of their partners participated.

The process was similar in Sweden: my UK contact connected me to the HR Partner in Sweden, and her member of staff was designated as my liaison. Although the much smaller office overall meant it was harder to find fathers who met the (widened) criteria, 14 fathers were identified in Sweden; of these, 6 of their partners did not participate.[43] At this point, I reflected upon whether or not the study was still viable with my supervisor. We concluded that although the difference was not ideal, qualitative studies have been conducted with smaller sample sizes than my Sweden (and later, Portugal) sample (e.g. O'Brien and Twamley, 2017), and that the study was still viable despite the uneven sample size– especially given that the qualitative component was not intended as representative or generalisable to the population.

In Portugal, the process was similar on paper, as far as I was aware, but felt different in practice. I was not put in touch with an HR Partner, and as far as my investigations could tell, such a post was not part of PYP Portugal at the time I conducted and wrote up the research. The lack of this specific role, it seemed to me, was perhaps a part of the absence of robust culture or strategic prioritisation around questions of work/life balance, 'talent acquisition' and staff retention, compared to either the UK or Sweden. I was connected to a very efficient project manager who

[43] 5 declined and the workload of the sixth made it impossible to arrange a suitable interview appointment.

helped me to identify participants and gracefully dealt with my myriad questions about the firm, its structure, policies and processes. However, overall it was harder to identify fathers who were prepared to participate in the research. In part, this could have been because there was less institutional buy-in to the project: there was not any interest shown in hearing the findings of the research or using it to improve fathers' take-up of parental leave like there was in the UK and Sweden. The second reason that I and my Portuguese liaison theorised it might have been harder to recruit fathers in Portugal was because of the very long working hours, fast pace and heavy workload of the fathers. Although these concerns were also relevant to fathers in Sweden and the UK, the pressurised work environment was slightly more palpable in Portugal, and the long hours culture was certainly more prominent. Ultimately, we secured the participation of 12 fathers in Portugal, but only 3 of their partners participated.

Conducting the Interviews

The vast majority of interviews took place face-to-face, at either the PYP office, a café, or, in five cases – where I was meeting parents with very young infants, at home. I arranged to meet respondents at a time and location that best suited them to minimise inconvenience. Three interviews were conducted over Skype once I had returned to the UK: one of these was due to the respondent's sickness while I was in Sweden, and two were because two further participants were identified via snowball sampling just as I was leaving Portugal.

Although I made attempts to learn Portuguese, I was insufficiently proficient at the time of conducting fieldwork to hold interviews in respondents' native language. I had a budget for interpreting services, but ultimately only used an interpreter for one interview.[44] However, the fathers' employment within a multinational consulting firm, and each firm's work with international clients, meant that every father interviewed spoke excellent English. It was clear in some of the interviews that their vocabulary related to personal life was perhaps less extensive than their business vocabularies; I have reflected on this below. Although Sweden has a very high rate of English speaking, my linguistic shortcomings presented occasional barriers to the participation of some fathers' partners, who were concerned about proficiency. In these cases I

[44] This was an informative experience. I had expected the interpreter to interpret everything my respondent said, but instead he summarised. Given my inexperience in using an interpreter, I had not briefed him on my expectations. The interpretation of the participant's meaning that was the product of his interpretating style was difficult for me to accept and caused some distraction in terms of the interview, not least because I could tell from my limited Portuguese that he was not interpreting exactly as she had said. I will most likely avoid using interpreting in future research, but if I do need to utilise it, I will a) identify and make contact with potential, recommended interpreters prior to travelling to the field and b) make my expectations from the interpreter clear ahead of the interview.

offered interpreting services and reassured that perfect English was not a requirement for participation. These reassurances helped in some cases, but some partners declined to participate, although another factor was work/family pressures and insufficient time to contribute. In Portugal, where only three partners participated, I experienced widespread reluctance in terms of partner engagement. I am not fully sure of the reasons for this, but three possible reasons are that a) less emphasis was placed on partners' participation in the communication from my liaison, b) the language barrier, and c) the long working hours and significant work/family clash that exists in Portugal.

I ensured a warm, informal and open dialogue to ensure the participant was at ease and hopefully enjoyed the interview. In line with my feminist ethics, I willingly shared as much information about myself as possible to mitigate the unequal power relation between researcher and researched. My own pregnancy, which was disclosable/visible from about two months into the data collection, and, given my partner's employment in a large corporation, our own – substantial and sometimes fraught – engagement with the issues at stake, helped to put my/our experience on a similar knowledge 'plane' to my respondents' (Harding, 1995).

Analysis

The data collected were transcribed – partly by myself and partly by an external, UK-based transcription specialist who came recommended from a professor working in my field. Once transcribed, I uploaded the sensitised file into NVivo 12, which I used to code the data thematically (Flick, 2009). I first used open (or inductive) coding (Esterberg, 2002) browsing through the data and developing codes in vivo as they appeared in the interviews. I was particularly alert to the three domains of norms, but at this stage I coded everything that I felt was relevant to the project, as well as recurrent themes that were perhaps somewhat borderline in terms of the research scope. This resulted in a large number of 'child' codes – which some researchers might find unwieldy; however, I did not, and this approach enabled an organic development of the most salient themes, as demonstrated in figure 3 below. Secondly, I prepared a 'father profile' – a summary of the fathers' experience, and notes on the conceptual relevance or interpretation of their experience as it pertained to my theoretical framework and the three domains of norms. The third stage developed once I had coded all the interviews and finalised my coding framework. I revisited each interview applying focused coding (Esterberg, 2002) in accordance with the final framework. Throughout the conducting of the PhD I made use of a 'log book' to store analytic memos (Glaser, 1978), which I used as a thinking and reflecting space during coding. I also cut and paste key quotes from fathers into a word document as I was both

National norms and culture	49	493
'default' or standard pattern of use	16	40
'Normal' or not major decision	18	31
Classed and raced norms	6	12
Cultural difference - national differences	4	7
Culture as constraint	17	40
Culture shift over time	40	96
Desire to use	22	48
Discourse	19	35
Expectation that fathers will use	15	36
Future	7	9
Gender Equality	34	125
Gender equality orientation	13	27
Gender equality orientation informed de...	17	33
Gendered qualities	46	124
Gendered work patterns	46	139
Influenced by society and culture	37	111
Involved father	22	49

Figure 3: Example of parent-child coding relationship in NVivo 12

transcribing and coding, as a type of 'top ten' exercise (Saldaña, 2009, p.186) ready for use in writing.

When planning the project, I had anticipated that I would utilise a thematic analysis approach (Braun, 2006; Vaismoradi and Snelgrove, 2019); with hindsight this plan appears somewhat short-sighted given my inclusion of discourses as a key site of the gendered social norms that I sought to investigate. While conducting the interviews it became clear that fathers in all countries, as I discuss in chapter 5, frequently and uncritically reproduced discourses of the ideal worker, involved or 'good' fatherhood, gender equality, and normative gender roles. Therefore, my analytical approach mobilised a feminist critical discourse analysis (Lazar, 2007; see also Fairclough, 1993; Flick, 2009; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). This approach offered a methodological conduit to mobilising Butler's performative ontology, enabling comparative analysis of fathers' subjectivation by different discourses across the three divergent normative contexts. My analytic process was iterative: I moved between my data, the coding, my knowledge of the literature and memos to identify key themes, categories, contrast cases and generate concepts and theory (Saldaña, 2009).

The 72 interviews I conducted generated over 700,000 words of transcriptions. Where I have selected quotes to evidence my argument in the thesis, these are illustrative of multiple fathers' accounts or experiences.

Ethics

Ensuring ethical standards is critical in social research in order to protect the rights, dignity and welfare of respondents as well as to maintain quality and robustness. Ethical considerations were therefore of paramount concern throughout my project. Procedurally, I complied with the University of Cambridge Ethical Approval process by completing the Ethical Approval form part A and securing Ethical Approval from the Ethics Committee[45] for the project prior to commencing data collection and analysis.

Data Security

The PhD was conducted using various kinds of technological tools, for example Microsoft Word and Excel, NVivo 12, Stata and using email. All data was therefore saved on a password-protected computer and backed up onto a password-protected hard drive. Some data, such as consent forms, were printed out: these were marked with only reference numbers rather than using names or any other sensitive personal data. Printed files were saved in a hidden file in my home.[46]

With the exception of some information that was unavoidably shared over email (for example, some respondents chose to complete the consent form electronically and email it to me; I shared interview files with the transcribing specialist), no sensitive personal data was stored on my computer without it being password protected (both the data itself, and my computer are password protected). I took care to minimise the sharing of sensitive data over email. I also anticipated the need to share the interview files with the transcription specialist and so took utmost care to avoid the mention of sensitive personal data during the interview, for example by opening the interview with a reference code rather than a name, by requesting that respondents shared email addresses and contact details by writing in my notepad rather than saying aloud in the recording, and by asking them to mark their earnings (in the last section of the interview guide) on the interview guide paper, rather than informing me verbally.

---

[45] Approved 2nd March 2018.

[46] Originally this had been saved in my university locker, but this became difficult when I moved to entirely home-working in March 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality was fundamental to the conduct of my research. I took careful steps to preserve the anonymity of my respondents, not least because my findings could be reported back to their employers. Both they and I were aware of the risk that their words or experiences, in the wrong hands, could have serious ramifications for their career progression and workplace status, both within and beyond PYP. Thus, names and sensitive personal data (i.e. identifiable information such as phone numbers, addresses, children's names, email addresses and PYP team or department) were stored in only one place: a password-protected Excel spreadsheet. In all other locations, all files (such as NVivo 12 files, consent forms, interview print-outs and transcription files) were saved with an alias name or reference number attached to the file. The use of only alias names – for fathers, their partners, children and any friends and family they mentioned – throughout the thesis also maintained their anonymity. This practice will be maintained, and the aliases used consistently, throughout publications following the completion of the PhD.

I informed respondents that their names would be anonymised. At the start of the interview I explained that I would not share the contents of the interview with anyone, including their partner. Interviewing couples separately presents particular ethical challenges, because of the potential for respondents to recognise their partners' accounts in the thesis or any subsequent papers (Faircloth, 2020). I dealt with this challenge by explaining to every respondent that I would completely anonymise their name and any identifying information, but of the potential risk of their narrative being identifiable by their partner. I explained that if an excerpt corresponded to an account of potentially sensitive nature, I would check the excerpt with them prior to publication to ensure they were happy with the way I had written it up. Ultimately, there have only been few cases where this has been necessary, as the specific details of partner interactions have rarely featured in the thesis.

Voluntary Participation and Consent

Prior to commencing recruitment of participants, I designed a participant information sheet and consent form (see Appendices, section 1). The information sheet provided background information about the project and what participation would involve, and stressed the lack of direct benefits to the participant as well as the voluntary nature of participation. As part of the participant registration process, this sheet and form were emailed to the prospective interviewee. At the start of the interview, I ensured participants had read the participant information sheet (if

necessary by making time to read it within the interview), had the opportunity to ask questions, and signed the consent form. I therefore ensured I had written informed consent for all participants prior to conducting the interview.

I closed the interview by asking again whether respondents had any questions and explaining they could email me at any time. I reiterated that participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time, without explanation, by emailing me. Finally, I outlined the next steps/project timeline.

Feedback to participants

Shortly after completing the fieldwork, and prior to commencing maternity leave, I prepared two reports for PYP based on my preliminary analysis: one focused report for the UK firm and one comparative report examining the three countries together. Each participant was a sent the comparative report, and the UK respondents also received the UK-specific report. I also held a meeting with the Partner for HR at PYP UK and her team to feedback my findings and inform the development of their parental leave policy. Following the final completion of the PhD, I have offered to prepare an 'executive summary' for my respondents, liaison contacts and key stakeholders. I have also offered to discuss the findings as a whole and the recommendations that I make in chapter 7 with HR management in each country firm.

Reflexivity, positionality and interpretation

Reflexivity and positionality

Given my feminist research ethic, it is important to account for the role of my own positionality in the production of the research and its findings. As a white, middle-class researcher based at the University of Cambridge, my own positionality and (feminist) biases have shaped the research design, access to participants, as well as the interpretation, analysis and ultimately the themes identified (Rich, 1986). I consider that my credentials as a Cambridge PhD candidate without doubt shaped my access to this elite employer. I cannot say for certain that I would have been invited to access employees at this prominent institution if I were completing my PhD at another, perhaps less 'prestigious,' research establishment.[47] In addition, several of the UK

[47] I do not write this in arrogance: it comes from my own experience as a graduate of the University of the West of England and observation of the different way I have been treated by institutions and individuals since becoming a Cambridge PhD student.

fathers I interviewed completed undergraduate studies at Cambridge and this commonality provided a certain degree of familiarity in the registration and interview process.

Some of the potential pitfalls of the power relations inherent in the researcher-researched relationship, as theorised above, were mitigated by the fact that I interviewed men and women largely from relatively similar social locations (Alcoff, 1995). While *my* narration of *their* experiences retains a form of power, the fact that my respondents already accessed power and status in society meant that the risk of epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988) – in terms of erasing or homogenising their experiences and subjectivities (Mohanty, 1991) – was somewhat curtailed. My ethical commitment to a partial perspective (Haraway, 1988), as outlined above, has prevented me from making totalising truth claims. Furthermore, as is hopefully clear in the ensuing chapters, I have been careful to foreground complexity, variety, contradiction and inconsistency within and across fathers' experiences.

Nevertheless, my theoretical and political bias – specifically, my feminist politics, concern for gender equality and my embeddedness within the theoretical framework I developed for the project, without doubt shaped my interpretation and analysis of the data and ultimately the findings. Another researcher from a different location using a different theoretical approach would likely have understood the fathers' experiences in different ways than I have in this thesis. This point must be explicitly stated. I therefore confidently acknowledge my own partiality and accountability for the entirety of the research findings. Its insights, and flaws, are the product of my own positionality and subjectivity.

Interpretation

Two particular issues emerged from my research design. Firstly, the fact that my respondents in Portugal and Sweden were being interviewed in English, a second language for them, meant an additional barrier between their experience and the account of their experience to which I had access. In acknowledging this barrier, I have mitigated 'the fallacious assumption that what foreign speakers can express in English words is all that the foreigners have on their minds' (Hofstede, 2001, p.425); however, it is important to acknowledge that my research has likely suffered for this communication issue. This is a key learning that I will consider in future research design.

Secondly, one part of the interview guide attempted to uncover the extent to which fathers were influenced by social norms, connected to both my research questions and my theoretical framework. A key shortcoming of such a line of questioning is that it is extremely difficult for an individual to assess – subjectively *or* objectively – their own susceptibility to, or the formation of their subjectivity through, social norms and discourses (Nolan, 2008, 2015). Thus, while conducting the analysis, I examined their responses to these particular questions then considered them in the context of the rest of the interview, their partner's interview, and the course of action they recounted to me, using a feminist critical discourse analysis. This at times felt uncomfortable, but given the purpose of a critical discourse analysis to foreground the 'complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged' (Lazar, 2007, p.142), I believe it necessary.

Rigour and Robustness

Quantitative component: The EVS Data

Quantitative analysis is only as good as the data upon which it is based. One advantage of secondary analysis of large-scale data sets such as the EVS, collected by professional organisations, is that considerable resources are expended on ensuring that a representative sample is collected (and that any deviation from that is corrected by weighting); on ensuring that as far as possible, survey items conform to high standards of validity and reliability; and, in the case of cross-national surveys, that data are as far as possible comparable across countries. The EVS ensures high methodological standards through probabilistic representative sampling and representative sample sizes, cross-country data harmonisation, and, most recently, collaboration via the pan-European SERISS project (Synergies for Europe's Research Infrastructures in the Social Sciences), which aimed to strengthen and harmonise social science research across Europe (EVS 2021a; EVS 2021b). The EVS ensures measurement comparability through the application of rigorous criteria during the translation process and the utilisation of a Translation Management Tool monitored by a central team. In addition, the 'double translation and team review' procedure comprises a five-stage process comprising the provision of two or more independent draft translations, a review stage, adjudication, pre-testing using a small-scale study, potentially multiple stages of adjudication and pre-testing, and documentation of the entire process (EVS, 2018). This comprehensive procedure ensures comparability between countries, as well as between waves of the EVS and the World Values Survey (WVS).

Non-response bias is a central issue relevant to any secondary data analysis and may broadly be classed into two types: unit non-response and item non-response. The first of these, unit non-response, is typically addressed through the use of weighting and the second type, item non-response, may be dealt with via imputation of missing values (Rose and Corti, 2001). The EVS does not publish imputed data: the numbers of missing values are relatively small, because the EVS avoids sensitive subject areas such as questions on exact levels of income. The EVS does supply weights; however, the analysis presented in this thesis is unweighted. The calculations for the composite index were also made with weighted data and the differences between the weighted and unweighted outputs were small. The final issue in relation to validity and reliability stems from the small cell sizes detailed earlier. A 'conservative rule of thumb is that no expected frequency should drop below five' (Wilson Van Voorhis and Morgan, 2007, p.49), and the smallest of all the cell frequencies are six and seven respectively. Nevertheless, caution should be exercised in the interpretation of results for some groups; I return to this in chapter 4.

Qualitative component

As mentioned, the results of this study are not intended to be generalisable across the populations of the UK, Sweden and Portugal, and provide an entirely partial picture (Haraway, 1988). Yet, rigour, reliability and quality are central to conducting qualitative research (Denzin, 2013; Flick, 2009; Kvale, 2007) and it is crucial to ensure the qualitative data collected, and my analysis and interpretation, are robust. Qualitative rigour and robustness were ensured throughout the design of the methodology as well as the use of inductive coding and a multi-stage, iterative analytical process, which ensured findings remained thematically relevant throughout multiple stages of coding and analysis (Vaismoradi and Snelgrove, 2019). Furthermore, I ensured robustness through attentiveness to 'negative cases' (Patton, 1999). By this I mean that I made sure not to disregard experiences that lay outside of a particular phenomenon, or whose accounts did not fit directly within the most prominent themes. As a result, some of my conclusions are perhaps messier than they might have been, but social experience *is* messy and partial. My approach to this project was grounded in an ethical imperative to reflect the subjective and sometimes contradictory experiences that fathers recounted, rather than producing a neatly fitted-together set of findings, concepts and theory.

Triangulation

I did not design the mixed methodology specifically to ensure triangulation or confirmation. However my qualitative findings were triangulated to some degree by their relative consistency

with the findings of the quantitative component (Denzin, 2013; Flick, 2009; Patton, 1999). Moreover, the themes and constraints that emerged throughout the interviews in each country are consistent with the extant literature on fatherhood.

Dissemination of Research

Findings have and will be distributed in academic publications and related events. The major publication will be this PhD thesis at the University of Cambridge. Various sections of the thesis will be adapted and submitted as three research papers; intended outlets include Gender, Work and Organization, Social Politics, Feminist Studies, the European Journal of Women's Studies and the Journal of European Social Policy. Findings have recently been distributed at two major British and international (virtual) conferences: the British Sociological Association 2021 and Gender, Work and Organization 2021 (both rescheduled from 2020). I monitor calls for papers and publications to search for new opportunities to share the findings. Preliminary findings have already been shared with the firms and fathers in each country, and discussed in the UK. As mentioned, I also plan to prepare an executive summary for PYP, and have offered to discuss findings.

I have also shared my findings at the policy level: through my work as a committee member with the UK Women's Budget Group, in a planned meeting with UK charity Working Families, and through presenting at public seminars on parental leave in the UK, as well as through blogging and publishing for media outlets such as The Times (Allen, 2019) and the Autonomy blog (Allen, 2021). I will continue to do this public and policy work, based on the recommendations made in chapter 7, following the completion of the PhD.

Limitations of research

All research has limitations and I have gestured towards some of the shortcomings (e.g. subjectivity and bias, interpretation and representation, language barrier) in the research design and ethics sections. I will not repeat these here, but will detail three key limitations with which I have sat uneasily while conducting the research.

A first key limitation pertains to a previously mentioned issue in the research implementation. Although I intended to recruit fathers in each country on a like-for-like basis, the small potential sample base in Sweden and Portugal circumvented this intention. Accordingly, I recruited only

fathers with or expecting their first child in the UK, but in Sweden and Portugal I recruited fathers with up to three children and who had gone through the decision-making process several times. The original intention behind only recruiting fathers with or expecting their first child was that previous parental leave decisions might influence later decisions, in either direction. I sought to capture the decision-making process and the factors considered free of this prior influence. Ultimately the difference between UK and Sweden and Portugal respondents was not so pronounced as to render my analysis difficult or more complex, and in fact, the hypothesis that previous choices would necessarily shape subsequent decisions was not consistently borne out.

A second possible limitation comes from a critique levelled at a presentation of my findings in 2019. Professor Samita Sen said to me something along the lines of: 'in gender studies, we are sometimes accused of looking at women's experience and failing to take account of the relevance of men. Do you think your research does the opposite – i.e. examines factors relating to men and marginalises the influence of women?' I set out to conduct my fieldwork with fathers and their (female[48]) partners in each of the countries. My justification for interviewing the fathers' partners as well as the fathers themselves was twofold: firstly, I wanted to understand if there were differences or tensions in how fathers and their partners understood the decision-making process. In particular, I wanted to ascertain who drove the decision to use leave and whether it stemmed from fathers' desires or, for example, from their partners' insistence that it should be shared. Secondly, based on suggestions of 'maternal gatekeeping' in the literature (e.g. Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017) I wanted to establish whether there were tensions or disagreements in the decision-making process, or whether couples were more-or-less in agreement. It was unfortunate but beyond my control that I was not able to speak with every father's partner, particularly in Sweden and Portugal. However, I did establish answers to the questions that justified the inclusion of the fathers' partners in the data collection, and which pertained to the constraining and enabling actions stemming from mothers' production through gendered social norms, such as the pressure to enact 'good mothering' (Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; Miller, 2011b). In a draft of the thesis I explored the idea of 'maternal precedence'; however, due to word count constraints it did not fit, and other data were more relevant to the project research questions. As a result of the lack of interview data for the Portugal partner sample, as well as the lack of space to discuss factors relating to the partners/mothers, I ultimately excluded their data from the final analysis

[48] I did not rule out recruiting fathers with male partners, but none applied to join the study.

underpinning this thesis. I plan to publish a separate journal article based on the removed 'maternal precedence' excerpt.

A final limitation is perhaps the one with which I have sat most uncomfortably throughout the PhD: the absence of class and race diversity in my study. At no point in the development of the research was my intention to focus on a group of highly privileged, middle class and predominantly white fathers. I was interested in understanding the factors that prevented (and enabled) all types of fathers from utilising leave entitlements[49] and the initial ideas I had regarding sample recruitment reflected a desire to recruit a diverse group that encompassed fathers from different backgrounds in terms of ethnicity, class, household income and migration status. Due to the need to 'hold constant' the work-based culture, however, these recruitment avenues became inadequate, and the ensuing plan to identify a multinational company limited the ability to recruit a cross-sectional sample. I had hoped for more diversity within each country firm, but this was not the case. As a result, the study became very white and middle class, and situated within the particular constraints of corporate masculine culture. Accordingly, I make no claims that this research and its findings are generalisable across the population – although, of course, this is not a claim I could have made anyway, given my methodological choices. Instead, my research shows the particular constraints of corporate life and masculinity, the specific norms and values that govern middle and upper-middle class corporate fathers' ability to utilise parental leave entitlements in the three countries, and how these are different and similar in a cross-national context. Moreover, studying elites is important, not least because if the most privileged among our society, with ample income, bargaining power and relative work flexibility, are unable to reconcile work and family life, then how can we expect members of other social groups, with fewer economic, educational and institutional privileges to manage? [50] In addition, studying how

[49] However ambitious this seems in retrospect!

[50] As I noted in chapter 1, theorists of capitalism and social reproduction (Bhattacharya, 2017; Davis, 1983; Federici, 2014; Ferguson, 2020; Fraser, 2017) build on a blind spot in Marx's work to argue that capitalism is sustained through and reproduced by (or even free rides upon) the unpaid and undervalued labour carried out by women in the household. Fraser, for example, argues that financialised capital's refusal to make provisions for the work of social reproduction is at the root of its 'crisis tendency' (2017). From a meta-perspective, then, this thesis is located within the dialectic between capitalism and its inability or unwillingness to provide for social reproduction. Although my research does not wish to reify or reinforce the power of corporates through focusing on their policies, in the absence of well-designed public policy around parental leave – and sometimes also where it is in situ – the reality is that large corporations have both the resources and the commercial imperative, in terms of recruitment and retention, to set the bar on good employment practices. The fact that this is not my political ideal and does nothing to ensure equity in access to parental leave and time spent caring does not mean that we should not also attempt to make improvements to workers' contractual rights. In the absence of wholesale transformation of capitalism, the ways in which individual workers – however privileged – experience national and workplace environments and cultures matters a great deal. My work contributes

‘these privileged men and women operate within, help sustain, and occasionally resist powerful institutions in contemporary capitalism – in particular the family and the workplace – is critical in order to better understand these institutions and, crucially, how to change them’ (Orgad, 2019, p.15). Nevertheless, the unease I have felt through conducting my study on these elite groups of men has not lessened throughout the project. In order to better understand the constraints faced by fathers in different social locations – especially racialised fathers, working class, young, and precariously employed fathers, I seek to conduct future research designed specifically to document their experiences. This is particularly important given the wholesale changes to work we are currently undergoing as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, and also given the pronounced absence of accounts of these fathers’ experiences in the literature.

towards making the case that the micro-level detail, which articulates how constraints persist and how change is possible, is as important as wider theories of capitalism.

Chapter 4: The normative environment: Comparative context and attitudes to gender roles in the three countries

The extent to which women have achieved parity with men in different spheres of society (in employment, within the family and in civil society) varies to a considerable degree between nation states. This variation is a consequence of differences in national welfare regimes and labour market policies, as well as in less tangible aspects such as cultural factors (Pfau-Effinger, 1998, 2020). Nation states differ considerably in the levels of support they offer to dual-earner families (Tavora and Rubery, 2013). In addition, while national policies are crucial determinants of behaviour, the fact that decisions around work and family responsibility are connected to the most intimate areas of our personal lives means that individual attitudes and normative assumptions are also relevant in attempts to understand and explain current trends (Lyonette et al., 2007).

This study is therefore underpinned by a wealth of comparative research, which documents the social, political, historical and economic contexts of Sweden, Portugal and the United Kingdom and their resultant gender 'regimes' (Walby, 2020; Connell, 2005; Pfau-Effinger, 2020). Comparative analysis highlights convergence and divergence between different welfare states: similarities and differences that 'owe their origins to different historical forces' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.3) as well as 'path dependent trajectories' which lead to 'varieties of regimes of inequality' (Walby 2009, p.277; see also Magnusson and Ottosson, 2009). This chapter will now review the comparative scholarship on gender, welfare state and labour market, as well as norms and culture, work, fathers and care, in order to present each country's 'gender arrangement' (Pfau-Effinger, 2020), beginning with Sweden. I then conduct quantitative analysis using the latest wave of the European Values Study (2017) to understand attitudes towards gender roles in the three countries. Combined, these two approaches will illustrate differences and similarities in national attitudes towards gender roles in Sweden, Portugal and the UK, which underpin wider forms of gender equality, specifically fathers' use of parental leave.

Part I: Setting the context: A comparative backdrop to Sweden, Portugal and the United Kingdom

Sweden and gender equality

Sweden is a socially democratic state, widely considered one of the most progressive countries in the world for gender equality and regularly topping the global lists of gender equality at the

Table 4: Comparative social, gender equality, labour market and time-use indicators

	Sweden	UK	Portugal
Human Development Index rank[51]	7	13	38
HDI Value[1]	0.945	0.932	0.864
HDI: Life expectancy at birth[51]	82.8	81.3	82.1
HDI: expected years of schooling[51]	19.5	17.5	16.5
HDI: mean years of schooling[51]	12.5	13.2	9.3
HDI: GNI per capita (PPP$)[51]	54,508	52,085	33,967
GDP per capita (PPS)[52]	119	104	78
Gini coefficient[53]	30.0	35.1	33.5
Gender Inequality Index rank[54]	3	31	17
GII value[54]	0.039	0.118	0.075
EIGE Index[55]	83.8	72.7	61.3
EQLS: hours[56] childcare–men	30	22	19
EQLS: hours[56] childcare–women	43	40	29
EQLS: total working hours–men[57]	42	41	45
EQLS: total working hours–women[57]	38	32	40
EQLS: % family-work conflict–women[58]	14%	19%	22%
EQLS: % family-work conflict–men[58]	11%	15%	22%
Eurostat Gender Pay Gap 2019[59]	11.8	n/a	10.6
Eurostat Gender Pay Gap 2018[59]	12.1	19.8	8.9
OECD Gender Wage Gap[60]	7.6	16.0	11.7
OECD Public spending-family benefits[61]	3.40	3.23	1.69
OECD Parental leave recipients–men[62]	314.1 (45.0%)	n/a[63]	87.4 (44.8%)
OECD Leave recipients–women[62]	380.0 (55%)	n/a[63]	107.8 (55.2%)
Eurostat employment rate[64]	82.1%	79.3	76.1%
Eurostat employment rate–men[64]	84.4%	84.0	79.9%
Eurostat employment rate –women[64]	79.7% = 2	74.6% = 13	72.7% = 16
OECD maternal employment–total[65]	86.1% =4	74.2% =17	83.8% =3
OECD maternal employment–FT[65]	76.7%	39.7%	75.7%
Male part time employment[66]	11.4%	11.4%	3.8%
Female part time employment[66]	17.1%	34.5%	8.6%

[51] Human Development Index (UNDP, 2020)
[52] 2019 data (Eurostat, 2020c); corrected for purchasing power parity.
[53] (World Bank, 2021)
[54] Gender inequality index (UNDP, 2020a)
[55] Gender Equality Index, European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) (Barbieri et al., 2020)
[56] Hours spent caring for/educating children, collected through the European Quality of Life survey (Eurofound, 2020a)
[57] Total working hours, collected through the European Quality of Life survey (Eurofound, 2020a)
[58] Percentage % saying they have found it difficult to concentrate at work because of family responsibilities at least several times a month (Eurofound, 2020c)
[59] Unadjusted mean gender pay gap (Eurostat, 2021c)
[60] Median gender pay gap (OECD, 2021a)
[61] As a percentage of GDP (OECD, 2019a)
[62] Recipients of publicly administered parental leave/benefits per 100 live births (OECD, 2019c; OECD, 2019d)
[63] Data not available via OECD: the British government does not collect data on recipients of leave use. They defend this as a product of the way it is administered, through employer reimbursements via HMRC (tax and revenue department) (Birkett and Forbes, 2019)
[64] Employment rate by sex, 2019 data. (Eurostat, 2021b).
[65] Employment rates (total and full time) as a percentage for women (15–64 year-olds) with at least one child aged 0-14 in the household. (OECD, 2020b; OECD, 2020c).
[66] Defined as working less than 30 hours per week, as percentage of total employment – 2020 data (OECD, 2021d)

country level (Browne, 2016; Schwab, 2019; UNHDR, 2021). With the dual-earner model embedded since the mid-1950s, Sweden's welfare state has been termed 'women-friendly,' given the long history of policy facilitating women's labour force participation and closer-to-egalitarian sharing of work and child-care (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Borchorst and Siim, 2008; Detraz and Peksen, 2018; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Hobson, 2006; Korpi et al., 2013). Sweden is a wealthy country, with GDP per capita[67] around 20 per cent higher than the EU average since 2008. It has a relatively low Gini coefficient[68] of 30.0, although inequality is rising – the coefficient has increased almost every year since 2003 (World Bank, 2021).

Characterised as the paradigmatic 'weak breadwinner' state (Lewis, 1994; Hobson, 2006), at the time of writing Sweden has the highest score of all countries in the European Index for Gender Equality (EIGE), a composite measure based on six core (work, knowledge, money, power, health and time) and two additional domains (intersectionality and violence against women) (Barbieri et al., 2020). Sweden ranks seventh on the UN's Human Development Index and third on the UN Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2020, 2020a). While frequently depicted as a 'paradise' of egalitarianism and equality, it's important not to paint too utopian a vision (Sagar and Mulinari, 2018; Grönland et al., 2017). Social inequalities persist across gender, citizenship, and ethnicity (Martinsson and Griffin, 2016). Some scholars have argued for a 'welfare state paradox' which sees generous family policies hamper women's economic and occupational potential through intensified occupational gender segregation and the normalisation of career breaks for women (Estévez-Abe, 2006; Mandel, 2012; Mandel and Seymonov, 2006). While others have questioned the statistical basis for such claims (Grönlund and Magnusson, 2016; Grönlund et al., 2017; Korpi et al., 2013), Sweden does have an enduring gender pay gap of around 10 per cent, 'middling' levels of occupational segregation, and women continue to spend more time on reproductive labour such as domestic and childcare work than men (See table 4 above; Eurofound, 2020a; Grönlund and Magnusson, 2016; Hagqvist et al, 2017; Hustad et al., 2020; Korpi et al., 2013). Researchers have also found evidence of high work-family conflict in Sweden (Tang and Cousins, 2005; Lyonette et al., 2007), while fathers do not use flexible working entitlements to anywhere near the same degree as mothers (Haas and Hwang, 2016). Access to gender equality is also mediated by class and race: for example, fathers with lower levels of education, and couples born outside of Sweden, demonstrate lower sharing of parental leave entitlements than middle class fathers and Swedish nationals (Ma et al., 2021).

[67] Corrected for purchasing power parity
[68] The Gini coefficient is a statistical measure of social inequality, where 0 indicates perfect equality and 1 indicates maximum inequality.

Nevertheless, with high levels of female labour force participation, a lower care-time gap, a smaller gender wage gap than most countries, and high levels of welfare spending on early years education and childcare, it is clear that the Swedish 'state feminist' (Hernes, 1987) project gets closer to achieving gender equality than is the case in many other countries, including the UK and Portugal (Eurofound, 2020a; Eurostat, 2021b; OECD, 2019c; OECD, 2019d; OECD, 2021a; Goldscheider et al., 2015).

Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in Sweden

Sweden has the highest use of parental leave by fathers worldwide (OECD, 2019), which can be contextualised by socio-historical factors, or path dependence. Early forms of gender equality existed in the Scandinavian countries before the UK and Southern Europe (Lister, 2007). In Sweden, wives' individual rights to property and their own earned income existed from 1874; marriage equality reforms[69] were implemented via new legislation as early as 1920 (Lister, 2007).

Actions taken by the Swedish state shaped the development of culture around fathering from the start of the twentieth century (Bergman and Hobson, 2002). Whereas fathers' rights and responsibilities didn't enter public discourse in Britain until the 1980s, Swedish authorities passed a law in 1917 that formally established paternity for children including those born outside of marriage (Lewis, 2002; Bergman and Hobson, 2002). Every infant was legally entitled to identified and responsible parents, meaning both mother and father were officially registered and financially responsible for the child (Bergman and Hobson, 2002). Concerns over poverty experienced by children born outside wedlock led to a host of welfare developments and policy changes throughout the twentieth century (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Lewis, 1994). These welfare state and legislative frameworks embedded fathers' rights and responsibilities in both law and culture (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Hobson, 2006).

The 1960s and 1970s formed a key period in the trajectory of the Swedish Welfare State as it is structured today, both from the perspective of father's rights and responsibilities and related to 'conscious steps taken' to promote women's engagement in the labour force and cultivate a dual breadwinner model (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Lewis, 1994; Johansson and Klinth, 2008; Korpi et al., 2013). Anxiety about birth rates, the need for women's labour power, and concerns to ensure shared responsibility for children even after separation and divorce led to many

[69] Which instituted equal property rights, liberalisation of divorce, abolition of male authority and equal child custody.

legislative changes (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Duvander and Johansson, 2019; Lewis, 1994). Revisions to the Parental Code were predicated upon an 'unwritten set of assumptions that fathering a child entitles a man to contact with a child, visitation rights and even custody, regardless of whether the child was born in marriage' (Bergman and Hobson, 2002, p.97). To promote women's position as workers as well as mothers, individual taxation was introduced in 1971 and the number of public childcare places increased dramatically over the next two decades, from 10 per cent in 1968 to 27 per cent in 1979 and 47 per cent by 1987 (Lewis, 1994). Rather than a flat-rate maternity pay, Sweden was the first country worldwide to bring in parental leave, introducing earnings-linked benefits for six months following childbirth in 1974 (Sundstrom and Duvander, 2002).[70] Significantly, either parent could make use of this benefit and considerations regarding fathers' take-up were 'part of the debate from the beginning' (Duvander and Johansson, 2015, p.349); however, in practice it was mainly used by mothers (Hobson, 2006, p.162). Payment was set at 90 per cent of earnings and if the recipient had not earned prior to use then a low flat rate applied. This arrangement was designed to incentivise women to join the labour market prior to bearing children (Duvander and Johansson, 2008). The early introduction of Sweden's parental leave framework is regarded as a key political change in the shift from the male breadwinner to the dual earner/dual carer model (Ferrarini and Duvander, 2010).

Gender, work and care in Sweden

The twentieth century saw the Scandinavian countries adopt social equality as a core value (Borchorst and Siim, 2008; Hobson 2006). Social democratic values and processes underscore the egalitarianism of Swedish culture, with redistribution policies implemented through the welfare state in the service of ameliorating class differences (Borchorst and Siim, 2008). Hobson's prolific work on the emergence of gender equality in Sweden (1990, 1993, 1994, 2002, 2006) highlights the centrality of the role of feminist advocacy in early social policy debates and legislation. She argues that Swedish feminism became institutionalised at the start of the twentieth century at the same time as the formation of the welfare state, and that the attachment of Swedish feminism to the long-standing Swedish Social Democratic Party, who had uninterrupted voter majority from 1932–1988, is a core foundation of the 'women-friendly state' (2006, pp.153–154). An important feature of 'women-friendliness' is women's capacity to establish households that can avoid poverty, independently of the social institutions of the labour market and the household. This has been conceptualised by scholars as defamilialisation

[70] One year before the UK offered any maternity leave.

(also called defamilisation in the literature) (Daly, 2011; Hobson, 1990, 1994, 2006; Orloff 1993). Lohmann and Zagel's familisation/defamilisation index found Sweden ranks highest of the 21 countries analysed, including Portugal and the UK (2016, pp.60–61).

Research theorising the 'stalled' or 'incomplete revolution' has drawn attention to the fact that steps towards formal equality in the public sphere, and women's greater participation in the labour force, consistently fail to be met by progress in the private or domestic sphere (England, 2010; Esping-Andersen, 2009; Norman et al., 2014; Scott, 2006). Yet, in Sweden, the embedding of structures to facilitate women's formal autonomy, participation in the labour market, and the dual-earner model, underpin attitudes to gender equality. The rejection of traditional gender ideology across North America and Western Europe since the 2000s has been particularly pronounced in Sweden, where shifts away from traditional gender roles, including delaying or avoiding marriage, increases in cohabitation, delayed parenthood and reductions in fertility rates, have taken place earlier than in other locations (Gimenez-Nadal et al., 2011; Kaufman et al., 2016; Lück, 2005; Scott, 2006). Goldscheider et al. (2015) have conceptualised the 'second demographic transition' (Lesthaeghe, 2010), or 'gender revolution' in two parts: the first seeing major changes in women's formal labour force participation across the global north, and the second part, presently underway, seeing men's greater take up of domestic responsibilities. They argue that, in Sweden, the second half of the gender revolution is well underway, given the relatively high degrees of both state support for egalitarian distribution of reproductive responsibilities and fathers' involvement in care and domestic labour (Goldscheider et al., 2015; Oláh and Bernhardt, 2008).

Resulting from this socio-historical context, both female and maternal labour force participation rates in Sweden are high. Female labour force participation rate is the second highest in Europe (after Iceland) at 78.3 per cent, against a total employment rate of 80.8. per cent and a male participation rate of 83.2 per cent – this is the smallest gender participation gap, at 4.9 per cent, of the three focus countries (Eurostat, 2021a). OECD data on maternal employment (2020b) show that 86.1 per cent of mothers work: 76.7 per cent of mothers in Sweden work full time (defined as 30 or more hours) and 8.5 per cent work part time (under 30 hours). This is third highest in the OECD countries.[71] Sweden's high female labour force participation rate is undergirded by statutory provision of robust parental leave policies that facilitate sharing, as well

[71] Ranking behind first Iceland and second Slovenia.

as universal childcare, both of which are linked to parental and especially maternal labour-force attachment (Oláh and Bernhardt, 2008; Votinius, 2020).

In spite of women's high labour force participation and state support for egalitarian gender roles, men's working hours remain longer than women's, at 42 hours compared to 38 (Eurofound, 2020a) and a significant gap exists in time spent caring (Evertsson, 2014): men spend 30 hours per week caring for children, compared to women's 43 (Eurofound, 2020b). Women work in part-time roles to a far higher degree than men – albeit long part-time hours (34 hours or less – Duvander and Löfgren, 2020, p.566): 30.7 per cent of women work part-time, compared to 12.0 per cent of men (Eurostat, 2021d).[72] Yet ten per cent more women than men state that they have found it difficult to fulfil family responsibilities because of time spent at work (31 per cent compared to 21 per cent; Eurofound, 2020c), and ten per cent more women than men say they have difficulty reconciling paid work and care (35 per cent compared to 25 per cent, Eurofound 2020d).

Gender norms, discourse and culture in Sweden

Imbrication with the welfare state has therefore been central to establishing gender equality in Sweden. Crucial too, however, are the discursive production and maintenance of these norms of gender equality. As Hobson points out, 'In Sweden, the dual-earner norm was coupled to a gender-equality discourse in which men were considered to be part of the emancipatory project' (Hobson, 2006, p.160). As a result, consensus exists on the importance of gender equality, and also paternal involvement, which is partly the result of culture emphasising men as caregivers developed throughout the twentieth century (Caragata and Miller, 2008; Duvander and Johansson, 2015; Haas and Hwang, 2016). Lundqvist (2012) articulates the multiplicity and diffusion of gender equality discourses in Sweden, drawing attention to the ways in which discourses circulate through and are appropriated by disparate institutions and actors for different ends, such as feminist advocates, fathers' rights groups, policy documents and government commissions, at the same time as shoring up the general strength of cultural commitment to (certain forms of) gender equality. Gender equality is understood as so central to Swedish culture that some scholars argue it is used by the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to

[72] A discrepancy between part-time prevalence as measured by OECD and Eurostat data results from the definition: OECD data is based on working hours whereas Eurostat data is based on contract type. Women working part-time in Sweden often work long part time hours (.8 or .9 FTE are common – i.e. over 30 hours per week – Duvander and Löfgren, 2020).

promote an external image, or 'national brand,' of progressive liberalism (Jezierska and Towns, 2018).

Specifically in relation to men, masculinities and fathers' use of leave, Johansson and Klinth (2008) have argued that paternity leave in Sweden is a 'political project.' Their analysis is based on the extent to which Swedish Government campaigns have used 'advertisements, films, brochures, TV spots, photo exhibits, radio jingles and personal letters' to encourage men to take up leave (p.43–44). Indeed, while conducting fieldwork in Sweden, I had the opportunity to speak to the Spokesperson for Family Economics at the Försäkringskassan (Swedish Social Welfare Agency), who showed me two adverts from the Swedish Film Archive, promoting fathers' use of leave (Filmarkivet.se, 1976; Filmarkivet.se, 1978).[73] One film (see stills in figure 4) depicts weightlifter 'Hoa Hoa' Dahlgren – the epitome of tough masculinity – engage in infant play and care. Dahlgren featured in many adverts, as Johansson and Klinth explain:

> The image of a muscular man holding an infant in his arms has forever engraved itself in the collective Swedish memory as the symbol of paternity leave. With his tousled red hair, his bulging biceps, and his blue and yellow shirt—the color of the Swedish flag—weightlifter Leif "Hoa Hoa" Dahlgren integrates conceptions of masculinity, caring, and national identity—he's a family-oriented version of a Swedish welfare-state Viking. The message is crystal clear: There are no conflicts between parental leave and masculinity. A real man takes paternity leave! (2008, p.42, see image in figure 5)

The fact that the Swedish social security agency has been engaged in this discursive gender equality project since the 1970s is highly significant. Gender norms around caregiving are deeply rooted and difficult to resist. The recognition that changing culture and reframing discourses of caregiving and masculinity is the necessary counterpart of enabling policy is crucial and has, over time, challenged the norm of women staying at home with infants and young children by introducing discourses of sharing parental leave and wider caregiving (Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017).

Although scholars have highlighted that gender equality is not as thoroughly embedded across all social policy as representations of the Swedish state might lead us to believe (Hudson and Rönnblom 2007; Towns 2002), the discursive breadth of gender equality is relevant to gender norms and normative gender roles in Sweden. Using Kremer's (2007) concept of 'national ideals of care', Bergqvist and Saxonberg argue that Sweden exemplifies a national ideal of care based

[73] Which can be viewed at https://www.filmarkivet.se/movies/forsakringskassan/ and https://www.filmarkivet.se/movies/forsakringskassan-2/.

on parental sharing supported by institutionalised daycare (2016, p.4). Their analysis highlights how formal individual entitlements in the Swedish parental leave policy framework – i.e. each parent is allocated half of the leave (which has been the case since 1995), create a 'norm of equal sharing.' However, in spite of this norm and the discourses surrounding it, research shows an enduring connection between women and primary caregiving (Haas and Hwang, 2008).

Figure 4: Weightlifter 'Hoa Hoa' Dahlgren in the 1978 Försäkringskassan (Social insurance agency) advertising campaign aimed at men. Dahlgren arrives at the daycare centre, plays with the children, picks up his son and then takes the toddler home in the buggy. The advert had a clear message: 'it is nice to be on parental leave.' In 1980 however, just five per cent of parental leave recipients were men. (Filmarkivet.se, 1978; see also Johansson and Klinth, 2008).

Fathers, work and care, and masculinities in Sweden

Sweden, particularly throughout the 2000s, has seen a clear shift from fatherhood as secondary to equal fatherhood predicated upon the same responsibilities as mothers (Duvander and Johansson, 2015; Johansson and Klinth, 2008; Kaufman et al., 2017). Despite discursive and policy shifts which increase men's capabilities to access involved parenting through, for example,

parental leave but also 'work-life balance' entitlements (Hobson, 2011), it remains important to differentiate the 'participating father' from the idea of gender-equal parenthood. In practice, while most fathers expect to share some parental leave, their use often does not come close to half (Bekkengen, 2002; Duvander and Johansson, 2015; Ma et al. 2021). Historically, 'both traditional gender roles and economic incentives [have] reinforce[d] a highly skewed division of leave between parents' (Duvander and Bygren, 2005, p.6; see also Alsarve et al., 2016).

Figure 5: 'Hoa Hoa' Dahlgren in the Försäkringskassan 'Daddy on Leave' Campaign (Aftonbladet.se, 2010; see also Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Johansson and Klinth, 2008).

Moreover, the ascendence of neoliberal discourses of freedom of choice in the context of parental leave have undermined gender equality, destabilising the dual earner/dual carer model and instead establishing a somewhat contradictory 'dual earner/gender specialised family model' which at once institutes individualisation and familialisation (Lundqvist, 2012, p.46). As Duvander and Johansson note, 'many families still have large obstacles to a more equal sharing of the leave, both practical (for example, financial and work-related) and obstacles related to

power structures, traditions and values' (2015, p.361). Thus, in spite of Sweden's official adoption of gender equality incorporating men's rights to work reduced hours, fathers in Sweden remain attached to the 'male model of work' (Haas and Hwang, 2016). Haas and Hwang suggest that this is in part because in part because of private companies' weak support for reduced hours (2016).

Parental leave policy development in Sweden

Since the 1970s, several changes to Swedish parental leave policy have led to relatively high usage of parental leave days by fathers (Bergman and Hobson, 2002; Duvander and Johansson, 2019). Sweden has the highest use of parental leave days of all OECD countries (OECD, 2019) and the introduction of reserved months for fathers has stimulated this use. In 1995 Sweden first introduced one month of non-transferable leave for fathers, and made the entitlement formally individual. The non-transferable quota for each parent increased to two months in 2002 and three months in 2016 (Duvander and Johansson, 2012). The introduction of the first non-transferable portion dramatically increased fathers' use of leave, almost overnight: the percentage of fathers using any parental leave jumped from 43 per cent to 75 per cent, and fathers' average number of days used increased by 10 days (Duvander and Johansson, 2012). Now about 30 per cent of all leave days are used by fathers and 45 per cent of leave-payment recipients are men (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020).

The UK and gender equality

The UK is a liberal state whose late adoption of parental leave policies reflects its laissez-faire approach to gender equality and work-family reconciliation. It is a relatively rich country, with GDP per capita of between five and ten per cent above EU average over the past ten years, although 2019's measure, at 104, was the lowest since 2008. It holds 13th position on the UN Human Development Index. Given its wealth, and comparably large professional class (Lyonette et al. 2007; White, 2017; for relative size of socio-economic groups by country see sample sizes in Appendices, section 2, tables 9–11), it ranks poorly for gender equality: 38th on the UN Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2020; 2020a) and 23rd in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap. The UK's composite EIGE score of 72.7 is almost five points ahead of the European Union-wide score of 67.9, but ranks sixth, behind Sweden, Denmark, France, Finland and the Netherlands (Barbieri et al., 2020). Over ten years of ideologically-imposed austerity, underpinned by neoliberal values, has increased levels of poverty and inequality across the

country, which have disproportionately impacted women—especially women of colour and disabled women (Hall et al., 2017; Alston, 2018). Levels of social inequality have thus risen since 2010, with a current Gini coefficient of 35.1, among the highest in Europe (World Bank, 2021).

UK policy spent the twentieth century firmly oriented towards the male breadwinner model, conceptualising economic provision as central to fathering (Featherstone, 2009; Lewis, 1994, 2002; Dermott, 2008). Lewis's seminal analysis of gender and welfare regimes therefore classified Britain as a 'strong male-breadwinner state' (1994).

Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in UK

While changes to the Swedish welfare state directed at establishing a dual earner society and enabling women to become workers as well as mothers took place from the 1960s onwards, Britain maintained a 'firm line between the private and the public spheres' (Lewis, 2002, p.126) and avoided policy developments encouraging men to assume greater responsibility in terms of childcare and domestic work (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Moss and O'Brien, 2021). Constructions of fatherhood predicated on fathers' breadwinning meant that, throughout the first decades of the twentieth century, women's work was understood as a threat to the status quo and even as providing opportunity for working-class male idleness (Lewis, 2002).[74] Correspondingly, limitations were frequently imposed on women's labour force participation (Murphy, 2014). Bars for married women operated in many professions from the late 19th century, before being abolished in most cases by 1946, although not until 1973 for the Foreign Service (Murphy, 2014; Stanley, 2015).

Historically therefore, UK social policy, in relation to the family, tended to support the rights and authority of the husband, which did not equate to a focus on fathers' engagement in care (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Lewis, 2002; Pateman, 1989). In contrast with Sweden as well as other European states, fathers historically held no rights in respect to children conceived outside wedlock: it was not until 1973 that equal guardianship rights were introduced (Meulders-Klein, 1990). Public discourse around fatherhood in mid-century Britain focused on fathers' roles as supporting maternal wellbeing and involvement in discipline, rather than playing an active role in caring (Lewis, 2002). Lewis has argued that fathers were omitted from the public agenda until the 1980s, and that their arrival in public discourse was related to changes in marriage patterns,

[74] These views were only moderated somewhat by mass unemployment during the inter-war years (Lewis, 2002).

increases in divorce and cohabitation and, importantly, an increase in lone mothers and absent fathers, which shaped the policy agenda (2002; see also Gillies, 2009; Tarrant, 2021). Lewis points out, as have others, that fathering practices were 'thus linked to marriage and to the role of provider', and that this enduring connection has proven problematic in terms of establishing discourses and policies that support fathers' engagement in active care (2002; see also Atkinson, 2017; Browne, 2006; Miller, 2011b).

In comparison with its European neighbours, the UK has largely stayed out of work-family balance in terms of policy (Lewis, 2002). It was not until the election of the Labour party in 1997 that moves to better facilitate reconciliation of work and care took place (Lewis, 2002; Moss and O'Brien, 2020). New Labour explicitly embraced gender equality policy objectives, adopting gender mainstreaming in 1998, alongside specific gender equality policies to form a 'twin track' strategy (Squires and Wickham-Jones, 2004). The party aimed to encourage the employment of all adults and move both women and men away from welfare payments and into work. These objectives required the establishment of a host of 'family-friendly' policies, such as tax credits, parental leave, the right to request flexible working; and investment in childcare, to enable parents to reconcile caring responsibilities with labour market participation (Lewis, 2002; Browne, 2006; Miller, 2011b; O'Brien, 2006).

Gender, work and care in the UK

Female labour force participation is relatively high at 74.6 per cent (Eurostat, 2021b),[75] which ranks 12th in Europe. Female labour force participation peaked at 72.7 per cent just prior to the Covid-19 pandemic (ONS, 2021b).[76] However, full-time participation, at 65.5 per cent of total employment, is among the lowest in the OECD (OECD, 2021d; see also Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004). Maternal labour force participation is medium-high at 74.2 per cent, placed in the middle of the second quartile of OECD countries (OECD, 2020b; OECD, 2020c [2019 data]). Yet with full-time maternal employment at only 39.7 per cent, the UK is at the bottom of the third quartile of OECD countries. Part-time maternal employment rate is 33.7 per cent (OECD, 2020b; OECD, 2020c).[77]

[75] 2019 data, based on age 20–64. I obtained these data in summer 2020; by the point of submission they were no longer available due to Brexit. Indeed, figures for all years have been removed.
[76] 2020 data, for women aged 16 to 64
[77] 2019 data.

The UK therefore has higher rates of women's part-time working, especially by mothers, than both Sweden and Portugal, and the sixth highest rate compared to the EU countries (Eurostat, 2021b; Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004). Part-time work in the UK is generally less well paid and protected than full-time work, associated with lack of career advancement, and reinforces a traditional gendered division of labour by upholding a 'modified male-breadwinner' model (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Lewis, 1994; Lyonette et al., 2007; Nightingale, 2019). Research in the early 2000s found that professional and managerial women seeking promotion tended to avoid part-time working even if opportunities were available (Crompton et al., 2003).

Underscoring high levels of women's part time working is an inadequate childcare system (Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004). State provision of childcare is minimal, consisting of limited cash transfers and tax credits until age 2–4 (Cory, 2020). The sector been drastically underfunded for decades but remains a low priority on the incumbent government's policy agenda (Hall and Stephens, 2020; Stephens, 2020). Only 57 per cent of local authorities have sufficient childcare provision for their needs, and this figure falls to 23 per cent when it comes to children with special educational needs or disability (Cory, 2020). Supply therefore fails to meet demand. Affordability is also a major issue, particularly for the poorest families.

Men's participation in childcare and domestic work has increased alongside women's economic activity, although not at anywhere near the same rate (Crompton and Lyonette, 2008; Dex et al., 2005; Gray, 2006; Lammi-Taskula, 2006; McMunn et al., 2020; Miller, 2011; Norman et al., 2014; Scott, 2006). Despite both men's and women's preferences for an equal division of housework (Auspurg et al., 2017), women continue to undertake more domestic labour in the household (McMunn et al., 2020). Mothers spend several hours per week more on care than fathers, although this gap has closed somewhat as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic (Andrew et al. 2020; Burgess and Goldman, 2021; Hupkau and Petrongolo, 2020; Sevilla and Smith, 2020). One study suggests that while total hours of work are on average fairly similar for men and women, women spend 29 hours per week on unpaid care and 22 hours in work, compare to men's 16 and 34 respectively (Bangham and Gustafsson, 2020). This is consistent with 2016 Eurofound data (see table 4 above), which shows a 13-hour gap between men and women in the UK (Eurofound, 2020a). Research has identified that shared egalitarian ideology is associated with more equal divisions of paid and unpaid work, and that men's gender ideology influences women's

housework hours, but that the inverse is not also true, i.e. women's – often more egalitarian – gender ideology does not also influence men's housework hours (McMunn et al., 2020)

The employment rate for men in the UK is 84.0 per cent (Eurostat, 2021a) and only 9.4 per cent of men work part-time (Eurostat, 2021d). At a mean of 41 hours per week, fathers' work hours, which used to be among the highest in the EU (Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004), are now among the lowest (Eurofound, 2020a). As noted above, men spend fewer hours caring and more hours in paid work than women in the UK (16 and 34 compared to 22 and 29), and are less likely to report family-work conflict than women (Eurofound, 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2020d). However, while research has found that men overall have greater access to 'schedule control' than women (Chung and van der Lippe, 2020), fathers have 'much less' access to flexible working than mothers (O'Brien et al., 2018a, p.6; Working Families, 2017; Women and Equalities Committee, 2018; see also Chung, 2017). In one study, 30 per cent of fathers reported no access to flexible working options (O'Brien et al., 2018a). Fathers are significantly less likely to work part-time than mothers; and while access to flexi-time is roughly equal (38% of fathers and 37% of mothers), access to job shares and term-time working is more frequent among mothers than fathers. Fathers with lower levels of education, in lower socio-economic groups, in the private sector, in male dominated industries, and in non-unionised workplaces have less access to flexible working (O'Brien et al., 2018a).

Gender norms, discourse and culture in the UK

Discourses of 'involved fatherhood' have become established across culture, politics and public life in the UK's fatherhood regime over the past four decades (Dermott, 2008; Faircloth, 2014; Gregory and Milner, 2008; Miller, 2011b). However, formal institutional support for engaged fathering remains weak (O'Brien and Twamley, 2016) and this contradiction limits the effect of discourse on normative behaviour. Miller has argued that the changes introduced to fathers' access to parental leave in the early 2010s emerged in the context of political rhetoric and policy objectives concerning men's commitment to children and family life (2011b, p.50). However, the government's ultimate reluctance to 'fully embrace the involved-fatherhood and/or gender-equality discourse' is illustrated by the low statutory payment rates offered through the shared parental leave policy, as well as its retreat from radical policy reforms in the early 2010s that

would have reduced the total period of protected maternity leave and introduced a period of leave reserved for fathers (Atkinson, 2017, p.361; Baird and O'Brien, 2015).[78]

These tensions between discourses and policy are underscored by the balancing act that UK governments have, until recently, negotiated between liberal ideology and aspirations to implement 'Atlantacist' social policy, existing alongside the responsibility to meet European social and gender equality objectives (Duncan, 2002). Accordingly, fathers' leave entitlements, and arguably the discourses that surround them, occupy 'a midway position between the generosity of Nordic Europe and its near absence in the United States' (O'Brien and Twamley, 2016, p.164). Understanding policy as discourse (Bacchi, 2009; Lombardo et al., 2009) reveals government ambivalence towards involved fathering and gender equality outcomes, shaping wider culture in spite of positive discourses by preventing different patterns of working and caregiving to emerge (Atkinson, 2017; Browne, 2013; Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Faircloth, 2020; Miller, 2017).

The UK's contradictory discursive and institutional picture thus results in the persistent strength of inequitable gender norms and an entrenched, pronounced division of labour in the UK (McMunn et al., 2019). Furthermore, fathers attempting to subvert the status quo and enact involved fathering, while reporting benefits and positive experiences, also experience isolation, loneliness, the undermining of their solo caregiving and physical exclusion from particular spaces (Burgess and Davies, 2017; Miller, 2011b; O'Brien and Twamley, 2016).

Fathers, fathering and masculinity in the UK

Miller (2011b) has argued that variation between European countries in the extent of fathers' engagement in domestic labour and childcare can partially be explained by the extent of coexistence and acceptance, in both policy and practice, of different masculinities. The opportunity to forge different masculinities is therefore important, and the path dependency underpinning the history of fatherhood in the UK continues to shape contemporary politics of fathering.

[78] This retreat was also partly caused by opposition to the reforms from parts of the women's and childcare sector and their 'long-standing ambivalence […] towards men as fathers or workers with children' (Hewitt, quoted in Moss and O'Brien, 2020, p.67).

UK government policy towards fathers throughout the 1980s and 1990s was motivated by fears around the absent father and fathers' refusal to maintain the costs of their children and the resulting 'burden' on the state (Lewis, 2002). Accordingly, it focused on fathers' individual parenting responsibility, the necessity of their financial support for their families, and reinforced traditional gender roles (Lewis, 2002). This laissez-faire attitude to the question of the household division of labour remains transparent in the fact that they were one of the last OECD countries to introduce provision for maternity and paternity leave (Moss and O'Brien, 2020; White, 2017). The lack of enabling culture for fathers' engaged caring continues into the twenty-first century, underpinned by limited policy rights and the continued absence of fathers' individual rights to leave entitlements (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Burgess and Davies, 2017; Kaufman, 2017; Women and Equalities Committee, 2018). Fathers' individual right to leave following the birth of a child remains limited to two weeks paid at low statutory rate (£151.97), just over one-quarter of the median weekly wage (ONS, 2020). Thus, in spite of a 'prevailing normative expectation' that fathers should be engaged in their children's upbringing, being employed and the primary earner continues to be the foremost connection to 'good fathering' (Norman et al., 2014, p.164; Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011b; O'Brien, 2005; Wall and Arnold, 2007). These structures and discourses connect to fathers' continued feeling of responsibility for economic provision, and result in their 'falling back into gender' after the arrival of a child (Henwood et al., 2010; Miller, 2011a, 2011b). The discursive construction of involved fatherhood is therefore at odds with the absence of accompanying support structures and policies that genuinely enable involved fatherhood (Faircloth, 2020; Browne, 2013; Gillies, 2009; Hamilton, 2021; Miller, 2011a, 2011b; Miller, 2017; O'Brien and Twamley, 2016) and also competes with an enduring 'logic of motherhood' in which mothers are conceived as primarily and morally responsible for child-rearing (Miller, 2017).

Nevertheless, masculinities are shifting over time, and research shows that fathers in the UK do want to be involved in the raising of their children (Burgess and Davies, 2017). Fathers who care for children in the early months are more likely to be involved in caregiving for children in later life (McMunn et al., 2017), while families with fathers who have used shared parental leave are less likely to result in relationship breakdown (Norman et al., 2018). O'Brien and Twamley (2017) found fathers who used leave alone gained confidence and competence in addition to a closer bond with their baby, and suffered fewer career repercussions than expected.

Research into fatherhood and parental leave use has tended to focus on the experiences of white middle-class fathering and/or is inattentive to race, with some exceptions (Chowbey, 2013;

Gillies, 2009; Hamilton, 2021; Tarrant, 2021; Twamley and Schober, 2019). However, experiences of fathering, discourses of masculinities and access to leave use are mediated by racialisation and class as well as religious identity and disability. Scholars have pointed out that the connection of leave entitlements to particular types of employment means that access to parental leave is further constrained for particular fathers (Aldrich et al., 2018; McKay et al., 2016; Hamilton, 2021; O'Brien et al., 2018), leading to households that are inequitably 'parental leave–rich and parental leave–poor' (O'Brien, 2009). Labour-market status, economic position, experiences of discrimination, as well as normative divisions of labour and gendered expectations from wider family and community, all affect fathers' ability to undertake and propensity towards involved fathering (Chowbey et al., 2013; Hamilton, 2021; Kan and Laurie, 2018).

Parental leave policy development in the UK

The UK 'lagged behind the European Union in parental leave policies through the twentieth century' (Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017, p.534). Baird and O'Brien characterise the liberal UK as providing low levels of statutory leave provision for mothers and even less for fathers due to the country's historical support for traditional gender roles encompassing male breadwinning and female caring (2015; Twamley and Schober, 2019). Maternity leave was first introduced in 1975, with six weeks at 90 per cent of earnings, twelve at a low flat rate and 22 unpaid (totalling 40 weeks). The later introduction of both paternity and shared parental leave largely took place because of EU pressure to promote greater sharing of care responsibilities and unpaid labour (Baird and O'Brien, 2015; Kamerman and Moss, 2009; Lewis, 2002; O'Brien and Twamley, 2016; White, 2017). Partly as a result of government efforts in the late 1990s and early 2000s to increase participation by both men and women in the labour market, and partly because of European Directive 96/34/EC, the issue of parental leave was revisited by the Labour Party (Lewis, 2002). The right to 13 weeks unpaid parental leave was introduced in 1999, although this policy is little-known and little-used to this day (Moss and O'Brien, 2020). Reforms to maternity and paternity policy in 2003 extended the length of total maternity leave, both paid and unpaid portions, and introduced two weeks of (badly) paid paternity leave for fathers with over 26 weeks' service (White, 2017). However, with longer maternity and shorter paternity entitlements than much of Europe, this framework perpetuated the male breadwinner model (Lewis et al., 2008) and demonstrated ambivalence towards fathers (Kilkey et al., 2013). Statutory provision for fathers remains minimal, with low income replacement rates (O'Brien, 2009; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017).

The ability to transfer maternity leave to the second partner through the misleadingly-named 'Additional Paternity Leave' (APL) policy was introduced in 2011 and reformed into the 'Shared Parental Leave' (SPL) policy from April 2015 (Kaufman, 2017; White, 2017). Here, though, it is important to highlight that SPL does not stand alone: fathers and partners cannot access the entitlement unless the mother or primary adopter is eligible, and the time provided through the policy can only be used if the mother has rescinded her own use of the equivalent weeks and days from her maternity entitlement. In other words, it is a direct transfer of maternity leave to the second parent (O'Brien and Twamley, 2016). Moreover, the entire period is paid at a low rate of £151.97 per week (see chapter 1). In contrast, research shows that transfer models are not effective at promoting fathers' use of leave (Moss and Deven, 2006); instead, well paid leave and non-transferable quotas are effective (Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016). The UK has one of the least generous parental leave frameworks across Europe and the OECD, as pointed out by a recent UNICEF report (Chzhen et al., 2019); the various reforms made to date remain 'far wide of the mark' in terms of achieving gender equality (Browne, 2006, p.139).

Using a period of leave after the birth of a child is highly normative: as discussed in chapter 1, 91 per cent of fathers take some leave around the birth of a child, 75 per cent of whom use at least some of the two-week statutory paternity leave entitlement (Twamley and Schober, 2019). However, take up of SPL has remained strikingly, though not surprisingly, low since the policy's inception, peaking at 3.6 per cent of eligible fathers in 2019/20 (Dunstan, 2021), and the policy is widely regarded a failure (Javornik and Oliver, 2019). Fathers' leave use is facilitated by both partners in a relationship having similar earnings (O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). Mothers' employment and both mothers' and fathers' working hours shape fathers' patterns of caregiving (Norman et al., 2014), but mothers' working hours have the stronger effect: 'fathers are most likely to share childcare when the mother is employed, and even more if she is employed full-time, regardless of what hours he works' (Norman et al., 2014 p.174).

Persistent inequalities also affect access to parental leave (O'Brien et al., 2018a; O'Brien et al., 2018b; O'Brien, 2009). More than one quarter (27%) of employed fathers do not have access to paid paternity leave (and by extension SPL[79]) due to self-employment or failing to meet the conditions of leave entitlement (such as 26 weeks continuous employment) (O'Brien et al.,

[79] The conditions for fathers' eligibility to use SPL are the same as the conditions for paternity leave, provided their partner is eligible for maternity leave or maternity allowance (Atkinson et al., 2020).

2018a). Multivariate analysis identified that younger employees, Pakistani men and women, people working in intermediate, semi-routine or routine occupations, and men working in male-dominated sectors are less likely to be eligible for paid parental leave (O'Brien et al., 2018a). These inequalities highlight uneven access to social protections that intersect with race and class, meaning that better-off fathers (as well as better-off mothers) are more likely to be able to take a significant period away from work to care for infants, with clear impacts on work-family satisfaction, time paucity and child development (O'Brien et al., 2018b).

Portugal and gender equality

Portugal is frequently conceptualised as a familialistic or conservative-corporatist nation, with a complex and contradictory relationship to gender equality that has unfolded since its transition to democracy in 1974 (Wall et al., 2016a). Portugal's GDP per capita is consistently around 20 per cent lower than the EU average, and among the lowest of the eurozone countries (Eurostat, 2020c). It ranks 40th on the 2019 UN Human Development Index (UNDP, 2020), 17th on the Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2020a) and 16th on the EIGE Index (Barbieri et al., 2020). Primarily Roman Catholic, Portugal has low levels of inward migration: only 10.8 per cent of the population is foreign-born, compared to 13.7 per cent in the UK and 19.5 per cent in Sweden (OECD, 2021c). The country therefore has a shrinking and aging population, indicated by its 2018 fertility rate of 1.4 children per woman (OECD, 2020d; Wall, 2015). Social inequality, once among the highest in Europe (Silva and Martinez, 2015), has declined over the past 20 years, with the Gini coefficient dropping from 38.8 in 2003 to 33.5 in 2018 (World Bank, 2021).

Portugal was governed by a repressive dictatorship, the *Estado Novo* (New State), led by António de Oliveira Salazar from 1933 until the 'Carnation Revolution' of April 1974 (Escobedo and Wall, 2009; Lopes, 2017; Wall, 2015). The Salazarist slogan, 'God, Fatherland and Family', espoused the regime's right-wing conservative values (Lopes, 2017; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). This period was characterised by staunch patriarchy, rigid gender roles and moral hegemony (Carvelheiro and Silverinha, 2018; Crompton and Lyonette, 2006). The population was largely poor, rural and agrarian, with low levels of education and very high levels of illiteracy (Bragues, 2012; Calado et al., 2019; Portugal, 1999). Mandating a 'naturally hierarchical' family form, a prominent 'strong breadwinner' ideology prevailed under the *Estado Novo,* which conceptualised the father as the head of the family and responsible for earning the family's income, while the

domestic responsibilities of their female counterpart, the 'fairy of the home' (Carvelheiro and Silverinha, 2018), were enshrined by law (Aboim, 2010; Lewis, 1994; Lyonette et al., 2007; Wall and Escobedo, 2013; Wall, 2015). Women were therefore subject to social control through prescribed roles inside and outside of the home, and femininity was defined in the context of maternity and child-rearing (Carvalheiro and Silverinha, 2018; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). While not fully banned from working, women were prevented from paid participation in many professional occupations (Marques et al., 2021; Portugal, 1999; Wall 2014, 2015). In the latter part of the era, emigration and the conscription of men into colonial wars from 1961 catalysed women to join the labour market in droves, establishing a relatively high female labour force participation (Aboim, 2010; Calado et al., 2019; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). As a result of the authoritarian and deeply conservative regime, Portugal lagged far behind many other European nations in relation to progressive social policy and indicators pertaining to gender equality, as well as in terms of wider industrialisation. Policies addressing work-family balance did not exist until the regime fell (Lyonette et al., 2007; Santos and Pereira, 2013; Wall, 2015).

In 1974, the 'April' or 'carnation revolution' ended Salazar's regime and the transition to democracy slowly unfolded, accompanied by accelerated processes of modernisation (Santos and Pereira, 2013). In repudiation of Salazar's regime and their subjugation, women's participation in the workforce gathered pace (Marques et al., 2021; Wall, 2015; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). Emerging family policy 'rejected previous gender cultural models and promoted state responsibilities to support full-time working men and women, leading to a gradual but steady increase in parents' entitlements to leave and in publicly subsidized services to support dual-earner couples with young children' (Wall, 2014, p.197). Thus Portugal's high female labour force participation stands in contrast with other southern European states (Lyonette et al., 2007). The focus of policy and discourse was, for several years, largely on women's rights. However, fathers' engagement in care and unpaid labour has also grown significantly since the overthrow of the *Estado Novo*. Increasing emphasis on fathers' engagement in the domestic sphere has taken place in recent years (Wall, 2015; Wall and Escobedo, 2009), but men's participation in the reproductive realm has not kept pace with women's engagement in the labour force.

Trajectory of gender, the labour market and the welfare state in Portugal

Portugal, like neighbouring Spain, was plagued by despotism during the point at which the welfare state began to emerge in northern and continental Europe (Castles, 2007; Giner, 1982; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). However, through the social transformation that immediately

followed 1974's 'carnation revolution,' a set of milestone social policies were developed that were forebears to the establishment of a welfare state, including a state pension, unemployment benefit and a national minimum wage (Calado et al., 2019; Portugal 1999). At the same time, a 'new logic for the state's responsibility towards families' emerged (Aboim, 2010, p.7). Portugal's path towards modern democracy can therefore be understood as a process of de-familialisation, whereby households' caring and domestic responsibilities have transitioned to becoming (partially) provided for by the welfare-state or the market (Esping-Anderson, 1999, p.51).

Universalist principles underscored the Portuguese welfare state's development in public health, education and social security and continue to act as a basis for the social contract (Ben-Bassat and Dahan 2008; Calado et al., 2019; Ferrera, 1996; Nawojczyk, 2006; Nielsen et al., 2009; Portugal, 1999; Silva and Martinez 2015). However, like other Southern European states, this universalist premise is somewhat undermined by high levels of fragmentation as well as familialism and endemic social provisioning gaps (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Ferrera 1996, 1997; Karamessini 2008; Mingione 2001; Rhodes 1997; Silva and Martinez, 2015; Trifiletti 1999). While frequently categorised as familialistic, some scholars have argued that this label erases the reality, complexity and contradictory aspects of contemporary Portuguese life as well as the significant transformations within the welfare state and family policy that have taken place (Marques et al., 2021; Torres et al., 2013).

Gender, work and care in Portugal

Female labour force participation has increased over time, from 59.2 per cent in 1993, to 71.9 per cent in 2020 (Eurostat, 2021a), and the majority of men and women in Portugal now work full time and follow continuous labour-market trajectories, with only short gaps that are mainly taken by women (Wall, 2015). Portugal's female employment rate is the highest in southern Europe, and starkly different from its southern European neighbours (Marques et al., 2021). Although female employment rates in neighbouring Spain, Italy and Greece have increased significantly over the past twenty years,[80] they also remain much lower than in Portugal, demonstrating the outlying normative dual-earner model that underpins Portuguese society (Crompton and Lyonette, 2006; Escobedo and Wall, 2009; Marques et al., 2021; Santos and Pereira, 2013; Walby 2007, 2001). Part-time working is rare in Portugal, and so women's rates of part-time working, at 10.7 per cent, although more than double that of men (5.1%) are low

[80] In 1993, female employment rate in Greece, Italy and Spain was 39.8 per cent, 38.7 per cent and 33.8 per cent respectively. In 2020, these figures are 51.8 per cent, 52.7 per cent and 60.0 per cent (Eurostat, 2020).

compared to EU rates (Eurostat, 2021d; see also Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Dores Guerreiro et al., 2014; Lyonette et al., 2007). Furthermore, in contrast to prevailing trends of career interruption following childbirth, Portugal's maternal employment rate is slightly higher than the employment rate of women without children (Marques et al., 2021; Eurostat, 2020b). Women's high labour-force participation, relatively long hours and near-continuous service demonstrates that a clear shift to the dual earner model has taken place, eroding the rigid gender contract installed by the Salazar regime (Wall, 2015). Moreover, scholars have argued that women's labour force participation is exceptional in Portugal, in that it takes place despite a lack of state support for women in work (Meulders and O'Dorchai, 2008; Tavola and Rubery, 2013).

While female labour force participation is high, all forms of work remain gendered, especially unpaid care and domestic work, which continues to primarily be undertaken by women (Perista et al., 2016). In 2016, women reported undertaking 29 hours of childcare per week, whereas men reported 19 (Eurofound, 2020b). These figures are both lower than the EU average (39 and 21 respectively), and the gap between men and women, at 10 hours, is much smaller than the EU average of 18 hours' difference, thus highlighting 'slow but steady transformation in the ideals and practices of fathering' (Wall, 2015, p.145). Nevertheless, men's engagement in care work is clearly outstripped by women's, conveying the normative division of labour in the household, and continued strength of expectation around female domesticity (Marques et al., 2021; Wall et al., 2016a).

In general, men's labour market activity has seen limited change over the past five decades (Eurostat, 2020a; Wall, 2015), in stark contrast to drastic shifts in women's employment (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). Men's working hours, at an average of 45 per week, are among the highest in western Europe (Eurofound. (2020a). Portugal has an enduring long hours culture (Lepinteur, 2019; OECD, 2021b; Wall et al., 2016) and access to flexible working is generally low in the country, although men have greater access than women (Chung and van der Lippe, 2020). Work-family conflict is therefore high in Portugal for fathers as well as mothers, for whom the situation is worse: 41 per cent of women and 31 per cent of men reported in 2016 that it is rather or very difficult to combine paid work with caring responsibilities, two percentage points higher and lower respectively (39 and 33 per cent) compared to the EU average (Eurofound, 2020d; see also Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Eurofound, 2020b; Lyonette et al., 2007; Torres, 2004). Furthermore, 36 per cent of women and 35 per cent of men experience difficulty fulfilling family responsibilities because of time spent at work several times per month (Eurofound, 2020c).

Given both men and women's high working hours, work-life 'balance', or interface, and work-family articulation have been a policy concern for many years (Wall et al., 2016). However, despite a host of policies targeting work-family articulation, 'obstacles to defamilisation are high', including childcare and eldercare provision that fails to meet demand (Marques et al., 2021; Tavora and Rubery, 2013). Although exceeding the Barcelona targets for childcare provision (Plantenga and Remery, 2015), childcare coverage, at 36.7 per cent of children aged under three enrolled, is not high, especially given the country's high rates of female labour force participation, long working hours and comparably short parental leave period (Barros et al., 2016; OECD, 2019e, 2019f; see also Lewis et al., 2008; Lyonette et al., 2007; Plantenga and Remery, 2015; Wall and Escobedo, 2013). Childcare is therefore also accessed through childminders as well as provided by parents and relatives (Lyonette et al., 2007).

Gender norms, discourse and culture in Portugal

Over the last 30 years, discourses of gender equality have pervaded Portuguese society through legal, institutional and policy frameworks as well as through the EU, civil society, education, social media, advertising and cultural representation (Santos and Pereira, 2013; Saavedra et al., 2017). Gender equality is thus a 'normative ideal' (Dores Guerreiro et al, 2014) that underpins education, work and culture. At the same time, essentialist understandings of motherhood and innate female caregiving persist, undermining claims to equality (Wall et al., 2016a). Tensions between discourse, reality and practice engender a 'dualist perception of men's and women's roles in Portuguese society' which 'is tied to persistent gender inequality in the labour market and in family life, as well as to the key fact that women are both at the heart of the question of balance between work and family life and overloaded within it' (Cunha et al. 2017, p.6).

Furthermore, scholars highlight Portuguese cultural emphasis on family bonds and orientation towards children, intensifying 'normative ambiguity regarding the questioning of female primacy, both of mothers and grandmothers, in the nurturing of young children' (Wall, 2015, p.132; Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2009). Friction emerges through contradictory 'modernist' egalitarian ideals that prioritise formal equality in the workplace and in the division of domestic tasks, and more traditional, familialistic values, underpinned by the 'essentialization of maternity' (Wall et al., 2016a, p.36), which promote the centrality of women's family role and women's supposed greater aptitude for childcare and domestic work (Aboim 2010; Pereira, 2010; Santos and Pereira, 2013). Thus, there is a chasm between 'culturally transmitted norms of equality' and the reality of

day-to-day patterns of life in couples' relationships, the gendered division of labour and public representations of power in politics and the media (Dores Guerreiro et al., 2014, p.31).

Fathers, fathering and masculinity in Portugal

Research on fathers and masculinities in Portugal shows a complex picture of contemporary norms, expectations and practices (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2009; Wall et al., 2007; Wall, 2015). The dramatic cultural and policy changes since Salazarism have generated changes to gendered divisions of labour, pluralised masculinities and diverse fatherhood and breadwinning practices (Aboim, 2010; Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2009; Wall et al., 2007; Wall, 2015). Gender equality within the family, though, is not evenly distributed and exists to varying degrees across social classes, families and generations (Wall, 2015).[81] Although men's participation in the domestic sphere has not kept pace with changes in women's participation in the public realm, masculinities and understandings of fathers' roles, as well as wider gender arrangements, have seen considerable, if slow, change. (Aboim, 2010; Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Wall, 2015; Wall et al., 2016a).

Policy changes have played a part in the changes occurring over the last three decades (Wall et al., 2016a). Post-revolution policy frameworks enabled 'a gradual move towards supporting fatherhood rights and men's involvement in private life' (Wall, 2015, p.133). The evolution of men's rights has taken place through making policies governing time away from work more gender-neutral, as well as specific interventions targeting fathers' involvement in family life (Wall, 2015; Wall and Escobedo, 2009). However, while the right to work-family 'balance' for both men and women became part of the Portuguese constitution in 1997, men's labour market activity is higher within age groups in which they are more likely to be engaged in child-rearing (ages 30-49) (Wall, 2015), consistent with research that shows having children increases men's attachment to the labour force rather than weakening it (Budig, 2014).

In spite of shifts in the gender contract engendering multiple models of masculinity and fatherhood, breadwinner expectations remain difficult to eliminate (Wall et al., 2016). Yet several studies have revealed consensus around the model of the caring and involved father (Aboim and Marinho, 2006; Monteiro et al, 2010; Wall, 2011; Wall, 2015; Wall, Aboim and Marinho, 2007). On the whole, men reject previous ideals of the distant, authoritarian father, are critical of

[81] Attitudes towards parental leave also vary by age and class, more than they do by gender (Wall et al., 2019).

previous generations of fathers, and instead approve of engaged, 'hands-on' fatherhood, based on daily participation in and responsibility for care, emotional development and educational support (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). Some scholars have theorised that the renegotiation of the father role has been a central force for the revision of masculinities across Portuguese society (Aboim and Marinho, 2006).

At the same time, long working hours and a related paucity of time spent with family and children remain a central element of fathers' work-life conflict. Well-qualified men 'underscore the ideal of a totally career-invested and time-flexible male worker,' making it difficult to utilise rights to parental leave, request family-friendly scheduling considerations or general reductions in workload (Wall, 2015, p.145). Simultaneously, employers, families and wider culture continue to imagine that fathers function primarily as provider and secondly as caregiver. Despite the predominance of the dual earner model, therefore, an assumption remains that men are able and willing to work long hours, more invested in their career progression and less likely to use parental leave (Wall et al., 2016a).

Parental leave policy development in Portugal

In contrast to neighbouring Spain, where the literature points to a late departure from a breadwinner-oriented model, Portugal followed an early 'revolutionary' move towards the adoption of an 'early return to full-time work and the gender equality-oriented model' (Marques et al., 2021, p.4; Escobedo and Wall, 2013). Recognition of fathers *as* parents has been enshrined in law since the introduction in 1984 of 'new stipulations regarding working rights of mothers and fathers' (Wall et al., 2016a, p.37). Fathers have had rights to take paternity leave and share maternity leave since 1995 and a father's only leave of five days was introduced in 1999. However, so-called 'gender-neutral' Initial Parental Leave (IPL) wasn't introduced until 2009 (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012), when legislation transformed what was formerly 'maternity leave' into the IPL entitlement, and increased the length of time of this period to four, five or six months (depending on payment rate and sharing bonus – see chapter 1; Wall et al., 2016a; Correia et al., 2021). In spite of this reform, eligibility for fathers to take up this benefit remains contingent on the mother's social security status (Cunha et al., 2017).

As part of the 2009 reforms, an additional month of fully compensated leave, referred to as a 'sharing bonus,' was made available if a father takes at least four weeks (in one or two blocks) of the initial parental leave (IPL) alone following the mother's return to work (Wall 2015, p.147).

Data shows that fathers' use of IPL increased dramatically during 2009–10, from 45 per cent of fathers using some leave to 62 per cent (Marques et al., 2021). While causality has not been established, the timing connects to the shift from maternity leave to IPL and the sharing bonus (Marques et al., 2021). In 2020, 38 per cent of IPL entitlements taken were classified as 'shared' – meaning fathers used 30 or more days of leave alone during the first five or six months. In most cases, this 'sharing' thus sees mothers use four or five months and fathers use only the last month (Correia et al., 2021). IPL used without the sharing bonus is almost always used by mothers.

The fact that access to IPL relies on the mother's eligibility is not insignificant. Despite the change in terminology, this eligibility requirement has the effect of constructing the IPL as first and foremost belonging to the mother as the 'main target' of the policy measures (Wall et al., 2016a). This is visible in its relatively low take up by fathers, who continue to regard use of the shared leave as optional (Wall and Leitão, 2017). Research has shown that 'gender-neutral' entitlements are primarily used by women and do not challenge pre-existing divisions of labour: 'gender-neutral and optional schemes will lead the majority of parents to choose the traditional models' (Brandth and Kvande, 2009, p.184; see also Brandth and Kvande, 2013). The fact that IPL was formerly maternity leave, and is complemented by a specific fathers'-only entitlement, has meant limited substantive change between the old and the new policy. Alongside the essentialisation of maternity discussed earlier, these changes have evidently been insufficient in altering perceptions of to whom the right to take that leave period belongs. This fact is acutely relevant to my findings, as will be discussed in chapter 5.

Part II: Estimating Norms: Quantitative Analysis as Proxy for Social Norms

As discussed in chapter 1, social norms are complex constructs that are difficult to measure (Legros and Cislaghi, 2020). Given such challenges, this project utilises data on attitudes towards gender equality variables to analyse differences in cultural attitudes to gender roles. The findings presented focus on the 2017 wave of the European Values Study (EVS), collected in the three countries between 2017 and 2020. The analysis performs estimates using attitudes as a proxy for

social norms, and compares responses between (i) the three countries (ii) between men and women (iii) between different social groups and (iv) between groups in different countries.

Sample and measures

Since the research is oriented towards gender roles, my analysis examines responses to a series of statements in the 'family life and marriage' section of the EVS questionnaire in Sweden, the UK and Portugal, as detailed in the methodology. Table 5 below shows the breakdown of respondents in each country sample, broken down by gender.

Table 5: Country sample by gender

	Gender		
Country	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Sweden	570 (47.82)	622 (52.18)	1,192 (100.00)
UK	792 (44.30)	996 (55.70)	1,788 (100.00)
Portugal	501 (41.23)	714 (58.77)	1,215 (100.00)
Total	1,863 (44.41)	2,332 (55.59)	4,195 (100.00)

See Appendices (section 2, tables 9–11) for a breakdown of sample by age group, education level and socio-economic status

Measures

Socio-demographic variables

Respondents were categorised according to their country of residence (Sweden, UK and Portugal); gender (male and female); age (15–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64; 65+); education level (primary or under, secondary, post-secondary non-tertiary, and undergraduate or over); and occupational status (professional and managerial, intermediate and manual). All attitudinal variables were recoded from the original four-point 'Likert-type' (Gracyalny, 2018) scale in the original data set ('strongly agree'; 'agree'; 'disagree'; 'strongly disagree') to a binary variable indicating agreement or disagreement ('agree'; 'disagree'). Full details of the coding and recoding of these variables are outlined in chapter 3.

Attitudes towards gender roles

Two items from the EVS questionnaire were used to measure attitudes towards gender roles in the labour market and at home in the three countries:

A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family

When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women

These items measure slightly different factors, but both pertain to gender 'traditionality' (Gimenz-Nadal et al., 2011); Cronbach's alpha for the two variables was 0.63.

Attitudes towards women's role at home and at work:

Two items from the EVS questionnaire were used to measure attitudes towards women's participation at home and in the labour market in the three countries:

When a mother works for pay, the children suffer

All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job

As above, these two items measure slightly different attitudes. The first measures agreement with women's participation in the labour force for any duration, whereas the second specifically measures agreement with women's *full-time* participation. However, the two items are correlated, and Cronbach's alpha for the two items was 0.73.

Attitudes towards the domestic division of labour

One item from the EVS questionnaire was used to measure attitudes towards the domestic division of labour:

Here is a list of things which some people think make for a successful marriage or partnership. Please tell me, for each one, whether you think it is very important, rather important or not very important? *Sharing household chores.*

Arguably, this is a somewhat crude measure of attitudes toward the domestic division of labour, since it does not measure attitudes towards the division of childcare responsibilities and also fails to define sharing as any or equal sharing. However, items addressing these two considerations are absent in the 2017 wave, and this measure is therefore the only option. It is also important to point out here that the design of this survey question differs to each of the other questions included in the analysis, as discussed in chapter 3. While the response options for the other questions[82] comprised a four-point 'Likert-type' scale (Gracyalny, 2018), which I recoded into binary variables, this question had three response points: very important, rather important and not important. I also recoded these into a binary variable. This difference could affect results of analysis using this item for two reasons: firstly, the possibility of acquiescence bias, due to the question wording and answer options, and secondly, through measurement artefact due to the

[82] With the exception of 'When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women,' which had a five point Likert scale.

different measurement scale. I have therefore commented on the need to use caution in interpreting results using this item in the analysis below.

Attitudes towards women's motivations and preferences

A single item from the EVS study was used to measure attitudes towards women's desires and motivations:

A job is alright, but what women really want is a home and children

Attitudes towards women's 'real' priorities are an important measure, because prejudiced views regarding women's intentions and motivation to work following childbirth are a key cause of labour market discrimination against all women – not just mothers. The prevalence of sexist assumptions that women's priority is ultimately the home therefore helps to measure the degree of gender egalitarianism present in society.

Attitudes towards women's and men's professional and leadership aptitudes

Two items from the EVS dataset examined respondents' views towards men's and women's abilities and aptitudes:

On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do

On the whole, men make better busines executives than women do

These two items both measure understandings of men's aptitudes in relation to women's, and are correlated. Cronbach's alpha was 0.76.

Generating the chi squared tests and conducting analysis of variations in gender role attitudes between the three countries made it clear that patterns of similarity and dissimilarity repeated themselves throughout the key variables; the analysis and writing thus also became somewhat repetitive. Therefore, to provide a broad overview of the variations in gender attitudes by country, gender and demographic characteristics, I generated a composite index of gender values using the Cronbach's alpha procedure. All the individual scales were considered for inclusion in the composite index; the procedure indicated that 'sharing household chores is important for a happy marriage' (the variable measuring respondents support for sharing domestic labour) reduced inter-item reliability, so this item was not included in the index. The composite index has a mean of 0.648 and a standard deviation of 0.325, with a high inter-item reliability of 0.81. I then generated mean values for each group (e.g. for women aged 15–24 in Portugal, for men in lower socio-economic classifications in Sweden, for women with secondary education in the UK, etc.) and plotted them on a line graph. This demonstrated more or less the same variation in

normative values between countries that emerged when each of the variables were visualised on a line graph.

Thus, each of the graphs in figure 6 examines the relationship between one of the demographic dimensions considered (age, education and social class) and the composite index. Results are broken down by country and gender, meaning that each graph contains six lines. Each of the points shows the mean value of the composite gender values index, for individuals belonging to the country, gender and demographic group in question. The graphs reveal differences in mean scores on the gender values index between different groups; I used t-tests to analyse whether these differences are statistically significant, and comment on these tests in the text. Tables representing the statistical significance of the differences between mean values by gender and within each category are included in the Appendices (section 2, tables 20–23).

Before discussing the results, I offer a note on small cell sizes. As discussed in the methodology section, a number of small cell frequencies were present in the final analysis (see Appendices, section 2, tables 9–11: Country Samples). Cell counts of 30 or under were observed in men aged 15–24 in Portugal (29); intermediate profession men in Sweden (19); intermediate men and women in Portugal (18 and 30 respectively); men with less than primary education in Sweden (30); and, smallest of all, men and women with post-secondary but non-tertiary education in Portugal (6 and 7 respectively). In the type of analysis performed here, two problems may arise as the result of small cell sizes. The first is that the results of the chi-squared test may be unreliable in the presence of expected cell sizes below 5 (Wilson Van Voorhis and Morgan, 2007). All cell sizes in the current sample are clear of this threshold. However, as a robustness check I re-calculated the chi-squared statistics having merged the small groups with their neighbours (i.e., by combining the post-secondary/non-tertiary group with the secondary education group). The differences in the re-calculated chi-squared statistics were small and had minimal substantive effect on the findings. The second issue with small cell sizes is that estimates for the groups in question may be imprecise. In the graphs below, which present averages calculated by country and gender, the figures relating to the post-secondary/non-tertiary group are retained for interest, but should be interpreted with caution.

Results

The composite index variable: Overall attitudes towards gender roles in Sweden, the UK and Portugal

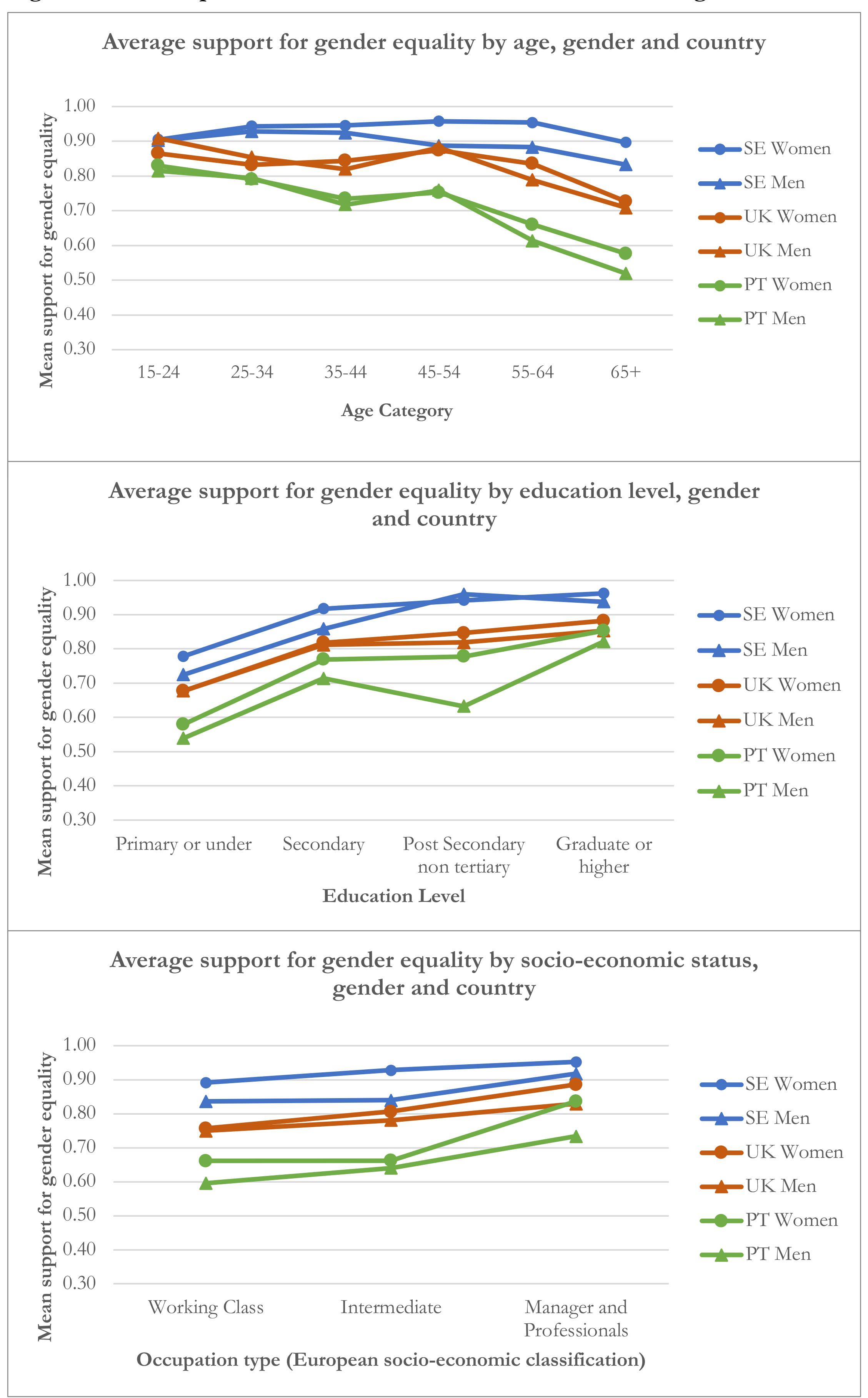
Plotting scores on the composite index measuring support for gender equality conveys the major differences in perspectives on gender roles at work and at home, by gender, age group, educational level and socio-economic status (based on occupation) in each country. Overall, it is clear from figure 6 (below) that, as anticipated, women in Sweden hold the most progressive views in terms of support for gender equality. Men in Sweden hold the next-most progressive attitudes, followed by women and then men in the UK. Men in Portugal hold the most conservative views in almost every category. Women in Portugal are slightly less conservative than men in Portugal, and sometimes closer to men in the UK.

Women show more support for egalitarian gender roles than men in most of the age, education and socio-economic categories, across all countries, consistent with research showing that men tend to hold more conservative views in respect of gender norms than women (McMunn et al., 2021; Evertsson, 2014). However, many of these differences are not significant in a statistical sense. The difference between men and women's attitudes in Sweden is most pronounced, with two-thirds of categories showing statistically significant differences. The differences between men and women in the UK are smallest, with only one category (managers and professionals) showing a significant difference in attitudes. In Portugal, four categories demonstrate a statistically significant gender difference (age 65+, secondary education, working class and managers and professionals).

In all countries, support for gender equality decreases with age. However, the largest slope is observed as age increases among Portuguese men and women, providing clear evidence of a robust generational shift in attitudes. Egalitarianism sharply decreases in support for gender equality from age 55 and over, in both men and women, but most starkly among men. The age-related downward slope is noticeable in the UK and Sweden as well, suggesting generational change in each of the countries. The effect is least pronounced in Sweden and more moderate in the UK. This picture is consistent with the major transformation of politics and social and gender values experienced in Portugal, the more gradual shift in gender politics in the UK, and the embeddedness of gender equality in Sweden throughout the twentieth century, as discussed above.

In the education graph, a large (upward) slope is also noticeable between primary education or less and secondary education in all countries. The effect of education on gender role attitudes is clear, and although the slope reduces considerably between secondary to graduate education,

Figure 6: The composite index variable: Overall attitudes towards gender roles



increased education continues to positively impact on support for gender equality for men and women across all countries. The relationship between education level and attitudes is again more pronounced for both men and women in Portugal than it is in Sweden and the UK, perhaps reflecting the contingent nature of progressive attitudes in Portugal. It is important here however to caution interpretation of the results for both men and women in Portugal in the post-secondary non-tertiary educational category, given the small cell frequencies.

Of the three factors considered, it is socio-economic status which has the least pronounced relationship with gender attitudes, although support for equality does increase with rises in socio-economic status. This pattern is most pronounced among women in Portugal, and is relevant for both men in Portugal and Sweden, and men and women in the UK, but is not significant among women in Sweden. The clear association between social class and attitudes among women, and, although to a lesser extent, men in Portugal articulates the normative ambiguity accounted for in the literature on gender equality and parental leave, as described in the first half of this chapter. In contrast, the smaller effect of socio-economic status on women's values in Sweden conveys the widely embedded support for and adherence to values of gender equality as depicted in the literature (Hobson, 2006; Lister, 2007).

Ultimately, then, this overview of the data analysis, constructed using the composite index measuring overall support for gender equality, vividly portrays the differences between attitudes in the three countries. The patterns and contexts described in the comparative backdrop clearly play out in the statistical data. Overall support for gender equality is highest in Sweden, where variation by demographic is fairly small. Among the Swedish population, support for gender equality is highest among women aged 25–64, men and women who are graduates or above, and men and women who work in managerial and professional roles, indicating differences among different social categories. Support is lowest in Sweden among men with primary or below-primary education and men working in manual or intermediate professions. In the UK, support for gender equality is lower than in Sweden, but higher than in Portugal. Support for equality is highest among men and women aged 15–24 and 45–54, among women graduates and women managers and professionals. Support is lowest among men and women aged 65 and older, men and women with primary or below primary education and men and women working in manual occupations, again indicating slight normative differences among differing social groups. Overall support for gender equality is lowest among men in Portugal, while women in Portugal are slightly more supportive of egalitarian roles. The largest supporters of gender equality in Portugal

are men and women aged 15–24, women with graduate or above education, and women working in managerial and professional roles – once again, demonstrating attitudinal differences according to social location. Support for equality in Portugal is lowest among men in manual occupations, men with primary education or below, and men aged 65 and over. Variation in attitudes between demographic categories is most significant among both men and women in Portugal.

I will now briefly review findings for each of the individual dimensions in turn, focusing the discussion on responses that differ from the patterns displayed in the composite index.

The graphs may be interpreted in the same way as the graphs for the composite index, with one difference: in some cases, some of the entries in the individual graphs are marked with asterisks. These denote the statistical significance of the relationships in question, calculated via chi-squared tests, with *** indicating an association significant at the 0.1 per cent level; ** indicating significance at the 1 per cent level; and * indicates significance at the 5 per cent level. For example, the top panel in the graph below (figure 7) plots variations in attitudes to 'A man's job is to earn money' by age group. The relationship between attitudes and age is statistically significant at the 0.1% level for men and women in the UK, and for men and women in Portugal; but the relationship is not statistically significant for men or women in Sweden.

After discussing each of the dimensions in turn, I will discuss the overall implications of the quantitative data, using the findings to contextualise the interview data discussed in the following two chapters.

Attitudes towards gender roles

The first step of the detailed analysis explored differences between men and women in perspectives on gender roles at work and at home. The distribution of attitudes follows a similar pattern as exhibited using the composite index, although the effect is slightly more detailed, as would be expected from a single rather than a composite variable. There are some exceptions to the general trend, however. For the second item (figure 8) concerning men and women's rights to work amid economic depression, the youngest men and women across the three countries hold quite similar views, with mean percentage disagreement of between 94.74 and 97.92 in all three countries and no significant difference. Men and women with highest levels of education (graduate and above) and professional and managerial men and women in Sweden and the UK,

Figure 7: percentage disagreement with 'A man's job is to earn money…'

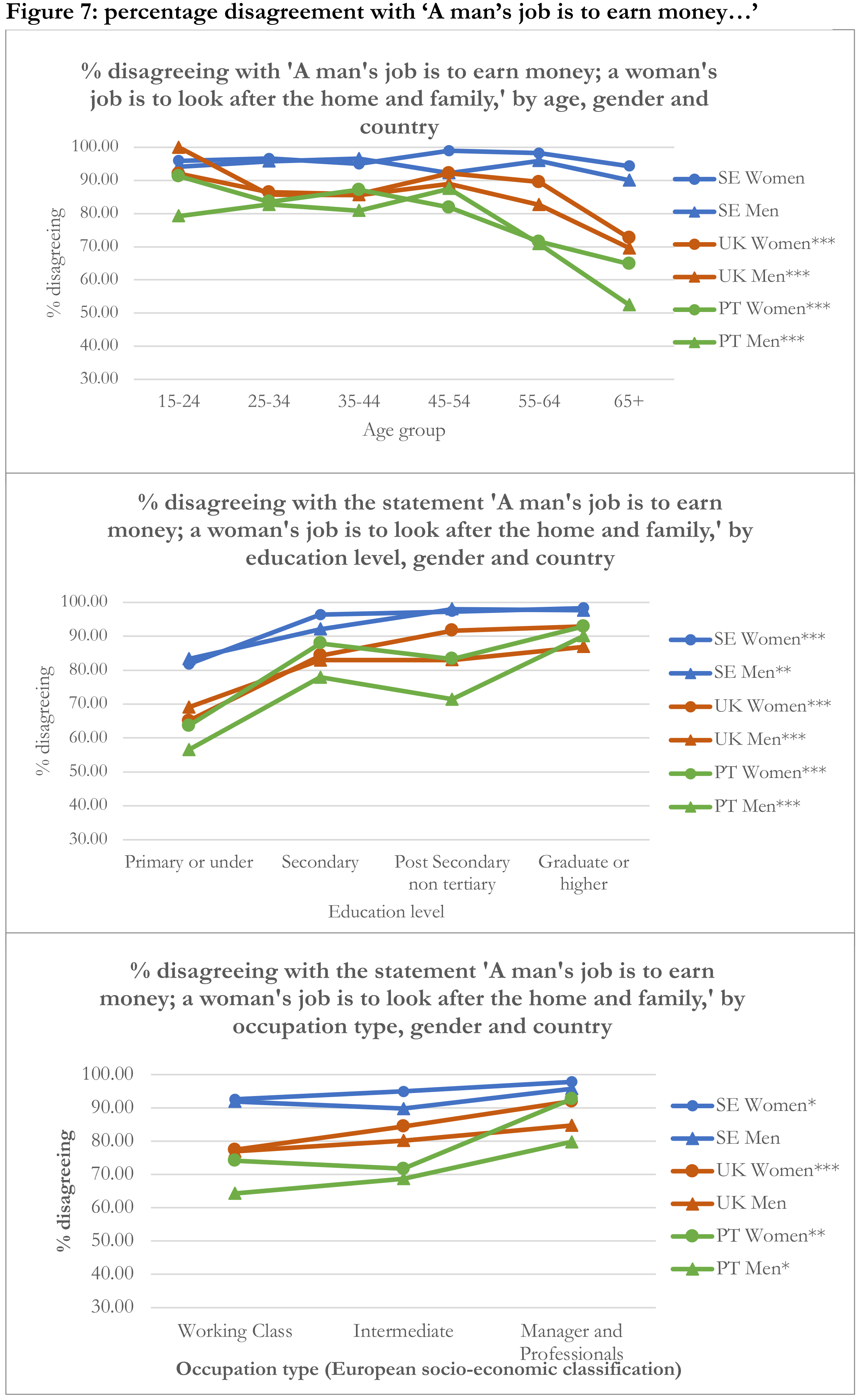
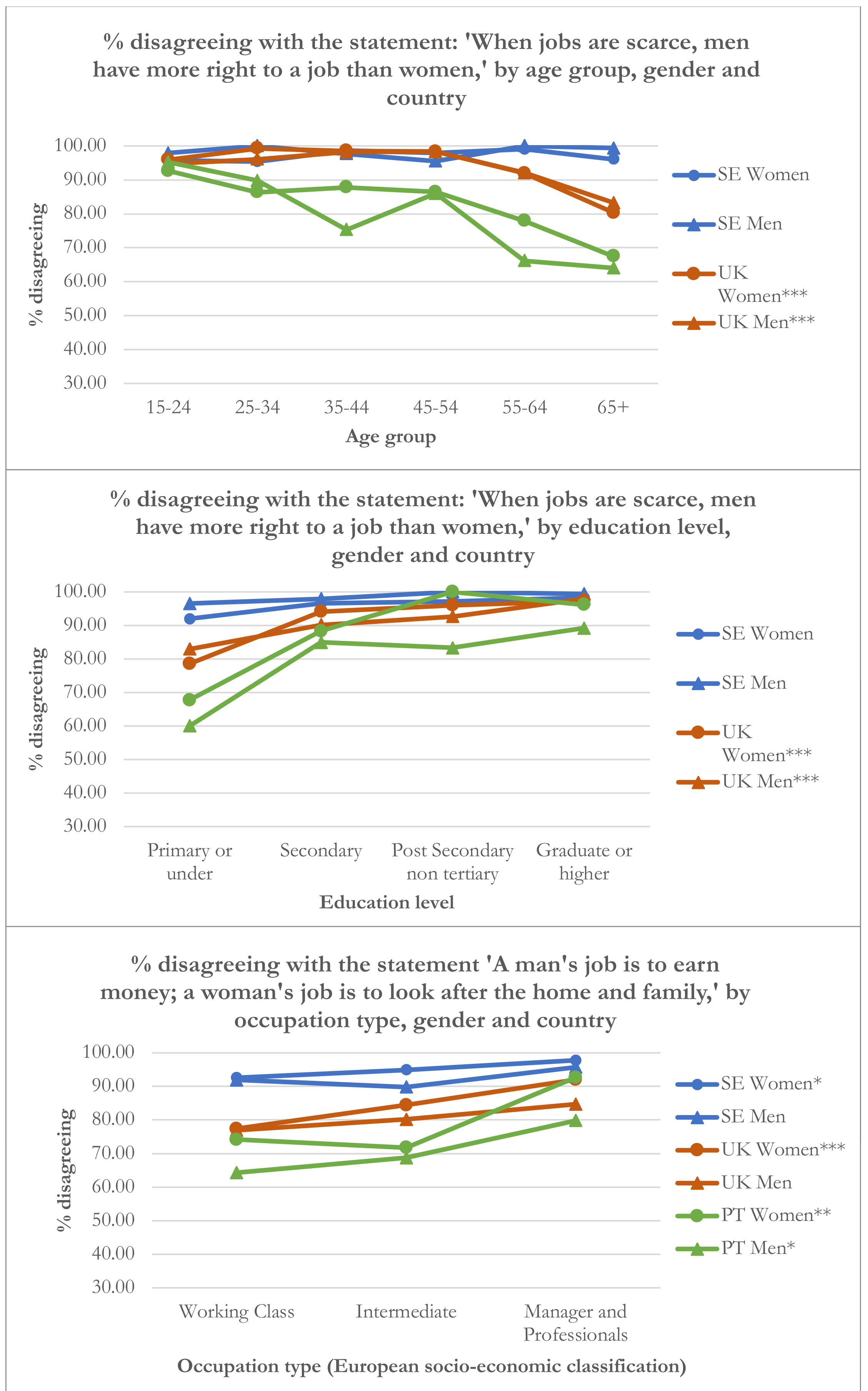


Figure 8: percentage disagreement with 'When jobs are scarce, men have more...'



as well as women in Portugal, also hold relatively similar views across the three countries, with mean percentage disagreement levels of between 94.52 (professional women in Portugal) and 99.42 (men with graduate or above education in Sweden). There is no significant difference between women's levels of disagreement in the three countries, although there is for men.

Responses to the second item differ least by gender of all attitudes, across all countries. For both items, men and women's responses in Sweden vary only slightly according to characteristics, again illustrating the extent to which egalitarian views are diffused across sectors of society (Hobson, 2006; Lister, 2007). Men and women with only primary education or below are significantly less likely to disagree (i.e. more likely to agree) with traditional views upholding separate spheres than those with secondary, post-secondary or tertiary (graduate or higher) education. Since primary education has been compulsory in Sweden since 1842 (Stanfors, 2014), country of birth could be a confounding variable in this outcome. Regardless, however, the differences in categories for both men and women remain smaller than the differences between categories in both the UK and Portugal. This relative homogeneity in attitudes for both items in Sweden evidences the degree to which the dual-earner model is established, and suggests that values of gender equality are more widely embedded in Sweden than is the case in the UK and Portugal.

Attitudes towards women's role at home and at work

Responses to these items again follow a similar pattern as depicted in the composite index, with women in Sweden demonstrating the highest levels of disagreement and men in Portugal, in most cases, demonstrating the lowest levels.

There are several interesting points to note in relation to the Portugal data. Given the high rates of female labour force participation, and the long hours worked by both mothers and non-mothers in Portugal, results for both items are somewhat surprising. Levels of disagreement with the two statements, indicating support for working mothers, are lower than both Sweden, which is expected, but also the UK, which has far lower levels overall of maternal labour force participation.

Men's and women's attitudes are, at most points, similar across almost all demographic categories. However, it is noteworthy that women, in the majority of cases across both items and the three categories, display levels of disagreement slightly lower than or equal to men. Given

Figure 9: percentage disagreement with 'Children suffer when women work …'

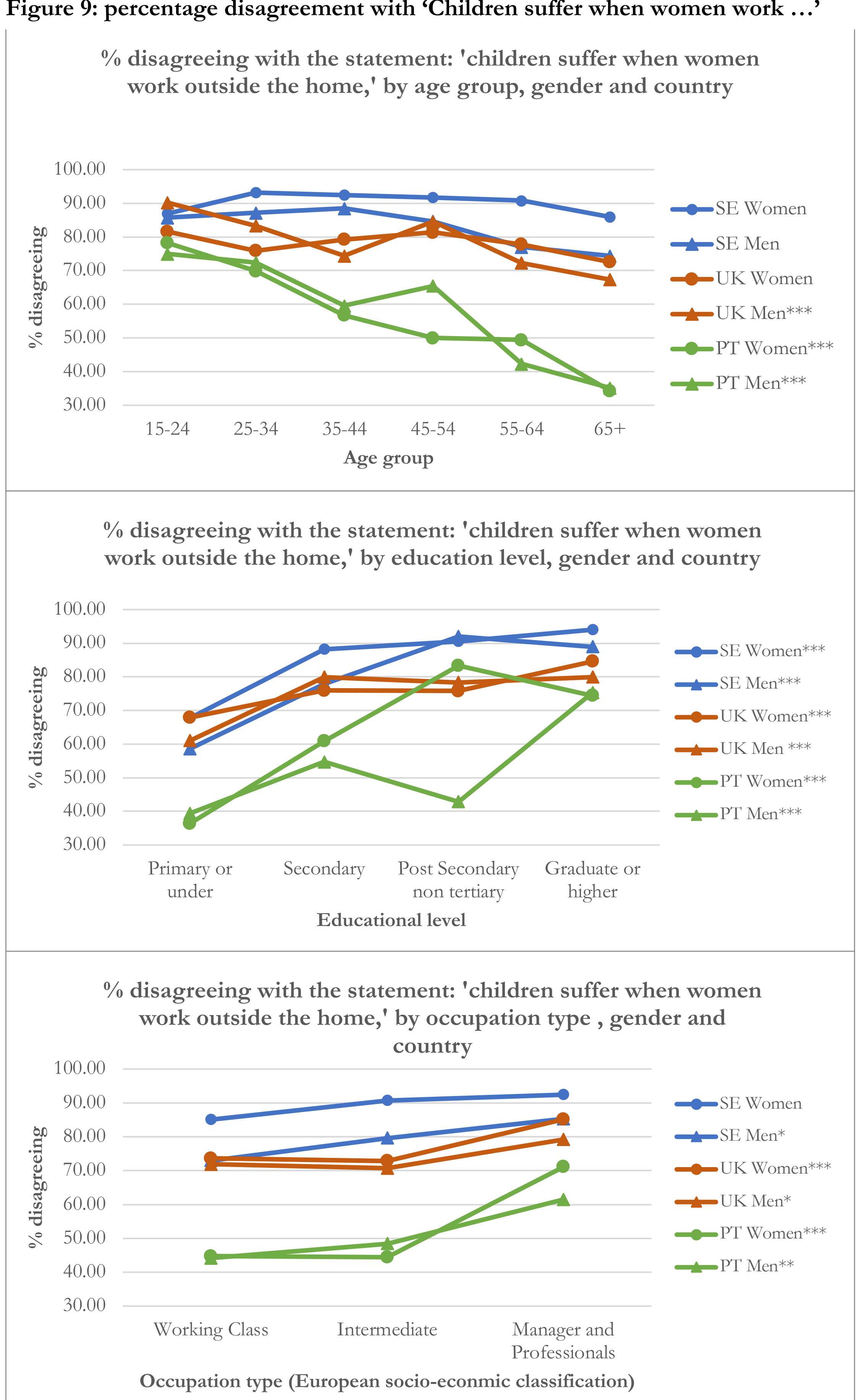
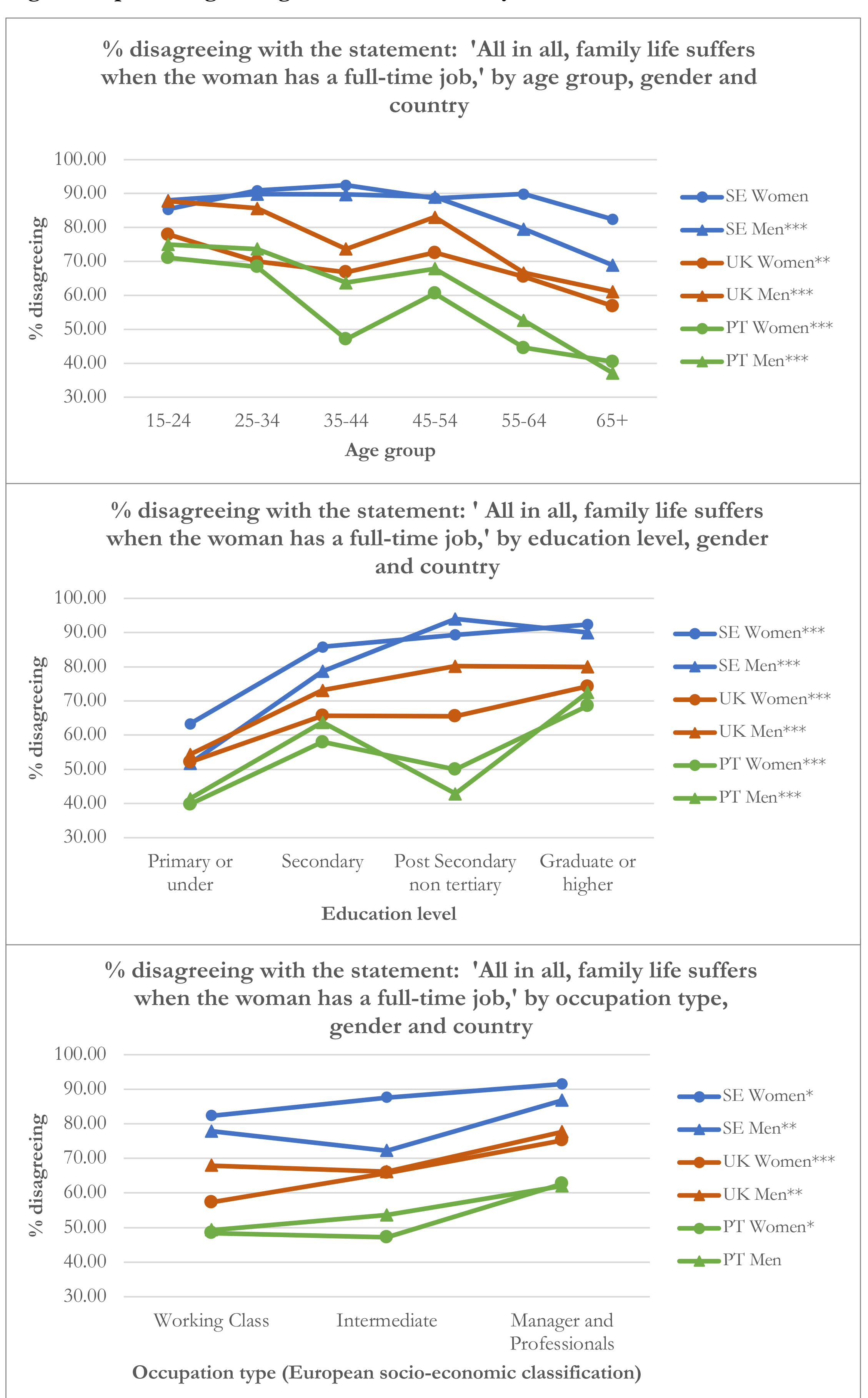


Figure 10: percentage disagreement with 'Family life suffers when the woman has…'



that much research indicates women are in general more liberal when it comes to support for gender equality, as well as women's high labour force participation in Portugal, I had expected to find that women's attitudes would be slightly more progressive than men's. Surprisingly, this was not borne out in the data.

The wider variations between education levels and social class and attitudes in comparison to the UK and Sweden again point to the breadth of attitudes in Portuguese society towards gender equality and gender roles, and divergent degrees of acceptance and support for mothers' participation in the labour force. This was again unexpected given the country's high female labour-force participation. However, caution must be applied regarding the results for both men and women in the post-secondary non-tertiary categories Portugal, due to the small sample sizes for these groups.

The category with the lowest level of disagreement overall is women with primary or under education, who, on average, disagree that children suffer when a mother works for pay only 36.4 per cent of the time – meaning that almost two-thirds of this category agree that women's working outside the home has detrimental effects on children. Moreover, this category is not small: women with primary or less than primary education comprise 56 per cent of the total sample of women when broken down by educational level. Given low levels of inward migration (Lyonette et al., 2007), the fact that Portugal's population is continually in decline and that compulsory primary education was introduced in Portugal as late as 1952[83] (Errante, 1998; Estrela, 2012), it is possible that age might be a confounding factor in this response.

Attitudes towards the domestic division of labour

This variable measures support for the importance of sharing household chores, and therefore a slightly different phenomenon or construct than the other variables, which all relate to productive and reproductive roles. In addition, as discussed above (p.116) and in chapter 3, the measurement of this variable differs from the measurement of the other seven variables. Likely as a result of these two factors, this variable did not fit into the composite index and the results clearly demonstrate why. The distribution of attitudes by country and by demographic follows a markedly different pattern. I will therefore provide a comprehensive overview of the analysis using this variable.

[83] Three years of basic education became compulsory in 1952; six years of education was not compulsory until 1964.

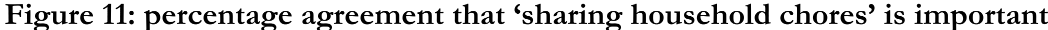


Figure 11: percentage agreement that 'sharing household chores' is important

% agreeing that 'sharing household chores' is 'important for a happy marriage,' by age group, gender and country

% agreeing

100.00
90.00
80.00
70.00
60.00
50.00
40.00
30.00

15-24
25-34
35-44
45-54
55-64
65+

Age group

SE Women
SE Men
UK Women**
UK Men
PT Women
PT Men

% agreeing that 'sharing household chores' is 'important for a happy marriage,' by education level, gender and country

% agreeing

100.00
90.00
80.00
70.00
60.00
50.00
40.00
30.00

Primary or under
Secondary
Post Secondary non tertiary
Graduate or higher

SE Women
SE Men
UK Women**
UK Men
PT Women
PT Men

% agreeing that 'sharing household chores' is 'important for a happy marriage,' by occupation type, gender and country

% agreeing

100.00
90.00
80.00
70.00
60.00
50.00
40.00
30.00

Working Class
Intermediate
Manager and Professionals

Occupation type (European socio-economic classification)

SE Women
SE Men
UK Women
UK Men
PT Women
PT Men

Firstly, it is important to note that respondents across all categories have fairly high levels of agreement with the statement: the lowest of them all, which is women in the UK working in manual and routine occupations, still agree that sharing chores is important for a happy marriage an average 86 per cent of the time. Agreement by both men and women in Portugal is noticeably high, and women agree ever so slightly more than men. While men and women in Portugal have the highest extent of agreement, in contrast to every other item analysed for this study, it is important to treat this apparent pattern with a high level of caution. Two possible explanations to this difference suggest it may not represent a substantive difference. The design of this survey question and the response options are different to the four-point scale of the other seven questions. Rather than a substantive difference, the difference for Portugal could be the result of firstly, acquiescence bias, and secondly, measurement artefact. On the other hand, the fact that there are no significant differences by characteristic in Portugal could suggest a norm of sharing household labour that transcends generations, social class and level of education. The difference in attitudes towards this variable might suggest that sharing chores is normative and imply particular forms of gender equality. However, it is also important to remember that the statement only tests attitudes to *any* sharing, not the degree of sharing itself. Sharing does not necessarily mean 50/50.[84] Furthermore, the question is focused solely on the division of labour in terms of chores, thus eliminating childcare. The differential results perhaps point towards the multiple different norms and attitudes in relation to the gendered division of labour, gender equality and gender roles in respect to paid and unpaid work in Portugal. However, comparison of responses to this item with other variables should be treated with caution, due to the risk of acquiescence bias and/or measurement artefact as outlined above.

Overall levels of agreement that sharing chores is important for a happy marriage are also high in Sweden, where men and women's attitudes are closely aligned. Importantly, in Sweden there are no significant associations. The extent of agreement, and lack of associations between age, class, education, gender and respondents' attitudes, implies a robust norm around sharing household tasks. When theorised in conjunction with the other measures analysed in this study, the results further provide evidence of normative gender equality and sharing of domestic work within households in Sweden.

Respondents in Britain have the lowest levels of agreement with the statement, and women's levels of agreement are noticeably lower than men's across the board. However, it is important

[84] Although this is perhaps what it ought to mean.

to highlight that overall agreement is still quite high, with average agreement across all women at 87 per cent and across all men at 92 per cent. As with the composite index, support for the statement decreases as women age, and increases as women access more education.

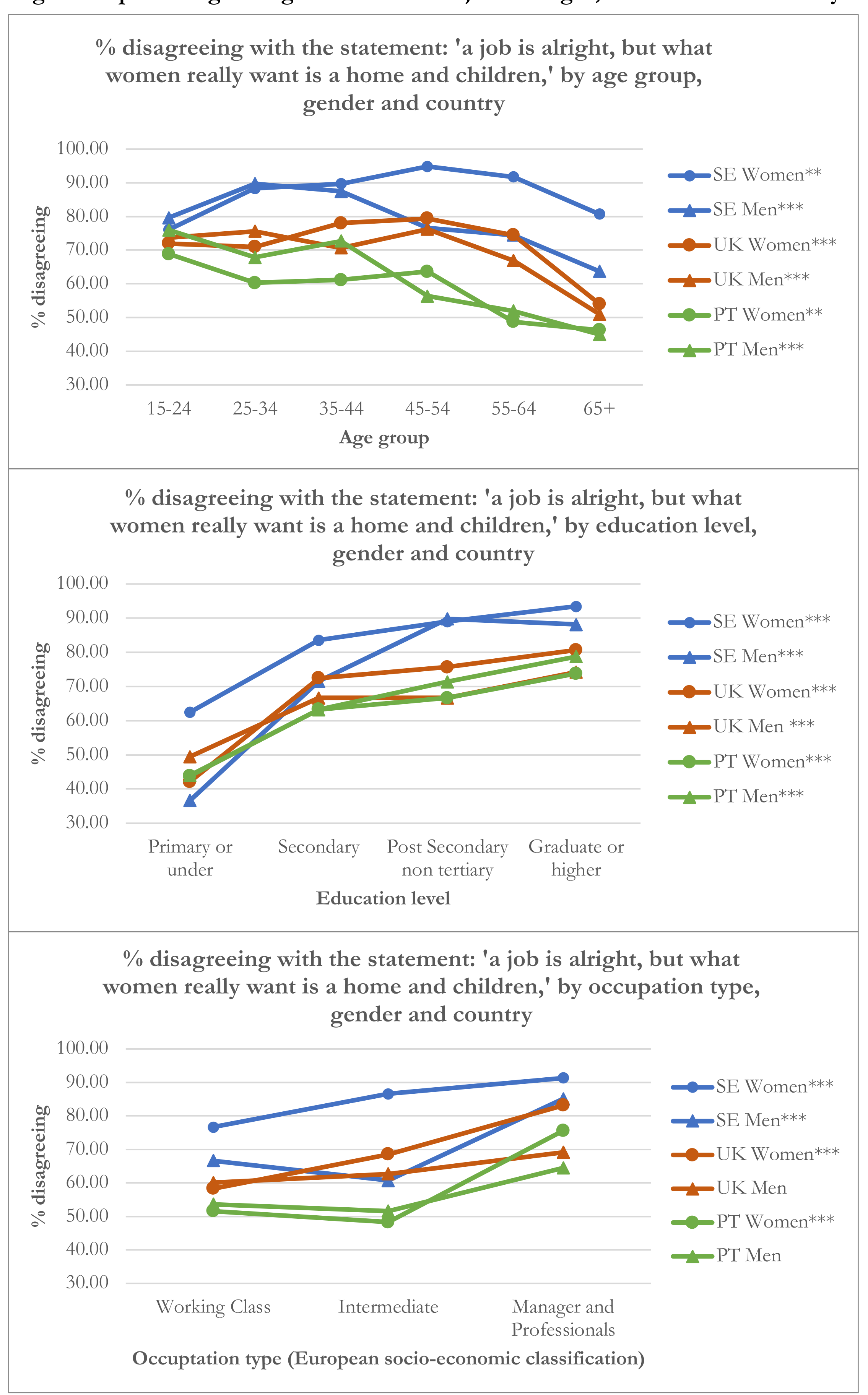
The fact that respondents in Britain have the lowest levels of agreement overall demonstrates that this form of gender equality is slightly less normative in the UK than it is in Portugal and Sweden. Furthermore, the normativity of sharing household tasks is mediated to some extent by age, class and education. The associations with education level, age, and to a lesser extent class, show that the norm of sharing household tasks is stronger among younger women, women with higher levels of education, as well as among men working in professional and managerial roles.

The fact that men agree slightly more than women in the UK, and yet women continue to do the majority of domestic work (and childcare) as outlined in the data collected in table 4 (at the start of this chapter), could indicate a disjuncture between men's beliefs and their day-to-day practices. Other research has found that men tend to over-estimate their contribution to household labour and time spent engaged in unpaid domestic and childcare work (McMunn et al., 2021). Also, as mentioned, a shortcoming of this question and type of analysis is that that the statement only tests attitudes to *any* sharing, not the degree of sharing itself. The fact that overall attitudes to sharing domestic chores, although still relatively high, are lower in the UK than in Portugal and Sweden, especially among women, perhaps also reflects the prevalence of the 'modified male-breadwinner' model (Lyonette et al. 2007), whereby high levels of maternal part-time working are culturally embedded structural responses to the persistence of inadequate and extraordinarily expensive childcare in the UK (Cory, 2020; Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004). Women's responses may reflect the reality of their day-to-day lives, in which domestic labour forms part of their role more than their it does their partners – even if they do not necessarily agree with these roles.

Attitudes towards women's motivations and preferences

Responses to this item follow the pattern established by the composite index, with women in Sweden disagreeing the most overall, and respondents in Portugal disagreeing the least. Significant differences exist between men and women's attitudes in Sweden, but there is no significant difference between men's and women's responses in the UK (with the exception of managers and professionals) or in Portugal.

Figure 12: percentage disagreement with 'A job is alright, but what women really want…'



Notably, in the least well-educated category, men in Sweden have the lowest level of disagreement with the statement of any other group across the three countries. While the differences between the lowest educated men between the three countries are not significant, the low level of men in Sweden's disagreement for this question is exceptional in comparison to the distribution of responses to the other variables analysed. However, as I suggested earlier, it is possible that country of birth might be a confounding variable that is not detected in this group, since compulsory basic education has existed in Sweden since 1842.

Overall disagreement with this item is lower in Sweden than is the case with other measures. Moreover, age, education level and social class all have an effect on the extent of disagreement in both men and women in Sweden, at either the 1 per cent or 0.1 per cent level. The fact that there are significant differences in agreement levels by category across all genders, in contrast to the fewer differences by category in responses to other measures analysed, perhaps suggests a residual normative maternalism in Sweden that is more pronounced among particular segments of the population, specifically those with lower levels of education and lower socio-economic status. Professional status and higher levels of education are associated with greater disagreement for both men and women, all at the 0.1 per cent level. It is interesting that younger women disagree with the statement less than women aged 25–64, suggesting that stereotypes in role socialisation perhaps continue to exist in Swedish institutions, which are combatted to some extent once women are in the workforce and of childbearing age. In the UK, men's and women's attitudes are aligned, but social location clearly mediates levels of disagreement among both men and women, with significant differences in all but one category[85] for both women and men, which play out along the same lines as within the composite index.

These findings suggest, similarly to Sweden, that a normative maternalism persists throughout society which is stronger in specific groups of the population – i.e. those with lower levels of education and socio-economic status, as well as younger and older respondents. The findings show that women are more likely to disagree as their careers progress; and age 45–54 is the category in which men are most likely to disagree, perhaps suggesting an association with labour market attachment and extent of disagreement. Again, it is interesting to note that younger as well as older respondents are more likely to agree that women *really* want a home and children,

[85] The one exception is men by occupation type, where there is no association.

perhaps conveying the effect of gendered social expectations about men's and women's primary roles and interests that begin with early gender socialisation.

Attitudes towards women's and men's aptitudes and leadership qualities

Across these two items, responses are divided more on gender grounds than by country. Women in Sweden disagree the most. Men in Sweden disagree almost as much as women in Sweden, followed by women in the UK and then women in Portugal. Men in the UK generally disagree less than both women in the UK and women in Portugal, and men in Portugal disagree the least. Notably, while many of the between-category differences by country are significant in the first item, which examines attitudes to women's and men's suitedness to politics, for the second item concerning attitudes towards women's workplace aptitudes, the differences between many categories across the three countries are less significant than in most of the other variables. There is evidently more convergence across social groups in relation to women's business aptitude than many other aspects of gender roles, suggesting that women's engagement in the labour force is normative and accepted to a similarly wide degree across the three countries. On the other hand, the significance of differences between the countries in the second item, measuring attitudes towards women's suitability for professional politics, suggests that sexist attitudes in relation to women's participation in politics linger in all countries, and are more prevalent among men, especially in Portugal.

In Sweden, attitudes converge across social location in rejection of the statement 'men make better business executives than women', with just one significant difference between attitudes among men by occupation type. In contrast, attitudes are more variable in response to the suggestion that men make better political leaders than women, with associations at the 5 per cent level or stronger in all categories apart from men by age. This suggests that approval of women's participation in business and, by extension, the wider labour force is high across all categories, and therefore normative in Sweden. While high overall levels of disagreement with the political leadership variable are evident, the fact that education and class affect attitudes towards women's capabilities for particular types of work and leadership implies that some sexist attitudes remain, particularly among women with lower education levels.

In the UK, men and women's attitudes to both items are again similar in statistical terms; however, women's attitudes towards their business capacities are more sensitive to age, education and social class than men's. Responses to the question concerning men's and women's

Figure 13: disagreement with 'On the whole, men make better political leaders…'

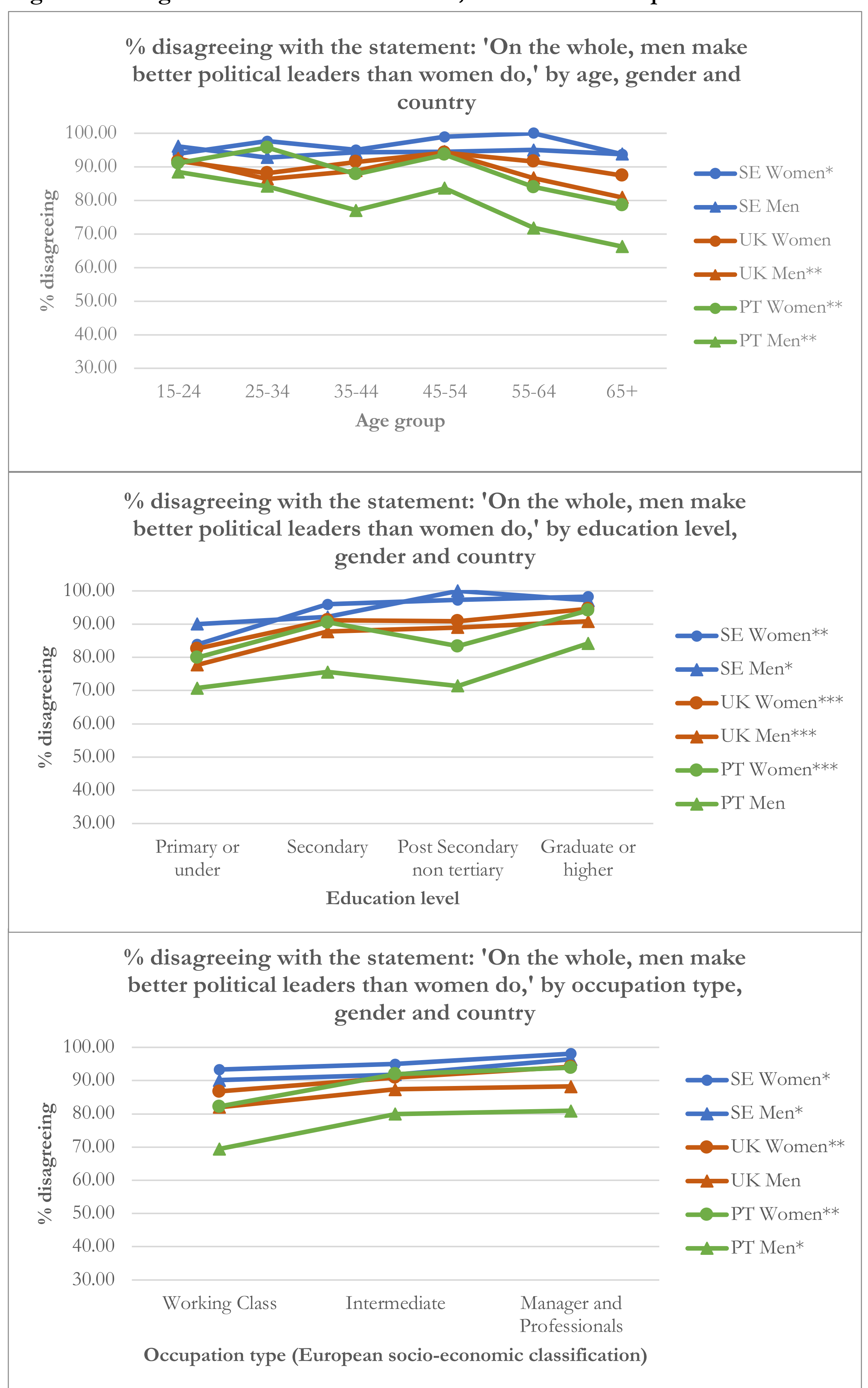
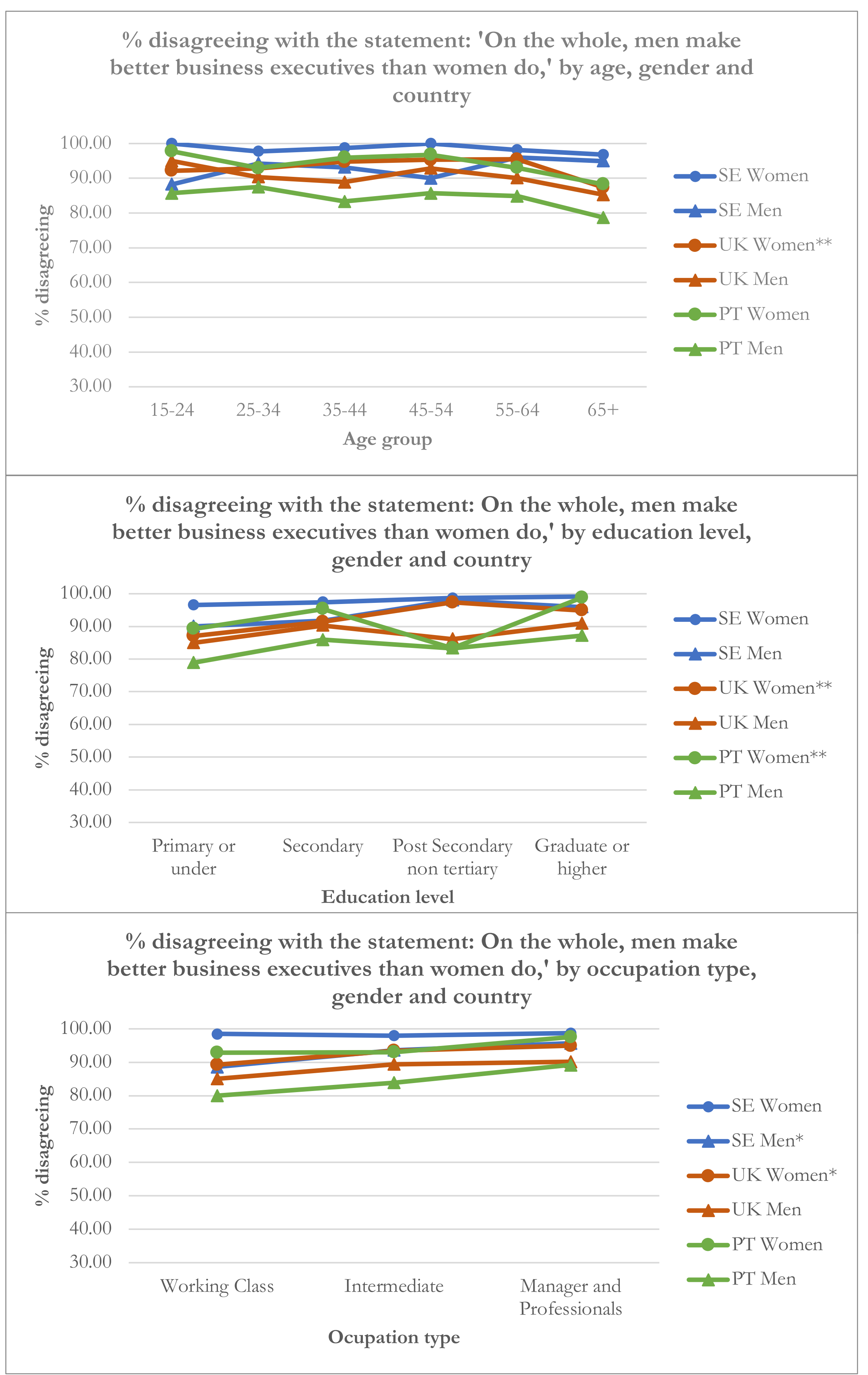


Figure 14: percentage disagreement with 'Men make better business executives...'



aptitudes for professional politics demonstrate significant differences across several categories. The effect of demographic characteristics on attitudes towards political leadership capacities, but not women's business abilities, suggests that women's engagement in the labour force and business is, again, more normative than women's engagement in politics. This reflects both the high levels of women engaged in the labour force, albeit in many cases part-time, as well as the lack of representation of women within politics in Britain (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021). A degree of conservatism thus remains in views towards gender roles, particularly sexism related to women's capacities in certain areas of public life.

In Portugal, overall patterns demonstrated in the composite index remain pertinent, and men's support for women in business is lowest out of all countries. The gap between men's and women's responses to both items in Portugal is also much more significant across all of the categories than in the other countries, notwithstanding the difference between men and women in the post-secondary non-tertiary category, which must be treated cautiously due to the small cell sizes. This gap is largest, at just short of 15 percentage points, between men and women in the 35–44 age category, for the item suggesting men make better executives than women. As discussed in the analysis of the item concerning men's greater right to a job than women's when jobs are scarce, men of this age in Portugal's relatively conservative views in relation to women's capacities as business professionals could perhaps be the product of labour market protectionism, given the dire economic circumstances within which their entry into the labour force took place. Furthermore, differences by age, education, class, as well as gender in Portugal, convey how attitudes towards women's and men's roles in society, specifically in politics, vary across society. Women's participation at the highest levels of public life is therefore not normative or expected in Portugal, but supported by some, more progressive, segments of the population.

Discussion

While rejection of the conservative statements is overall quite high across the three countries, clear patterns emerge in terms of attitudes towards gender roles, both within-country and across the three countries. In general, younger, higher-educated and professional respondents in all countries show more support for egalitarian gender roles, and older, lower-educated and lower socio-economic groups show less. Importantly, the quantitative results offer statistical support for the normative conditions of each country as depicted by the comparative literature on welfare state arrangements and labour force participation. Respondents in Sweden clearly hold

the most egalitarian views overall, with Swedish women's attitudes often more supportive of equality than those of Swedish men. Men in Portugal demonstrate the most conservative views, although women with low levels of education, working class women and older women in Portugal also demonstrate conservative views. In most cases, women and men in the UK show less support for gender equality than men and women in Sweden, but less sexism than men in Portugal. Women in Portugal, as can be understood from the literature, occupy a somewhat contradictory position in terms of attitudes, where some groups of women demonstrate among the most conservative perspectives on women's roles at work and the extent to which children are affected by women's working, yet others demonstrate among the least conservative and show high support for parity among men's and women's skills and capabilities in professional life.

Noticeably, there is least variation in attitudes towards gender equality by any of the demographic characteristics studied among women in Sweden, followed by men in Sweden. This limited variation by education and social class suggests that support for more egalitarian gender roles is wider and more diffuse across social groups in Sweden than it is in the UK or Portugal, in line with scholarship emphasising the collectivist and solidaristic underpinnings of Scandinavian welfare states (Lister, 2007). In contrast, responses to the statements are more sensitive to age, education and social class in the UK and Portugal, where inequalities are greater (World Bank, 2021) and support for gender equality is less consistent across social groups. This finding is borne out in the qualitative research, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

The finding that well-educated and professional women in Portugal, as well as younger people, on the whole, demonstrate the most support for gender equality in Portugal is important. While support for egalitarianism generally increases with education and socio-economic status, and this effect is also slightly more pronounced for women than it is for men among UK respondents, the effect on women in Portugal relative to men in Portugal is quite stark. This finding again points to social inequalities and attitudinal divergences across social groups, as well as supporting other literature illustrating that women tend to be less conservative than men (Lyonette et al., 2007; McMunn et al., 2021; Taylor and Scott, 2018).

Support for women's participation in the labour force is highest among women in Sweden, followed by men in Sweden: this is to be expected, given high levels of maternal full-time labour force participation and universal childcare in Sweden. A more surprising finding is that UK women's attitudes around the impact of full-time working are less supportive than UK men's.

Three possible ways of explaining this finding are that, firstly, maternal rates of full-time working in the UK are relatively low, compared to European neighbours, and part-time working among mothers is high. The lower proportion of women disagreeing that everyone suffers when women work full time could reflect the predominating maternal labour force participation pattern in the UK. An alternative could be that, while women might ultimately be in favour of their own full-time participation, they have adjusted their attitudes in line with their current circumstances, i.e. part-time working, perhaps to avoid the cognitive dissonance of seeking an existence that does not match structural conditions (e.g. Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004; Schober and Scott, 2012). A third possible explanation could be that even where women have a preference for and are able to work full-time, they experience a resulting time-crunch, and thus while remaining supportive of women's full time working, agree that their doing so makes things difficult for everyone at home.

Another surprise, given Portugal's high rates of female and maternal labour-force participation, established dual-earner model and both mothers' and non-mothers' long working hours, is that levels of support for working mothers are lower than in the UK, which has a lower overall maternal labour force participation rate and a far lower full time maternal employment rate (Lyonette et al., 2007; OECD 2020b, 2020c). This could be for some of the same reasons as theorised above in relation to the UK – that although women prefer to and are able to work full-time, they – and men – perceive that it also creates a paucity of time at home which can be stressful for everyone, including themselves (Hochschild and Machung, 2003). It also perhaps conveys the contemporaneous circulation of multiple beliefs and norms around gender roles and gender equality in the country (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Wall, 2015; Wall et al., 2016).

In the context of Portugal's generally more conservative attitudes towards gender roles, the fact that support for sharing chores is higher than support for other measures of gender equality is perhaps interesting. As I noted above, this finding may well not be substantive, due to the risk of acquiescence bias and/or measurement artefact. Furthermore, when we consider the persistent time-use gap in terms of women and men's contribution to childcare and domestic tasks (Eurofound, 2020b), these apparent progressive attitudes are not aligned with day-to-day practice. On the other hand, given that the gender time-use gap in Portugal is smaller than in both the UK and Sweden (Eurofound, 2020b), the apparent attitudes appear more aligned. While this pattern must be interpreted cautiously, it could perhaps support evidence for a mixed picture in terms of gender equality norms and practices in Portugal, and may reflect the concurrence of a range of different normative perspectives whereby the dual-earner model and

discourses of gender equality and involved fatherhood co-exist with 'normative maternalism,' a stubborn gendered division of labour and lack of institutional support for men's practical hands-on fathering (Dores Guerreiro et al., 2014; Nielsen et al., 2009; Wall, 2015).

While support for gender equality is relatively high across most groups in most countries, it is noteworthy that the items with the lowest levels of disagreement are the statements measuring attitudes towards women's desire for children and domesticity, the effect of women's work on children, and the effect of women's full-time work on 'family life,' among both men and women across each of the three countries. There are significant differences for these items, among both within-country and between-country responses across nearly all demographic categories, demonstrating that while disagreement with these statements is overall lower than it is for other measures, there is a high degree of differentiation between normative attitudes towards both women's desire for children and the effect of women's work on children's and family wellbeing. The fact that overall disagreement with these statements is lower across the board when compared to the other measures adds to the substantial body of literature highlighting how certain forms of equality, such as complete equality at home, and men's equal responsibility for domestic work and children, are more contested than others, even in most-egalitarian Sweden.

Conclusion

To conclude, the statistical analysis conducted in this chapter has provided a picture of gender norms in each of the three countries that empirically supports the depiction of the three countries outlined through the comparative context. I will now briefly hypothesise how these findings contextualise the qualitative interviews conducted with fathers in the three countries.

In Sweden, based on the empirical and comparative analysis in this chapter, we can expect to find that fathers in Sweden exist in a society that, overall, supports egalitarian gender roles and norms. The lesser effect of age, education and class on attitudes among men and especially women in Sweden compared to the UK and Portugal, demonstrates relatively widespread support for egalitarian gender roles. Therefore, we can theorise that Swedish fathers' decision-making will be bolstered by a wider culture that supports men's caregiving and enables their use of parental leave. However, considering the residual maternalism observed through comparatively less robust refutation of the measures of women's priorities in terms of work and children and the effect of women working on children and family life, we can expect that fathers'

patterns of leave-taking may not fully challenge maternal precedence in terms of leave-use and caregiving.

In the UK, the empirical findings and the comparative context suggest somewhat contrasting norms in terms of gender roles. Opposition to fixed, traditional gender roles is high overall, although lower than in Sweden and not significantly higher than in Portugal. The idea that family life suffers when 'the' woman works full time[86] is rejected less often, and women demonstrate significantly lower levels of agreement that sharing chores is important for marital satisfaction than all other respondents, perhaps both reflecting high levels of maternal part-time working. Women seem to be more conservative in terms of perspectives on certain dimensions of gender roles and gender equality, and remain more attached to caregiving roles than in Sweden. Yet, disagreement that men make better politicians and business executives is higher among women than it is men, and higher overall than in Portugal, although lower than in Sweden. Furthermore, the attitudes of women in the UK are the most affected by social group, with more responses sensitive to age, education and class than UK men as well as both men and women in Sweden or Portugal. This variability, as well as less support for egalitarian gender roles among both women and men in the UK compared to Sweden, suggests greater heterogeneity and a less consistent gender arrangement with respect to equality and egalitarian gender roles than in Sweden. Accordingly, we can perhaps expect to find, firstly, a culture that is less supportive overall of sharing parental leave between mothers and fathers, and therefore a less pro-active culture around fathers' use of leave. A second hypothesis in relation to the UK is wider diversity in terms of fathers' experiences and decision-making. This can be theorised on the basis that the fathers interviewed and their wider social groups, and therefore values, will be differently positioned in terms of class, age and education.

In Portugal, the picture that emerges is one where men overall hold the most conservative views regarding gender roles, and women in Portugal are also more conservative than in Sweden and the UK. Given Portugal's high levels of female and maternal labour-force participation, and the widespread existence of the dual-earner model in Portugal (Tavora and Rubery, 2013), the relatively low extent of overall disagreement with the statements that men have a greater right to employment when job availability is limited, and that children suffer when women work outside the home, is perhaps surprising. The far lower degree to which men in Portugal disagree that

[86] The assumption being within a two-parent, heterosexual household.

men make better politicians than women is also noticeable. These contrary findings allude to the 'normative ambiguity' (Wall, 2015) that scholars of work, family and gender equality in Portugal have drawn attention to, where equality at work and in task-sharing is a prominent public discourse that coexists alongside familialistic values that aggrandise women's role in family life and aptitude for caregiving (Aboim 2010; Pereira, 2010; Santos and Pereira, 2013; Wall, 2015).

Furthermore, the empirical analysis has demonstrated that men in Portugal hold the most conservative views on gender roles, and so we can expect fathers in Portugal to act consistently with these more constraining norms. However, given the normative ambiguity cast into light by the comparative and quantitative analysis, the qualitative component may also highlight contradictory accounts and experiences in relation to fathers' use of parental leave and the rationale behind their decision-making. These tensions and contradictions will be further explored in the next two chapters.

5. The Factors at Play: National norms, policy, discourse and peer group effect

Introduction

In chapter 4, I engaged with the comparative literature and conducted quantitative analysis examining attitudes towards gender roles, women's participation in the labour force and gendered aptitudes and preferences, to illustrate the normative gender arrangement in Sweden, Portugal and the UK as well as how attitudes vary by class, education and age. The findings of the quantitative analysis confirmed that, as we might expect, respondents in Sweden offered the most support for gender egalitarianism, while respondents in Portugal, men in particular, showed the least. In the UK, support for gender equality and egalitarian roles was weaker than in Sweden but stronger than in Portugal, although men in the UK and women in Portugal often demonstrated similar levels of support. In Portugal, the lowest overall support for gender equality was mitigated somewhat by the presence of 'normative ambiguity', through which support for egalitarian roles exists in some domains (such as sharing chores) but not others (such as women's professional abilities). Overall, chapter 4 set the scene for analysis of the qualitative data – the fathers' accounts – collected in the three countries, by conveying a picture of the normative environment contextualising my respondents' decision-making.

This chapter builds on the quantitative analysis by articulating the effects of normative practices, peer groups, national norms and discourses, as well as policy, on fathers' leave use. I will argue that different modalities of norms have divergent impact across the three countries. I will make an original contribution by theorising these norms as citational, by which I mean that each iteration reiterates pre-existing social code, and performative, by which I mean that they construct that which they purport to be (Borgerson, 2005, p.69). Furthermore, I will posit, using a Butlerian critique of regulation (2004), that gender norms precede, exceed and thus delimit policy. I will contend that non-transferable leave entitlements are therefore central to shifting gendered norms of infant care, by creating space for new iterations of fathering practice to emerge. This chapter begins to demonstrate the generative potential of a Butlerian, performative framework for understanding fathers' leave use.

The chapter opens with conceptual definitions. I then outline details of take-up by respondents in each country and reflect on fathers' accounts of the normativity of their fathering decisions.

Next, I interrogate the influence of fathers' peers on their decisions and how these influences varied cross-nationally. I then consider social norms and discourses, and assess similarities and divergences in the norms and their effects across the three countries. Finally, I think parental leave policy as a form of gender regulation, before closing the chapter by theorising the implications of regulation, performativity and citationality for policy design. Throughout my discussion, I develop an argument revealing the citational workings of gender performativity and the ways in which different norms and discourses enable or constrain fathers' use of leave and the types of leave that they use.

Before proceeding, I will offer a note on scope. As is well documented, financial considerations are central to both fathers' and mothers' use of parental leave. Financial considerations were mentioned by most respondents. The ways that finance shaped decisions varied according to the country, as the national context informed both the policy framework and whether or not PYP enhanced the policy framework. Furthermore, where fathers took leave beyond well-paid parts of the leave, this was usually made possible by pay parity in the context of the couple's relationship – a phenomenon that is established in the literature (e.g. Faircloth, 2020; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). Where a substantive pay gap existed, fathers were unable to take leave outside of the well-paid parts of the policy, meaning that these fathers, and by extension the couples, had less flexibility in their overall leave use. Given the large research base which evidences the importance of well-paid and non-transferable leave entitlements (Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016; Moss and Deven, 2006; O'Brien, 2009), and since the focus of this PhD is social norms rather than financial considerations, the project was designed to analyse contexts that minimised financial constraint. Accordingly, the question of finance will not be further dealt with in this thesis.

Conceptual Definitions:

This chapter, and the wider thesis, require the drawing of a conceptual distinction between a) national norms, b) national discourse and c) policy. Thus I will begin by offering some working definitions to clarify my deployment of these concepts:

A) National norms: Norms can be understood as defining or articulating acceptable patterns of behaviour based on gender in a group or society (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020). When considering national norms, the group or society is a particular country, in this case, Sweden, Portugal and the UK. The notion of national norms is

complicated by the fact that norms differ to greater or lesser extents between age, class, gender, nationality and ethnic groups (Esping-Andersen, 2009; Pfau-Effinger, 1998; Scott et al., 2010). However, as chapter 4 demonstrates, discernible differences in the 'gender arrangement' exist between countries (Pfau-Effinger, 1998). Although norms do differ by social groups in each of the countries, the overarching similarities and differences embedded in national cultures, or 'dominant cultural values and ideals' (Pfau-Effinger, 1998, p.150) are this study's central focus.

B) National discourses: I understand public discourses as both corresponding to and diverging from norms. Discourses are multivalent, built up over time, and have origins in different social structures, institutions, frameworks, values and sectors (Foucault, 1991, 1998). They both compete and coalesce. As Butler asserts, 'one cannot offer a full narrative account of the citational history of the norm: whereas narrativity does not fully conceal its history, neither does it reveal a single origin' (2004, p.52). Discourses and norms may overlap but can also be contradictory (Dorres-Guerreiro et a., 2014, Hobson and Fahlen, 2009; Miller, 2011b; Wall et al., 2016a). Norms may be discursively reinforced, and discourses may be normatively reinforced, but norms do not rely only on discourse and discourse does not rely only on norms. Following Foucault (1991, 1998), discourse produces the subject; therefore we may ask: do norms also produce the subject? For Butler, the answer is yes, gender norms do produce the subject (1993, 1999, 2004, 2015). Thus, we might extrapolate that gendered *parenting* norms produce the parenting subject.

C) National policy: National policy refers to the parental leave policy framework in each country: the specific configuration of rights and entitlements that provide for fathers', mothers' and parents' use of leave to care for an infant in their first two years of life. Policy and discourse overlap, in that the discursive framing of a policy problem predetermines policy design (Bacchi, 2009; Lombardo et al., 2009). A specific discourse or set of discourses often accompanies a government's policy framework, such as through parliamentary debates, its framing by policymakers, as well as press and social media coverage. For example the UK's SPL policy launch was accompanied by discourses and expectations of choice, egalitarianism, shared parental responsibility and career fulfilment for women (Atkinson, 2017; BBC, 2014; Javornik and Oliver, 2019; Miller, 2017; Hamilton 2021). Policy overlaps with norms, since norms shape policy goals and ideals, and policy can reshape norms (Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004; Scott and Schober, 2012). As a form of regulation, i.e.

that which guides behaviour in particular ways, policy regulates subjectivity and constructs the subject (Butler, 2004, 2015). As such, policy also has the power to produce gender, as I discuss later.

Fathers' Use of Leave

Across the three countries, fathers' experiences were characterised by similarity and difference. The factors that informed fathers' leave use arose from a complex combination of norms, policy, discourses and individual values and preferences – themselves produced by norms (Butler 1993, 1997; Foucault, 1991, 1998). Although each country sample exhibited some heterogeneity in the amount of leave used and the decision-making process underpinning fathers' leave use, commonalities emerged in each country and respondents very often accounted for what was normal or 'natural' in their culture. In Sweden, a clear pattern emerged for the majority of my respondents: most mothers used 12–14 months of leave and most fathers used 3–6 months. Fathers regularly referred to this pattern as a 'typical' division of leave-use, although three fathers explained their intention to split the leave 50/50 with their partners. These fathers noted that this was a departure from the more typical mode of splitting the leave 40/60, 30/70, or less. In Portugal, respondents regularly invoked the 'typical' way of splitting the leave; however, what was perceived as typical varied according to the father being interviewed. In the UK, a 'typical' way of splitting leave was not consistently articulated by fathers, foregrounding the UK policy framework's failure to shape the policy subject of the leave-taking father in the same way that the Swedish, and to a lesser extent Portuguese, policy frameworks do. I will explore this in more detail later in this chapter.

Fathers' usage patterns are detailed in full in the Appendices (section 3, table 24). The variation in fathers' use of parental leave in each country was as follows:

Table 6: Parental leave use in days, by country

Days (rounded)	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum	Range
Portugal	29.9	31.5	15	47	32
Sweden	124.2	119.5	98	174	76
United Kingdom	38.0	30.0	10	80	70

What are the factors underlying these clear national variations? I will begin by discussing the effect of fathers' perceptions of normative practice.

i. 'What everybody does': Normative practice and citationality

In every country, perceptions of 'what everybody does' or what was normal frequently informed respondents' actions. Clear patterns of the division of caring labour between partners in a relationship and the appropriate length of time for a father to be at home, or away from work, emerged in each country, even if some respondents subverted these patterns.

The notion of a 'common approach' was most clearly identifiable in Sweden, where every father interviewed made use of parental leave and, importantly, used most of their leave 'home-alone'. Several fathers reported this 'typical' pattern, as Hans (Manager, 35, 2 children, used 6 months with both children) explains:

> Jules: How did [friends and family] arrange things? […]
>
> Hans: Very similarly, I would say. […] So I think this is just the most common approach, you have the mother being [off] roughly the year, and then the father being [off] 3-6 months.

The widespread use of a more or less twelve:six month format demonstrates that fathers in Sweden predominantly used the top tier of the three types of leave effectively available to them,[87] well-paid days topped up by their employer. This usage pattern is in line with national usage data which shows that most leave days are used before a child is two, and that mothers use the majority of leave days in the first three months of a baby's life, while fathers use days when the child is aged between one and three (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020). Overall only three fathers used leave beyond employer-enhanced days, and no fathers specifically reported using low-flat-rate days.[88] I argue that the well-established – albeit in my small sample – pattern of mothers' use of around a year and fathers' use of between three and six months of leave reveals citationality underpinning these normative practices. Sweden's parental leave framework has existed since 1974, and a 'use it or lose it' quota has existed since 1995 (Duvander and Johansson, 2012). As

[87] as outlined in chapters 1 and 4, these three types of leave days comprise employer-enhanced, 'well-paid' but capped, and low-paid.

[88] Based on the flexibility of the Försäkringskassan parental leave provision, several respondents told me the ways that it was possible to 'game' the parental leave provision. Families, rather than using up all the well-paid days and then being left with only the flat rate days, found many different ways to make the leave work best, financially or temporally, for them. Since it is possible to be on leave but only claim minimum two days' leave payment per week (the maximum is seven), the leave can be stretched out for two or more years, if families are prepared to accept the income reduction. Alternatively if families seek to maintain a particular income standard, you may use more days of payment. It is possible to utilise the low paid days in among the well-paid days, for example claiming four well-paid days but using up one low paid day per week to make the average higher for longer, rather than declining suddenly at the end of the leave. PYP's enhancement was only applicable to the well-paid days. Finally, given that parental leave days may be used until the child is eight years old, many families – especially those working in rota-driven teams such as health care, opted to reserve some low-paid days after returning to work, as these could effectively be used to request time off and effectively force prioritisation above other colleagues' holiday requests if needed. One father explained his discomfort with this practice, which he felt was unethical, although his wife (a nurse) had a more pragmatic perspective.

discussed previously, the introduction of a quota had dramatic effects on fathers' leave use. Almost overnight, fathers' average use of leave days went from 10 to 26 (Duvander and Johansson, 2012, pp.324–325). The quota increased to two and then three months in 2002 and 2016. While not all fathers interviewed were aware that the total non-transferable quota was now three months, they all knew that between two and six months of leave was expected of them. Thinking this through gendered citationality, we can understand how space has been made, through the provision of father-only leave, for new citations of the involved father to take effect. Over time, and with increases in the quota length, aided by collectively-bargained employer enhancements, the citation of the involved father has become more and more common, with the effect that the fathers in my sample – reflective of a white middle class demographic – felt compelled to reiterate this citation.

In the UK, thirteen fathers used SPL, while seven fathers did not. Importantly however, just three fathers who used SPL used home-alone leave – the type that has been shown to generate real shifts in gendered caring norms (Brandth and Kvande, 2016; Doucet, 2017; Wall, 2014). Fathers who did not use SPL invoked the notion of a 'normal' pattern of leave, while fathers who did use SPL were often aware that they were defying convention, at least to some extent. These perspectives were aligned with national patterns of fathers' leave use, wherein (some) paternity leave use is common, but SPL uptake has been extremely low – the latest estimates suggest just 3.6 per cent of eligible couples have utilised the policy (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Dunstan, 2021). Luke (35, Associate Director, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave) explained how the course of action he and his wife followed had almost taken place in the absence of a conscious decision, based on their unacknowledged assumptions, as well as a lack of proactive, involved fathering culture around them:

> I think like most people, we defaulted to the idea that my entitlement was to two weeks of paternity leave, Annabel's maternity entitlement was to a year, and shared parental I don't think necessarily was on our radar. […] I don't think there was anyone really to influence other than that the norm, which is to take two weeks of paternity and the mums take a year off. So I think that we defaulted to that.

Luke articulated the citational pull of gendered parenting cultures and expectations. The fact that he and his partner didn't actively seek to challenge parenting convention meant that they 'defaulted' to the 'norm'. Interestingly, their baby was due in September and they hadn't considered using SPL until they met with (heterosexual) expectant friends a few months before, learning their friends would not only be using SPL but would be financially better-off for it, due to the father's workplace enhancement. They considered changing

their minds, but Luke felt it was too late to make the necessary work arrangements.[89] Relevant here is that upon learning of a different citation for fatherhood, it became an option for him: until that point it had not been.

Luke's perspective and experience reflected the dynamics present throughout the UK sample. Although not always the case, fathers such as Luke, James, Julian and Christian, who did not know of friends or family who had used SPL, also did not use the entitlement – even when they were (somewhat) aware of the policy. In contrast, fathers who had pre-existing active awareness of the policy, knew friends or family or close colleagues who had used or attempted to use it, or who were already interpellated by discourses of involved fatherhood often made efforts to understand their entitlements at work and establish conditions of eligibility. As I will discuss later in this chapter, some of these fathers, but not all, articulated that the policy was important for gender equality and made sense of their usage in terms of contributing towards equality and/or sharing care responsibilities.

In Portugal,[90] where I interviewed eleven fathers, four used the bonus 30 days with all their children, three fathers used the 30 days with one but not all their children, two fathers used part of the 30 days but not all of it, and two did not use the 30 days at all. Importantly, although the majority of fathers did use some amount of shared leave with at least one child, just three used shared leave to undertake a period of home-alone parenting. Fathers' overall leave-use patterns reflected national usage data, where most fathers use the obligatory and some or all of the optional 'fathers only' (FO) days but only 38 per cent of initial parental leave (IPL) periods are taken with the sharing bonus (Correia et al., 2021). Just two fathers mentioned the financial bonus as relevant to their decision-making, suggesting this mechanism's ineffectiveness in promoting fathers' leave use – as has been established in Sweden and elsewhere (Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016).

[89] We will return to the workplace dynamics of Luke's case in chapter 6.

[90] Given Portugal's particular policy configuration, I understand the decision to share leave in the Portuguese context as comprising use of what was understood by fathers as the optional 30 days sharing bonus (also known as the 'sixth month'). This is the month that activates the financial sharing bonus when used – rather than the obligatory initial 15 or optional 10 (total: 25) fathers' only days. These days will be referred to as the 'bonus 30 days' and 'FO days' respectively throughout this chapter, with the total available FO days indicated in parenthesis, e.g. (/20) or (/25). Successive changes to the leave design meant that fathers were able to use different numbers of days based on the year of their child's arrival. In January 2018 when I conducted the research, 15 FO days were obligatory and 10 were optional. In 2019, the policy changed and 20 of the days became obligatory, with 5 remaining optional.

Multiple fathers in Portugal acted in accordance with their understanding of 'standard' patterns of leave use, but their understandings of the typical pattern of use differed quite significantly, as two fathers demonstrated. Joaquim (42, Director, 3 children, used 20 (/20) fathers' only days with the first two and 25 (/25) with the second; did not use IPL) explained:

> [I]t was like a little bit obvious. I would say according to the practice, to what we normally see other people do and to be honest there was not much discussion about it. So typically […] for the mother the parental leave is like four months, which you can extend to five months, but only being four of them paid and that's what we chose on all of these situation[s]. […] It didn't make, well, as I was saying, to be honest I would say that it didn't even cross my mind to be at home for one month on the end.

Joaquim's understanding of their decision as 'a little bit obvious,' 'according to the practice' and to 'what we see other people do' illuminates the citational constitution of fathers' leave-use: he perceives that it is obvious and common practice for fathers not to use the 30 days' leave following his partner's five months of leave. In contrast, Gilberto (33, Manager, two children, used all available fathers' only days, plus the full '30 days' on home-alone leave) invokes the 'standard' normality of his use of the 30 days' leave:

> So I guess it's more or less the standard, but it's not the only option, but usually what we thought was from the six months [total leave period], the mother will stay the first five months and then I will stay the last month.

Gilberto and Joaquim explained their use of leave as based on what they understood other people to do. Their leave-use actions reiterated existing citations. Literature on family, parenting and gender equality in Portugal, as I have discussed, highlights 'normative ambiguity' in family roles, with a pervasive discursive emphasis on gender equality and rebalancing the gendered division of labour in the media, education and institutions, yet simultaneous lingering maternalism rooted in Roman Catholic values and a familialistic culture (Dorres Guerreiro et al., 2014; Wall, 2015). It is perhaps, therefore, not surprising that multiple courses of action are understood as normal. Variations in leave use across different generational and social groups reveal the effect of group norms that mediate the take-up of rights and entitlements. The fact that my respondents understood their courses of action to be 'normal' in the context of multiple possible normals articulates the citational nature of gendered fatherhood and the interaction of citationality with parental leave policy. Here, it is clear that group norms – specifically, the citations for gender which circulate in different modalities and vary across social locations – mediate the impact or interpretation of rights and entitlements (Hamilton, 2021; McKay et al., 2016; O'Brien et al., 2018b). In other words, national policy around paternity rights is

understood and taken up in different ways by different groups, and citationality is part of what underpins these divergences.

ii. Peer and family norms

Analysing the data in each country makes it clear that peer and family norms mattered and influenced respondents, and yet respondents were not always able to recognise this. Overt differences between countries were observed in the degree to which peer group norms influenced respondents' decisions. In Sweden, many respondents had friends who had used similar patterns of leave. Given the length of time that the policy has been in place, as well as the relatively generous length of leave and the fact that the leave is formally individual, a wider range of options effectively exist for sharing the leave and for fathers' overall use of leave than in the UK and Portugal (Duvander and Johansson, 2019; O'Brien and Wall, 2017; Rege and Solli, 2013). For some fathers, especially those with a large pay gap relative to their partner, this wider range was somewhat delimited at PYP due to the company's policy to enhance the statutory payment rate to full-pay for six months (see table 1 in chapter 1, p.19). However, awareness of the relative flexibility of the leave was high and the multiple possible configurations of leave days and sharing was, my respondents reported, a common conversation for these fathers. Fathers in Sweden were more likely overall than their counterparts in the UK and Portugal to affirm their peers' direct influence on their course of action. This is perhaps related to the fact that fathers' use of leave is far more normative in Sweden than in both the UK and Portugal. It is, however, important to note that their greater awareness of the influence of their peers does not definitively confirm that they were ultimately more influenced by their peers than their counterparts in the UK and Portugal. However, in the context of the performative framework through which I am analysing the data, their greater awareness of the effect of their peers on their decisions is significant.

Most fathers in Sweden did discuss the options available to them with peers, and most were influenced to some extent by those around them. Seven fathers understood their friends' patterns of leave use as directly influencing their own, while in five fathers' accounts the views and usage patterns of their peer groups had an indirect impact on their decision-making. One father outright rejected the idea that his peers had any impact on his decision. Overall, fathers' decision-making in Sweden was citational, and the visibility and normativity of fathers' leave-use in Sweden was itself a citational effect of the pro-sharing and pro-fatherhood culture, embedded

through decades of enabling policy and resulting fathering practices (Duvander and Johansson, 2019), as depicted in my adapted model of citational change (see chapter 2).

Seven fathers (Stefan, Mikael, Daniel, Mats, Andrej, Lars and Karl) acknowledged the direct effect of the actions of their peers on their decisions. Their narratives conveyed both the conscious and 'unconscious' influence of peers' use of leave, which was often relatively equitable. Their accounts conveyed the performative nature of gendered parenthood, whereby parenting decisions, choices and action re-cited normative conventions established within their social worlds. Stefan's (31, Manager, 1 child, used 6 months parental leave plus 3 weeks holiday) account illustrates how his friends' sharing practices (8 couples who had shared parental leave prior to the arrival of his baby) provided the basis for his and his partners' decision-making:

> Jules: Did the couples that had children before you had Freddie inspire you to look at what they did and think that works really well, maybe we'll do it like that, or the opposite?
>
> Stefan: Both, because, we know what possibilities we had based on our income and we looked at what others had done and we used that to form our own approach.
>
> Jules: When you were making the decision to use six months' leave, did you take into consideration at any point what people might think of you for using leave, or using less leave or anything like that?
>
> Stefan: Yeah I did. I mean, um, Sweden is, gender equality is something that is very present in the Swedish society and in my social circle of friends and acquaintances, it's very important to be like equal. So I wanted to, absolutely, there was a social aspect; I think that many of my friends will have really questioned me if I wouldn't have been home. […] I mean I wanted to be home, but it was also good to be a gender-equal man so to speak.

Stefan clearly articulates the normative imperative to share leave and the social power relations that produced his engagement with discourses of involved fatherhood. His admission that 'it was also good to be a gender-equal man' reveals his subjectivation – his production through and by – this discourse. In Sweden, as well as conveying the direct influence of their friends' usage patterns, fathers' concerns that friends might have perceived them differently had they opted to take less leave demonstrated the compulsion to reproduce normative modes of engaged fathering.

Implied within some fathers' concerns regarding peer judgement was the notion that being fully career-driven is antithetical to the family-oriented hands-on father, and perhaps selfish or self-serving, as Daniel (33, Manager, two children, took 5 months and 3 months of home-alone leave respectively) demonstrated:

> you don't want to be less, to have a shorter parental leave than your closest friends in the same situation, because that would maybe give some signals that 'oh you are not taking the responsibility at home' or something like that, or that person is only thinking about his career, or something like that.

Butler's argument that gender is an obligatory matrix of power relies on the idea of 'tacit constraints' (1999, p.187) that produce what is and is not acceptable in the context of normative gender roles. Kimmel has also argued, in relation to masculinity, that 'as adolescents, we learn that our peers are a kind of gender police' (1997, p.234). In the context of the fathers in Sweden, whose subjectivities are shaped by discourses of hands-on fatherhood and sharing of parental responsibility, these forms of diffuse social power delimit fully career-orientated masculinities in favour of (some) active involvement at home.

The five fathers in Sweden (Fredrik, Hans, Magnus, Niklas and Tomas) who did not consider themselves directly influenced by the actions of their peers are perhaps more complicated to theorise, if only because their lack of conscious acknowledgement does not definitively eliminate the citational effect of their peers' and other fathers' leave use. Fredrik (37, Partner, expecting first child, planned to use 5 months home-alone leave), for example, explains:

> I am affected by what I've heard from my friends, but I don't think that they've impacted my decision. Of course we are always impacted by the people around, but not in a way that I've discussed something and then, okay, I'm going to make my decision based on that.

As Chambers has pointed out, '[t]he fact that culture is interwoven with practices means that, in choosing to perform a particular practice, an individual is participating in a social form' (2008, p.38). In other words, choice – in Fredrik's case, his decision – is mediated by social power and discourse, rather than made by a completely free agent with a limitless number of options (Chambers, 2008; Foucault, 1991, 1998; see also Kabeer, 1999). Through claiming that 'of course we are always impacted by the people around [us]', Fredrik almost directly acknowledges the citational ways through which peers influence one another. However, he does not understand this as a direct form of influence – a perspective that I, invoking Butler, contest. Fredrik goes on to explain that:

> For us now and having children five, six years after all of our friends, it's probably just the *natural choice* to say that you're going to be home eight months and me five months. (Emphasis added).

Here, Fredrik tacitly invokes the influence of friends' child-rearing practices by suggesting that their childrearing decision followed friends' experiences. His use of the term 'natural choice' to

justify the deeply social decision about how to distribute their policy entitlement conveys the tacit ways in which gendered social practice is cited and recited, becoming naturalised and thus compelling us to reiterate these particular norms and actions (Butler, 1993, 1999). Fredrik's account, illustrative of the contradictions encountered in other fathers' experiences, illuminates tensions between the question of volition and the effect of discursive power on the subject. I argue that these cases convey the citational production of norms around fathers' use of parental leave, and the almost unthinking reiteration of these practices: an unthinking reproduction that is precisely what maintains them as norms.

In Sweden, then, fathers' use of leave is citational and performative. The gradual increases in fathers' use of leave, enabled by the egalitarianism built into the design of the policy since 1974/1995, have widened take-up slowly over time, with initial changes and early adopters making fathers' use of leave ever more normative (Ma et al., 2021; Duvander and Johansson, 2019). I argue that this development and extension of normativity in fathers' use is citational, as illustrated in the adapted model of citational change, and that these citations build up because the policy context enables them to flourish.

Although fathers in the UK regularly dismissed the influence of their peers on their decision, analysis makes clear that that their patterns of leave use tended to reflect the social circumstances in which they existed. Fathers were frequently influenced by peer groups, both by peers' use and non-use, even as they disavowed this influence. As has been noted in existing literature (O'Brien and Twamley, 2017; Twamley and Schober, 2019), many – although not all – fathers who used SPL had friends or sometimes family who had used it, tried to use it, or who exemplified egalitarian distribution of parenting responsibility. Work colleagues, especially work peers who perhaps crossed the boundary between friend and colleague, also influenced fathers' decisions, illustrating challenges in isolating the effect of different domains of norms. Importantly, non-use, or lack, also acted as influence: most fathers who did not use SPL were not aware of any peers who had used it. However, not all fathers who used SPL had peers that did the same: some were 'trailblazers'.

Four broad categories of father emerged in relation to the effect of peer norms in the UK: fathers directly influenced by peers' usage; fathers influenced by peers' lack of leave use; fathers indirectly influenced by the parenting decisions and practices of peers; and fathers whose decisions did not appear influenced by peers. While some fathers in this last category were

interpellated by discourses of gender equality and involved fatherhood, as I will discuss later, others based their decisions on the practicalities of domestic and work circumstances. Fathers directly or indirectly influenced, as well as those influenced by peers' lack of leave use, can both be understood through a lens of citationality.

Two UK fathers, Harry and Austin, were the only respondents to directly acknowledge their peers' influence. Harry (33, Manager, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and 5 weeks SPL concurrently with his partner) was influenced by a combination of peers, family and colleagues, while Austin's (31, Director, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and 4 weeks SPL (plus 4 weeks holiday) concurrently with his partner) experience highlights the overlap between different domains of norms. Austin and his wife didn't have any friends with children prior to their daughter's arrival, but Austin had several work friends who had used SPL. He understood these colleagues' use of the entitlement as precipitating his own interest in the policy:

> Aust.: I think, just knowing other people had done it and it was kind of, and it had been successful, and there weren't any catches. […] they had actually got full pay, [PYP] hadn't tried to, I dunno, [say] 'oh, you've got your pension contributions, we'll take that'. Just, it is as it says on the tin, erm, [and] having them say how nice it was being at home. And when they say nice, it's not exactly been a bed of roses, but it's been nice, she would have struggled a lot more had it not been both of us.
>
> Jules: Do you think if no one in your, no one that you know in your sort of cohort, had taken it, you still would have taken what you are taking?
>
> Aust.: I think it would've been less likely. Or more difficult […] I think there's, humans like following, humans like other people pioneering. […] I still think it's comforting that other people have done it. So I think it's maybe more likely. Well, I'll never know if I wouldn't have taken it, but I do know that when they started talking about it, I started thinking 'that sounds like a good idea.'

Austin's account conveys the citational nature of fathering actions. He described a material dimension to the 'comforting' information gleaned by discussing leave use with his work contemporaries, articulating the importance of the structural to performativity (Butler, 2015). This material dimension of citationality: seeing other fathers using leave and not face repercussions, also reflected other fathers' experiences. For Austin, seeing colleagues use leave and return to work without encountering repercussions or PYP's retraction of leave payments increased his confidence that using leave would not entail adverse consequences.

Four fathers were indirectly influenced by peers' parenting decisions and practices. Each of these fathers stated they would have used the leave 'anyway' or had a pre-existing desire to use leave, but explained that they had seen or known individuals, whether work, family or friends, who had

used SPL, intended to use SPL or exhibited egalitarian parenting arrangements to which the father aspired. Max's (33, Assistant Director, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave, 15 weeks SPL and 3 annual leave, taking 16 weeks as home-alone leave) experience is illustrative:

> Jules: When you were making your decision, do you think any of what your friends had done before you, made any difference to what you decided to do, either way, like seeing them struggling, or seeing them kind of using it and having a good time?
>
> Max: It would only be Will and Kirsten who are the example of that, even though it's not shared parental leave, and for a whole raft of reasons much wider than shared parental leave. I think they're quite, they would probably blush, but they are quite kind of parents that we would like to be to our children in many ways. We really respect the way they've brought up their two daughters and so yeah I saw Will and I thought yeah he's a great dad, I want to be that guy. They've got a beautiful relationship and that relationship is undoubtedly in my mind because of Will's time spent with the kids. […] So yeah, not that I think we directly cited that relationship as a reason for doing what we're doing, but it's influenced our view on parenting and what it looks like.

Max's account eloquently articulates the citational effect of the individuals around him and their caring practices. Nobody in his social circle had directly used SPL, so his decision to use shared leave was not directly informed by a peer's use of the entitlement. However, Max's statement that his observation of his friend led him to think 'yeah he's a great dad, I want to be that guy' clearly conveys the social and citational impact of this particular mode of involved fathering. The decision Max makes to share parental leave – specifically, to use home-alone leave, cites fathering practices he has encountered among his peers.

Of the four peer influence categories in the UK, influence of peers' non-use encompassed the most fathers. The decisions made by these six fathers, although in different ways, were all shaped by the lack of precedent, or citation, for fathers' use of SPL among their peers. Christian (39, Director, planned to use 2 weeks paternity leave only), for example, had no friends who had used SPL and some friends who felt unable to use even statutory paternity leave. This absence was to me quite striking; however, the same was true for several other fathers. Christian was clearly ambitious, felt behind in the (acutely competitive) career trajectory compared to some of his peers and was frustrated: he wanted to make partner, felt time was of the essence and wished to avoid the potential risks of time out at a perceived critical moment. Christian himself did not feel that the absence of a citation for fathers' use had influenced his own decision not to use the leave. It is not easy to untangle which of these factors, if any, was the primary driver in terms of Christian's lack of SPL use. However, in comparing his account with the narratives offered by

fathers in Sweden, the conceptual mobilisation of citationality offers insight into the effect of the *lack* of norm around UK fathers' sharing of leave entitlements:

> Chris.: None of my friends have taken more than the statutory paternity leave and I think there was just sort of an expectation, not expectation, I think it was just a sort of, they expected me to do the same I think. I think if I'd said I was going to take a lot of time off, I think that would have been a surprise to them.
>
> Jules: Why do you think that would have been surprising?
>
> Chris.: Just I think because of, probably because of who I am and who Hannah is and just the sort of the industry that I work in.
>
> Jules: Okay and so do you have friends or family that have had children since the policy change came into effect in 2015?
>
> Chris.: Yes.
>
> Jules: And none of them have been able to take it up, or chosen to take it up?
>
> Chris.: Not that I can recall, no. I mean there's all kind of colloquial stuff but you know, or hearsay, but I know a friend of mine who you know and he had a baby and we were chatting about it and I said are you going to take your two weeks off and he was a bit like um yeah, you know my firm ... He's kind of a self-employed guy, so he said my firm doesn't, you know we're flexible on paternity leave,[91] he'd still be working. A friend of mine who is a lawyer, he's a partner in his own small law firm he was, you know the first week he was very much on kind of baby sort of duty and then the second week he was getting people to courier files to his home and he was kind of working on the files while the baby was, you know, doing baby stuff. So I would say that actually and even you know Mark, the partner here, I'm sure I saw him come into the office in the first two weeks. I think a lot of sort of people that I know have not even necessarily taken the solid two weeks and not turned up kind of thing.

Christian's explanation that it would have surprised his friends had he used the leave, and that nobody around him had used SPL, demonstrates the lack of normative citation underpinning his leave. The 'surprise' would have come not only due to 'who he is' but also because such a decision would comprise a bold action that contravened normative expectations for corporate fatherhood: an action for which there was evidently little precedent among his peers. Christian's account, and the effect of the lack of citation for fathers' SPL use (and even paternity leave use), reflected the accounts and experiences of several other fathers.

In Portugal, far fewer fathers overall acknowledged the influence of friends. Moreover, the ways through which fathers were influenced by peers were both more numerous and more subtle. Fathers in Portugal fell into five categories in relation to peers' influence: not influenced; directly influenced; influenced by colleagues rather than friends; influenced by lack; and influenced in opposition to seeing friends *not* use the leave. It is significant that in Portugal the not-influenced

[91] Note that here, 'flexible on paternity leave' means precisely the opposite of flexible. Christian's peer is not able to take any ringfenced leave because the UK policy framework makes no provision for self-employed fathers, even though self-employed mothers meeting the earning threshold qualify for maternity allowance.

category encompassed the largest number of fathers: even though this was just four fathers, it is clear that peer actions and practices were ultimately less salient in Portugal than was the case in Sweden.

Like several UK fathers, two fathers in Portugal were influenced by the lack of citation around them in terms of using the bonus 30 days. Joaquim[92] was representative of both fathers. He explained that at no point with any of his three children did he consider using the 30 days or a period of leave alone:

> It didn't [come] to my mind. I don't know because if it's not the practice – nobody does it – I would say that has of course influence in informing the idea. I would say this decision that is something that is built over the years. So when I was wondering 'well when I have children, this is what will happen,' even though there are different changes on the opportunities. So it really didn't cross my mind. So I would say in the first one, maybe a little bit more unconscious, on this last one, I would say that the decision was much more conscious.

Joaquim's explanation conveys his citing of normative patterns of behaviour in relation to leave-use. He explains that it is not common practice, and that the decision he made is the accumulation of witnessing other people's practices over time, implying that the decision-making process includes a degree of subconscious influence. His account implicated the forms of constraint that guide subjects toward particular courses of gendered action in the context of parenting. The lack of citation for involved fathering, at the point he was making his decision, is crucial.

Two fathers felt their peer groups directly affected their decision. Rui (38, Director, 1 child, used 25 (/25) FO days and half of the bonus 30 days IPL) explained that it 'was definitely not' his intention to use the 30 days until he discussed it with friends who had, and who were positive about their experiences. Much like Luke (UK), whose experience was described earlier, Rui had no intention of using the leave until he encountered his friends' experiences. The same was true for Sebastião (34, Senior Manager, 1 child and expecting second, used 18 (/20) FO days and half of the bonus 30 days IPL with first, planned to use 25 (/25) FO days plus half the 30 days with second), who was directly influenced by his friend's leave use:

> Jules: Did the fact that your friend had done the same as you, did that influence what you thought you might do?
> Sebas.: Yes, sure. […] If he had told me 'well I didn't care, I just said the mandatory days and even on the mandatory days I was working,' the perception that I [would] have is different. So if he was at home during the ten mandatory

[92] 42, Director, 3 children, used 20 (/20) FO days with the first two and 25 (/25) FO days with the second, no IPL.

> days, if he told me that it really helps, so okay, I understand, I trust you, you are my friend, so I think that my role will be the same, so it's important for me to be at home. So he totally influenced.

The 'trust' that Sebastião placed in his friend, and the value his friend placed on taking the leave and being 'at home', shaped his weighting of the importance of taking the 30 days to care for his child alone. Following their friends' leads, Rui and Sebastião re-cited pre-established courses of action in their own parenting decisions: this citing of norms conveys the performative nature of fathering.

Four fathers: Cláudio, Gilberto, Hugo and Tobias, explained that they were not influenced by the practices and norms of their peers: each of them said that the decision was theirs alone, or between them and their partner. Although fathers in the UK and Sweden also made this claim, what was different in Portugal was that some fathers did deviate from the normative usage pattern laid out by peers. For example. Cláudio's (37, Director, 2 children, used 15 (/25) FO days with first and 15 (/25) FO days plus the bonus 30 days with second) decision directly opposed the norm among his friendship group, among whom the common pattern was to use the sixth month:

> Cláud.: I didn't feel that someone was saying 'oh, [why] didn't you [take] that, why are you taking that', erm, so, Beatriz, she was staying with her mum, and people's [comments were] normal. I didn't feel, like, guilty [for] not taking that month off, okay. […] It was a joint decision that we [took] and that was it.
> Jules: Do you feel like the decisions that your friends had made influenced your decision at all?
> Cláud.: No, not at all.

Despite several friends around him having had children when he and his partner were first expecting, 'almost all' of whom had used the 30 days, Cláudio felt able to make an independent decision, uninfluenced by those around him and unconcerned about social perspectives on his and his partner's choice. This deviation from the established patterns around him demonstrates the lack of a robust and consistent model in terms of involved fatherhood in Portugal. That Cláudio, and other fathers in Portugal, unlike respondents in Sweden, was not concerned about potential judgement or unease around his decision not to use the sixth month, combined with the varying patterns of leave use and/or susceptibility to influence of different fathers in Portugal, suggests the absence of a robustly-embedded citation that produces the involved father.

In Portugal the variability and inconsistencies between the different fathers' accounts renders it difficult to argue for a pervasive, consistent norm of appropriate fathering action. Compared to Sweden, this difference demonstrates that a more pervasive norm of involved fatherhood exists in Sweden than in Portugal. I argue that these differences, and the inconsistent influence of peer norms in Portugal are the product of the different countries' policy and discursive contexts and the reciprocal relation between policy and gender norms in each country. This relationship between norms, discourses, policy and decision is illuminated by theoretical mobilisation of performativity and citationality. The uneven influence of peer norms in Portugal relative to Sweden can be understood through citational lack, or a partial or liminal citation. In the absence of fully enabling policy but the presence of contradictory discourses of gender equality and normative maternalism in Portugal, fathers must negotiate a multiplicity of fathering modes, and only a partial or liminal citation for fathers' sharing of parental leave exists. Use of shared parental leave therefore is not non-normative, but neither is it fully normative, and the absence of policy that provides the necessary conditions to enable fathers' consistent use, such as non-transferable entitlements (Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016) means that the model of citational change (as proposed in chapter 2) cannot occur.

Overall, comparatively analysing the experiences of the fathers in the three countries brings to light the significant differences in the influence of peer and family norms on fathers' use of leave. In Sweden, most of the fathers I interviewed were influenced, whether directly or indirectly, by the fathering decisions and actions of their peers. This we can understand as the citational product of an established norm of involved fatherhood which is diffuse across these fathers' social groups. In contrast, among fathers in both Portugal and the UK, there was evidence of a less robust or less well-established norm in relation to fathers' use of leave. In Portugal, both fathers' use and non-use of shared leave (the bonus 30 days) is normative. As a result, some fathers I interviewed in Portugal cited the norm of using shared leave, while others cited normative *non*-use of shared leave. Some fathers felt that peers were a less important influence than their colleagues or work context, while others simply were not influenced at all by their peers. In the UK, some fathers were directly influenced by their peers, which included colleagues, while others were indirectly influenced by their peers' practices or circumstances. Several fathers were manifestly influenced by peers' lack of leave use. While others claimed they were not at all influenced by their peers' use, I troubled some of these perspectives. As in Portugal, the variation between different fathers in terms of the degree to which their peers' decisions and actions influenced their own use of leave again suggests a less well-established

norm around fathers' use of leave – borne out by very low SPL take-up rates since its 2015 introduction (Birkett and Forbes, 2019). Put simply, in the UK fathers were not exposed to a widespread citation for fathers' use of a lengthy period of leave away from work; instead, as in Portugal, the citation for involved fatherhood was partial or liminal. It is important here not to draw universalising conclusions from my small samples of fathers in each country. However, the differences in the strength and consistency of the norm around fathers' use of leave as experienced by the fathers I spoke to, and the citational effect of this norm or lack of norm, may well be the product of the different countries' policy contexts and their reciprocal relations with social norms, as indicated in the adapted model of citational change.

iii. 'National' norms and discourses

This PhD set out to consider policy and discourse together as one category: policy and the diffuse discourses around it. The process of collecting empirical data, however, revealed that parental leave policy and discourse surrounding fatherhood and parenting do not necessarily coalesce; in fact, it is clear that fathers are interpellated by converging and divergent discourses of fatherhood in each country (Hobson and Fahlén, 2009; Faircloth, 2020), which are both aligned with and contradict policy. Across all countries, numerous respondents invoked discourses of the involved father and of gender equality. However, contradictory discourses of maternalism, breadwinning, the ideal-worker and corporate (masculine) success interrupted ideals of gender equality and father involvement to varying degrees.

Were fathers' decisions primarily shaped by the policies that underpinned their rights to leave? As I will discuss in the gender and national policy section below, formal entitlements only partially accounted for fathers' use of leave. Discourses, progressive or otherwise, do not just govern ideals or normative values around gender, but, as Butler (1993, 1999, 2004, 2015; also Foucault, 1991, 1998) shows, actively *produce* the gendered subject and gender itself (Tyler, 2019). Thus, fathers' identities and decision making are discursively produced and regulated by the norm that is gender (Butler, 2004), in addition to tacit and overt forms of gender regulation, such as policy.

National norms influenced many participants in all countries, in ways they both directly recognised and could not recognise. Narratives of approaches to fatherhood, sharing parental responsibility and gender equality existed in different ways in each country, emerging to varying degrees in interviews. Fathers were frequently interpellated by discourses of involved fatherhood

in all countries – most commonly in Sweden – but the specific meaning of involved fatherhood varied across contexts. In contrast, discourses of gender equality were most salient in Sweden and least in Portugal, and featured in different manifestations in the UK. Given the normative context of each country, this was perhaps unsurprising.

In Sweden, discourses of gender equality, the involved father and sharing care were frequently invoked by fathers, and cultural norms materialised consistently throughout interviews. References to equality in relation to the balancing of parental responsibility, and an emphasis on both partners' right to fulfil both work and family life, emerged for many respondents in ways that existed to a lesser extent among fathers in the UK and Portugal. However, as I discuss in section iv of this chapter, norms of 'maternal precedence' or greater connection to the child sometimes remained.

Fathers perceived their own use of leave to be compliant with social expectations and thus highly normative. Many referred to the norm of fathers' use of leave that existed in Sweden, as Peter (32, Manager, 1 child, used 3.5 months home-alone leave plus 1 month holiday) described:

> … most men in Sweden do use their parental leave. I think there is more of a norm of doing it than vice versa, so it's expected of you.

In addition to invoking the taken-for-grantedness of fathers' leave use, fathers frequently alluded to the national Swedish culture around gender equality and 'political correctness', as Mats (30, 1 child, used 11 months of home-alone leave) illustrates:

> Mats: I think that's where things are heading in Sweden, that you should probably divide everything equally.
> Jules: Where do you think that sense comes from in Sweden?
> Mats: I don't know, it's hard to say actually where it comes from, the women I guess.
> Jules: From the women in Sweden?
> Mats: I mean they are, for me so I mean it's a way, if I had to have it any other way, yes, so it's not really ... no, I'm not sure, it's hard to say.

Mats' inability to locate the source of the idea that 'you should probably divide everything' conveys that the norm and notion of gender equality in Sweden – or at least, in his Sweden – is everywhere: a multivalent, diffuse (Foucault, 1991) discourse that permeates social institutions, media, and filters through community connections and individual conversations. Many fathers articulated the pervasive presence of discourses of gender equality, shared parenting, and equal right to labour force participation in Swedish society and culture, and invoked ideas of sharing leave being a 'natural' decision. The fathers I interviewed in Sweden were aware of these almost

omnipresent norms and discourses, highlighting their subjectivating effects. Yet, they were unable to articulate their genesis, conveying the naturalising quality of disciplinary power.

As well as highlighting the complexity of isolating cultural norms, peer group norms, individual preferences and pervasive discourses, interview data illuminated the ways in which gendered social norms around fathers' use of leave subjectivated fathers *as* gender-equal fathers. At the same time, many fathers interviewed in Sweden were interpellated by discourses of involved fatherhood. Maintaining a theoretical distinction between these two discourses is important, yet in Sweden, the two appeared to operate hand-in-hand. Fathers often described the importance of building connections to their young children and simultaneously invoked discourses of shared responsibilities and gender equality, as Mats demonstrates:

> Jules: So why would you say you've had that realisation now that you want to spend time together; also, is there a reason that you are keen to take half?
> Mats: I'm as much as a parent as she is, that's basically the reason.
> Jules: So is it from a sense of you want to share the responsibility equally, or you have the right to spend half of the time with the child?
> Mats: Both.

Fathers' accounts persuasively conveyed that in Sweden – at least among the social strata in which these fathers exist – norms of involved fathering as well as discourses pertaining to gender equality and shared responsibility shaped fathers' use of leave. The existing citations for fathering among this section of Swedish society were thus reiterated by these fathers. A lens of performativity renders these re-citations visible as part of a wider mesh of normativity that shaped and constrained their being and doing (Butler, 1993, 1999, 2004). For example, Mats' explanation that his mother would have been 'angry' with him, had he used 'only three months' (a period that would be considered novel and a significant commitment to involved fatherhood in the UK, and perhaps career-risking in Portugal), as well as Mikael's (35, Manager, 2 children, used 6 months home-alone plus 1 month holiday with both) articulation that it would be 'seen as quite weird' if he opted not to use his rights to time off work to 'bond' with his child, both exemplify the social ramifications of non-compliance with normative citations of gender-equal fatherhood. In this way, fathers were comprehensively interpellated as gender-equal *and* involved fathers. In contrast, UK fathers who made use of the leave were subjectivated by such discourses, while those who did not were not.

In the UK, the discursive context is – as demonstrated in chapter 4 – very different to Sweden. A key difference emerging from the UK father interviews, and backed up by the literature, is that divergent norms and discourses exist simultaneously. Norms of career achievement, career-

oriented competition and success, the always available ideal worker and the breadwinner/provider, co-existed with notions of involved fatherhood, 'modern' fathering, hands-on care and gender equality (Faircloth, 2020; Gillies, 2009, Miller, 2011a, 2011b; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017; Twamley and Schober, 2019). Resulting from these divergent discourses were inconsistent and varied patterns of use among the fathers I interviewed. These ranged from taking no leave at all, to using several weeks, to using the entirety of the well-paid portion (16 weeks total), or taking the last three months of leave unpaid. In contrast to fathers in Sweden, not all UK fathers were subjectivated by 'involved fatherhood' discourses. Fathers who *were* produced through such discourses sometimes went out of their way to refuse or subvert common patterns of leave use. I argue that differences in the extent to which UK fathers were produced by discourses of involved fatherhood can be explained by the lack of a strong or consistent norm of fathers' use of SPL, resulting in only a partial citation for this form of involved fathering. As I will further develop later in this chapter, this partial or liminal citation is the product of an equivocal rather than enabling policy framework.

Equality had different meanings for different fathers in the UK. Four of the twenty fathers were disciplined by discourses of gender equality in comparable ways to fathers in Sweden. Dominic (34, Senior Manager, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and planned to use 4 weeks of SPL concurrently with his partner, over Christmas), for example, clearly articulated his production through gender equality discourses:

> I just really want to be part of the, you know the baby's future and his upbringing. I certainly don't agree with gender stereotypes in terms of mum has to look after baby. […] There's the equality point, which – I just don't believe that mums should have to, I get quite sensitive about it, you know, one of my friends the other day was saying about and somebody had been like oh, he was looking after the child and someone said oh you're babysitting then and that kind of thing really um winds me up and it wound him up.

Fathers like Dominic were clearly engaged with ideas pertaining to social inequality and subjectivated by discourses of gender equality, feminism, sharing responsibility and the idea of the involved father. In contrast, two fathers, John and Stephen, made decisions informed by equality, but through a different valence, egalitarian partnership – in major part the product of income equality, rather than a socially mandated imperative to share responsibility and/or discourses of gender equality. Both had partners in very similar roles with similar earnings, and while a specific ideological commitment to gender equality did not materialise, a sense of fairness and equal sharing of experience underpinned their two decisions, as John (33, Director,

expecting first child, planned to use 2 weeks paternity plus 14 weeks (the maximum well-paid period) SPL concurrently with his partner), described:

> we've always had a relationship where like, we're quite equal—we do most things together, like, even if we go out, like we hardly ever go out just with one friends on our own—we go out […] together with our shared mates, erm, so it'd feel weird having a situation where one of us was not […] there having some of the experiences that the other one is for such a long period of time.

Equality for these two fathers was rooted in their own values, but also, as both articulated, explicitly linked to the fact that they had similar earning levels. Three other UK fathers (James, Felix and Patrick) conveyed that gender equality was perhaps in the background but ultimately did not directly influence their decision. Patrick (35, Senior Manager, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity and 2 weeks SPL concurrently with his wife), felt gender equality had underpinned much of the process of his and his wife's decision making. However, while he considered equality relevant, my analysis unpacked his lack of *interpellation* by gender equality discourses. Rather, he was necessarily more focused on issues concerning his mental health, which sometimes was a challenge, in the context of parenthood. His specific uncertainty regarding the effects of isolation on his wellbeing, and its potential impact on his young child, were understandably more pressing concerns. Patrick's account revealed how gender equality was a question relevant to their decision-making, but not a discourse that formed his subjectivity. In addition to these fathers, for whom gender equality was in the background rather than an active component of their conceptualisation of fathering, eleven fathers in the UK sample presented no account of and/or declined any influence resulting from gender equality. This fact in itself offers stark contrast to Swedish fathers' consistent interpellation as gender-equal.

Where overlap between discourses of involved fatherhood and gender equality was – often but not always – observed in Sweden, this was less often the case among UK respondents. Four fathers, Dominic, Joshua, Neal and Max, were discursively produced by both gender equality and involved fatherhood – none more so than Neal (UK, 33, Senior Manager, used 2 weeks paternity and 14 SPL – the maximum available on full pay), who expressly stated: 'I'm proud to be an involved father.' However, five other fathers, Anthony, Harry, Robert, as well as James and Felix, were *not* subjectivated by gender-equality, but *were* compliant with discourses of involved fatherhood. Harry,[93] who did not plan to use SPL at the beginning of the pregnancy, explained his own interpellation as involved father through conversations with others about their experiences:

[93] 33, Manager, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and 5 weeks SPL concurrently with his partner.

> I think the, the factors around doing it was, for me it was err, talking to people and, how positive they, they were about their experiences; it was people who – my brother, who had children a few years ago – it wasn't an option when he was having his kids, he was like well this is just a fantastic opportunity, you really should do this, so it was one of those things that, it was like, yeah! Really positive. I wanted that opportunity to bond with Dylan and, spend time, as a unit really, build memories that […] hopefully we'll look back on.

Harry's account conveyed the disciplinary power that is everywhere and nowhere, producing subjects in particular ways. Harry's interpellation as involved father ultimately changed his course of action in relation to SPL. His case exhibits, as Butler argues, the 'compulsion to cite' specific, normative, gendered modes of being (1999, p.28). Interpellation through normative discourses of involved fatherhood then, was a factor in some fathers' utilisation of SPL – either alongside but also independently of gender-equal subjectivities.

Interestingly, some fathers, such as Julian and Luke, neither of whom used SPL, were produced through involved fathering discourses but without shifting the terms of their household productive/reproductive arrangement. They invoked normative discourses of 'modern' fatherhood, and understood themselves as involved fathers, but did not demonstrate different patterns of behaviour in relation to leave-use. Others, such as James, Anthony and Robert, were shaped by the same discourses, despite their *inability* to use SPL. They directly demonstrated their involvement by using extended holiday to care alone or together for the child, or, in James' case, by making flexible working arrangements following his wife's return to work. Together, these findings offer support for the argument made by others (Faircloth, 2020; Gillies, 2009; Miller, 2011b; Ranson, 2012; Twamley and Schober, 2019), that involved fatherhood in the UK mandates an ideal rather than a meaningfully enabled practice. At the root of this problem is the UK's failure to design meaningful provisions for fathers' leave use and wider parenting (including the slippery right to *request* flexible working rather than legal rights to flexible working – Chung, 2017), as well as the entrenched 'logic of motherhood' (Miller, 2017).

In the UK, the involved fatherhood norm does not fully enable sharing in practice. Instead, it exists alongside pockets of SPL use in particular circumstances, such as by those interpellated by gender equality or involved fatherhood discourses, or, as in this study, among middle-class couples with access to workplace-enhanced leave benefits. Such uneven access was demonstrated in the multivalent discursive context, and fathers' differing connections to particular discourses. For example Neal, wholly interpellated as the involved father, wanted to have a child more than his partner, and had essentially persuaded her to start a family together.

In contrast, other fathers such as Mark and Christian were manifestly not interpellated by involved fatherhood, produced instead by discourses of corporate ambition, the ideal worker, breadwinning and success, but also secondary parenthood, discursively underpinned by discourses of mothers' 'primary and morally inscribed responsibility' (Miller, 2017, p.117).

These varied discourses and UK fathers' inconsistent uptake further evidence the argument I am developing for a partial or liminal citation: one which exists in society and is/can be practiced by some but is not, contra Sweden, consistently established and a powerful force on normative practice – precisely because the UK norm is constrained by its conditionality upon workplace-based benefits rather than social rights. Furthermore, the norm that does exist around involved fatherhood pertains less to use of home-alone leave than it does to direct involvement in caring labour alongside another parent.

Another important difference between gender norms in the UK and Sweden was the idea of the breadwinner. Research shows UK fathers continue to feel pressure to be economic providers (Henwood et al., 2010; Miller, 2011a, 2011b; Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017). This trope underscored other discourses focused on corporate masculinity, competition and success. Several fathers articulated different dimensions of these discourses throughout the interviews. For example, Jeremy (32, Senior Manager, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and 4 weeks SPL concurrently with his wife), who was in a dual income partnership, and whose wife earned slightly more than him, described how powerful discourses of breadwinning relate to male worth:

> Pride amongst the lads comes from being […] the breadwinner, like, that's what the old-fashioned, alpha male, it's still gonna be about men.

Later in the interview, he explained that while he would be supportive of his partner leaving work to become a full-time parent, he did not feel the same applied to him:

> Jerem.: I think I'm expected at a base level to work.
> Jules: By your partner? Or by society? Or by everyone?
> Jerem.: By … possibly both: definitely by society; um, probably by my partner.

Jeremy articulates what Doucet has termed a 'constant pull back' to breadwinning (2009, p.113). Many other fathers with whom I spoke exhibited the same subjectivation via this powerful discourse, describing stay-at-home fathering as non-normative and a source of stigma and potentially emasculation. Furthermore, fathers' accounts sometimes revealed the separate spheres ideology (Adams and Coltrane, 2005; Kerber, 1988) that underpins the breadwinner discourse and connects it to norms of maternalism, as Christian here demonstrates:

> I think in most families, I think the man, either himself or from the family would be expected to be the primary breadwinner. I think it's probably still the way our society views things, but I think there's also, and they would feel the responsibility to look after the family.
> […]
> but equally, I mean Hannah wants to take the full year off, I mean that is what she wants to do and I'm not sure she wants to do that because she feels that women should do that. I think she wants to do it and whether she wants to do it because she's a woman or whatever …

Christian's account illuminates the powerful presence of breadwinner norms and his production through these norms. He understands breadwinning as normative, and thus re-cites this particular iteration of intelligible gender. His breadwinning too is complemented by the prevailing 'logic of motherhood' (Miller, 2017), evident in his description of his wife's expectation that she will use the full maternity period.

Subjectivation *as* breadwinner did not necessarily preclude fathers' take-up of SPL: many fathers who invoked their production by breadwinner norms also utilised SPL. However, my analysis shows how the breadwinner discourse persists in the UK, inhibiting some fathers' use of SPL via the need to attain recognition through these embedded, constraining norms.[94] The breadwinner discourse is perpetuated by the UK policy framework, in which genuine sharing of leave is not possible for couples, meaning that different iterations of the norm come with real or perceived risks to both livelihood and recognition.

In Portugal, contradictory discourses of involved fatherhood and gender equality, as well as corporate dedication, breadwinning, masculine providing and maternal precedence, produced my respondents and their decisions. Conflicting discourses of traditionalism and gender equality interpellated respondents differently. Strikingly, while gender equality discursively contextualised the wider social environment in six fathers' accounts (Gonçalo, Rui, Gilberto, Hugo, Salomão and Tobias), just one of the eleven fathers I spoke with in Portugal – Gilberto – was, according to my analysis, subjectivated by these discourses. For him, the primary factor in their joint decision for him to use the 30 days' leave was

> equality between mother and father. […] we didn't know how [our decision] was going to be perceived […], but we just stick to that, because we felt it was fairer. I mean I think the number one was to be fair between our both responsibilities.

[94] I will further discuss breadwinner discourses in chapter 6.

Gilberto was clearly interpellated by discourses of fairness, equal sharing, involved fatherhood and gender equality, and this subjectivation underpinned his decision to use the 30 days' leave. However, he was the only father among my sample in Portugal for whom this was the case, foregrounding the significance of norms and discourses and their impact on fathers' leave-use decisions across the three countries.

Discourses of paternal involvement and 'modern' fathering *did* produce several fathers' subjectivities, even as gender equality did not. Salomão's (33, Senior Manager, 2 children and expecting a third, used 5 days with first (living overseas), 25 (/25) days of FO leave with second, planned to use all 25 FO days plus the '30 days' with third) interpellation as an involved father, for example, was visible through his description of practices that might be considered related to gender equality in the home. Fathers like Salomão were shaped by social changes that have taken place in Portugal and the increasingly normative involvement of fathers in day-to-day intimate care of their children (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012; Wall et al., 2007; Wall, 2015). Yet, while analytical connections between these discourses of gender equality and fathers' engagement in care are clear in the academic literature and from my scholarly perspective, these fathers themselves did not appear to make such links. Salomão's rejection of the notion that his decisions around use or non-use of the sixth month were related to gender equality was illustrative:

> Salom.: At least in my opinion, in my world, I see a huge difference from that generation to my generation.
> Jules: In what way?
> Salom.: We are more, dads we are more presence, we divided more the tasks that we have with the kids. So in the past you used to say that if your father used to help your mother, so now it doesn't make that sense to make that expression. What do you do and what your wife does, so it's more divided equally and the responsibility of both parents.
> […]
> And even today when my uncles or my aunts see what I do, it's different for them, I giv[e] bath[s] to all of them, or giv[e] lunch to them, it's not that common in Portugal.
> Jules: What do they say, your aunts and uncles?
> Salom.: They just say 'these are the modern fathers, good for you.'
> […]
> Jules: Do you think the ideas about traditional gender roles influenced what you decided to do in terms of the parental leave?
> Salom.: No.
> Jules: What about ideas around gender equality, did that make any difference to your decision?
> Salom.: No.

Salomão is interpellated by hands-on fatherhood, but stops short of connecting gender equality to his own decision-making. Thus, like some UK fathers, fathers such as Salomão were interpellated through discourses of the modern involved father at the same time as remaining detached from values of gender equality.

The short period of the well-paid initial parental leave combined with discourses that promote the centrality of breastfeeding to infant (and maternal) wellbeing and the normative maternalism that is a well-documented feature of Portuguese society (Wall 2015; Wall et al., 2016a), mean that it is difficult for families to consider genuine sharing of leave in the early months of the child's life. As a result, gender equality was a discourse that had limited meaningful power to subjectivate the fathers I interviewed. Discourses of equal sharing of the whole leave period simply did not materialise in my Portuguese interviews. Furthermore, the constraints of the work environment and contradictory discourses of the always available ideal worker, competition and success also delimited any discursive impact of gender equality in these fathers' decision-making (Wall and Leitão, 2017).

Just four fathers were interpellated by involved fatherhood in Portugal – a clear minority and stark contrast to the interpellation as equal and involved of practically all fathers in Sweden. Perhaps related to the lack of consistent gender equality discourses, ideas of 'equality in difference' (Crompton and Le Feuvre, 2000) emerged frequently in Portugal, in ways that did not in the UK or Sweden. Rui, for example, who was interpellated by involved fatherhood, articulated the dramatic changes in gender roles over time, demonstrating his subjectivation by discourses of involved fatherhood and sharing responsibility for bringing up baby. However, Rui's interview simultaneously revealed the discursive construction of maternal precedence, bonding and 'equality in difference':

> [T]here is always more work for the mother, er and I think it's still normal because the link between the baby and the mother is very strong.
> […]
> So, recognising that there are always some activities that will be pushed to the mother to do because they are things that no[-one can do] otherwise. […] having equality doesn't mean that we do not [also] have positive differentiation, and in this case I think there should be positive differentiation of young mothers.

His account clearly articulates the normative maternalism described in the literature, which was highly visible in many Portugal interviews. Joaquim, for example, says:

> I always took the mandatory days after the birth, then the optional days during the mother's license and that's it. I didn't take the days that the father can take

> in the end of the license [because] it was best that they […] could be more time with the mother at that point than with me.

These fathers' articulation of the primacy of the maternal bond clearly conveys maternal precedence. Although always intended respectfully, with a regard for fairness as well as the mother's wellbeing and infant's health, this maternalism is inextricably linked to an underlying ideology of separate spheres, which itself rests upon essentialist ideas of men and women, legitimises gender inequality and results in workplace discrimination (Case, 1998; Williams, 2012). These discourses also naturalise care work as unskilled women's work and rationalise its undervaluation (Folbre 1995; Fraser 1997, 2012; Tronto 1993) Moreover, the underlying separate spheres ideology in turn justifies fathers' '"devotion to work," unencumbered with family responsibilities' and 'etches the breadwinner role into men's very souls' (Williams, 2012, p.33). Carlos (38, Director, 2 children, used 15 (/20) FO days with first, used 20 (/25) FO days with second), explicitly connected normative maternalism to constraints on fathers' use of leave:

> Carlos: My opinion is that, er, at least in this, in this organisation, [inaudible], it's, from a cultural perspective, it's not common for the father to take the entire month. I don't see that, okay, I don't think that.
> Jules: Okay. Is that just at PYP? Or is that generally in Lisbon?
> Carlos: Generally, generally. Lisbon, Portugal, I would say. And I think it's one mentality […] that's usually the mother that takes care of the babies, not the father.

If elimination of the 'separate spheres' ideology is a processual component of part two of the 'gender revolution' (Goldscheider et al., 2015), then the continued presence of these ideas in Portugal, and to a lesser extent in the UK, demonstrates that much is still to be achieved in the context of gender equality in both countries, even acknowledging a long-term 'lagged' upward trajectory (Sullivan et al., 2018). Citational revision of conservative norms constraining fathers' sharing of parental leave is therefore fundamental to greater gender equality.

Williams' (2012) analysis of the function of separate spheres ideology to justify fathers' attachment to work and breadwinning makes clear what is at stake, given that almost all fathers interviewed in Portugal made reference in some way to Portuguese cultural norms governing work, working hours and the economy. These overarching norms, whether long hours, competitiveness, ideal-always-available-worker, or corporate constraint, fed directly into the workplace culture at PYP Portugal and will be further discussed in chapter 6. Accounts of long working hours, presenteeism and Portugal's historical context of scarcity made visible the polyvalent operation of discourses of masculine breadwinning and hard work pervading wider society and underpinning the social approval of friends and family. Many fathers were

interpellated by these norms of male breadwinning and corporate success, explaining their feeling that they were responsible for the 'financial improvement' of the family. Eduardo (30, Manager, 1 child, used 15 (/25) FO days plus the '30 days'), for example, connected breadwinner discourses with the gender pay gap and normative age differences to articulate the pressure he feels to be the financial foundation of the family.

> Jules: Do you think the fact that that is what society expects has influenced where you are, like how you've arranged your life?
>
> Eduar.: Yes. […] In the way that I have always pushed myself and put all the pressure on me to be the one that financially supports the family.
>
> Jules: Why do you think that is?
>
> Eduar: I think because of society and the culture that we have. So it's like once, of course I have also started working a bit before my wife. So when she started working, I already had a more stable position. Also I've got a better position, so I started seeing myself as the one that would take care of our financial support. Also what's in the society's mind is okay and this comes from what I said, from the legacy, mans are the ones that bring food to the table. So I think I put the pressure on top of me to do that.

Eduardo's emphasis on the importance of income security was representative of many fathers' accounts, in which mothers were positioned *as* mothers and as dichotomous and complementary to fathers' rights and responsibilities. This combination of discourses is underpinned by conservative gender norms and fixed ideas of gender roles that linger from previous generations, Roman Catholicism, and the separate spheres ideology that prevailed prior to the 1974 revolution (Carvalheiro and Silveirinha, 2018; Wall et al., 2016a). It is clear to see how these discourses work collaboratively in Portugal to support the primacy of maternalistic notions, via which time with the mother is understood as the 'natural' arrangement of leave use and more important for infant wellbeing (Wall, 2015; Wall et al., 2016a). In turn, discourses of maternal precedence undermine fathers' claims to shared parental leave, meaning that the leave is understood as an option, rather than a right or a responsibility.

Moreover, it is clear how this fragmented normative picture reflects and is reflected in the conflicted context and attitudinal data detailed in chapter 4. Rather than one consistent, powerful citation that acts on fathers in similar ways and creates a strong norm of parental leave use, the conflicted discursive context shapes fathers' behaviours and 'choices' in divergent ways. A partial citation for genuinely involved fatherhood results in only partial use of parental leave entitlements, which limits the potential for a feedback loop at the micro level that can change citational practices and discourses at the macro level, as set out in the adapted framework of citational change. As I will now discuss, these conflicting discourses and the partial citation are, in part, perpetuated through the lack of enabling policy regarding fathers' use of parental leave.

iv. Gender and National Policy

Having established the ways in which different discourses operated to enable and constrain fathers' leave use in the three countries, I will now discuss policy. The different policy models are outlined in full in chapters 1 (refer to comparison table 1 on page 19) and 4.

What are the ways in which policy influenced fathers' use of parental leave entitlements and the types of entitlements they used? As I expected to find, respondents' decisions were frequently influenced by their country's existing policy framework. However, fathers were influenced by policy only when they were aware of this framework, which, as outlined, was not always the case. Moreover, in many instances, respondents' decision-making was informed by statutory leave policy only insofar as the policy framework did not exceed normative gender expectations. Normativity thus had a moderating effect on policy. This materialised in different ways in each of the countries.

In Sweden, fathers' decisions were manifestly influenced, although not fully informed, by national policy. All fathers interviewed used at least three months of parental leave, the length of the 'use it or lose it' quota, and several used many more. Three fathers out of fourteen shared the leave either equally or in contravention to normative patterns, with one father using the majority of both parents' entitlement. In Sweden, as discussed in chapters 1 and 4, the policy framework provides 240 days to each parent by default, split into three types: non-transferable well-paid leave, of which each parent is allocated 90 days; transferable well-paid leave, of which each parent is allocated 105 days; and transferable leave paid at low flat rate, of which each parent is allocated 45 days. These different leave types were governed by different norms. My respondents articulated a strong norm of fathers' use of the three months of non-transferable leave. Several respondents described this as the 'minimum' socially acceptable period of leave that they would consider using. Indeed, just one of my fathers used a period of less than three months with one of his two children.

Importantly, though, despite the policy framework issuing exactly half of the total (480) days to each parent, rarely did respondents report beginning their decision making on the basis that each parent would use half of the leave. Rather, as I noted in the 'What Everybody Does' section, I found that frequently reported 'common Swedish practice' mandated mothers' and fathers' use of around a year's and six months' leave respectively. This norm governed both fathers' and mothers' use. Of the 14 fathers interviewed, only three planned to use the leave approximately

50/50, and just one, Mats, explained that he was entitled to use the same amount of leave as his partner because the entitlement was also his.

Many fathers informed me that their partners had 'first say' over how they were to split their total parental leave. Karl (37, Manager, 2 children, used 5 months with first and planned the same with second) explained:

> I didn't assume anything, so, I asked her: what do you think is a good set up? And […] if she had said for instance, like 'okay, I wanna do one and a half years and you can't do anything' or 'you can do one month,' I wouldn't have been fine with that, but I felt 'okay, 5 months, I will definitely use those months to bond with my daughter.'

Had she said something unreasonable, he would have negotiated with her, but she suggested something that seemed reasonable to him and he was happy with it. Some fathers understood the 'common practice' as simply normative, while in other cases it was considered as 'best for the child' (Hans[95]). This finding provides support for existing research indicating mothers have significant influence over parental leave decisions and play a key role in mediating fathers' access to parental leave and wider parenting responsibilities (Duvander, et al., 2017; see also Allen and Hawkins, 1999; Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017). Yet, my data also builds on these findings. Scholars have argued that mothers' preparedness to share leave increases fathers' use of leave (Haas, 1992; Haas et al., 2002), but that 'mothers sometimes claim physical recuperation and breastfeeding as reasons for a larger share of leave' (Duvander et al., 2017, p.131; see also Alsarve and Boye, 2012; Alsarve et al., 2016; Roman, 2014). My analysis shows how in these fathers' cases, it is they who are also supporting maternal physical recuperation and breastfeeding as reasons for their partners' majority leave share, demonstrating pervasive attachment to the 'good-mothering ideal' by mothers and fathers alike (Gheaus and Robeyns, 2011, p.178).

How, then, can we make sense of the fact that despite the existence of the 'default model' of parental leave entitlements (Browne, 2013; Gheaus and Robeyns, 2011), most couples in my Swedish sample did not start from a position of sharing the parental leave period 50/50, with fathers giving similar justifications for mothers' longer leave-use? The gender pay gap and collectively-bargained six-month employer pay enhancements are certainly parts of the answer. But are gender norms also salient? Given that mothers' and their partners' leave entitlements have been default-equal (i.e. each parent's entitlement comprising 50 per cent of the total) since

[95] Manager, 35, 2 children, used 6 months with both children.

1995, over 25 years, the answer is surely yes. As Butler has argued, we are mistaken when we attempt 'to understand all the ways in which gender is regulated in terms of those empirical legal instances, because the norms that govern those regulations exceed the very instances in which they are embodied' (2004, p.40). In other words, policy and law themselves are socially embedded and shaped by gender norms. Yet, as outlined in chapter 1, rather than thinking simply of gender norms, or norms that apply to certain subject positions, Butler asserts that gender *is* a norm (2014, p.41–53). In Sweden, therefore, the norm that is gender mandates that mothers' and fathers' roles in respect to parenting and caregiving continue to differ, in spite of the egalitarian framework (see Alsarve et al., 2016; Castro-García and Pazos-Moran, 2016). Policy, then, partially shapes leave use: regulation does contribute to upholding gender. However, normative forces, combined with material considerations, operate to modify policy's regulatory impact. In this instance, rather than regulation directly producing gender, norms of gender precede and exceed policy's regulatory potential.

In the UK, the policy framework for infant care currently provides for maternity, paternity and SPL. The full trajectory of UK parental leave policy is detailed in chapter 1; particularly salient here is the fact that 52 weeks of maternity leave, 39 of which are paid at low statutory rate, and 2 weeks of paternity leave paid at low statutory rate, have formed the UK's policy on parental leave since 2008. The SPL policy was introduced in 2015, aiming to increase sharing between mothers and fathers (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Kaufman, 2017). Fathers thus have entitlements to access two forms of leave: paternity and SPL, although only the former is a right, as the latter is fully contingent on access being agreed by their partner; it is not an individual right (Allen, 2021; Burgess and Davies, 2017).

Contemplating the two forms of leave that UK fathers have access to illuminates how they are governed by different sets of norms, even before we take into account the difference between national norms and norms at the organisational level (see chapter 6). All fathers in my UK sample planned to use paternity leave. Not all of them used all their paternity leave, and occasionally their planning was poorly conceived, but they did all plan to use it and they all used some of it. Use of paternity leave was therefore taken for granted by all fathers, as James explains:

> It was very much, Jo would take the time off, I would get the two weeks paternity leave, and that would be it.

James, like many other respondents in the UK, took for granted that he would get two weeks paternity leave and that the maternity leave belonged to his wife. For them, it was almost a non-decision, just assumed and taken up automatically.

In contrast to paternity leave, SPL was not used by all fathers. Furthermore, those who did use SPL were often aware that their use of the SPL policy was unusual or non-normative, as exemplified by John:

> Jules: […] If I asked you how you think your colleagues perceive you for doing this, what would you say?
>
> John: Erm, some of them think I'm crazy. Like, some of them that've got kids are like, basically, you're crazy, 'cause they've said that they've, after having kids for a couple of weeks, they've been skipping to work almost.

John's stark use of the term 'crazy' here indicates that his chosen course of action deviates significantly from expectations of him as a corporate father. The reasons John offers for his colleagues' viewing him as 'crazy' are not just related to the expectations of him as a corporate father; they also reflect the challenges of caring for infants – and they convey an understanding of care as work. However, John's account highlights that his choice to spend several months at home is not an expected citation, given his gendered work status.

I came across several other ways in which fathers were reminded that their use of extended leave was non-normative. Joshua recounted a senior colleague's suggestion that he should take less than the 16 weeks he had planned.[96] Dominic had an experience with an 'incredulous' recruitment consultant who warned him that taking two months off would affect his career drastically. Several respondents' own fathers expressed initial misgivings, even if they later accepted they had been overly cautious. Although I was never able to meet with Ray,[97] his use of leave was mentioned by several of my respondents. He was a non-equity partner who had taken six months of leave plus one month accrued holiday. Multiple respondents had experienced colleagues privately referring to Ray's decision as 'career suicide,' as Christian describes:

> My other colleague who's taken six months off and then he's accrued his holiday at the same time, so he's actually got seven months off; and to be honest I've heard people round the office saying you know it's kind of career suicide and what's he going to do, you know, what's he going to be like coming back, and can he come back, and will he want to come back? So I think there's perceptions as much as actually just kind of the reality of it.

[96] I will discuss Joshua's experience further in chapter 6.

[97] It is a source of regret that I was unable to speak with Ray. Furthermore, it would be interesting to interview fathers after Ray's return to work (he did return) and understand whether his subversive act ultimately created a new citation for fathers' use of extended leave – at least in his department.

'Career suicide' seems an extreme outcome from taking an extended period of leave to care for children. Moreover, it is a powerful discourse that functions as a warning to other fathers that such a period out of work is a risk not worth taking. This form of social power – especially the fact that it takes place despite Ray's senior status as partner – undoes all the positive work the organisation conducts to support fathers' leave use, notwithstanding the fact that some fathers in his department did take (shorter) extended periods of leave.

What, then, are the differences in the ways that fathers considered the two types of leave available to them? Both are father's entitlements, and both are paid at the same statutory rate – or in these fathers' cases, well-paid rate according to PYP policy. Nevertheless, there are many factors that shape the way in which these policy entitlements register. Firstly, fathers' decisions were influenced by the previous 2003 policy entitlement, which grants two weeks of paternity leave to new fathers. This policy had been in existence for 15 years by the time I conducted my interviews, is widely understood and, I suggest, has become discursively central to the way new fathers in the UK understand their rights to leave. This form of leave is utilised widely by eligible fathers across the UK. Furthermore, this type of leave is shaped by gender, in that the short entitlement for fathers reflects gendered expectations around who provides infant care (O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). In turn, however, this well-established paternity leave policy, has itself set gendered parenting norms, and continues to regulate gender through issuing citations and thus instituting expectations for normative leave use, as demonstrated by the fathers discussed here.

Secondly, the right to use SPL is predicated upon the mother's bestowal of leave time to the father, theorised as a 'gift exchange' by O'Brien and Twamley (2017). In later work (2015), Butler has noted the importance of structure to performativity, relevant here because SPL's format as a transfer arrangement manifestly aggrandises maternity, doing nothing to transform the institutional status quo in terms of gendered caring norms (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Brandth and Kvande, 2016, Kaufman, 2017). Mothers must rescind some of their own entitlement in order that their partners may take leave, therefore becoming gatekeepers, whether or not they wish to be, of their partner's parenting (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Janvornik and Oliver, 2019). This arrangement maintains maternal precedence, constructing fathering as optional (Almqvist and Duvander, 2014), thus simultaneously producing and maintaining binary gender, the gendered division of labour, and the citational perpetuation of mothers as, first and foremost, caregivers. Although several fathers did use SPL, they expressed optionality, opportunity, novelty and sometimes, as John clearly demonstrates above, anti-normativity, rather than a taken-for-

granted expectation of sharing leave. Only the two weeks of paternity leave was taken for granted, conveying the ways in which fathers' *responsibility* for sharing leave fails to be produced through this policy framework. Instead, the discretionary nature of their caregiving is reinforced. In the case of PYP UK, optionality is further entrenched by the fact that the PYP policy, with its front-loaded full-pay period, meant that fathers' leave was almost always taken concurrently with their partner's. Such reinforcement of optionality contributed to upholding the previous, firmly embedded, maternity/paternity leave policy regime. I argue that fathers' take-up of the paternity leave policy, which has become normative, has therefore citationally shaped norms, meaning that default expectations for new fathers continue to comprise the two-week paternity leave plus a contingent option to share. The former policy thus regulates gendered parenting practice, in turn producing gender through delimiting the possibilities for transcendence of parenting norms. Accordingly, the current SPL policy fails to re-shape fathers' use of leave, and this failure, along with its wider structural context, implies a forcible citation of the pre-existing norm (Butler, 1993).

In Portugal too, fathers' decisions were informed by the national policy framework, but, again, only within normative bounds. All fathers interviewed registered with the social security agency to use the 15 obligatory fathers-only days at the start of the leave, and all fathers used most of these and the optional fathers' only days. Five of eleven fathers registered to use the bonus 30 days. However, they did not always use all of this leave: two fathers indicated that they registered for this bonus but didn't use it all – a practice that (I was informed) was somewhat common, but in fact contravened the legal conditions of the policy. What was striking was that although Portuguese parental leave policy enables parents to share the IPL period after the first 42 days, not one of the fathers I interviewed had considered using this leave. Moreover, many were not even aware of the possibility to do so: only one of the eleven fathers interviewed was cognisant of this policy feature. One father, Hugo (35, 2 children, used all FO days (20 and 25 respectively) plus the bonus 30 days with both) told me explicitly that it was not possible to split the leave. When I questioned him, he explained that he had been to the social security office to ask and they had advised that it was not possible to share the leave with his wife:

Hugo: I wouldn't mind giving up a little more money for being with my baby, a little more time. But there's no choice, in the Portuguese law. For the parents, for the father. Either you have the best father, the whole leave. Or you have one month, or you don't have anything. You cannot split 50/50.
Jules: Okay. Are you sure about that?
Hugo: I went to social security, I asked that.
Jules: Okay.
Hugo: So if... I'm, I'm sure about the information I have.

The complete absence of awareness of the possibility to split the IPL speaks to the strength of cultural norms and discourses around parenthood, which have the power to shape interpretations of and understanding of policy, and behaviour, more than the actual policies themselves. Here, again, the preceding Portuguese policy framework has shaped norms and expectations governing fathers' leave use, with lasting effects on the production of gender. As detailed in chapter 4, fathers in Portugal have been able to share parental leave since 1995, although the 'gender-neutral' IPL wasn't introduced until 2009. From 1995 until 2009, the major component of parental leave was maternity leave, which in the 2009 reforms became the IPL (Aboim and Vasconcelos, 2012). Thus, similarly to the UK's policy framework, the maternity entitlement became a 'shared' or transferable entitlement. Moreover, fathers' and partners' eligibility for IPL also rests upon maternal eligibility: the policy's 'legal architecture retains the principle that the mother is the main beneficiary of leave policies, rather than the mother and father together' (Cunha et al., 2017, p.11). The prior policy regime was shaped by gender norms and, in turn, has shaped gender norms and practices related to parental leave use. In so doing, the prior policy therefore not only regulated gender, but produced a specific configuration of *normative* gender, which in turn moulds particular gendered selves and perpetuates maternalistic norms (Wall et al., 2016a).

In the Portuguese context, therefore, the parental leave policy fails to challenge an undercurrent of normative maternalism, in which discourses of gender equality clash with gendered expectations of caregiving (Wall, 2015). My respondents' interpretation of the shared aspect of the policy as comprising the option to use only the bonus 30 days demonstrates how, following Butler, norms precede and exceed policy. Here again, gender norms preceded the policy design, but also exceeded its formulation and uptake, meaning that its usage remains tied to a gender arrangement through which fathers are manifestly positioned as secondary parents. Thus, despite fathers' leave use being acceptable and partially normative, this framework fails to challenge the status quo of normative maternalism and entrenched gendered caring norms.

To conclude this section, the fathers' different encounters with policy across the three countries illuminate the power of norms to impede or enable policy effects. Thus, policy is a factor that affects leave use, but despite its ability to modify norms and regulate gender, it can also be constrained by norms. Configurations of policy may align, be misaligned with, or shape gender normativity. Those that align with, are shaped by, or have shaped gender norms can interpellate subjects in particular ways and become difficult to shift, reinforcing normative gender. Those

that misalign, or that do not address the structural determinants of behaviour modification, as we have seen, fail to interpellate involved fathers or transform gender norms. In this way, the norm of gender precedes and exceeds potential policy design, and limits policy efficacy.

Furthermore, even when attempts are made to redesign policy to reformulate gender, the norm inheres in the attempt to revise or deviate from that norm (Butler, 2004), continuing to exist within and around these attempts. With what implications? If norms of gender are always inherent in policy, whether expressly or not, does this limit the impact of policymaking? I argue instead that gender norms must always be *accounted for* in policymaking. Here, we can consider the trajectory of parental leave policy development in Sweden. The Swedish government first introduced one month of non-transferable leave per parent in 1995, two months in 2002, and three months in 2016 (Duvander and Johansson, 2012; Ma et al., 2020). The norm of gender remained inherent in this design, which provided for the continuation of substantively normative patterns of leave use via 150 days of transferable leave per partner, whilst simultaneously incentivising a shift away from the norm through the mandated father days (Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016), complemented by efforts to shift discourses in support of fathers' caregiving. Although Sweden sees the highest rate of parental leave take up by fathers in the world, just 30 per cent of all leave – rather than 50/50 or even 40/60 – is used by fathers (Duvander and Löfgren, 2020).

We must therefore understand, through the fact that the norm precedes, exceeds and thus delimits policy, that transformation of the norm is only possible by facilitating new citations of gender, new iterations that can be made possible through regulation. Butler explicitly states:

> The task is not whether to repeat, but how to repeat or, indeed, to repeat and, through a radical proliferation of gender, to displace the very gender norms that enable the repetition itself (1999, p.189).

As discussed in chapter 2, within a performative ontology of gender, agency is found through the possibility of citing the norm differently (Butler, 1993, 1999, 2004; Mahmood, 2005; Tyler, 2019). As Borgerson puts it, 'it is the iterability, repetition, and representation of characteristic traits and gestures that create and sustain these various categories of identity, yet provide openings for subversive emergences' (2005, p.70). Shifts in policy that change entitlements at face value alone cannot interpellate subjects or re-direct responsibility because of the power of citationality. The example of Sweden shows that changes in policy do not immediately recode gender norms, yet research shows how over time, as different citations gain traction, they can contribute to slow transformations (Duvander and Johansson, 2019, O'Brien and Wall, 2017; Twamley and

Schober, 2019), as articulated in my adapted model of citational change (chapter 2). To increase fathers' use of leave further towards half, more room is required for new citations to take hold across different socio-economic and demographic groups.

Making space for subversion, resistance and new citations via transformational policy design attendant to material and legal considerations, such as finance and (non-)transferability, is therefore crucial. The Swedish case study and literature (e.g. Castro-Garcia and Pazos-Moran, 2016; Duvander and Johansson, 2012; Duvander and Löfgren, 2020; Bergqvist and Saxonberg, 2016) make it clear that only leave policy that delineates non-negotiable opportunity for subversion and new fatherhood practices will enable governments and individuals to make and find room to resist and refuse norms of gender. This space and support, alongside the ongoing production of cultural discourses that promote gender equality and fathers' equal participation in care and parenting, is vital for wider perceptions, judgements and 'cultural permission,' by which I mean the ways in which fathers' use of leave becomes embedded in social practice, becomes normative, and becomes expected and supported by institutions across society.

Conclusion

This chapter has theorised the norms, discourses and policy politics that differently shaped fathers' use of leave across the three countries. In seeking answers to the questions posed in the introduction to the thesis (chapter 1), I have shown how normative practices, peer and family norms, discourses and policies, together, shape the context in which fathers make decisions about using parental leave. Moreover, I provided an original empirical basis for an understanding of gender norms, specifically gendered parenting norms, as performative and citational, and clearly conveyed the illuminating capacity of a Butlerian framework in theorising fathers' use of parental leave. I have argued that citations for fathers' use of leave in Sweden – made possible through enabling social policy, discursive change and increasingly prevalent use of leave by fathers – facilitate a normative context in which fathers' use of leave is expected and socially mandated, rather than optional. In the absence of these specific conditions, citations for fathers' substantial (use of four weeks or more) use of leave cannot gain traction, the practice fails to become normative, and the citation remains liminal, as the UK and Portuguese case studies demonstrate. Throughout the chapter therefore, I have explicated original theoretical links between parenting practice and Butler's theory of performativity.

Using gender performativity as an analytical tool makes clear that there is a reciprocal feedback loop between the norm of gender and gender regulation. Rather than a unidirectional force through which regulation produces gender, gender, as theorised by Butler, itself precedes regulation. In turn, regulation continues to produce gender. As I have argued, norms underpin the development of policy; however, policy and its feedback effects, through encouraging particular patterns of behaviour, can produce citations for practice that then shape and reshape norms, as illustrated in the adapted model of citational change (chapter 2). Differences in entitlements for mothers and fathers, therefore, however well-intended, uphold the gender binary through privileging maternity. This finding, then, provides further support for the 'default model' of allocating half of the leave entitlement to each parent, with a non-transferable portion for each parent to facilitate fathers' use of leave, and the option to transfer the non-transferable portion to the other parent, to provide flexibility between partners (Browne, 2013; Gheaus and Robeyns, 2011). This policy, though, is in place in Sweden, where, as I noted earlier, the common practice does not reflect a 50/50 allocation of leave. However, fathers' use of leave in Sweden is increasing all the time, and equal sharing is becoming more and more common. As other scholars have evidenced, the effects of (enabling) reforms are gradual and take time, but fathers' use of leave increases the longer a policy is in place (Duvander and Johansson, 2019; Duvander and Löfgren, 2020; Ma et al., 2020; Rege and Solli, 2013).

In contrast, policy reforms proposed in the UK and Portugal do not appear able to achieve this principle of default (Baird and O'Brien, 2015; Moss and O'Brien, 2020; Wall et al., 2016a).[98] Without addressing uneven access to parental leave in the UK and Portugal, space for new citations of fathering cannot be made, and in turn, no shift can occur in normative parental roles or to primary parenting responsibility. Furthermore, perpetuating maternalism maintains discourses of secondary fathering. As I will unveil by way of my respondents' experiences at work in the following chapter, fathers' ability to utilise extended leave periods depends to a significant extent on the workplace culture, which in turn is reliant upon the national culture around shared parenting and fathers' use of leave. To enable fathers' leave use, equal rights to leave for all parents are necessary.

[98] I will discuss proposed policy reforms in all countries in chapter 7, the conclusion.

6: Fathers and Performativity at Work

Introduction

In chapter 5, I offered an analysis of the citational and performative effects of normative practices, peer norms, discourses and national policy on fathers' use of leave in Sweden, Portugal and the UK. I developed my argument for the centrality of citationality to fathers' parenting practices, and the ways that citations for fathering, or lack thereof, help us to understand social constraint when it comes to reconfiguring norms around use of parental leave. Deploying the adapted model of citational change based on Sullivan et al. (2018), I demonstrated the ways in which change is possible through proliferation of new citations of fathering. I argued that this change is predicated upon making space for new citations, which itself depends on transformative policy and its reciprocal relation with the wider normative gender context, to enact these different citations, subvert normative practices and do gender differently.

In this chapter, I will argue that the workplace domain was at once the most significant factor in shaping fathers' decisions across the three countries, and also wholly reliant upon and inextricably linked to the external policy and normative context of each firm. I will build upon the arguments forged in chapter 5, to foreground the ways in which performativity and citationality enable and/or constrain fathers in their workplace settings, and the impact of these forms of possibility and constraint on fathers' use of parental leave in the three contexts. By performative and citational, I continue to rely on the Butlerian framework I developed earlier in the PhD, specifically meaning that:

> Performative iterations are not simply the acting out of ways of being in the world: rather each iteration, 'a regularized and constrained repetition of norms' (Butler, 1993, p.95), plays the role of producing identities and foreclosing others, maintaining the illusion of natural categories of behaviour, including gender. (Borgerson, 2005, p.68).

To begin, I will contextualise the PYP firms cross-nationally and, theoretically, as multi-national enterprises (MNEs). I will then situate the research through the field of organisational culture studies, and show how organisational cultures are linked to national cultures. I will make several original contributions: first, that organisational culture is a form of gender regulation, shaping norms, values and practices, with effects on fathers' use of leave. Secondly, I will argue that organisational socialisation is citational, and can function as a persistent, gendered, constraint on

fathers' use of leave. Thirdly, I shall theorise workplace social capital and sponsorship as constituent parts of the formation of power that is the heterosexual matrix, thinking 'associability' (Leana and Van Buren, 2012) *as* performativity. Finally, I will conceptualise the 'performative breadwinner'. The chapter will close with a discussion of organisational culture, citationality and change.

About PYP

Comparing PYP cross-nationally

As discussed in chapter 1, PYP is a global multinational firm with a network of member firms operating under the same brand. A household name in accounting and consulting, combined PYP member firm turnover exceeded £34 billion for the financial year ending May 2020 (PYP, 2021). The company is one of the largest professional services networks in the world, employing over 300,000 staff globally, 45 per cent of whom are women, with bases in 150 countries. Each member firm is a legally independent entity providing services in a specific geographic location, incorporated according to local public accounting regulations.

I worked with three member firms: PYP LLP (UK), PYP Sweden and PYP Portugal. To recap the information provided in chapter 1, I have provided a comparative table of key facts and figures about the three firms (table 7).

Table 7: Comparative facts and figures of the PYP firms

Firm	HQ	No. offices	No. employ-ees	% female	% BAME	No. partners	Partner gender ratio (m:w)	Ethnicity partner ratio	Gender pay gap[99]	Ethnicity pay gap[100]
Sweden	Stockholm	19	1,472	54	n/a[101]	98	68:32	n/a	n/a	n/a
UK	London	28	20,000	45	22	1,000	78:22	95:5	17.8	12.9
Portugal	Lisbon	5	3,600	42	n/a	216	76:24	n/a	n/a	n/a

Each individual firm is a partnership, meaning it is owned by its partners, and is incorporated at country level to ensure compliance with local accounting regulation. In some cases, multiple country firms form a larger transnational firm. According to the UK Partner for HR, this

[99] Based on mean hourly pay, in line with the UK ONS national figure.
[100] Based on mean hourly pay, in line with the UK ONS national figure.
[101] PYP in Sweden and Portugal do not collect this data. In Sweden, to do so is illegal.

phenomenon has increased over the past few years, to respond to the operational needs of 'globally connected' clients: during this period, the total number of PYP member firms has reduced from 56 to 13 due to merged partnerships. PYP ESN is one such member firm which includes 13 countries and over 45,000 individuals across Europe. PYP Sweden and PYP UK have both been members of this trans-European firm since 2017. The partners of PYP UK and PYP Sweden are thus also partners of PYP ESN; representatives of the partnerships of both firms sit on the executive board. However, PYP Portugal stands alone as a member firm.

The three country firms adhered to the same hierarchy of positions: Partner, Director, Senior Manager, Manager, Senior Consultant, and Consultant. The same five key service areas and twenty-two departments structured the organisation in each country, with minor idiosyncrasies whose detail is not relevant to this thesis. Aside from benefits governed by statutory policies, the benefits offered to employees across the three countries were broadly very similar (see chapter 1).

PYP Global is the governing body of the overall partnership and separately incorporated from all member firms, but sets the governance protocols and frameworks that ensure coherence and cohesion across the partnership. Each PYP member firm pays a contribution to the Global body to manage the overall partnership. Staff members are also sometimes seconded to the Global body, although Global also directly employs its own staff. My executive informant in the UK, Kara Ewing, who served at partner level in the UK firm and was seconded into a senior position within Global, described PYP Global's culture as encompassing a set of shared values, a responsible business code, a talent strategy and the PYP code, which sets out 'how "we" behave' as well as 'what "we" do.' Her account makes it clear that initiatives which shape the culture of PYP as a whole are implemented by PYP Global. Her description is clearly aligned with the sociological understandings of organisational culture that I outline later in this chapter. Using the example of an inclusion strategy, she detailed the processes and mechanisms through which initiatives are identified, established, supported, invested in and implemented by the Global organisation. Kara herself led a highly successful inclusion strategy at PYP UK before stepping down as managing partner of that department, in line with PYP's management processes. Following her achievements on inclusion within PYP UK, she was appointed as advisor on inclusion to the Global Executive. From here, her own influence, combined with the fact that inclusion had been identified as a priority by the Global Executive Board,

meant that she was re-deployed to lead inclusion strategy at the Global level. She developed a Global Inclusion Strategy structured around twin pillars of respect and inclusion for all under-represented groups and three current priority areas: gender, LGBT+ and mental health. This strategy was ratified by the Global Executive Committee, and has set a series of benchmarks and indicators on which each member firm must report as part of their membership governance and culture requirements.

It is clear from Kara's account that the centralised inclusion programme she leads is new at the Global level, and is based upon successful implementation of inclusion work at the UK member firm. As an external researcher, it was difficult for me to detect the extent to which Global strategy influenced the culture at each of the country level firms. What *was* acutely noticeable was that, despite ostensibly being three parts of the same company, and notwithstanding the multi-national corporate culture agenda set by PYP Global, the corporate culture at each of the country firms was acutely different, as I will discuss later.

PYP as Multinational Enterprise

PYP's global configuration places it within the classification of the multinational enterprise (MNE). It is thus important to theorise PYP *as* MNE. Extant research on MNEs calls attention to the influence they wield on social norms and country-level institutional decisions and policymaking. As 'the linchpins of the contemporary world economy' (Held et al., 2001, p.282), they hold huge power and influence over society, both in working practices, the organisation of production, and culture. MNEs are independent, agentic bodies which establish particular positions and identities in relation to the wider world (Ripken, 2019). They interact with and profoundly impact on the individuals that make up the firm, as well as people outside of its direct purview (Ripken, 2019, p.94).

MNEs account for around half of global exports, one-third of global output and one-quarter of global employment (OECD, 2018). A dynamic relationship exists between MNEs, institutions and norms: MNEs influence norms and institutions, but norms and institutions influence MNEs (Held et al., 2001; Flohr et al., 2010; Ripken, 2019; Wilks, 2013). MNEs are deeply implicated in evolving cultures, structures, discourses and norms within our society (Detomasi, 2007; Fuchs, 2013) including in relation to work cultures, working time arrangements, practices around

periods of absence, and work-life interface (Kolleck, 2013; Alhejji et al., 2018; Lévesque and Murray, 2010).

As discrete units that remain distinct through space and time and have specific identities and functions, MNEs have the power to shift norms, standards, regulations and practices (Held et al., 2001; Ripken, 2019). Given corporations' orientations, strategies and goals, and their significant means to achieve those goals, corporates seek to exert direct influence on the legal, tax, institutional and policy environments in which they operate (Geppert et al., 2006; Held et al., 2001; Ripken, 2019; Rubery et al., 2014). Dahan et al. (2006) have argued that organisations actively attempt to shape their institutional environment and macro-level policymaking and outcomes. Geppert et al. (2006) assert that MNEs are 'actively involved in the development of transnational standards and regulation' (p.1453; see also Flohr et al., 2010), but point out that transnational implementation of corporate management structures and practices also plays a role in forging the 'global institutional environment' (p.1455; see also Saint-Martin, 2013). Moreover, host nations may adjust institutional conditions to attract MNC operations (Bakir and Caliskan, 2013; Held et al., 2001).

MNEs are key actors in processes of 'cultural globalisation' (Held et al., 2001, pp.327–329), which are underpinned by global production networks and the mobility of people within them. Although the concept of cultural globalisation primarily relates to transnational distribution of communications and media production through film, online content, television and, historically, radio, such as the BBC, Sony, Disney etc., globalised production also plays a role in cultural globalisation through what Held et al. (2001) refer to as 'transnational ideologies and discourses' and 'global expert networks' (p.362), as well as the telecommunication and infrastructural networks that enable and sustain these networks. MNEs are therefore implicated in the maintenance of elite cultural power networks (Held et al., 2001, p.367). Management consultants, alongside financial services workers, represent a particular mode of employee – the 'knowledge worker' (Kipping and Clark, 2012, p.6) – whose role is central to global knowledge production, dissemination and power relations. Management and consulting firms, who recruit the brightest and best graduates of elite business schools around the world (Engwall, 2012), are thus central locations of these 'elite networks of cultural power' Kipping and Clark, 2012, p.1).

MNEs and management consulting firms are, as organisations, conceptualised as gendered social spaces (Acker, 1991; Connell, 2000; Kerfoot and Knights, 1993; Koveshnikov et al., 2019;

Messerschmidt, 2017; see chapter 1). Gender and race inequality are problems across MNEs and consulting firms. The 'leaky pipeline,' referring to women's lack of progression to the top of management and consulting firms, has been acknowledged by professional service firms (Kelan, 2012, p.5) who make various attempts at addressing it. Research suggests that three main factors underpin the issue: the 'up-or-out' culture and its attendant competitiveness and promotion criteria; the client-focused emphasis of consulting; and the idea that consultants are men rather than women (Kelan, 2012). The first two of these factors, as we will see, also shape fathers' reservations in using parental leave in the UK and Portugal, a phenomenon which itself contributes to the problem of women's attrition. I will now move on to a discussion of the salience of organisational culture to fathers' use of leave.

Fathers use of leave and organisational culture

My data made it clear that the culture at the organisational level varied hugely, undoubtedly shaped by each country's national institutional, policy and normative environment, with profound implications for fathers' use of leave. In spite of the centralised 'culture work' discussed above, the cultures surrounding the reconciliation of work and family, specifically bearing on parental leave, were markedly different in the three firms. Furthermore, cultures varied not only by country, but sometimes by department. No two interviews that I conducted were the same, and no two fathers had the same experience. Different factors concerning their (inter)personal circumstances, family orientation, relative workplace power, seniority, project phase, relationship with partner or senior staff as well as the discourses through which they were subjectivated shaped fathers' decisions and use of leave. In both Portugal and the UK, consistencies across some areas of the business, in which respondents reported supportive colleagues and an enabling culture, contrasted with constraining, negative culture and tacit discouragement in other departments. Crucially, sometimes enabling and dissuading cultures existed within the same department. Scholarship on organisational culture(s), and the concept of ambiguity, help explain these phenomena. I will now engage with this scholarship, before outlining the organisational culture of each firm.

Organisational Culture Studies

Organisational culture as a field of study was prominent in the 1980s and 1990s and has since waned, partly replaced by scholars' interest in organisational discourse and identity (Alvesson, 2011; Ehrhart et al., 2014). The breadth of scholarship and lack of consensus among scholars

impedes a single or unified framework of organisational culture and its dimensions; accordingly I will draw on a review by Ehrhart et al., (2014, p.131–133). Organisational culture is conceived as shared, although understandings of the extent to which and exactly what is shared vary – whether beliefs, values, behaviours, norms, assumptions, etc. Organisational culture is understood as stable: despite constant evolution, there is consistent culture over time, although it is unclear how change is accounted for in this conception. Organisational culture is also thought of as having depth, meaning a certain palpability and/or awareness of particular ways of doing, expressing and interpreting. Many definitions assert culture's operation beyond the conscious actions of employees: this perspective is essential to the role culture plays in the forming of its members' identities (or subjectivation, in a Butlerian/Foucaultian frame). Some theorists contend that while members' thoughts and actions are shaped by an organisation's culture, they are often unable to explain or account for how or why. The symbolic and expressive qualities of culture are emphasised by many scholars, interpreted through structures and experience that shape meaning and members' intersubjective experience (Alvesson, 2002; Martin, 2002).

Many organisational culture scholars consider an organisation's culture as the product of its past, especially previous handling of challenges over time (Schein, 2010). Organisational culture is thought of as providing order and rules to organisational existence, clarifying expectations of employees and considerations of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in daily work lives. Values and norms become embedded in culture through past decisions, shaping its current manifestation and members' experiences. Some scholars contend that external factors, such as wider sector norms, also shape culture (Dickson et al., 2006). Importantly, organisational culture is understood as transmitted to new members via the concept of organisational socialisation. This cultural transmission underpins the stability of organisational culture and its perpetuation over time. Some scholars highlight the effect of new members on dynamically reshaping organisational culture, as well as the ambiguities and contradictions experienced as new members become 'socialised' (Alvesson, 1993). I will therefore theorise organisational socialisation as citational.

Theorists have argued that organisational 'culture is pervasive and influences all aspects of how an organization deals with its primary task, its various environments and its internal operations' (Schein, 2010, p.17), although this breath also sometimes renders organisational culture difficult to define (Alvesson, 2002). It is thought of as unique (Trice and Beyer, 1993), and as a source of collective identity and commitment. The sense of identity fostered by the shared belief, values

and assumptions that form organisational culture contributes to the stability of that culture, cultivating both emotional engagement with the culture and a commitment to the group (Schein, 2010). Some scholars have argued that this homogenising take on organisational culture fails to account for groups marginalised within an organisation/al culture (Martin, 2002).

In the context of such an expansive and generative concept, it becomes imperative to isolate my own usage. Alvesson's definition is apt:

> A shared and learned world of experiences, meanings, values, and understandings which inform people and which are expressed, reproduced, and communicated partly in the symbolic form (1993, pp.2–3).

Alvesson argues for a subjectivist-interpretive view of organisational culture, which understands organisations *as* cultures. This understanding matches my own conceptual mobilisation of organisational culture.

A feature of organisational culture omitted from the above review is ambiguity. Scholars disagree on the role of ambiguity in organisational culture, with Schein arguing that if lack of consensus is present in the context of an organisational culture, then it cannot be said that a culture exists (1991; Ehrhart et al., 2014). Other theorists disagree: for example, Alvesson argues that ambiguity and contradiction are inherent to organisational culture, but do not necessarily organise meaning or values (2002, pp.162–163). As I alluded to above, and will further explore later, ambiguity and contradictions were certainly observed in the organisational cultures of the Portuguese and UK firms.

The Culture-Iceberg Simile

Organisational culture has been theorised as a firm's *personality*, underpinning fundamental and pervasive traits and ethos that shape internal and external interactions and operations (Louis, 1980). For Ripken, corporate culture is the *mode* through which the identity of a business is displayed (2019). Ripken builds on Schein's (1988, 2004, 2010) work to offer the simile of an iceberg: the only visible part is the tip, but layers shaping interactions lie below the surface. This simile is highly generative in the context of gendered parenting norms and the corporate father at PYP. In Ripken's re-articulation, the corporate culture iceberg comprises the surface layer and two layers below the waterline. The visible part of the culture-berg is the elements that can be seen, heard or felt, or what Schein terms the 'artifacts' of culture (2004, p.25). These include the company's built environment and architecture, arrangement of office space, dress code,

technological arrangements, the company's use of language and discourse, the company's products and services, branding, as well as rituals, traditions, ceremonies and the myths and stories that are shared among employees and work together to create and reinforce particular practices and the organisational 'way of life'. The work environment and atmosphere, combined with the way people interact and treat each other, contribute to the top layer of company culture.

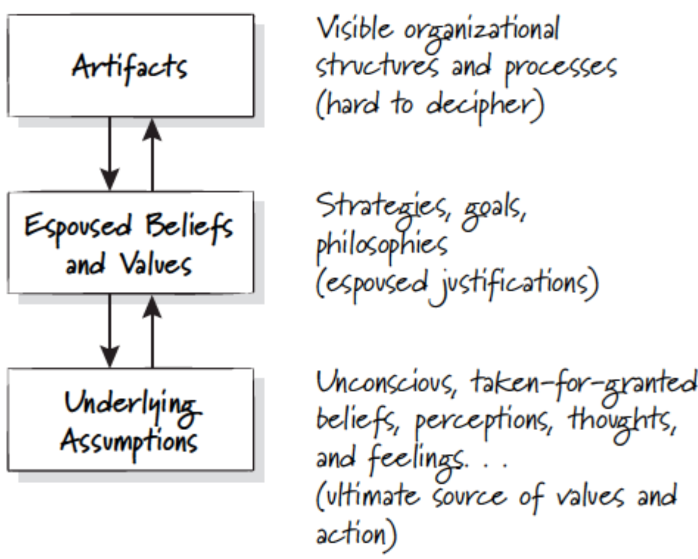


Figure 15: 'Levels of Culture' (Schein, 2004, p.26)

The second layer, just below the surface in the iceberg simile, holds what Schein calls the 'Espoused beliefs and values' of the organisation (2004, p.26). These values are practices that come to be embedded based on experience and tried and tested problem-solving. Ripken explains that these define what the organisation 'cares about most' and help to organise and shape the firm's priorities. Core values and beliefs establish certain expectations and norms of behaviour for the organisation's members, which act as unwritten code that shape how business is done. These organisational cultural norms set (sometimes tacit) patterns of behaviour which help members understand the sorts of actions that are considered normal and acceptable, and those which are unusual and less acceptable. Norms exert certain pressures on employees to operate and plan in organisationally appropriate ways.

The bottom layer of the culture-berg comprises the underlying assumptions upon which the organisation is founded. Articulated as 'the tacit, unconscious, ingrained ideas that reflect what organizational members perceive, think and feel about their reality' (Ripken, 2019, p.101), these are the taken-for-granted, shared ideals that guide the way members reason and act. For Schein and Ripken, these ideals are deeply embedded in members, sometimes to the extent that they are

not consciously appreciated (Ripken, p.102). It seems clear, to me, that elements of this bottom layer overlap with wider national culture that lives outside of the organisation. For Schein, espoused beliefs and values (the second layer of the culture-iceberg) can, over time, become underlying assumptions (2004, pp.28–29).

Although Ripken's rearticulation of Schein's model diverges modestly from his original theorisation,[102] the Ripken/Schein culture-iceberg simile is a useful one for articulating corporate culture in the context of PYP. The culture-berg's rendering visible and invisible of different layers of culture elucidates the modes through which 'cultural permission' to use leave is granted within organisations. In the next section of this chapter I will use the iceberg simile to outline the three country firm's different cultures.

National and Organisational Culture

Connections between national culture and organisational culture are well-established (Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, 2010; Peretz et al., 2017; Schwartz, 2006; Tear et al., 2020). Hofstede's transnational longitudinal study of management and culture among IBM country firms articulated with great clarity the ways in which national culture shapes organisational culture (Hofstede, 2001). Furthermore, in the context of business mergers, research has found that national cultures wield greater influence over success than organisational cultures (Weber, Shankar and Raveh, 1996, p.1225). In my own study, the effects of national culture on organisational culture were clear as soon as I begun conducting the research, with respondents' anecdotes of working with colleagues in partner offices, and their contrasting of different expectations, experiences and conversations with overseas colleagues, proving insightful in terms of cultural differences. Respondents' accounts of PYP culture, both in relation to work-life interface and fathers' use of leave, varied starkly across the countries. Clear differences in organisational culture were also apparent through the firms' different approaches to parental leave policy and senior management support of, and access to, this policy.

[102] Parts of Ripken's interpretation of Schein's iceberg alter the meaning of the simile somewhat. I believe she misreads his 'espoused values and beliefs' of the organisation as more related to the organisation's operational priorities rather than *ways of working* that underpin business activities. Ripken's discussion suggests that organisational culture is so robust that the bottom layer consists of taken-for-granted assumptions which are shared across all members; whereas Schein's work provides examples of how many organisational issues arise from the fact that these are ideals assumed to be shared, when often they are not.

Culture as gender regulation

In Sweden, the culture was relatively consistent. I have depicted the layers of culture in figure 16 below. As expected, given the cultural context and quantitative analysis detailed in chapter 4, the Swedish firm was far more oriented towards effective reconciliation of work and family, both discursively and in terms of policy, than either Portugal or the UK. Taken for granted is an apt descriptor for the Swedish firm's organisational culture with respect to family life. Although

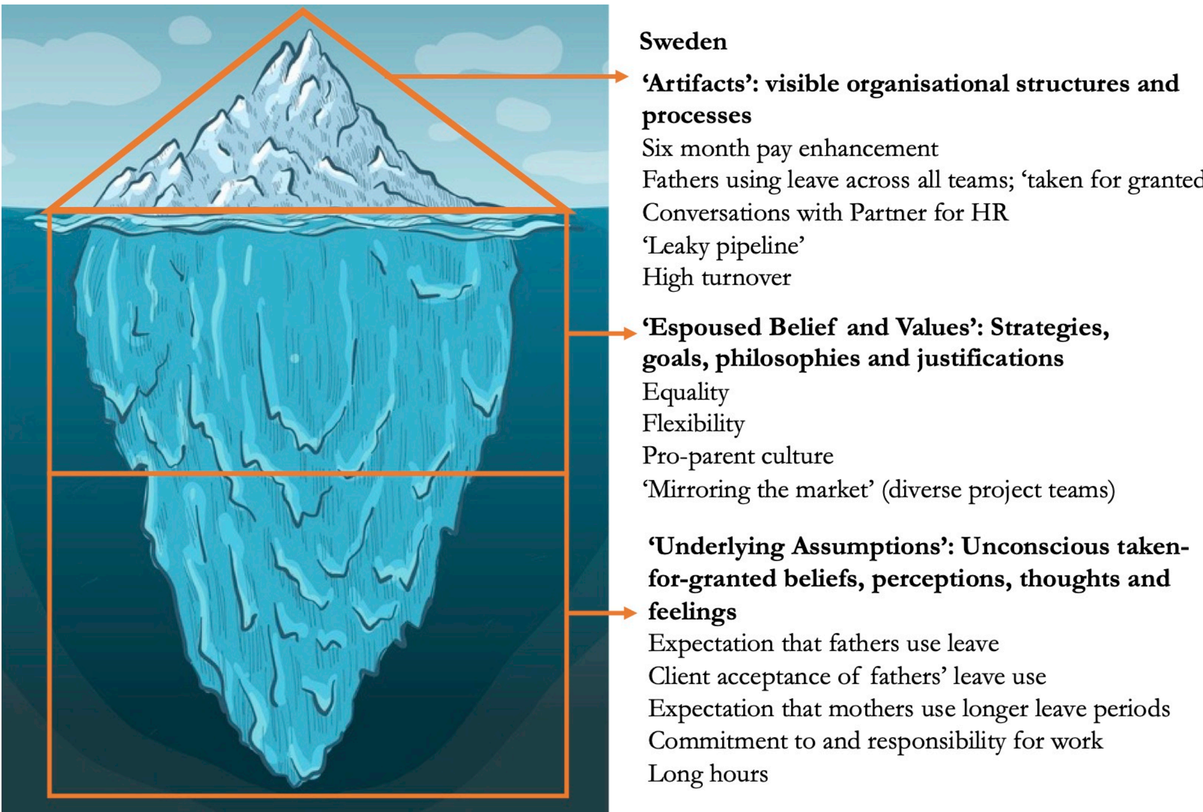


Figure 16: Culture iceberg diagram representing the organisational culture at PYP Sweden

fathers regularly reflected on the competitive nature of their line of work, and client demands sometimes necessitated long working hours, the expectation that they would be able to find ways of balancing work and family was fundamental to their experience. It was clear that this was a product of the PYP Sweden culture. Pervasive discourses of fathers' use of leave and rights to reconcile work and family meant that one of my questions registered differently with Swedish respondents. The interview question 'Thinking about your decision to use/not use leave, how has your workplace responded to that? In terms of your line manager/senior people in your department, and also colleagues more widely?' was often met with a pause, following which respondents conveyed that the phrasing of this question failed to appreciate the deeply normal responses received from colleagues, which comprised congratulations and sometimes a

calculation of the leave period the father anticipated using. Taken-for-grantedness was apparent in many of my interviews, as Mats demonstrated when I asked how his colleagues reacted:

> It's nothing special. It's just like saying you are going for vacation.

Another father, Daniel (30, Manager, 2 children, used 3 months and 5 months of home-alone leave with the first and second child respectively) explained that:

> I have a male partner, manager, so I think already at that stage when he asked 'when is the baby due?,' because it's so common, these type of [divisions – ~12 months and ~6 months] between the mother and the father that he already at that stage can look into, okay so it's due in January, then you should go on paternity leave like in [the following] February, March, April sometime. So it's already there… [in his mind].

Both these responses reveal the extent to which discourses and practices of engaged fathering were embedded in organisational culture at PYP Sweden, as well as wider Swedish culture. Daniel's account also reaffirms the 'common practice' to which I referred in chapter 5. Another father, Henrik (42, Partner, 2 children, used 4 months of home-alone leave with both), when asked about colleagues' reactions, turned my question on its head and explained that he would be more likely to experience negative reactions or be perceived negatively for *not* using leave. He explained that not using the leave could lead partners and colleagues to wonder whether he held the right values and priorities to be a part of PYP, or question cultural fit, given that PYP strongly supports and encourages fathers' use of parental leave. Several other fathers in Sweden echoed this sentiment.

The link between national culture and organisational culture at PYP Sweden was further illuminated when respondents discussed their decision to use extended leave in the context of their client relationships. Where fathers were using leave periods mid-project, they reflected on the fact that it obviously wasn't ideal, but that it was manageable and that the client was supportive of their right to use leave. Although clients regretted the loss of an excellent colleague, they accepted their rights to use parental leave, and accepted such absences as part of the Swedish culture, as Daniel explained:

> Daniel: From the client side and they are also, I mean it's positive, but still 'oh so you will be away during that time, that's a shame,' but it's, I don't feel any like negative, negativity in that. It's more or less that we will miss you, or something like that.
> Jules: Okay. So they think you're good and they don't want to lose you, but they also understand.
> Daniel: Yeah.

Fathers in Sweden did not report a single experience of being told not to use the leave, or any form of discouragement. In fact, PYP Sweden's Partner for HR informed me that she made a point of speaking directly with all expectant fathers to ensure a personal emphasis on their rights, responsibility and support from PYP to use leave. All fathers interviewed in Sweden used leave. In one case, the father took longer than his partner/the mother had taken. Although his particular case was the result of a specific set of circumstances which involved a house move, the logistics of moving childcare provider and the mother taking on a new job, the couple's intention had been egalitarian from the outset, with their equal earnings and shared work-orientation meaning they planned to use half of the total leave entitlement each.[103] Two other fathers split the leave more or less evenly, and the remaining 11 used significant periods of home-alone leave, but much less than their partners.

In the UK, fathers provided accounts of competing/conflicting cultures, consistent with Alvesson's theorisation of the contradictory and ambiguous nature of organisational culture, as discussed above. I have articulated the three conflicting layers of culture in the culture-iceberg diagram below (figure 17). On one hand, work carried out centrally by the Talent department promoted work-life balance, developed a range of family-friendly policies and, as I was in the process of conducting my fieldwork, was recognised as a family-friendly employer by UK parenting(/mothering) website Mumsnet.[104] UK respondents were not always fully aware of the whole range of family policies available to them, but they often referred to the work being done by the incumbent Partner for HR, who actively promoted gender equality, shared parental leave and women's progression, and was vocal in the wider public eye about the work being done within the firm. Formally, the culture around family-friendliness and fathers' opportunity to reconcile care and career was positive and enabling, and many fathers did feel able to make use of SPL. Indeed, this focus on work-life reconciliation and promotion of gender equality was the premise upon which PYP UK agreed to participate in this research project.

---

103 Another salient factor here was a relatively short breastfeeding duration, which made it more straightforward for the couple to split the leave evenly. A discussion theorising the complex relationship between breastfeeding, parental leave use and gender equality (Alsarve et al., 2016; Faircloth, 2013, 2020; Símonardóttir and Gíslason, 2018; Wolf, 2010) would be more than worthwhile within this thesis, as it was relevant to some fathers' use of leave across the three countries. However, due to space constraints it unfortunately must remain beyond the scope of the PhD.

104 In August 2019, almost one year after I began conducting fieldwork, PYP UK extended their paternity leave and pay policy (which they refer to as pay for non-birthing parents) from full pay for the two-week statutory minimum, to four weeks' full pay.

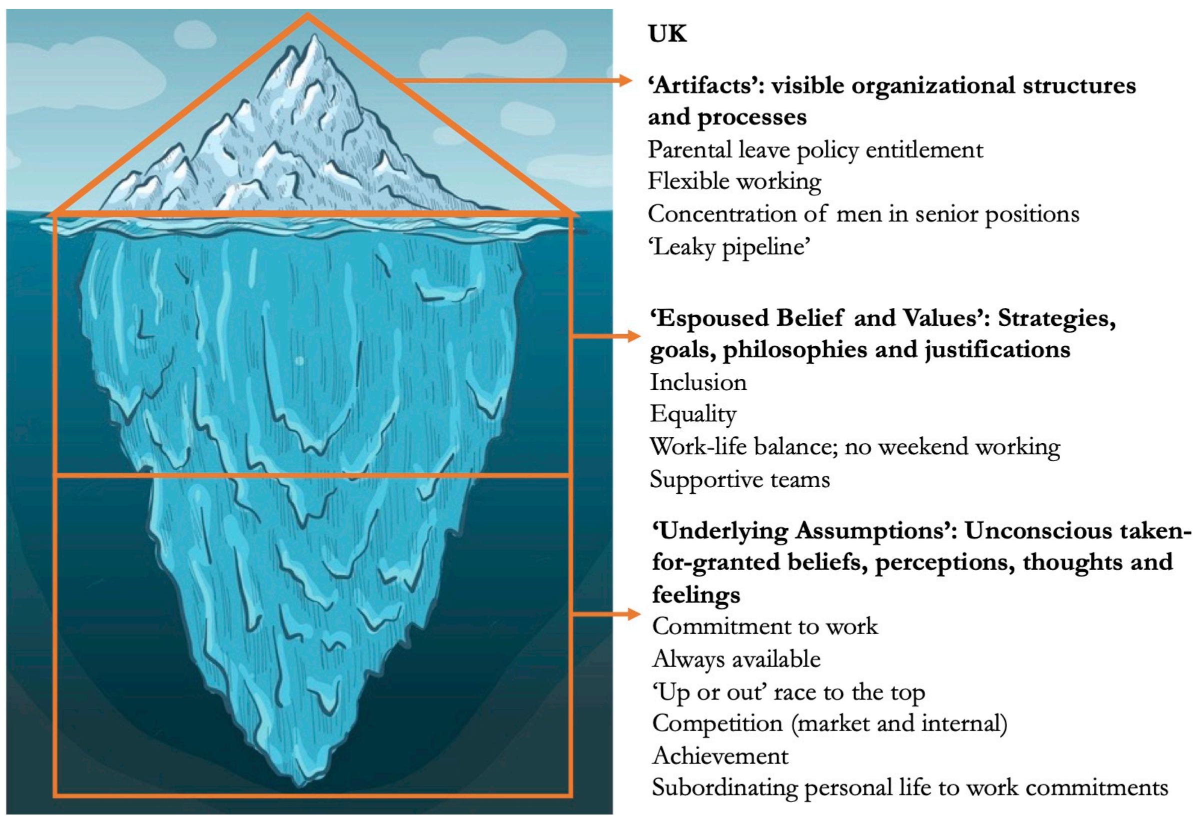


Figure 17: Culture-iceberg diagram representing organisational culture at PYP UK

In practice, or within the workspace, culture – and the realities of competitive, client-responsive, timebound projects – was more varied, corresponding to the first and second layers of the Schein-Ripken culture-iceberg. Many fathers reported various cultural barriers to reconciling work and family, each of which had roots in masculine norms and the figure of the ideal worker. These included an always-available culture, underpinned by discourses of global competition, as well as discourses of success which subjectivated many fathers, who demonstrated 'compulsive orientation to task accomplishment' and 'emphasis on individual achievement and material success' (Haas et al., 2002 p.325). Fathers were driven and motivated by achievement and accomplishment, as well as sometimes by social markers of success such as wealth and status. Further, fathers' work-family balance was constrained by various client demands, including inability to work flexibly in client-facing roles, and the imperative to be available at literally all hours to discuss new business opportunities. Mark (39, Partner, 1 child, used 9 days statutory paternity leave), for example, commented in relation to his always-available ethos:

> If a client rings you then I feel I have to respond, because it's my client, and if I don't respond, he'll go somewhere else, be it to other partners in the firm, or to a competitor; the same would be the case on extended leave I think, in fact, well, over a much longer period of time, so it's going to be much more… severe. And I think, under both scenarios, be it speaking to another partner in the firm, and going externally to a competitor, you're never going to see that relationship again, and I would be fearful that something in the nature of the partnership –

> which is pretty unhealthy – that if my client stayed with PYP but went to a fellow partner I'm not entirely sure that I'd get that client relationship back. And that would make me…as I say it's a pretty unhealthy… thing, that we can't be there to support one another and say 'you go on paternity leave, I'll look after this client relationship.'

Mark's account makes clear the commercial and competitive culture that is embedded within PYP UK, albeit beyond Schein's visible 'artifacts' of culture. Mark's narrative also conveys that competition comes not only from other consultancies, but from internal colleagues. He explained that, even though he is a part of the partnership, his degree of attainment and status fail to protect him from the sense of career risk that comes with taking leave to care for his child. The competition, then, never stops at PYP UK.

This unceasingly competitive culture was also detectable through the 'up or out' (Kelan, 2012, p.5) promotion structure which ensures employees participate in the race to make partner (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2008) through the setting of specific targets and penalisation for periods of less than 100 per cent dedication. Powerful culture gatekeepers – for example, more senior male colleagues suggesting that using leave was unnecessary or undesirable; a lack of positive peer influence/few examples of other fathers taking time out; and forms of disciplinary power articulated through respondents' perceptions of colleagues' unspoken disapproval, suggesting that their colleagues were not fully on board with their leave use and found it inconvenient or ill-timed,[105] were further constraints embedded in the PYP UK culture.

While it is important not to lose sight of the fathers who did use leave and felt well-supported by their team, colleagues and organisation, a key cultural barrier to fathers' wider use of leave was the lack of possibility for precedent-setting by members of senior leadership. The one partner I was able to interview at PYP UK disclosed that the foremost factor in his decision not to use SPL was his ineligibility for the PYP policy. This lack of eligibility was the product of his status as partner, rather than employee, at the firm. However, as he pointed out, women who are partners and become mothers are eligible for PYP's paid maternity benefit, despite their status as partner rather than employee. This discrepancy further revealed the lack of culture around fathers' use of leave at PYP UK. As has been pointed out in the literature, and was clear in the minds of many of my respondents, the actions and values of members of organisational leadership are fundamental to shaping organisational culture (Browne, 2013; Gregory and Milner, 2011; Schein, 2004). The fact that partners at PYP UK were not eligible to use extended periods

[105] I will further theorise this finding in the 'Social capital, associability and citationality' section.

of parental leave clearly transmitted the message that this practice is not a desired behaviour within the firm. The dichotomous relation between masculine work and care was succinctly conveyed by this partner as he rehearsed conversations with colleagues about his lack of entitlement to this benefit:

> I think when I'd just returned from my two weeks' paternity leave, erm, I was in a partner meeting where someone asked me, 'are you going away for longer than two weeks?' and I said 'no, no, as an equity partner you can only take two weeks', so someone said 'oh, maybe that makes you not as good a father as this other guy', as a joke and then the other, one of the other partners said 'yeah, but, you're a better partner by not taking it', and I was thinking, [I'm] sure you shouldn't be saying that, but…

In his account, it is clear that he can either be a good father, or a good partner, but, as he later noted 'you can't be both.' Given the importance of the examples set by leadership, this partner's inability to use the leave wields significant implications for building a culture supporting fathers' engaged parenting.

Furthermore, while it was rare, I came across two instances in the UK where fathers were discouraged from using the leave they planned, or from taking the leave at a particular moment. Joshua (28, Assistant Director, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave and 14 weeks SPL) for example, explained that he had been directly advised to use less leave than the entire well-paid period that he planned and ultimately took:

> it certainly made it a lot harder to make that decision. You know having a really senior guy on your team say, 'well my only advice would be perhaps take less', you know, that's kind of a hard thing to hear, because you sort of, you almost envisage this direct correlation between the more time off, the less I'm sort of seen in the standings. Yeah it was definitely something that was quite hard to reconcile.

A different father, Julian (33, Director, 1 child, used 2 weeks paternity leave only) experienced being advised to perhaps use his two weeks at a later date, and also witnessed a colleague being placed under pressure not to use parental leave at a particular point. Thus, at the same time as promoting gender equality, flexible working, family-friendliness and work-life balance, lower layers of PYP UK culture presented multiple, deeply embedded and cross-cutting constraints to fathers' caregiving roles.[106]

[106] The literature suggests that line managers play a role in facilitating or delimiting fathers' usage of parental leave entitlements (e.g. Gregory and Milner, 2011), which was a phenomenon I was interested in exploring. In practice, analysis of this effect was constrained at PYP because of the operational structure of the firm, where staff did not have direct line managers but were part of a wider team and could effectively have several managers at the same time.

The conflict between the diversity and inclusion initiatives outlined by the Partner for HR at PYP UK and forms of constraint pervading the organisation are reminiscent of what Ahmed calls non-performativity: 'when naming something does not bring something into effect' (2017, p.106).[107] In this case, the naming of something is the enhanced right to use SPL, and the non-performativity is the lack of on-the-ground ability to use this leave for many fathers. Returning to the Ripken/Schein culture-berg, it appears that at PYP UK, the top, visible layer of culture is supportive of fathers' use of leave and emphasises the importance of fathers' leave use in the context of gender equality at the firm. However, when the layers of culture below the visible line are interrogated, the non-performativity of the culture becomes clear. Instead, what is perpetuated is the ideal worker-norm and the corporate father.

In Portugal the PYP culture was more consistent, if less enabling. The firm placed less emphasis on work-family balance than in PYP UK and Sweden and, as far as I could ascertain, conducted little 'culture work' around work-life interface and gender equality. Thus, even the most visible level of organisational culture did not convey equalities issues or work-life reconciliation as strategic goals. The PYP representative to whom I had access was immensely helpful, but less senior than in the UK and Sweden, and my attempts to identify a Partner for HR that reflected the role at both PYP UK and PYP Sweden were not fruitful. The PYP Portugal website and annual review documents were almost conspicuous in their lack of attention to gender equality, in stark contrast to the UK website. Searches on the PYP Portugal website for 'family friendly policies' (políticas pró-família), 'family policies' (políticas família),'family-friendly' (pró-família), 'family' (família) and 'friendly family' (família amigável) found only one result in relation to work-life balance, pertaining to an award for good practice in enabling reconciliation of work and family (Prémio Empresa Mais Familiarmente Responsável), which was hosted rather than entered by PYP from 2006–2010. Searches for 'gender equality' (genero igualdade, igualdade de genero) and 'equality' (igualdade) found no results. A search for 'women' (mulheres) generated

[107] Ahmed also argues that the 'doing' of organisational documents such as making returns and preparing plans for equality monitoring schemes and awards is understood as the job done, with no further action needed (2017). While this argument can be levelled at organisations such as PYP, in this context I did not feel it was appropriate to mobilise. PYP Portugal did not have any equalities plans as far as I could establish, and the Partners for HR with whom I spoke in Sweden and the UK were both women manifestly committed to effecting change at the organisational level, beyond writing plans and intentions. These commitments were often reflected in the timbre of conversations I had with fathers about the problems attaining equality at PYP (particularly in the UK). It might be the case that other senior leadership at PYP perceived the making of plans and reports as the 'doing' work of equality and diversity, but it would be unfair to aim this critique at the individuals with whom I spoke – i.e. those driving the equalities work at the 'People' (HR) level.

three results: two editions (5th and 6th) of the PYP Global 'Women in the Boardroom' report, which is a report by PYP rather than about PYP, and the PYP Portugal 'Professional Women's Group,' which again is focused on an external partnership[108] rather than an inward-facing initiative. PYP UK, in contrast, had manifold webpages dedicated to family policy and gender equality. PYP Sweden also had several pages focusing on family policy as well as gender equality, including links from the company's homepage to the latest company and PYP Global updates on gender equality.

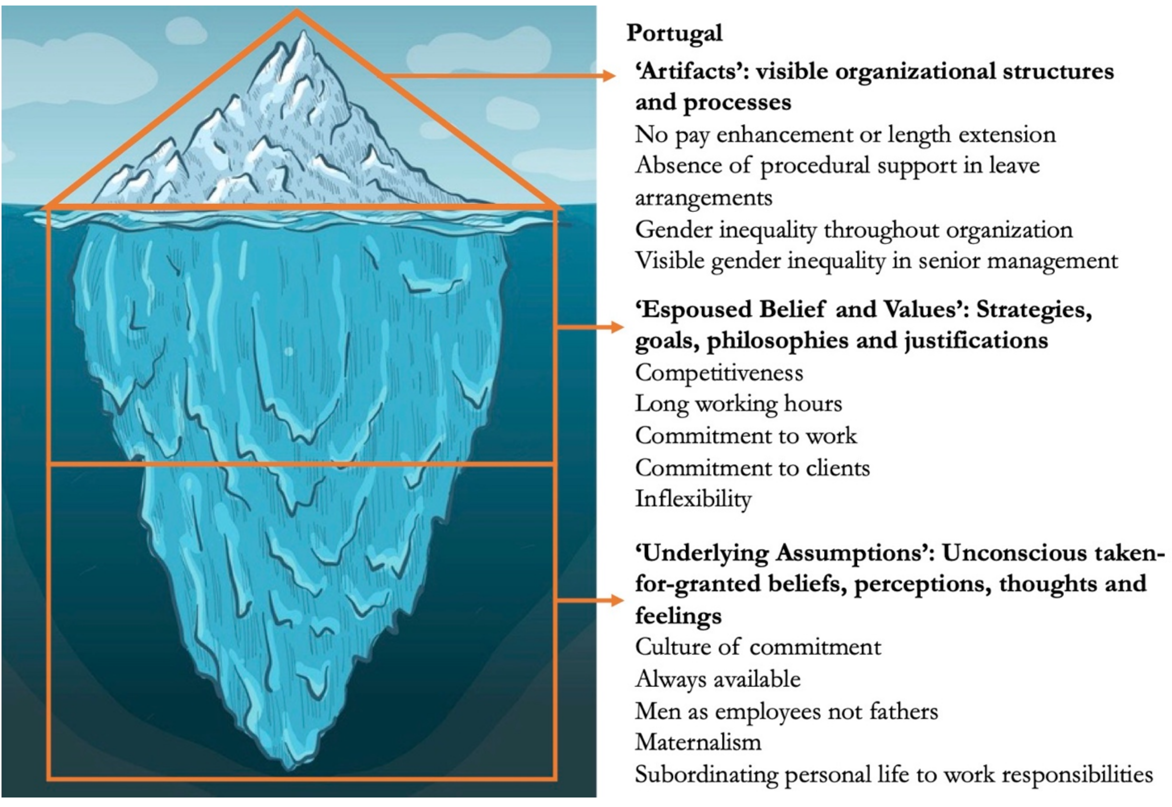


Figure 18: Culture-iceberg diagram representing organisational culture at PYP Portugal

Thus, discourses of, support for and initiatives promoting gender equality and work-life interface were less prominent at PYP Portugal than at both PYP UK and PYP Sweden. This lack of support for family-work reconciliation was noticeable at the operational level and also clearly embedded at the lower levels of organisational culture. From the first interview to the last, respondents in Portugal highlighted an absence of any formal support beyond statutory policies and procedures around parental leave and infant feeding, as Salomão articulates:

Jules: Have PYP given you the information that you need and have they helped you to kind of negotiate all of that, or not really?

[108] This partnership was with the NGO 'Dress for Success,' a global charity that supports low-income women towards economic independence by accessing professional employment.

Salom.: No. […] It was me that went to them, [asking] what I need to do, what is this option and about this way and about that way and it was more of my part going after, than the opposite. […] I need[ed] to go and dig a little bit more and found out different things. For instance it was, because of me, talking with some friends that I noticed that if I put the absence in the scheduling, it would by law affect my chargeability. So it could have been said in the [documentation]. If it was a process or a standard, it would be easier, to tell the people if they want to have a kid, these are the options, these are the ways that people can do [it]. Of course they are not preparing or hoping that we have more kids, but it wasn't that easy to understand all the implications.

Salomão interprets the lack of proactive support from his firm as evidence that employees' childbearing and use of parental leave rights is an inconvenience to the company and therefore not something they seek to encourage. This is in stark contrast to the Managing Partner for HR in Sweden's direct and explicit promotion of fathers' rights and *responsibility* to use leave, as described above. This lack of pro-paternity rights culture was embedded throughout PYP Portugal, and clearly related to the lack of culture around paternity in wider Portugal. For example, the fact that that the IPL period was able to be split between two parents, beyond the first 42 days – was rarely known by my respondents. At least three fathers explicitly told me that it was not possible for fathers to use more than 30 days of IPL. As discussed in chapter 5, one explained that he had diligently visited the social security office to fully establish his rights and was advised he was only able to use 30 days. I queried this during a meeting with Professor Karin Wall and Dr Mafalda Leitão at the Institute of Cultural Studies in Lisbon, experts in the Portuguese parental leave policy, who told me that social security advisers frequently have a poor understanding of the policy themselves and sometimes offer bad advice.

As I discussed in chapter 5, then, discourses of equal parenting, sharing responsibility and the involved father were not articulated at PYP Portugal with the same frequency that they were in Sweden and, to a lesser extent, the UK. What was more likely to emerge in interviews was the difficulty of reconciling involved fatherhood and work, Portuguese maternalism and its disadvantageous effects on women in the labour force, and instances of anti-engaged-fathering sentiment and practices from senior peers. While no fathers were told not to use the leave, some fathers did report experiences of senior colleagues' tacit and overt distaste for fathers' leave use, as Sebastião reported:

Seb.: So this partner that was saying that he doesn't agree with us taking one month, he says that 'the baby doesn't even know the father, so why you at home'.

Jules: Was this quite recently?

Seb.: It was last month. […] And he's a very open-minded guy and a guy that I respect, and he was saying that [during] an open discussion during a team dinner.

These instances of manifest disapproval in Portugal, functioned as, and alongside, other discourses which disavowed fathers' responsibility for and right to participate in infant care. Clearly, these spoken prohibitions on fathers' caring contributed to negative, constraining culture around fathers' use of leave at PYP in Portugal. Moreover, across the board, fathers commented on pressures to be always available, competitiveness, client demands and a long-hours culture that was embedded in both PYP and wider Portuguese culture.

While the link between national and organisational culture was less immediately discernible in the UK and seemed stronger at PYP Portugal and PYP Sweden this was partly an effect of my own positionality, embedded as I am within UK culture. However, the link was also harder to detect because of the inconsistent and contradictory nature of UK work-family culture (Faircloth, 2009; Gillies, 2009; Lewis, 2002; Miller, 2011b; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). PYP UK's organisational culture clearly reflected these observed tensions in UK policy and discourse, whereby discourses that promote gender egalitarianism and involved fatherhood are met with an explicitly maternalist policy framework, which is badly paid and based on a transfer policy that prevents meaningful take-up by fathers (Allen, 2021, O'Brien and Twamley, 2017). This oppositional arrangement led to pro-fathering discourses and formal policies at PYP, which clashed with more ingrained elements of organisational culture, as depicted in figure 17, the UK culture-berg, above. In Portugal, long-hours culture and widely embedded maternalism underscored presenteeist organisational life, lack of support for fathers' engagement in care, and politics of gender discrimination. In Sweden, discourses of gender equality, engaged fathering and work-life reconciliation manifestly shaped PYP's values and culture, realised in the explicit promotion of fathers' responsibility to use leave by the Partner for HR, as well as in expectations that every parent would use at least three months if not longer. These divergent organisational cultures, in the context of this thesis, can be understood as forms of gender regulation which produced the subjectivities of the fathers in question in line with organisational and national gender norms. In addition, the norms maintained through these organisational cultures can be understood as citational. A further relevant factor in the relationship between organisational culture, regulation and citations for fathers' use of extended periods of leave in the three countries was each organisation's different parental leave policy, which I will now turn to discuss.

Organisational Policy Default and Gender Regulation

Although somewhat limited in extent, cross-disciplinary literature demonstrates connections between organisational culture and organisational policy (Callan, 2007; Czerniewicz and Brown, 2009; Lewis, 1997; Schäfer, 2017; Skovgaard, 2018). We can therefore think of policy as mediated by organisational culture, which shapes the parameters, design and limitations of policies available to employees – in all domains, including work-family interface (Callan, 2007; Lewis, 1997). In both Sweden and the United Kingdom, PYP enhanced the statutory pay for periods of parental leave, to close the gap between the statutory ceiling rate and fathers' actual salaries. In Portugal, the firm did not technically enhance the rate of pay, because there is no ceiling on the Portuguese policy, which pays 100, 83 or 80 per cent of salary depending on how couples configure the policy options. However, regular pay at PYP Portugal comprises both a 'base' salary and a regular performance-related salary that is distinct from the annual bonuses that employees in each country received. As might be expected, the Portuguese social security agency reimbursed only base salary; thus, PYP did effectively enhance the policy by continuing to pay regular additional bonus pay to fathers (as well as mothers) who were on leave. My research identified that in Sweden, the enhanced period acted as a form of default for many fathers, whereas in the UK and Portugal this was not the case, as I will now demonstrate.

Sweden

In Sweden, PYP enhances the rate of pay offered by the Swedish government for a period of six months. This enhancement pays the difference between the Försäkringskassan contribution of 77.6 per cent of earnings up to ceiling of SEK 486,000 (£41,214.30;[109] Duvander and Löfgren, 2020) to provide employees with between 80 and 90 per cent of take-home pay, depending on pay grade and salary (refer to comparison table in chapter 1, page 19, for full details). The respondents I interviewed at PYP Sweden all earned more than the Försäkringskassan ceiling, so the loss incurred through a period of parental leave without the enhancement would function as a disincentive. Furthermore, a key informant interview with the Partner for HR at PYP Sweden indicated that this policy was not only PYP policy, but an element of the collective agreement for the market (see Votinius, 2020).

The company's policy to enhance the period of pay for six months was interpreted by some respondents as an indicator of what the company considered appropriate for fathers to use.

[109] Currency exchange provided by Oanda.com on 26 June 2021.

Hans was typical of these fathers, and interpreted the six-month period of enhancement as a 'nudge' to use up to six months of leave in the format of a single block:

> [PYP Sweden] have quite a nice benefit when you are home. They top up the salary, […] they try to, sort of, approximate your actual salary even if you're home. […]. They do that up to six months. […] And that influences heavily that you can actually be [home for] the six months and then they say one time for a single period up to six months. So if you only do three months I would get that for that period and if I would then like to take three months later, I would not get that benefit. So six months at one go is a good stretch and they know then that it will be these six months likely and then not much else. […] I think they also want to be planning and sort of nudging you in the right direction of 'take your time now and then work later'.

Hans' response to this 'nudge' was twofold. He firstly regarded it as a time-bound period in which his employer endorses his absence from work and its impact on projects and implications for clients. Secondly however, for Hans, it sends a message: fathers' use of leave longer than this period, or this period taken in multiple instalments, is less ideal. His understanding of this permission from his employer thus shapes his ensuing course of action; it is understood by him as a tacit delineation of what PYP thinks is acceptable, feasible and desirable by (male) staff in terms of parental leave. It functions both as enabler and constraint, by enabling a specific pattern of leave taking, but constraining time beyond that. Furthermore, this nudge clearly functions as both discourse and citation, producing Hans as involved father through his reiteration of normative paternal leave practices at his workplace (Borgerson, 2005; Tyler, 2019).

Both workplace policy and the wider accounting/consulting sector in Sweden therefore reproduce a norm: that of fathers using up to six months of parental leave. This reproduction of the norm can be understood as a form of 'default'. Economists and behavioural scientists have demonstrated the significant influence of default options and 'status quo bias' when it comes to policy and decision-making (McKenzie et al., 2006; Johnson and Goldstein 2013; Thaler and Sunstein, 2009). Feminist scholars have utilised this concept to theorise parental leave policy design with a focus on increasing gender equality (Browne, 2013; Gornick and Meyers, 2008). Gheaus and Robeyns draw on the 'normative power of defaults' (2011, p.174), which have the power to shape behaviour but also judgements of what is 'good' or 'bad' parenting practice. At PYP Sweden, the normative potential of default is captured through the organisation's parental leave policy, which itself builds on the default equal division of leave between partners that, as an ideal, is built into the Swedish parental leave policy.

Yet, building on part of the argument developed in chapter 5, both types of default are mediated by existing social practices, i.e. preceded and exceeded by gender. The provision of an enhanced period of leave functions as a form of default for many fathers at PYP. However, the enhanced period of leave is identical for women, whose leave-use practices at the firm aligned with the national norm of mothers taking around 12 months of leave. Thus, the six-month enhancement does not operate as a default for mothers but it does for fathers. For Butler, any form of regulation pertaining to gender is already governed by a normative gender framework that underpins and goes beyond that regulation (2004). Although the PYP default entitlement itself is gender neutral, it is underpinned by pre-existing norms of 'ideal' use of parental leave that are determined by gender (Brandth and Kvande, 2009; Ranson, 2012). The six-month enhanced period acts as a 'default' for fathers' use of leave in a way that does not occur with mothers, because no prior norm exists that culturally mandates fathers' use of a longer period of leave. In contrast, such a norm does prevail for women, meaning the PYP policy cannot override normative practice to function as default for mothers at PYP. This norm is partially material: sustained through the persistent gender pay gap, as well as through sector-based collective agreements. The latter provide for enhancement of statutory leave remuneration above the payment ceiling, covering around 90 per cent of all workers in Sweden, but are less generous in the private than the public sector (Votinius, 2020), where women are overrepresented (UNECE, 2017). Yet, although this norm emerges from structural conditions, it is also preceded by gender. Let me explicate: couples in Sweden are allocated exactly half of the leave (240 days) each. 90 days are non-transferable and 150 are transferable. If the norm did not exist for women to use longer than men, then each person in the couple could use six months, cover a whole year of leave, and the couple would not experience significant change to their household income. Thus, normative influences do also underpin usage patterns and interact with policy defaults.

The United Kingdom

At PYP UK, the SPL policy had been designed to exactly replicate maternity leave. Fathers and partners were entitled to the first 16 weeks of the infant's life at full pay,[110] the next 10 weeks at half pay, then 13 weeks at statutory pay and finally 13 weeks of unpaid leave. This policy was introduced in April 2015, at the point at which the government's SPL policy came into force. Yet, in contrast to PYP in Sweden, the 16-week well-paid period was rarely interpreted as a 'nudge' by my respondents.

[110] In practice, this 16 week full pay period also encompasses the two week statutory paternity period, meaning that 14 weeks of SPL pay is utilised if the entire 16 weeks is taken by fathers.

The poor design and transfer basis of the UK government's SPL policy is one factor that underpinned the low use of PYP's shared leave entitlement. Fathers at PYP making use of the full 16 weeks of well-paid leave would effectively remove 14 weeks from the mother's entitlement,[111] leaving her with 25 weeks of paid leave, which is far below normative expectations of mothers' leave (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; O'Brien et al., 2019). In general, SPL has seen very low uptake (see chapters 1 and 4), with the most recent estimations suggesting that 3.6 per cent of eligible couples have used the entitlement (Dunstan, 2021). Beyond the problems I have outlined with the transferable policy design, gendered cultural norms and social expectations, as well as 'parental gatekeeping' (Birkett and Forbes, 2019) play central roles in the low take up. Birkett and Forbes' research into the reasons for the low take up of SPL identified three key cultural barriers: gendered cultural expectations around the roles men and women play in family life; maternal identity, or, being the 'good mother' and paternal identity, or, being 'the breadwinner' (2019, p.6–7).

At PYP UK, pre-existing normative standards, and specifically a lack of cultural norm for engaged fathering, were exacerbated by 'internal' or organisational cultural barriers. As I will discuss below, almost all fathers interviewed in the UK took into consideration the possible impact on their career of taking parental leave. Using leave was viewed as the exception rather than the norm and, in most cases, respondents who did *not* use SPL knew of nobody else, at PYP or among peers and family, who had used it. Moreover, the PYP policy design, which mirrored the company's maternity policy, meant that the incentive of full pay was offset by the fact that this period was perceived as a time during which the infant would be very attached to the mother and so both parents would be at home together. This design thus simultaneously shortened the overall period that the infant would be in parental rather than alternative care and diminished fathers' independent roles. Discourses of the non-essentialness of fathers during this phase were frequently encountered, conveying a lack of regard with which decisions to use parental leave use were treated by colleagues, further undermining fathers' orientation to claim leave entitlements.

The imbrication of these multiple deterrents created an environment that prevented an organisational policy default from materialising at PYP UK. The existing social norms that govern use of parental leave in the UK, and the maternalistic policy structure that has

[111] See previous footnote.

underpinned them since the introduction of paid maternity leave in 1977, thwarted any possibility of the PYP UK policy comprehensively shaping the behaviour of its employee fathers. Rather than a citational 'nudge', as was the case in Sweden, the only citation that functioned consistently was, as discussed in chapter 5, the two-week period of statutory paternity leave. The failure of the PYP policy to function as a default did not mean that no fathers used SPL – clearly, several did. However, I contend that the inability of the PYP UK policy to create a robust citation for fathers' use of extended leave, instead contributed to the citational liminality of this form of involved fathering. I argue that returning again to Butler's understanding, whereby forms of regulation that encounter gender are preceded and exceeded by pre-existing gender norms, illuminates the ways in which an organisational default failed to take hold. The prevailing discourse of fatherhood in the UK, which privileges maternal care and sees fathering as optional or secondary (Miller, 2017), combined with the front-loaded full pay period embedded in the PYP policy, negated the potential for the internal shared parental leave policy to create a default.

Portugal

In Portugal, the payment of additional performance-related pay over and above reimbursement of base salary by the social security agency was not interpreted by the fathers I spoke to as an enhancement. Rather, it was rarely mentioned. The fact that the statutory policy was well-paid – remunerating between 80 and 100 per cent of (base) salary, and that fathers' use of at least 30 days in one or two blocks led to an uplift in the rate paid to both parents while on leave, was sometimes remarked upon when I asked fathers about the factors in their decision about using leave. However, the PYP enhancement was not mentioned. One father explicitly told me that PYP did not offer any additional enhancement beyond the statutory policy. I interpret this low awareness as reflecting the lack of support for initiatives addressing gender equality and work-life interface that I discussed earlier. This absence of culture around fathers' use of leave at PYP Portugal, meant that the enhancement of pay to avoid reduction in take home pay barely registered with my respondents and certainly did not function as a default that produced fathers' take up. In contrast, the lack of awareness and supportive culture itself contributed to and was bolstered by discourses of corporate commitment, fatherhood as secondary, and use of parental leave by fathers as undesirable. These organisational discourses produced many fathers working at PYP Portugal, shaping their parenting action.

Organisational socialization and performativity

Schein's concept of 'organisational socialisation' refers to the 'process by which an individual comes to appreciate the values, abilities, expected behaviours, and social knowledge essential for assuming an organizational role and for participating as an organizational member' (Reis, 1980, p.229–230). Organisational socialisation entails learning the rules, spoken and unspoken, of engagement in this particular culture (Schein, 1998, 2004). These rules and imperatives govern what is permissible and what is not, what is normative and what is antinormative, what will garner favourable reactions and acquire social capital and what will not. Culture, and the set of behaviours, practices and prohibitions that it encompasses, is thus learnt and enacted through organisational socialisation (Schein, 2004). At each PYP firm, my respondents had clearly become socialised to adapt to the specific workplace culture through these processes, even as many of them were aware of and reflected upon this socialisation. Importantly, though, each firm 'hosted' subcultural dynamics according to type of service, department and project team (Ehrhart et al., 2014), which produced fathers differently depending on their location in the company.

Here, I seek to make an argument that organisational socialisation is a part of the social constraint that produces performativity. If we understand performativity as the production of the doer through the implementing of the deed, then we can understand organisational culture, and socialisation into that culture, as part of the performative, in that as subjects learn and enact the (gendered) ways of the culture, they become socialised to that culture and are subjectivated by, or in opposition to, its norms. Moreover, the individual actions that perform and maintain organisational culture can be understood as citational. This performative-citational organisational culture and socialisation forms part of the gendered matrix that, in the context of parenting, acts upon the subject to produce certain corporate father-subjects. That is to say, the culture and discourses that permeate the workplace produce the worker (Borgerson, 2005; Knights and Kerfoot, 2004; McDowell et al., 2007; Tyler and Cohen, 2008; Tyler, 2019). Fathers' compliance with organisational culture in relation to corporate fatherhood materialised through the influence on respondents of other fathers' leave use. This took place in each of the countries, as Niklas (Sweden) and Felix (UK) both illustrate:

Niklas (35, Manager, 1 child, used 6 months home-alone leave)

> I've been more influenced by the other colleagues [I have] here [at PYP]. I haven't really look[ed] into this, but my feeling is that many of the male colleagues I'm having are taking the six months, at least in my department the

ones I see, the ones I've noticed, five or six months or whatever. […] So it has been feeling quite natural to also do that.

Felix (24, Manager, had one child, planned to use 2 weeks paternity leave and 9 weeks SPL)

Jules: Do you think the fact that other people have [taken different types of leave] and you've seen that it's been fine, made any difference to your decision?
Felix: It probably does yeah, not consciously I guess, but I suppose there was no, I never really felt like I was the first person to do something like really radical by taking time off.

Importantly, some fathers in each country reported that their colleagues' leave use patterns were more significant an influence over their decision than their non-work peers. Fathers in Portugal demonstrated particular sensitivity to their colleagues' leave use, as Gonçalo (33, Senior Manager, 3 children, used 20 (/20) FO days plus the bonus 30 days with the first, and 20 (/20) and 25 (/25) FO days respectively with the second and third) conveys:

Jules: So when you were planning the leave, did you talk to colleagues?
Gonç: Yes, you try to do it at the peer level, so what have you done and so I'm planning on doing the same that you have done. So I think that you [compare] all the time and then you try to see […] what have they done also and in terms of this decision, that is taken into account.

It was clear in Portugal that the usage patterns (or perhaps more accurately, non-usage patterns) of colleagues were a more significant influence than non-work peers, as Salomão describes:

My friends? No, zero [influence]. If all my company, all my colleagues would take the 30 days, of course for me it would be more easy to take the last 30 days.

Like Salomão, many of my Portuguese respondents rendered visible the constraining work culture, which shaped the fathers and their decisions. For example, Hugo articulates:

Hugo: For the second child, none of my colleagues took the month.
Jules: They didn't take it because...?
Hugo: Because their bosses didn't [take] it, they didn't, they...[pause] it's kind of a social thing, it's cultural. 'Cause, 'are you the mother? So why are you going home?' … There's this way of being here. Yeah, it's, it's really like that.
Jules: Do you think that's unique to PYP?
Hugo: Er, I think it's, er, corporate Portuguese thing.

Like other respondents, Hugo made the point that the organisational culture faced within PYP Portugal is connected directly to wider Portuguese corporate culture. Functioning within this imbrication of organisational and national culture, combined with the arguably higher stakes in refusing the norms of one's workplace (specifically, career loss and the threat of economic jeopardy), are forms of social – or disciplinary power, that diminish the possibility of subversion, thus reproducing and reifying organisational culture *through* performative socialisation.

The process of socialisation itself divergently impacted different individuals, as a result of their interpellation by different discourses and preferences at different points in their lives and moments in their careers. As is manifest from the literature, individual attitudes, experiences, security and relative power – i.e. material resources as well as disciplinary subjectivation – impacted on fathers' use of parental leave entitlements (Kato-Wallace et al., 2014; O'Brien and Twamley, 2017; Wall, 2014). For example, I interviewed six different fathers in the UK Negotiations team. Of these, two were ineligible for SPL,[112] two used the entire full-pay period (16 weeks), one used six weeks, and one did not use SPL. Of the three who used a substantial period, all were relatively advanced in their careers given their age. John and Austin both felt fully supported by those around them, even if people had said John was 'crazy' (as discussed in chapter 5). Whereas, Joshua – who was less senior than John and Austin, but still advanced given his age – felt wholly unsupported, experienced an explicit warning not to use the full length, but used the leave anyway, deciding that there were alternative employment options following the leave if he was met with repercussions.[113] Christian, as discussed in chapter 5, was at the same grade as John and Austin, but decided not to use the leave, fearing the consequences of taking a period of leave on his career, exacerbated by the fact that he was not as senior as he felt he should be given his number of years' service. The supportive and enthusiastic culture that John and Austin experienced, then, was not experienced in the same way by Christian and Joshua. This variability suggests that while gendered forms of disciplinary power produced fathers, the discourses through which they were shaped varied, calling attention to the contradictory and variable nature of organisational culture (Alvesson, 1993) and its differential moulding effects.

Social capital, associability and citationality

Thus far I have discussed the ways in which organisational culture acts as constraint and produces fathers' subjectivities through forms of gender regulation. I have theorised impediments to fathers' use of leave in the UK and Portugal, including instances of dissuasion and explicit denigration of fathers' caring roles.

---

[112] One father was ineligible as he had been seconded abroad and had not served sufficient time (26 weeks before birth) since returning to the UK firm to qualify for SPL; moreover, his partner was not eligible for maternity leave. The other was a partner and, as discussed earlier, was thus not eligible for SPL based on the fact that he was not an employee but a partner in the firm (in spite of the fact that female partners were eligible for full maternity rights).

[113] Joshua later left PYP.

A less explicit constraint observed in both the UK and Portugal, and to a far lesser extent in Sweden, occurred when fathers' desire to use leave clashed with an in-practice decision not to use leave, or to use less than the full allotted or planned period of leave. Fathers in all countries avoided using leave at particular times, deferred using leave, or took calls or held meetings while 'on leave', but it was rare in Sweden. Specifically in Portugal, two fathers failed to use all the leave they had registered with the social security agency, despite receiving a tax benefit for the period they had claimed to use. These instances differed from the explicit discouragement or the diminishment of fathers' roles expressed by colleagues, in that the decisions to only partially use the planned or booked leave were taken by the fathers themselves, without (direct) outside influence. In the UK, Luke provided an example:

> I think, the point at which we worked out that I could have taken shared parental for a few weeks, I think we were probably just about in time to give the required notice. But I think they would have caused such disruption to my, to my work, to my clients and so on, to take an extra 10 weeks, at that stage, that I was sort of discouraged to do so. […] No one, no one said any of that, but that was my feeling that it would cause all these problems for other people and so on. So I thought that at this stage, it's not, I don't feel, even if it is the statutory requirement to give notice, I'm not sure that a sufficient notice to... for my employer and my teams and the people I work with and for and so on, especially as it would have straddled, erm, the busiest time of the year for us.
> […]
> [My absence] would have had a, like a big impact on the ability, just because of my knowledge of the various clients, erm, it would have made our jobs a lot harder. And I think irrespective of the reason I was looking to take an extended period of time off at that time, without giving them enough notice to say, right, I'm going to be away for this crucial period, we need to make sure that we get this thing done well in advance of this deadline so that it's not gonna be a problem. I just wouldn't feel comfortable putting that on my team, because I think they would feel rightly resentful of that, because, I dunno, I think I would have felt abandoned, slightly.

Luke was made aware of the possibility of sharing leave in enough time to make notification within the required period. However, due to his concern for his team and his clients, and for ensuring his tasks were completed and the team's goals were met, he made the choice – without input from colleagues – not to use his entitlement. Other fathers in the UK and Portugal recounted similar thought processes – concerns regarding leaving their team without a director, or perceptions of colleagues' quiet disapproval that led them to avoid or minimise their absence. Rui (Portugal), used some of the bonus 30 days, but not the full amount that was reported to the social security agency. Similarly, he explained that he *could* have used the leave, but his own sense of commitment to his work and his colleagues prevented him from arranging to do so:

> The reason why I took this decision was to minimise constraints at work. It was not because someone told me to do so. […] It was more like my, this sense of responsibility [for] the kind of activities that I, know I have to do.

How can we understand this phenomenon? And why did my research find it occurring predominantly in the United Kingdom and in Portugal, and only occasionally in Sweden?

Alongside performativity and the masculine norms that underscore the workplace, theories of social capital can help us here. Social capital (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000, 2001[114]) is broadly defined as an asset that exists within social relations and networks (Leana and Van Buren, 2012): in short, 'relationships matter' (Field, 2008, p.1). Putnam is perhaps most famously associated with the concept. In his terms, social capital

> refers to features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital (Putnam, 1994, pp.6–7).

Similarly, for Coleman, social capital relies on networks and trust, and is understood as existing in 'relations between persons' (1988, pp.S100–S101). In Coleman's model, social capital sits alongside human capital, physical capital and economic capital as a resource available to, but not owned by, a subject (Gauntlett, 2011, p.4). As a resource that is not owned, but that may be accessed and mobilised by an individual, social capital articulates forms of soft power, connections and influence that are incumbent within workplaces including via practices such as mentoring, networking and shadowing. Associability, as a constituent part of social capital (Leana and Van Buren, 2012), helps theorise fathers' reluctance to utilise time away from the workplace, to which they are legally entitled, and in relation to which nobody has (explicitly) told them not to use. Associability comprises 'the willingness and ability of participants in an organization to subordinate individual goals and associated actions to collective goals and actions' (2012, p.45).[115] Collective goals thus serve 'as a set of *implicit norms* that guide individual and collective behaviour' (p.45, original emphasis). Associability sheds light on the social connections of workplaces: the ties that bond colleagues over projects and across teams in order to ensure a competitive edge or simply to complete a client project on time, which are underpinned by culturally and collectively implied norms of conduct/commitment/presence. In the context of PYP UK and Portugal, associability caused fathers to subordinate their own

---

[114] For a different understanding to my own use of this concept, see Bourdieu 1984, 1986, 1992.

[115] The concept has collectivist underpinnings, with the authors drawing on the idea that 'individuals will subordinate their personal interests to the goals of their collective, or in-group, those with whom a person works and identifies' (Earley, 1989, pp.567–568, in Leana and Van Buren, 2012, p.45).

'goals', or desire to use parental leave, to the wider collective goal of commercial success or project completion.

In this context, when we are talking about the choice to use parental leave, 'choice' ceases to be value-neutral. In her work on women's agency and empowerment, Kabeer (1999) reminds us that

> power relations are expressed not only through the exercise of agency and choice, but also through the *kinds* of choices people make. This notion of power [...] allows for the possibility that power and dominance can operate through consent and complicity as well as through coercion and conflict (p.441, original emphasis).

In subordinating their own parenting desires – and entitlements – to the 'greater good' of team solidarity, fathers in the UK and Portugal revealed the workings of social power in upholding normative practices that govern parental leave use in accordance with organisational culture. Feminists have long critiqued the notion of 'rational economic man' who makes decisions solely by weighing up the economic benefits to certain courses of action and fails to account for the social connections and responsibilities, or 'gendered moral rationalities' (Duncan and Edwards, 1997) that guide individuals' priorities alongside economic interests (Nelson, 1993). As Folbre has argued, humans are deeply embedded within complex and competing structures of both individual and collective identities (1994). Thus, the decisions we make and their impacts are not only influenced by social norms which operate at the national and local level, as well as our own preferences and those of our intimate partners, but also by commitments and notions of responsibility, sometimes held unconsciously, to the collectives in which we exist — i.e. our colleagues and other group affiliations. In Portugal and the UK, despite fathers' desires to use parental leave, and the fact that they did not (all) experience *explicit* instances of dissuasion or discouragement, some were nonetheless left with an understanding that the best thing to do was to choose not to use the leave at all. In these fathers' experiences, we witness power's operation through consent and complicity, as Kabeer describes.

This complicity and consent, then, constitutes disciplinary power (Foucault, 1991, 1998): diffuse, polyvalent, and operating through a generalised surveillance in which we are all complicit. This concept is indispensable to Butler's theory of performativity: here, I want to argue that in fact we might re-read associability *as* performativity. The subordination of fathers' own goals or desires to use parental leave to the wider workplace goal of project completion or another form of corporate achievement is, firstly, citational, and secondly, the means through which the breadwinner or ideal worker is produced and maintained. The underlying layers of culture that

tacitly prohibit or permit certain courses of action reinforce that the (male) ideal worker is not the worker that leaves a project mid-completion and jeopardises client, colleague and employer relationships as well as the success of that project. The refusal to permit oneself to resist this normative standard in pursuit of one's own desire to be an engaged father, is therefore a citational refusal: one that reproduces rather than subverts existing conventions for the corporate father and ideal worker.

Associability, then, is a mechanism through which fathers subordinate personal desires to work goals, even when it comes to caring for and nurturing immediate family. Associability shapes performative enactment of fathers' responsibility to the team, to breadwinning, to supporting colleagues and achieving workplace goals, upholding their commitment to work and to breadwinning, and strengthening labour market attachment over time spent caring. Fathers are, of course, in charge of making their own decisions; my argument is not that fathers *involuntarily* commit to workplace achievement and goals over their own desires to spend time with their babies. In the UK and Portugal, some fathers' accounts of the compulsion to prioritise work above caring for their new babies invoke ideas of not wanting to 'let the side down' or leave people in the 'lurch.' Their interpellation through the ideal worker discourse, commitment to their colleagues/employers and subjectivation as team players and goal-oriented workers ultimately led them to reiterate these citations rather than refuse and resist. As I will come to explain, this phenomenon forms part of the 'performative breadwinner.'

Career progression and 'sponsorship'

A further manifestation of the reiteration of recognisable modes of corporate fatherhood was displayed by some fathers' reluctance to use shared leave due to the perceived risks to their career progression. 'Sponsorship' emerged as a theme whereby the social capital fathers had accrued through their close working relationships with particular seniors and partners became too valuable to be jeopardised. Use of parental leave, by definition, requires a period of time away from the workplace; the impact of such a period was perceived and experienced differently by respondents in the three countries. A handful of UK respondents were not worried about the impact of using parental leave on their careers and had broadly supportive colleagues; departmental culture seemed to be a key factor in these cases. Others did not mind if it did have an impact: these respondents were often either relatively powerful, having built up many years' of experience and network across the organisation, or prepared to accept the consequences of citing corporate fatherhood differently through subverting and resisting normative gender. Many

respondents, though, both those that used and did not use parental leave, labelled career concerns as a central consideration. Julian for example, was interpellated by discourses of success, and explained that his career progression was of paramount importance – as I understood it, to his sense of self. He felt unable to risk jeopardising the good will, or 'sponsorship', of senior staff by using a period of SPL:

> I think the career development one is, is key. […] It's certainly my perception, [that] the development of your career is particularly based on sponsorship of senior individuals. And then if you are lucky enough to be in that track where where you're working with them and its going well, […] you know, stepping out of that is almost a bit of a risk.

Julian was not alone in his misgivings, with many other fathers voicing concerns about the implications of going against the grain and the effect of using leave on the momentum or progression of their careers. As I discussed in chapter 5, the spectre of Ray, a senior father who had chosen to take six months of parental leave and one month of holiday, and the discourse of 'career suicide' that had emerged in his absence, informed many of my interviewees' experiences.

Respondents in Portugal experienced a latent culture of constraint, as well as instances of explicit denigration, to which I referred earlier. Joaquim, for example, explained his perception of the possible repercussions of leave use:

> 'So are you one month [on leave], so I will punish you on evaluation or on the type of work I assign you'? – no I don't think that would happen. I would say probably that [i]n most of the senior people mind would pass the idea that this guy is not fully committed, or fully engaged.

Other fathers echoed Joaquim's uncertainty around the potential impact of leave use, articulating the tacit barriers to use of leave that were based not on a definite knowledge that using leave would result in repercussions, but a sense of risk that was difficult to situate. Although respondents in Portugal could not articulate that they were sure their career progression would suffer, it was not a chance they were prepared to take. This implied constraint was thus both citational, as the citation for fathers' lack of leave-use was well-established within PYP Portugal, but also about social capital – specifically, avoiding jeopardising social capital. In Butler's framework, as I mentioned in chapters 2 and 5, the 'iterability of performativity *is* a theory of agency' (Mahmood, 2005, p.18; Butler 1999, pp.189–190; Tyler, 2019). However, in the case of fathers in Portugal, alternative iterations of gendered corporate subjectivity were often rendered unriskable, due to the threat of possible social capital loss or a more explicit career penalty. This inhibited ability to cite corporate masculinity differently was tied to, and the product of, their subjectivation by discourses of breadwinning and masculine success. Such a nexus of citationality

and social capital reveals social capital as a part of the formation of power that underpins the heterosexual matrix. By this I mean that the importance of social capital to the normative trajectory of success upon which a corporate career is founded, is part of what constrains the emergence of new or subversive citations for corporate fatherhood.

In contrast, none of my respondents in Sweden encountered any form of discouragement from using the leave and many explained that they had received explicit encouragement from the Partner for HR, as I described earlier. Although this was more feasible in Sweden because of the smaller staff count, the Partner for HR's perception of this promotion work as a central element of her role was in stark contrast to the tacit barriers experienced by fathers in Portugal and some fathers in the UK. A typical response in Sweden, when asked about perceptions of career impact, was that of Fredrik:

> [In] my department I think we have four or five managers, senior managers […]. I think there are six more or less that are having babies, either have had babies just in the last couple of months, or will over the next couple, three or four months and I think all of them are planning for five/six months leave. I think, I mean if you are away for half a year, then it probably will take you half a year longer to be partner or to be promoted. But I think everybody accepts that because when you are not here doing work, but then you're spending time with your family and they feel that it's worth to take that time, even though it might take a little bit longer to be promoted to the next step. I think everybody is aware of that and I think everybody is okay with that.

In Sweden, the perceived threat to career progression is not perceived *as* threat. Fredrik explains that although leave use will undoubtedly slow one's promotion timeline somewhat, it is commonly accepted. It seems to me that the difference between Sweden and the UK and Portugal, then, is the risk not to progression itself, but that in the UK and Portugal, citing fatherhood differently is perceived by colleagues to subvert the norm, and that this perception risks the loss or undoing of the social capital accumulated by the fathers in the context of their career. In Sweden, in contrast, modes of corporate fatherhood expected and mandated use of substantial parental leave entitlements, even as they were sometimes arranged around busy work periods. Thus, the reiteration of these citations of corporate father subjectivities were not subversive or acts of refusal, and therefore did not place social capital in jeopardy. On the contrary, they were an avenue for the accumulation of social capital through the demonstration of leadership and commitment to equality.

Conceptualising the 'performative breadwinner'

As I have argued, in the UK and Portugal, many fathers' compliance with normative discourses of the ideal worker, career investment, always-on availability, and subjectivation by discourses of attainment, accomplishment and success (Haas et al., 2002; Wall and Leitão, 2017) were ultimately what prevented them from resisting normative citations of corporate fatherhood. While the breadwinner model itself no longer predominates individual societies (Hobson et al., 2006), it remains a pronounced and compelling discourse that continues to produce the subjectivities of fathers at work, as others have shown (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Doucet, 2009). Williams' concept of the ideal worker (2001; 2012) is perhaps what underpins the forms of constraint that shaped the fathers I interviewed in Portugal and the UK. However, I am labelling this concept the performative *breadwinner,* rather than the performative ideal worker, because the discourse of breadwinning – a deeply gendered sense of ownership of responsibility for familial financial wellbeing – is central to the phenomenon that emerges from my data. These fathers' specific modes of citing the breadwinner norm varied, and made iterative moves away from the stereotypical 1950s breadwinner (for whom good fathering 'generally meant providing not much good caring' (Hearn, 2002, p.261)). However, the discourse of male responsibility for financial wellbeing and the formation of identity through and by attachment to consuming forms of work remains a powerful constraint on their engagement in caring labour. The concept illuminates what causes these fathers to choose work over childcare: both because it is the dominant citation for normative corporate fatherhood, and the route through which recognition as successful man is attained. The performative breadwinner emerged in Portugal and to a lesser extent in the UK, but not in the same way in Sweden.

Respondents in all countries expressed desires to be a 'hands on' or a 'good' father, with goals of gender equality, sharing caring responsibility and acts of 'engaged fathering' with their child. Yet many struggled to reconcile this with their desire to be successful in their line of work and to be recognised as committed to their roles. Given the context in which fathers are making decisions, both professionally and in terms of the national norms that underpin organisational cultures, it is perhaps unsurprising that the fathers I interviewed in Portugal and the UK experienced greater work-family conflict. Eduardo deftly conveyed his desire to spend as much time as possible with his child, as well as the norms and workplace pressures that prevent him from doing so:

> I took the decision to take the 15 days plus the 30, it was quite good, but, erm, I would say that I would spend one more month easily. I think that more than that maybe, I would not feel so comfortable. […] I think that being aside of the job also creates a bit lot of pressure and I think that while we are [taking] one

> month off that's okay, [but] more than that it tends to get a bit more pressuring. Of course, I work for a consultancy, so there's high competitiveness in this world [...]. Speaking as a father, only as a father, I thought that I would like to spend more time with my son. That's obviously. Of course then when we have a career we need to balance, so what I'm trying to say is that what I had was the maximum that actually in Portugal it was allowed and I enjoyed it. I would like to have more and if that would be possible in Portugal, I think I would take [it].

In the UK, several respondents articulated the compulsion to be the breadwinner and its tension with their ambitions towards equality at home and with respect to spending time with children. Dominic spoke of the gendered responsibility for financial security he feels:

> Dom.: I'm the breadwinner and that sucks.
> Jules: Yeah, but that's just how it is.
> Dom.: It is. We could talk a long time about this. I don't know whether it is to do with ambition […] I do believe my role is more I guess geared towards ... . Success, for me [is]: number one is to be a good person; number two is to have a healthy family and you know as part of my role in that is to bring them up in an environment where they are safe and secure. So I've mentioned money quite a bit, it's one of my big worries. If I couldn't, if we were financially constrained, I would see that as a failure.
> Jules: Your failure?
> Dom.: Yes, even though reality is it takes two […].

Dominic's account explicitly recognised tensions between his own compulsion to reproduce breadwinner norms and his orientation towards gender equality at home and at work.

Although breadwinning discourses were articulated less frequently by interviewees in Sweden, they continued to produce some fathers, such as Lars (Sweden, 30, 1 child and expecting a second, used five months of shared leave over two years [three months followed by two months]; planned to use four months in two blocks over two years with the second child):

> I still feel like I have, and I've talked about this with my wife, this is also psychology and like my own issues, but I think that I still have some sort of thing that I can't let go, like I feel like I have to support my family, like. I know how ridiculous it sounds sometimes but I almost still feel like I have a little bit more responsibility than my wife to make sure that we have a roof over our head and food and clothes. Maybe it's not the way it is, but that's how I feel and I['m] probably affected by my upbringing there.

The issue of work-family conflict and the compulsion to re-cite breadwinner norms was mediated differently in each context, however, the salience of this form of constraint to fathers' greater engagement in care work across cultures is clear. What I seek to add to the existing literature on barriers facing fathers' reconciliation of work demands, family responsibilities and

desires to be engaged fathers, is an understanding of breadwinning, as well as parenting, as performative and intimately connected to the heterosexual matrix. Considering parenthood as a constituent part of the heterosexual matrix requires an understanding of parenting as performative, as I discussed in chapter 2. This lens illuminates the ways in which parenting conventions are laid out for us, the ways in which parents exist 'in a reiteration of norms which precede, constrain, and exceed the actor and in that sense cannot be taken as the fabrication of the actor's 'will' or 'choice' (Butler 1993, p.234). An understanding of gender as performative suggests that there is no 'I' before the law (Butler, 1999), no self that possesses a gender, but that we are gendered through being compelled to act and re-act in ways that are socially intelligible and elicit recognition. It follows, then, that the performative breadwinner is the subject who is intelligible as breadwinner through the forms of gendered repetition and citation they inhabit: wherein '"constraints" produce domains of intelligibility' (Borgerson, 2005, p.65). The performative breadwinner perhaps recognises that they would like to spend time being a more engaged father, to be around more and spend more time being with and caring for children, but is unable to fulfil these desires because of the compulsion to work, to attain recognition through workplace success and to reiterate cultural markers of breadwinning, such as working long hours or overtime, ensuring client relationships are paramount and being 'always available' (Wall, 2014). The lack of space, in the UK and Portugal, to produce new citations of reconciling fatherhood with work means this pattern is repeated again and again. The instances of the performative breadwinner I encountered in my fieldwork acknowledged that it is because of work that they are unable to spend more time with children, or that they 'miss out' and wonder if they are making the right decision when they do not see their young children from Monday to Friday. Yet they explained to me time and again that they were unable to alter their patterns of work because of the penalties of moving away from that role (timing, career impact, financial provision, lifestyle changes).

If there is no 'I' before the (breadwinning) law, then the subject worthy of recognition comes into being and is produced by that law – by breadwinning. This subject could change their role, take a new job, or decide to plateau rather than progress. But these are options that do not exist meaningfully for these fathers, because it is through breadwinning that they are intelligible, a gendered member of society, that they can encounter the recognition of the other (Butler, 2004). Despite desires to become more hands-on and available in their fathering, the performative breadwinner remains on the hamster wheel of corporate life, disciplined by discourses of success, meeting client demands, task completion and high performance. These interview

subjects revealed the pervasive impact of these discourses in disciplining their ideal worker subjectivities. The extent to which the status and role of breadwinning remains bound up in corporate male subjectivity, I argue, reveals the disciplinary operation of modes of masculinity under capitalism (Browne, 2013; Pearse and Connell, 2016; Ranson, 2012). The complex and contradictory tensions that underpinned some fathers' feelings that they needed to provide, in spite of also desiring gender equality and involved fatherhood, demonstrates the powerful disciplinary function of the breadwinner model. Despite discourses of gender equality that pervade 21st century work and society, the feeling and expectation of needing to provide continues to underpin masculinity (Birkett and Forbes, 2019; Cunha et al., 2017; Doucet, 2009; Ranson, 2012; Wall et al., 2010; Williams, 2012).

Undoing Gender? Organisational culture, change and resistance

Before concluding, I will briefly reflect on my findings thus far in order to theorise organisational culture, change and resistance. As Tyler has noted, 'undoing' is central to a Butlerian ontology, since if subjecthood is a constant 'process of doing then […] it is always also a process of undoing' (2019, p.88). Can the 'performative breadwinner,' then, be undone? Can the connection with breadwinning that fathers recounted to me in so many forms be diminished, or its hold on fathers reduced? Indeed, would its loosening comprise undoing gender – or simply doing gender differently (Miller, 2011b)?

Literature exploring fathers' use of 'home-alone' leave has identified fathers' engagement in primary caregiving as a potential route to 'undoing gender' (Brandth and Kvande, 2016; Wall, 2014) because it can subvert fixed gender norms around the division of 'productive' and 'reproductive' labour. For Deutsch, although working in an ethnomethodological rather than Butlerian tradition, undoing gender straightforwardly constitutes the diminishment of gender differences (2007; Kelan and Nentwich, 2014). In a Butlerian framing, however, undoing gender means subverting and refusing existing norms in order to alter 'the dominant gender order and the binary understanding of masculinity and femininity' (Poggio, 2006, p.227). Kelan (2010) has argued, in organisational contexts, that gender can be undone in two ways: by ignoring the binary, or by destabilising the binary. However, in later work Kelan questions whether 'doing' ideal worker masculinities differently undoes gender, or simply is a case of '(re)doing' (*forthcoming*).

In a similar vein, Demetriou's work on hybrid masculinities (2001) argues that hegemonic masculinity adapts and co-opts different forms of 'subordinate masculinities' (Connell, 2005) and retools them to reproduce patriarchy. Although Demetriou is not working with Butler's thinking, this argument conveys the difficulty in undoing normative gender, since gender itself is always unstable, shifting, contingent and relational (Weeks, 2011). Indeed, Nentwich argues that 'involved fatherhood' is 'not enough to trouble the dominant gendered logic' (2008, p.226). Wahl also contends that while 'constructions of masculinity can change over time, […] the male norm in management, as the ideology that naturalizes and justifies men's domination over women, often remains intact, in spite of gender equality initiatives' (2014 p.133). The question is, then, were the fathers I interviewed – at least those able to use shared leave entitlements – 'undoing' gender, or does fathers' use of parental leave recreate new hybrid forms of caring masculinity that shift away from fixed notions of separate spheres but leave the compulsion to provide, and the dualistic and hierarchical gender order that privileges hegemonic forms of masculinity, intact (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004)?

Some literature has theorised male managers' commitment to private life and caregiving – i.e. reproductive responsibilities – in the context of their organisational subjectivities as undoing gender (Murgia and Poggio, 2009; Wahl, 2014). By this standard, the fathers who used shared leave were 'undoing' gender, particularly in the UK and Portugal. In the UK, Neal, who took the maximum period of well-paid leave available to him and was 'proud to be an involved father' in spite of his corporate success and responsibilities; John, who used the maximum well-paid period in spite of his colleagues' perception that he was 'crazy' for doing so; and Joshua, who used the maximum well-paid duration in the face of a fairly explicit warning not to by a senior colleague, all instantiated gendered undoings. These fathers, in their refusal to model ideal worker norms, even if for a relatively short period in wider context, can be understood as questioning the terms of recognition demanded by the ideal worker discourse. In fact, each of the 13 fathers who used leave beyond the statutory paternity period, can be regarded as reinstating alternative enactments of gender, even as these shifts in the (re)citation were somewhat modest. In contrast, though, many other fathers' leave use reinforced the 'doing' of normative gender, as I have shown throughout this thesis.

In Sweden, as I have argued, citations for fathers' use of extended leave were well-established. As I theorised in chapter 5 using my adapted model of citational change, this form of gender 'undoing' has taken place slowly and iteratively since the introduction of the first month of

fathers' quota, leading to a point where the citation for fathers' use of leave is widespread and normative. In their reiteration of the norm of fathers' use of leave, these fathers, then, can be understood as both doing and undoing gender. They were 'doing gender' through compliance with normative patterns of paternal leave use, and 'undoing gender' via subverting the historical norms of the ideal worker model, even as this subversion was sanctioned by their employer and wider society, and thus falling short of destabilising the gender binary.

In Portugal, where corporate constraint on undoing gender was perhaps more forceful, there were far fewer instances of undoing gender. However, the refusal of Gilberto, Cláudio and Hugo to subordinate time with their families to the markers of corporate success demonstrated subversion of normative gender to a certain extent. Though few in number, fathers' actions did challenge normativity, subverting the necessity of recognition through compliance with ideal worker norms. Their iteration of different gender subjectivities potentially opened up such refusals of ideal worker constraint to their colleagues and peers in the future.

While some fathers, then, contributed in partial ways to undoing fixed gender roles, the pervasive power of the breadwinner norm and its interpellation of fathers is clear in my empirical data. This finding can be connected to research highlighting how, rather than providing access to inclusion for marginalised subjectivities beyond normative expectations, organisational 'inclusion' is often conditional upon acquiescence to existing rules and 'hegemonic identity concepts' (Adamson et al., 2021, p.217; Podsialowski and Hofbauer, 2014; see also Nkomo, 2021). Inclusion in organisations thus relies on reproduction of hegemonic norms: a double bind. This double bind relates also to the performative breadwinner. For fathers in the UK and Portugal to feel confident at work – by which I mean not sacrificing social capital or jeopardising their (perceived) career opportunities, they felt compelled to reproduce norms of secondary caregiving, reiterating the ideal worker norm. Yet, in Sweden, fathers' home-alone caregiving was not understood as antithetical to their status as ideal worker, even as some fathers remained attached to discourses of breadwinning. This paradox shows how their gendered 'undoing' through the subversion of the ideal worker norm *does* create a hybrid form of masculinity and therefore leaves the 'dualistic and hierarchical gender order' intact (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004). While fathers' use of leave, therefore, is insufficient to undo the gender binary,[116] my research does convey that fathers *can* be included *as* fathers in organisations, enabling them to fully share

[116] As Tina Miller reminds us, 'Thoughts and/or hopes that 'genderless' behaviours can be discerned underestimate the complexities of the enterprise' (2011b, p.176).

in caregiving and nurturing a young child. The Sweden case study shows us that organisational culture is central to this form of inclusion, and also that change must come iteratively. Given the citational reproduction of the norm that enables the formation of the subject, and that the 'very conditions that form the subject also offer possibilities for agency and thus resistance' (Harding et al., 2017; see also Butler, 1999; 2004; Tyler, 2019), it is in the refusals, however small, of ideal worker constraints, norms and discourses that changes to fathers' ability to make use of parental leave entitlements can occur. This is already occurring, at least within PYP, in Sweden (Goldscheider et al., 2015): gender is not undone, but done differently (Miller, 2011b). For these re-citations to take place in other contexts, the external culture also needs to shift.

I have shown in this chapter how wider national culture is profoundly relevant to organisational culture. In chapter 5, I built on the work of other scholars and my own empirical analysis to demonstrate how the creation of an enabling environment for fathers' use of leave, through making space for new citations of gender to occur, is a necessary precondition for fathers' uptake of leave entitlements. This precondition is also the foundation for new citations of fathering to emerge, or to take hold more widely, within organisations. Citational change can then occur, with reciprocal effects that cascade throughout workplaces, build momentum, increase the force of citational practice, and, as demonstrated through the adapted model, spill over into and alongside citational change in wider society.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have further developed my argument for an understanding of parenting as gendered and performative, and shifted the spatial domain of my analysis to the MNE workplace. I have shown how organisational culture is connected to national culture, how workplaces discipline and produce the worker, specifically in relation to gendered norms of the ideal worker and parenting, and how these norms – and organisational socialisation – are citational. Furthermore, I have conveyed the importance of social capital and associability to fathers' experiences, and argued for a reading of social capital as part of the heterosexual matrix, and of associability as performative. I have also introduced the concept of the performative breadwinner: the father who is produced by discourses of breadwinning, achievement and corporate success and reiterates these norms in spite of ambivalence regarding these norms' bearing on what we might think of as eudaimonic wellbeing (Bryce, 2018), as well as on equality at home and in their relationships. Finally, I have theorised organisational culture, change and resistance. Although gender is obdurate and difficult to destabilise (Butler, 1999; Miller, 2011b),

fathers' refusal of ideal worker norms, demonstrated through their use of extended periods of parental leave, contributed in some small way to doing gender differently.

As I argued in the introduction to this chapter, work norms and organisational cultur/al constraint, of the three domains, ultimately wielded the most influence over fathers' decisions regarding leave use. Clearly, work is the primary source of income for the majority of working-age adults, and thus what is at stake in refusing the norms of work extends beyond one's livelihood, encompassing all material forms of wellbeing. It is thus not surprising that work norms might exert a bolder influence upon decision-making than the judgements and norms of peers and wider society. At the same time, this study of the one firm operating in three different countries has highlighted the intimate connections that exist between national culture and organisational culture in respect to fathers' use of leave. Thus, to enable incremental and iterative changes to take place in the work norms that regulate, govern and produce normative gender as it pertains to fathers' use of leave, space for citational change is needed. The generation of this space needs to originate in enabling policy, which has reciprocal effects throughout society and informs micro-cultures in institutions, in workplaces and in social groups. Enabling new iterations of fatherhood through involved fathering has the potential to engender different citations that can gain strength, solicit other fathers' adoption and (re)iteration of these citations, and have reciprocal effects that create a culture wherein discourses of fathers' involvement produce leave-using fathers and contribute to changing caring norms. Only through making space for these citations to take hold and gather pace can caring norms become more egalitarian.

7. Conclusion: Parenting is performative and fathers' leave use is citational

Introduction

Shortly after I commenced data collection for this research in October 2018, that (un)popular spokesperson of callous, reactionary public opinion, Piers Morgan, publicly criticised new father and James Bond actor Daniel Craig for carrying his one-month-old baby in a baby carrier (BBC 2018, Morgan, 2018). What was interesting about this case was not so much Morgan's public shaming of this particular mode of involved fatherhood, but the significant reaction it generated on social media and beyond. The story was widely reported in mainstream and online news and opinion outlets including the Guardian, BBC, Washington Post, Al Jazeera and Vox (Heritage, 2018; BBC 2018; Paul, 2018; AJ+, 2018; North, 2018), and fathers from all over the world posted pictures of themselves carrying their babies (see figures 20 and 21 at the end of this chapter). Contemporary fathers, then, often want to be and are involved in intimate care for their offspring (Burgess and Davies, 2017, Dermott, 2008; Miller, 2011b; Ranson, 2010). Fathers' increasing desire to be involved in caring for their young children is a key part of Goldscheider et al.'s conceptualisation of the 'gender revolution' (2015; see chapters 1 and 4). Public discourses around fatherhood have changed dramatically over the last twenty years (Johansson and Klinth, 2008; Twamley and Schober, 2019; Wall et al., 2016a). Yet, as others (Faircloth, 2020; Gillies, 2009) have pointed out, a chasm exists between public representations of involved fatherhood and workplace and public policies that enable fathers to genuinely share equal responsibility for children and the domestic sphere, meaning that fathers end up 'falling back into gender', as Miller articulates: 'in spite of the best of intentions, returning to performances of selves which are recognisable, familiar, and so also gendered can be a path of least resistance in this new world of parenthood' (2011a, p.1106).

What my scholarship contributes to this field, then, is the argument that this 'falling back' via a path of least resistance is citational and part of gender performativity. The micro-level insights collated through my conversations with fathers demonstrate how seemingly minor practices, discussions and comments build up iteratively to shape what we do and why we keep doing it. My study hits home how fathers' everyday experiences are shaped by cultural backdrop, peer behaviour and forms of social constraint which comprise the choice architecture that shapes individual decisions. Through gaining rare access to the same multi-national firm across three

countries, my research offers a highly original, granular account of the process through which 'father-friendly' leave entitlements contribute to wider uptake of leave entitlements, and how shifts in norms over time are made possible – or not – through citationality. Gaining access to multi-national enterprises on a multi-country basis is no mean feat, yet such access is vital to understanding the centrality of the views, actions and experiences of fathers at the micro-level and the effects of these iterations of gender on fathers' use of parental leave.

Through this approach, my work has uncovered how in Sweden, a widespread citation exists for fathers' normative utilisation of parental leave entitlements, meaning that among my sample, all fathers made use of a substantial period of leave from work to care for their young child. In contrast, citations for fathers' leave-use were less widespread and more partial and liminal in both UK and Portugal, meaning that fathers' use of leave entitlements was varied and inconsistent. My argument, via a Butlerian critique of regulation that posits parental leave policy frameworks as both regulated by and regulating gender, thus contributes to the body of work foregrounding the centrality of non-transferable leave entitlements to fathers' use of leave, and towards engendering more egalitarian sharing of early childcare.

To conclude this thesis, I will now briefly recap the interventions I have made throughout the PhD, before outlining a series of policy and practice recommendations to foster the strengthening of citations for fathers' use of leave in all countries. I will also comment on contemporary policy debates and proposals currently 'on the table'. Finally, I will consider the study's findings and limitations, and outline some of the myriad follow-on possibilities that have arisen through conducting this work, before concluding my argument.

The thesis in review

In chapter 1, I outlined the research problem and what is at stake in conducting the research. I presented a picture of gender in/equality at work and showed how in spite of progress made towards gender equality over the last fifty years, entrenched forms of discrimination and injustice endure. I connected these inequalities to the gendered division of labour, gendered caring norms and the devaluation of reproductive labour. I suggested, as scholars have before me, that one pathway towards greater equality in the public sphere is through men's increased shouldering of responsibility for domestic and caring labour in the home; yet, in spite of fathers' ever-increasing engagement in childcare – especially since the Covid-19 pandemic, even fathers in the most egalitarian countries with progressive parental leave entitlements still use far less than half of all

leave (see Koslowski et al., 2021). I provided details of the three countries' parental leave policy frameworks and engaged with the literature on fathers' use of leave, focusing on policy, culture and welfare states, and work, identifying a gap in analysis of the effect of social norms, to which my research contributes. I introduced the research questions governing the project, the concept of social norms, and the firm that provided the case study.

In chapter 2, I made a case for the utility and generativity of Butler's theory of performativity as a theoretical framework for examining social norms and fathers' use of parental leave entitlements. I argued that that existing frameworks used by parental leave and early parenthood scholars are unable to account for the *compulsion* to reproduce normative gender that Butler's early work so lucidly describes. I asserted that parenting is one of the powerful discourses that produces gender, specifically drawing on Butler's understanding of the possibilities this framework generates for agency and change, through concepts of iterability, reiteration and (re)citation/ality. Deploying the idea that our complicity in the reproduction of gender norms over and over and over again is what renders them seemingly intractable, I posited that parenting practices, behaviours and 'choices' are an integral component of the repetition and maintenance of gender.

Thus, I devised a framework which understands the norms governing appropriate forms of parenting for both men and women as citational and, as conventions, reproduced all the time by parents, as soon as they begin to become parents. I argued that in becoming parents, we are compelled to cite and to reiterate particular, gendered norms of behaviour. These normative ways of being circulate through disciplinary dispersion, constructed through our social circles, in public discourse as well as filtering through the institutional structures that shape our lives. I showed how the existence of a citation for fathers' use of parental leave in society becomes a norm that can then be reproduced and repeated. Conversely, without this citation being prominent or widespread, the alternative normative citation – i.e. fathers' non-use of leave entitlements, is what is reproduced and repeated, and the citation for father's use of leave remains partial or liminal, rather than fostering spontaneous recognition.

In chapter 3, I outlined my methodology and accounted for the decisions, choices, inclusions and exclusions made throughout the project. I explained my rationale for designing a feminist, comparative, mixed methods methodology, and presented the project as a qualitatively-driven inquiry which uses quantitative analysis to contextualise the qualitative data. I provided a detailed

summary of my qualitative, quantitative and ethical plans and processes, and detailed the measures I adopted to ensure academic rigour and robustness. I also outlined my plans to disseminate the research findings and discussed the limitations of the project.

Chapter 4 presented a comparative exercise in mapping the normative context in terms of gender, work, family, fathering and parental leave in each country. I then conducted my original empirical analysis of the 2017 wave of the European Values Survey. The comparative normative context was conveyed using existing literature and comparative research in order to examine the 'gender arrangement' (Pfau-Effinger, 2004) in each country and describe the differing gendered social norms pertaining to gender equality and therefore fathers' use of parental leave entitlements. The normative context was found to differ substantially based on the socio-historical-political trajectory of gender in each country. In short, the particular development of feminist politics and the embedding of egalitarian values in Sweden's welfare state has led to a highly, although not perfect, gender-equal culture. In the UK, discourses of involved fatherhood circulate ever more prolifically in public, but conservative family values continue to underpin social policy. In Portugal, prominent discourses of gender equality clash with maternalistic cultural values, resulting in 'normative ambiguity' in relation to domestic gender roles. The quantitative analysis generated findings consistent with the comparative literature in each country. Attitudes in Sweden corresponded most strongly to values of gender equality. Attitudes in the UK were approximately in the middle of the countries, and attitudes in Portugal were overall most conservative.

Having outlined the normative context of each country, in chapter 5 I began to focus on the qualitative interview data. I examined the fathers' accounts in the context of normative practices, peer group norms, social norms and discourses, and policy. I compared the effects of these different domains of norms on fathers' use in each country, and theorised the differential effects through a citational lens. I found that every father I interviewed in Sweden used leave, and all had used at least three months. In contrast, although some fathers in both the UK and Portugal used shared leave entitlements, their use was not anywhere near as consistent, nor was it as lengthy. I argued that the widespread normative support for gender equality embedded in Swedish culture, alongside the well-established enabling policy framework, in which non-transferable parental leave for all parents had existed since 1995, contributed to the existence of a robust citation for fathers' use of parental leave entitlements. This citation for fathering practice enabled fathers' use of parental leave as part of a normative culture of gender equality.

The citational nature of fathers' leave use was articulated through common patterns of leave-taking, expectations (both imagined and expressed) from peers and colleagues that fathers would use leave, as well as through social norms and diffuse discourses of involved fatherhood and gender equality. I posited that in the UK and Portugal, although a citation for fathers' use of leave clearly existed, it was not as powerful and was constrained by the lack of culture and lack of enabling structure – via poorly-designed policy – surrounding fathers' leave-use. I thus theorised this citation as partial and liminal, and less able to produce fathers' subjectivities in the way that manifested in Sweden. Based on analysis of the fathers' experiences in the three countries, I contended that enabling policy, which mandates reserved time off for fathers, functions to make space for the rejection of conservative gender norms. I explained that, alongside shifts in the discursive environment, this enables new iterations of gender norms around caring for young children to emerge, establishing new citations with reciprocal effects on fathering practices. As McMunn et al. suggest, 'policy levers may not be sufficient for achieving complete equality, but they are a necessary start' (2019, p.2020).

Chapter 6 further extended the argument developed in chapters 2 and 5, that fathers' use of parental leave is citational. I moved the site of analysis to the workplace – the third domain of norms set out in the original research design. I compared the organisational cultures of the three country firms and the experiences of fathers in these firms, analysed the enabling and constraining factors, and assessed how these factors converged and differed cross-nationally. I positioned the case study firm, PYP, as a multinational enterprise and reflected on the relationship between MNEs and norms. I provided an account of the highly divergent organisational cultures and, bringing organisational culture studies together with Butler's performative ontology of gender, made an original contribution by theorising organisational culture *as* gender regulation. The acutely enabling culture accounted for by fathers in Sweden was starkly contrasted with the overtly constraining corporate culture in Portugal and the ambiguous and contradictory work culture detailed by my UK respondents. I documented the link between these firm-level cultures and national culture around gender roles and fathers' use of parental leave. Furthermore, I argued for an understanding of organisational socialisation as citational and part of the matrix of performativity. I posited that social capital – specifically, associability – is a key constraint to fathers' use of leave entitlements in the UK and Portugal, and that associability too functions performatively. These original arguments led me to theorise the new concept of the 'performative breadwinner': the (male) subject for whom recognition comes through the discourse of the breadwinner, which they recite and reiterate through their gendered

subjectivation. Fathers' modes of citing the breadwinner norm shifted iteratively from the 1950s model of detached breadwinning (Hearn, 2002). However, the discourse of male responsibility for financial wellbeing and fathers' interpellation through attachment to work emerged as a powerful constraint on fathers' engagement in care work. I closed this chapter by considering whether fathers' use of parental leave in the context of work can contribute to 'undoing' (Butler, 2004) gender. I concluded that, although falling short of undoing gender itself, all fathers in Sweden and some in the UK and Portugal contributed iteratively to 'doing gender differently' (Miller, 2011b). Finally, I used the connection between national and organisational culture to build on the argument I made at the end of chapter 5. I thus contended that as enabling policy generates space for new citations of fathering to emerge in society, foundations are provided for new citations of fathering to take place and/or become embedded within organisations.

Returning to the adapted model of citational change

My findings, then, articulate the ways in which gendered social norms matter acutely to fathers' use of parental leave. Thus, 'we must conclude that [gender] politics not only matters, but is decisive' (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.4; see also Moss et al., 2020; Kamerman et al., 2009). Gendered social norms around fathering – which are the product of the socio-historical development of national cultures and policy – function to subjectivate fathers in particular ways that enable or constrain their use of leave. Gender normativity predefines how fathers may achieve recognition. A performative lens shows that fathers cite and re-cite these gendered norms as part of a heteronormative matrix that privileges certain forms of being and imposes constraints on others. Change *is* possible, however, through making space for new citations of fathering practice that resist normativity. This space can be created through enabling social policy, alongside discursive shifts. Over time, these new citations of gendered parenthood contribute to more egalitarian sharing of care responsibilities and, in turn, to loosening the fixed gender roles upheld through the gender binary. As described in Sullivan et al.'s (2018) framework for lagged generational change, change therefore takes place, but slowly and iteratively.

I will now offer a series of policy and practice recommendations, based on the theoretical and empirical findings generated through my data.

Recommendations for policy and practice

This overview of recommendations for different social actors is structured by stakeholder, beginning with MNEs, governments, civil society, and finally, fathers.

Multinational enterprises and employers:

- Partners must be able to use extended periods of leave on the same basis as employees.

This first recommendation specifically addresses the partnership structure of many MNEs providing accounting, consulting and legal services, and pertains to a finding which emerged from the UK context, where partners who were fathers did not have the same rights to use parental leave as employees, but partners who were mothers did. When senior men cannot and/or do not use leave entitlements, it sets a precedent in the organisational culture that successful men do not use leave and so prevents the embedding of a citation for normative leave use in the organisation. The inability of fathers at the highest levels of the organisation to make use of shared parental leave is therefore an important indicator of the culture around men's use of leave and should be corrected urgently.

- Statutory leave entitlements should be enhanced by MNEs and should be equal to enhancements for mothers

As reported by fathers in Sweden and to a lesser extent in the UK, PYP's enhancement of the statutory provision for fathers, on the same basis as mothers, 'sent a message' that they supported fathers' use of (a certain period of) leave. Given the finding that workplace norms and barriers were the overall most salient domain of norms for the fathers interviewed across the three countries, the finding that organisational enhancements act as a 'nudge' to endorse fathers' use of leave is significant and should be adopted by organisations. As mentioned in chapter 6, the Portuguese policy framework, in which remuneration is awarded at 100 per cent of salary, does not obviously require enhancing. However, the introduction of policy enabling a significant well-paid absence outside of the statutory framework, for example an additional month of leave for fathers (as well as mothers) to use on top of the 'sixth' or 'sharing bonus' month would be transformational and set a precedent in the industry. This would contribute significantly to bolstering citations for genuinely involved fathering in Portugal. Moreover, this additional month would present the opportunity for fathers to take transformative home-alone leave in a way that is currently often circumvented by mothers' use of holiday while fathers use the bonus 30 days provided by the statutory framework.

- Leave policy design must account for normative maternity leave use in each country context

In the enhanced policy implemented by PYP UK, fathers' entitlements were designed to exactly mirror mothers' entitlements, which meant that the first 16 weeks of leave was the best-paid part. Although generous, this had the effect that all but two fathers used this leave, rather than taking a period of home-alone leave once their partner had returned to work. The literature is unequivocal in finding that home-alone leave is transformational in terms of developing fathers' aptitude and confidence in caring for infants. The recommendation that companies' leave policy design must take account of normative patterns of maternity leave use and facilitate fathers' use of home-alone leave is therefore important.

- Leave policy and process information should be clear and accessible

In Sweden, it was easy and straightforward for fathers to gather information about their entitlements and the process from their HR department. In the UK and especially in Portugal this was not so much the case. Some fathers in the UK received conflicting and contradictory information from their HR helpline, which, although in part caused by the substandard design of the UK policy framework, acted for some as a hindrance to understanding and accessing their leave entitlements. Fathers in Portugal struggled to access details about the notification and organisation process in relation to their use of leave days, which some interpreted as a sign that the company had little interest in facilitating their use of the leave. Thus, we can learn that clear and accessible information and advice about fathers' rights to use leave, enhancements provided by the organisation, the notification/booking process and timeline, as well as advice on any statutory notifications and implications of their use in relation to their partners, is an important enabling factor in fathers' use of leave. This type of information and advice is part of the work of building a culture around fathers' use of leave within an organisation.

- 'Lunch and learn' networking sessions to promote fathers' use of leave

Fathers in Sweden and some fathers in the UK reported the (in)direct effect of observing other fathers at work use leave. While some were more reticent about the direct effect of colleagues' leave use on their own decisions, others were explicit about the impact that seeing trusted and respected colleagues use leave made on their ultimate decision. At the same time, some fathers, particularly in the UK, explained that internal communications and messaging promoting fathers' use of leave failed to reach their attention because of email volume and/or lack of time to engage with channels such as the firm intranet. Furthermore, employees' frequent moves between projects, and ability to take long holidays during quiet periods, meant that even when fathers did use leave, it sometimes remained invisible or unnoticed. Arranging informal workshops where

fathers who have used leave share their experience with their own teams and colleagues could help raise awareness of the citation for fathers' leave use and elicit wider use of leave by fathers.

Governments:

Sweden:

A major commission on parental leave in Sweden was published in 2017. One of the proposals suggested was a 5 + 5 + 5 model whereby each parent has a non-transferable portion of five months, with an additional shareable period of 5 months (Duvander and Lofgren, 2020). Presumably half of the total this would continue to be issued to each parent as default, although this is not detailed (Nelson, 2018). No reforms from the commission have yet been enacted. However, the findings emerging from this research project offer strong support for the extension of the non-transferable portion to five months. This would further strengthen the existing citation for fathers' use of leave by contributing to normalising fathers' use of periods of leave that come closer in length to mothers' use and thus helping to close the gender time-use gap.

UK:

The UK SPL policy is widely regarded as a failure and a complete overhaul of the policy is required (Allen, 2021; Javornik and Oliver, 2019). Throughout this thesis I have shown how the transferable and low-paid design of the leave does almost nothing, for the majority of households, to shift entrenched normative patterns of maternity and paternity leave use that pre-date SPL's introduction in 2015. Scholars have shown how attempts by the coalition government to move away from the maternalistic underpinnings of UK parental leave policy were met with resistance from women's groups, who expressed concern that the reforms could undermine maternal rights (Baird and O'Brien, 2015; Moss and O'Brien, 2020). Indeed, a current policy proposal by Maternity Action aims for 6 + 6 + 6 model, but unlike the Swedish proposal described above, 12 of these months are reserved for the mother and six are reserved for the second parent, plus a two-week birth leave entitlement. The rationale for this proposal is that mothers require protected time for recovery from birth and to establish and continue breastfeeding, since exclusive breastfeeding is recommended by the NHS as ideal for the infant's first six months. To 'promote equality', this period of maternity leave is then complemented by six months of non-transferable parental leave for each parent. The problem, however, is that this design blatantly maintains maternalism and fails to adhere to the default principle of equal

allocation. The framework effectively entitles mothers to twelve months of non-transferable leave and partners/fathers to six months. If mothers continue to be eligible for twelve months of leave, then little incentive for fathers to use a substantial period of father-alone leave is provided and the maternalistic model persists, albeit in a slightly different form. No space is made for new citations of fathering, and, in turn, no shift can take place in terms of normative parental roles or to primary parenting responsibility. Furthermore, the underlying maternalism would perpetuate discourses of secondary fathering and inhibit the building of a culture around fathers' use of leave.

Instead of this ill-conceived policy reform, what is urgently needed is a policy that makes space for citations for engaged fathering to gain strength, become more commonplace and more normative. Designing a new policy is no easy task and discussions that take place in the women's and equalities sector around the principles for parental leave reform often represent interests that can *appear* to compete, for example promotion of breastfeeding and gender equality (Faircloth, 2020; Moss and O'Brien, 2020). The policy principles for which I advocate are: a well-paid, non-transferable portion (Kaufman and Almqvist, 2017); default equal distribution of leave with the option to transfer some but not all of the allocation; well-paid; and 'day-one' eligibility that enables all workers to access their rights.[117] A well-remunerated 5 + 5 + 5, or 4 + 4 + 4, model, would achieve these aims. Implementation of such a reform would provide the time and space for fathers to engage in home-alone leave, with transformational effects on fathers' practical rather than theoretical engagement in care, in turn facilitating better meeting of discourse and structure regarding fathers' domestic and parental roles. Alongside this reform, a culture around fathers' use of leave could begin to emerge. Work to strengthen such a culture at all levels of policy and civil society would further bolster the development of egalitarian gender roles in society. Finally, this reform should be complemented by an overhaul of the UK Government's administration of the leave, specifically focused on robust and consistent collection of data on use of all forms of parental leave. Enabling good data collection would provide for analysis of who is able to use leave and how much they use, allowing for improvements to both policy design and take-up.

[117] Specifically, 'day-one' eligibility would eliminate the existing 26-week qualification period for maternity *pay* (although leave is a day one right), paternity leave and pay, and SPL.

Portugal:

In 2019, several reforms were introduced to the Portuguese parental leave policy, one of which increased the obligatory fathers-only days – formerly 15 of the total 25 days – to 20 days. This reform does little to change the inadequate, maternalistic design of the current policy framework. To engender genuine sharing of parental leave that promotes fathers' use of extended and home-alone periods of leave, the leave framework needs to be extended and a default-equal split of leave to each partner including a non-transferable quota must be introduced. The existing framework is very well paid, which should remain. The revised design would facilitate a dramatic increase in use of parental leave by fathers and make space for citations for involved fatherhood to gain pace and become increasingly normative. A move from the current four-to-six month IPL framework to a 4 + 4 + 4 model would be ideal. If that were deemed impossible due to budgetary constraint, a 3 + 3 + 3 model would be a significant improvement on the current arrangement: it would mean mothers could continue to use up to six months if they 'chose' and fathers' uptake of home alone leave would significantly improve, bolstered by the cultural permission generated through the implementation of a lengthy individual entitlement (Wall and Leitão, 2017). As with the UK, alongside such a reform, a culture around fathers' use of leave could emerge, and work enhancing that culture by social and civil society actors would contribute to improvements in overall gender equality in Portugal.

Civil Society:

Recommendations for civil society actors are designed to complement the policy and MNE/employer recommendations above. They are relevant to all countries but perhaps more urgent in the UK and Portugal.

- Support culture-building work around fathering

Even in Sweden, some fathers described the feeling that services and childcare spaces were palpably female-focused, which made them feel lesser parents and/or excluded. For some fathers, particularly in the UK, the prospect of spending almost all baby-related activities as the only man in the group was a barrier to spending longer on parental leave or considering becoming the primary carer. This phenomenon is documented elsewhere (e.g. Burgess and Davies, 2017; Twamley and O'Brien, 2017). Addressing the over-focus on women in maternity and child services is challenging because the predominant users of those services are women, but a female-only focus creates a vicious cycle. Civil society needs to support culture-building work around fathering by making parenting spaces explicitly inclusive of all genders and by taking pains to acknowledge fathers' existence and needs in programming and communications.

- Accept that policy proposals must include equal rights to time off for fathers

Without equal rights for fathers and partners, the redistribution of gendered caring norms simply cannot take place. Clearly, protecting maternity rights and supporting mothers, particularly single mothers and those experiencing or at risk of intimate partner violence and domestic abuse, is vital. However, it is paradoxical to expect the transformation of gendered caring norms to emerge in and through frameworks that overtly privilege maternity over paternity. Women's and maternity organisations need to lobby for robust maternity protections within a context that recognises fathers' roles in undoing fixed and hierarchical gender roles and the gendered division of labour.

Fathers:

Finally, some brief recommendations for fathers based on this PhD include:

- Use leave even if it means being bold

Research shows that using home-alone leave is transformational in fostering fathers' confidence and self-efficacy and increases their involvement with their child throughout childhood (Brandth and Kvande, 2016; Rehel, 2014; Wall and O'Brien et al., 2017; Wall, 2014), as well as reducing potential for relationship breakdown (Norman et al., 2018). The (perceived) risk of taking a period of leave is therefore offset by a long-term payoff in relationship quality with children and partners. Importantly, fathers' use of leave influences other fathers to use leave.

- Build community around fathering

As described above, knowing others who had used parental leave rights proved foundational for several fathers, for a number of reasons. Other fathers' leave-use influenced fathers based on social trust, hearing about positive experiences, as well as promoting the normativity of fathers taking leave. In practical terms, other fathers' use of leave offered a point of reference or guidance for negotiating statutory rights and entitlements and how to 'game' them, where relevant. At work, seeing other fathers use leave and not experience repercussions made fathers feel confident to take a perceived risk. Seeking out people who have used leave and taking their advice therefore enables fathers to learn from others' experiences and knowledge. Furthermore, building community around fathering strengthens the citational power of this gendered action, making it stronger in society and further influencing other fathers to make use of parental leave entitlements.

- Know that bonding is not only for mothers and babies

In Portugal, several respondents explained to me that they did not take the shared leave entitlement, understood as the sixth month, because they felt it was better that the baby was able to spend the time bonding with the mother. Maternal bonding is manifestly vital. However, paternal bonding is also important and is related to both children's development and fathers' wellbeing and parental satisfaction (Lamb and Lewis, 2010; Scism and Cobb, 2017). As demonstrated above, spending time caring alone for an infant is shown to have positive effects on fathers' involvement throughout childhood.

New directions for research

In this final part of the thesis, I will review some future directions in which to take this research. A large body of scholarship on fathers' use of parental leave already exists, to which this project contributes. In spite of this fact, many possible new directions for research have emerged from the conducting of this project, pertaining to the various facets and factors emerging from the research problem, the empirical data and the limitations of this particular project. The ideas generated are too numerous to recount in this short conclusion, so I will detail the main avenues.

Firstly, the specific experiences of racialised, working class and precariously employed fathers are underrepresented in the literature. Cutting edge work is emerging on low-income fathers (Tarrant, 2021) and on black families' experiences of the UK SPL policy (Hamilton, 2021); nevertheless there is an urgent need to understand how the norms that govern fathers' access to parental leave differ by class and race as well as cross-nationally. My PhD research, which interviewed fathers working in an elite management and consulting firm, ended up interviewing primarily white, upper-/middle-class men. Future research should therefore investigate the effect of institutional constraints, social norms and workplace cultures and discourses on fathers working across different parts of the economy and in different roles within organisations. We might predict, based on existing literature, that fathers would have less access to parental leave entitlements in workplaces such as the shop floor, in packing and distribution, and in male-dominated industries such as construction (Chung, 2018), but identifying the specific enabling and constraining mechanisms and their effects on fathers' use of leave is important. The need to establish barriers to fathers' use of parental leave has become ever more pressing given the dramatic shifts to how we think about the workplace that are taking place because of the Covid-19 pandemic (Chung et al., 2021). Therefore, this research avenue should consider access to flexible working as well as parental leave for these categories of father. Moreover, access to

parental leave is, in each of the three focus countries within this particular study, contingent upon employment prior to the child's arrival. How does this affect fathers who are in work but whose minimal earnings or precarity prevent them from meeting the eligibility criteria, and (how) do they find ways around to care? Answering these questions would shed light on the restrictive and exclusive functioning of parental leave policy frameworks in an increasingly casualised economy, and how social policy around caring labour can be better designed to effect gender equality across all sectors of society.

Secondly and relatedly, future work should interrogate the effects of different workplace cultures on fathers' use of leave. Ample research has demonstrated that both organisational culture as well as individuals' motivations for work, vary by occupation as well as across public and private sectors (Buelens and Broeck, 2007; Gregory and Milner, 2011; Haas et al., 2002; Haas and Hwang, 2007; Hobson et al., 2011). Presently, this research stream would be limited in the UK by the lack of statutory entitlement to individual, non-transferable and well-paid paternity leave entitlements. However, identifying workplaces who offer contractual enhanced parental leave entitlements to fathers and comparing sector, occupation, organisational culture, take-up rates, and length of leave used by fathers would provide valuable insights into the roles played by different sectors, different occupations, organisational culture and individual subjectivation. Such knowledge would further understanding of the ways in which organisations can foster inclusive and enabling cultures that promote gender equality at work.

Thirdly, again linking this thesis to the current changes taking place specifically regarding office-based workers and home-working (Chung et al., 2021), future research building on the findings from this thesis should interrogate ideal worker norms, access to flexible working, and both men's and fathers' refusals of normative expectations. In the recent words of Mary Evans (2021), we need contracts of work that recognise everyone's caring responsibilities in order to reduce gendered and racialised inequality. From a social reproduction perspective, capital must acknowledge its reliance upon reproductive labour and prioritise provisions for *everybody* to care (Bhattacharya, 2017; Fraser, 2017). Given my finding of the centrality of citationality and iterability to enabling fathers' engagement in care, future research can build on this knowledge to cast a spotlight on men who are already subverting ideal worker norms, and the ways in which they do so. Ranson has eloquently written about the importance of attentiveness to patterns of change where we find them however unconventional or small scale they may be (2010, pp.3–4). Contributing in-depth critical inquiry into fathers' and men's iterative moderation of the ideal

worker norm could help understand what enables these refusals to take place, the wider impact they do or do not have in the workplace, and cast light on processes of change in office-based life and implications for gender equality and undoing gender (Butler, 2004; Kelan, 2010; Ranson, 2010; Tyler, 2019).

A final area for future research that has emerged through the conducting of this project relates to its original ambition, to contribute to subverting heteronormativity through undoing the rigid gender roles that uphold the gender binary, and the practical limitations of attaining this goal. This aspect of the original project's aspiration has been difficult to manifest due to its exclusive focus on heterosexual couples, partly due to the hegemonic status of heteronormativity and its self-reproducing capacities, which retool attempts at subversion into forms of bolstering. However, the question of whether and how parental leave frameworks may achieve emancipatory goals in subverting the gender binary, or whether they are, as I discussed in chapter 6, forms of regulation that maintain the gender binary, requires addressing. Two avenues for further research could address these questions. The first should inquire into access to parental leave, or lack of, and/or use of wider caring leave policies by non-nuclear kin (Nandy and Selwyn, 2011; Tarrant et al., 2017). Some parental leave frameworks enable use of leave by members of the family other than parents, and while this can be contested in terms of the possibility for fathers to replace their care with that of other (likely female) relatives, there is scant, if any, research understanding these carers' experiences of using, or of access to, parental leave. Secondly, research should investigate experiences of trans and non-binary people's experiences of negotiating parental leave frameworks. Critical inquiry into these two areas would shed light on the constraints and enabling factors experienced by families attempting to exist outside of the heteronormative nuclear family and gender binary. In doing so, this research would contribute to understanding whether/how parental leave frameworks and caring-oriented social policy maintains the heterosexual matrix and makes life difficult for those attempting to subvert it. Generating such important findings would also help contribute to foregrounding the specific oppressive structures and practices that perpetuate gender inequality.

Final Comment

In this thesis I have built on the wealth of literature examining fathers use of leave, and analysed my quantitative and qualitative data through Butler's theory of gender performativity, to compare fathers' leave use across Sweden, the UK and Portugal. I have argued that parental leave policy is a form of gender regulation, but that gender norms precede and exceed its regulatory potential. I

have shown how fathers' use of leave is citational and thus significantly influenced by the micro-detail of the gender context in which fathers are embedded. I have articulated the ways in which norms and discourses pervading through peer groups, policies and workplace cultures, which are the result of path dependency and historical gender relations including the breadwinner model, have direct implications for fathers' uptake of parental rights and responsibilities. I have argued that these norms act as both enabling and constraining forces on fathers.

The connections between these norms, and between the space made by transformational policy design and changes in fathers' practices, explicate both the difficulties and urgent necessity of facilitating citational change. My research contributes an answer to the question often posed in the literature: why, when we know couples have egalitarian ambitions, do they slip back towards a gendered division of labour (Miller 2011a; DeRose et al., 2019; Fox, 2019; Grunow and Veltkamp, 2016; Ranson, 2010)? The generative framework of performativity I developed within this project provides evidence for how and why this 'falling back' can be so difficult to resist, and how institutional frameworks including policy are central to, but not the only factor in, enabling change. Existing gender norms matter enormously, and must always be accounted for in policy design. This timely contribution, then, must urgently be applied via changes to parental leave policy frameworks. Such work is particularly necessary in the UK and Portugal, but also in many other places, in order to combat the persistent forms of gender inequality encountered in the twenty-first century.

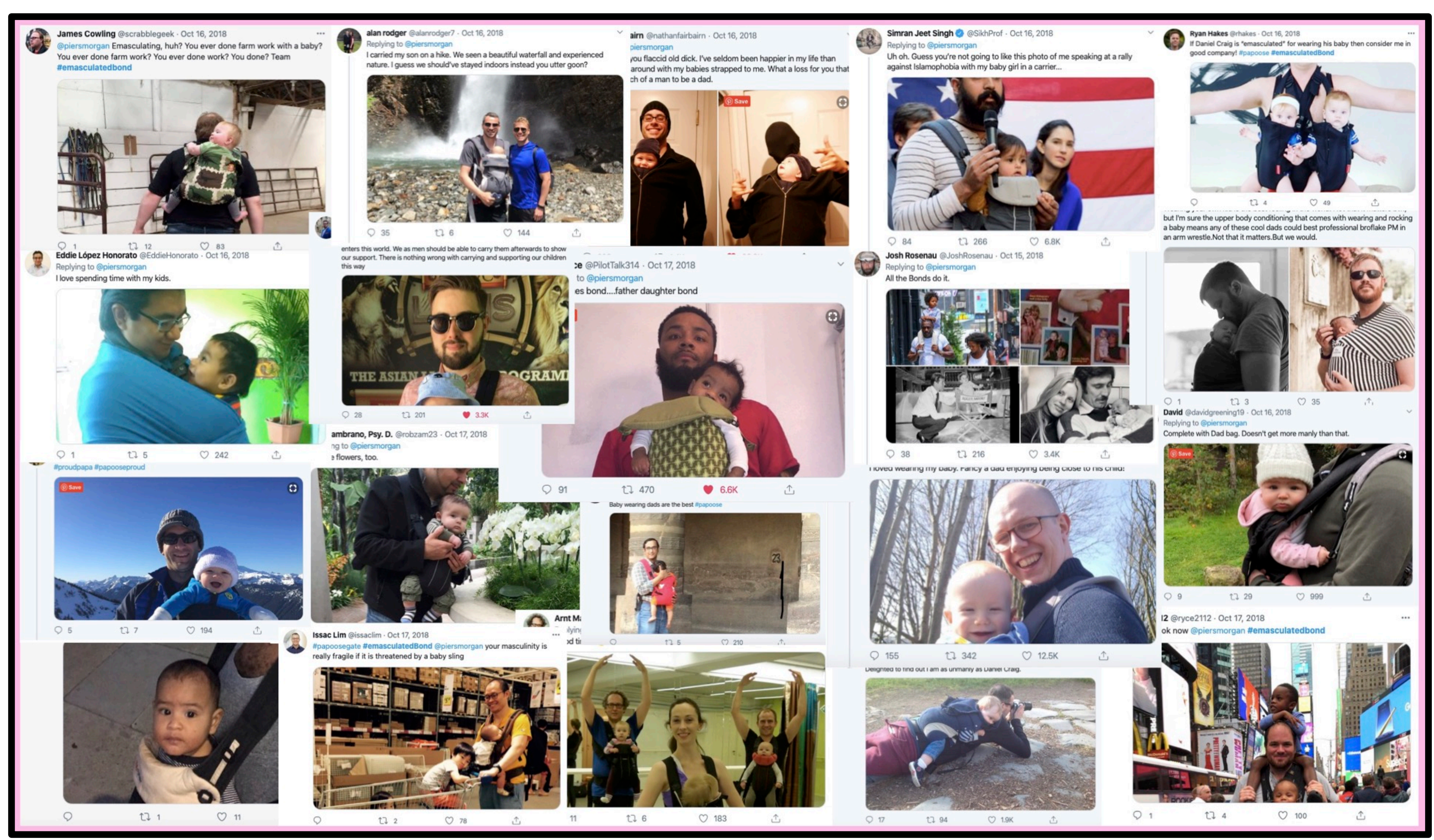


Figure 19: Fathers' babywearing responses (Twitter, 2021)

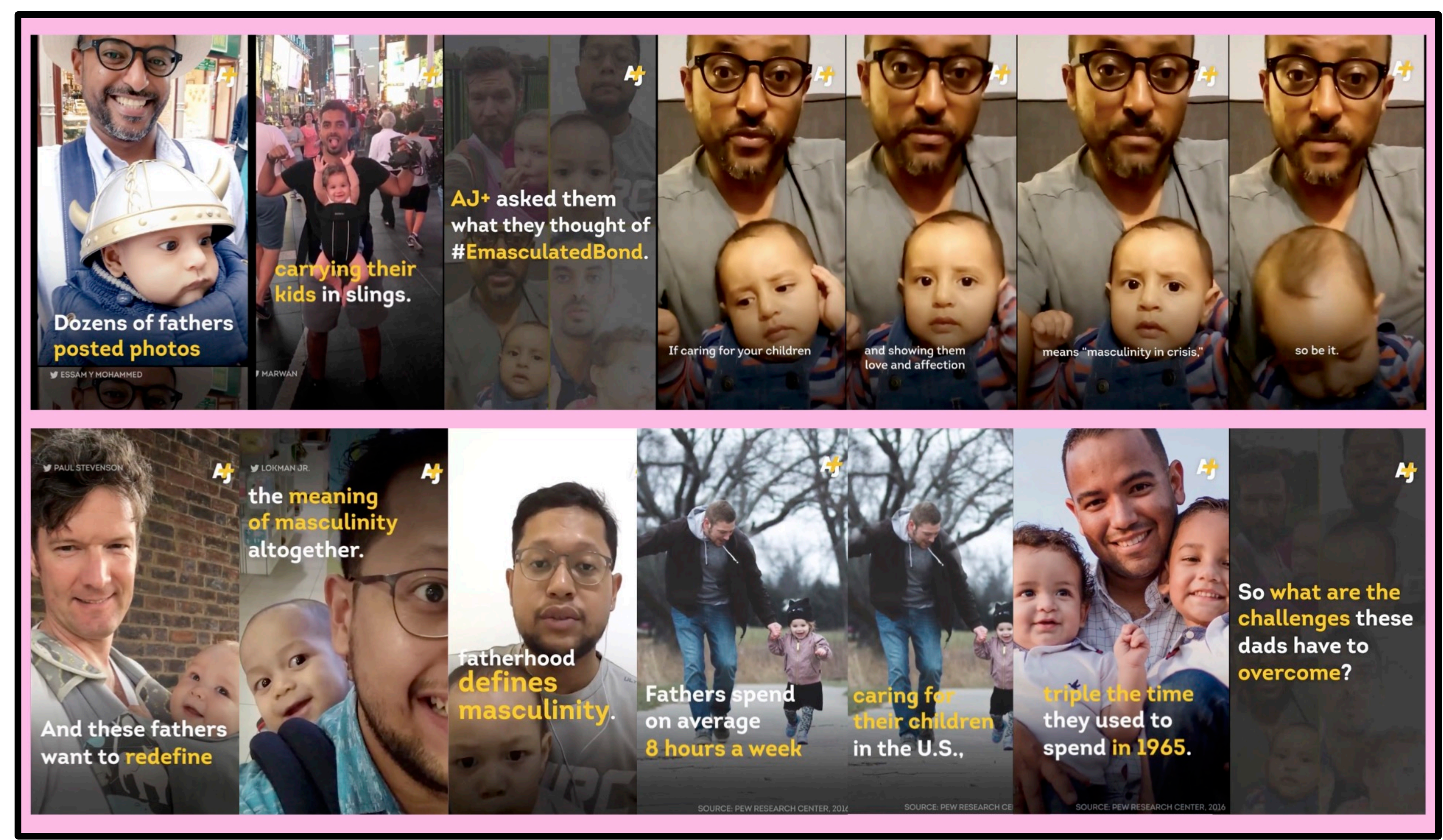


Figure 20: Al Jazeera AJ+ Social Media Video covering 'papoosegate' (AJ+ 2018)

8. Appendices

1. Appendices to Chapter 3: Methodology

Recruitment email to multi-national firms.

This version is the successful email that generated the participation of PYP.

From:
Sent: 05 September 2018 11:11
To: (UK - London) <XXXX>; e (UK - London) <XXXX>
Subject: Parental leave research

Dear XXXX

I'm a PhD researcher at the University of Cambridge. I'm currently researching HR policy in multinational companies, with a particular focus on fathers and parental leave. I'm interested in PYP because of your family policy and family friendly ethos.

I am working with sector-leading companies to examine the decisions made by employees about parental leave. I'm looking for interview participants and I'd love to come and speak to somebody at PYP to arrange that. I'm not sure if People is the right department but I thought you'd be a great place to start.

At the end of the research I'd be happy to share an anonymised report with PYP featuring an overview of employees' experiences. I would also be pleased to present my findings if that would be valuable to you.

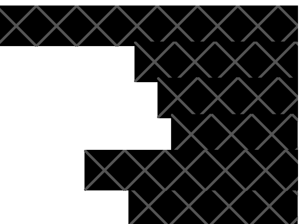
I can provide further information about what is involved, either over email or via a phone call. You can call me on the number below or I will try you again later this week. If you're not the right people to help with this, I'd be really grateful if you could point me in the direction of the right person. Thanks very much in advance.

Best wishes,

Jules

Juliet Allen
PhD Researcher
University of Cambridge Centre for Gender Studies

Recruitment letter sent out to multi-national firms



XXXXX
Head of Human Resources
PYP UK
XXXXX
XXXXX

3rd April 2018

I am a PhD researcher based at the University of Cambridge Centre for Gender Studies.

I am researching HR policy in a number of major multinational companies. My work has a particular focus on best practice with respect to provision for family care.

I am writing to you because I am working with sector-leading companies to examine the decisions made by employees in regard to use of parental leave.

PYP is a leading multinational company in its provision of parental leave to employees, and is a sector leader in respect of both the period of time provided to employees and the gender-equal nature of eligibility to the benefit.

At the end of the research I will share an anonymised report with PYP featuring an overview of employees' experiences. I would also be happy to present my findings.

Research has shown that millennials place a premium on work-life balance. Participating in this study and accessing the data collected could therefore help to enhance PYP's reputation as a market leader for work family balance in Europe and worldwide.

Would it be possible to meet with you or a colleague to discuss the project and PYP's participation? I would be very happy to come to your offices at a time convenient for you. Alternatively we could speak on the telephone.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Juliet Allen
PhD Candidate
University of Cambridge Centre for Gender Studies

Project information template sent out to multi-national firms

Research Summary: Fathers' Use of Parental Leave

The Research

This project aims to understand the factors that shape fathers' decisions to use or not use parental leave. The research will collect empirical data by conducting semi-structured interviews with 36 fathers and their partners.

Why this Research?

Significant changes have been made to parental leave entitlements in recent years. Steps towards creating gender-neutral policy frameworks have been made in several European countries. Yet fathers' take-up of parental leave remains consistently lower than mothers', even in countries with the most gender-sensitive frameworks including 'daddy quotas' and other incentives.

PYP involvement

The research design requires the completion of 36 interviews with fathers expecting their first child. 12 of these fathers will be in the UK, 12 in Sweden and 12 in Portugal. Interviews can be conducted at PYP premises or elsewhere as appropriate. The process of identifying and informing fathers and facilitating their participation in the project could be agreed at further discussion.

PYP has been identified as an ideal case study for this research based on its sector-leading position, existing parental leave policy and family-friendly work environment. Beyond agreeing to involvement in the project and supporting identification of respondents, PYP's direct engagement in the project is not required.

Confidentiality and Data Protection

All information collected from respondents will be kept in accordance with data protection regulation. The company's identity will be anonymised, as will respondents' identities. Additional PYP requirements can be agreed in further discussions.

Research Methodology

Examining three divergent country contexts: Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom, this research will use a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology to investigate the significance of social norms in fathers' use of leave. A comparative approach will be taken in order to highlight the ways in which national differences in social and cultural norms and values shape behaviour, facilitating or inhibiting particular courses of action.

Quantitative data will afford a broad overview of country-level attitudes and gender norms, while qualitative interview data will provide detailed accounts of couples' attitudes and experiences. Using the European Values Study 2008 dataset, I will conduct statistical analysis to understand distribution of attitudes towards gender equality variables, as a proxy for social norms, at (1) national level (2) between different social groups (3) between groups in different countries. The primary focus of the empirical work is qualitative interviews with 36 fathers and their partners across the three focus countries. In-depth interviews, conducted separately with each partner, will enable insight into the impact of social and cultural norms on the decisions made by new or expecting parents.

Interviews will be recorded and fully transcribed. All participant responses will be anonymised. Respondent and organisational confidentiality will be ensured throughout. Thematic analysis and a two-stage coding process will be used to analyse the data.

Participant information sheet and consent form

Research Participant Information Sheet

Project: Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave

Before you decide to take part in this study it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. The project lead can be contacted if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Purpose of the Study: To understand the factors that shape fathers' decisions about using parental leave.

Why have I been invited to take part? The study is interested in interviewing fathers who are in the process of deciding, or have recently decided, whether or not to use parental leave. The study also aims to interview fathers' partners/spouses.

Do I have to take part? No, participation is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to participate you can withdraw your participation at any time. Refusal or withdrawal will involve no penalty or loss, now or in the future.

What will happen to me if I take part? You will take part in a face-to-face interview, lasting between 45 and 90 minutes, on topics related to your decision whether or not to use parental leave and the factors that influenced that decision. The time and location of the interview can be arranged at your convenience. If agreed, your partner/spouse will also be interviewed on the same topics. The interview with your partner/spouse will be conducted separately to the interview with you.

What do I have to do? Participate in the interview and provide some contextual information such as age, industry, grade and salary bracket. The interview will be recorded and transcribed. Recordings will be identified only by a code and will not be used or made available for any purposes other than the research project. Recordings and transcriptions will be saved securely.

Are there any risks/disadvantages to taking part? Aside from the short period of time you will need to give up for the interview, there are no risks or disadvantages to participating.

What are the possible benefits of taking part? Participating in the research is unlikely to provide direct benefits to you. It will provide valuable information about the factors that support fathers' use of parental leave entitlements. It may also provide useful insights into your employer's parental leave policy and how effectively this supports fathers that are considering using leave.

Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential? Yes. All data collected will be identified only by a code and will be kept securely. Personal details will be kept on a secure computer with access only by the project lead. All efforts will be made to ensure your contribution cannot be identified in the research findings, and any instances of direct quotation

will be agreed with you prior to publication. Further details on how the University of Cambridge uses personal data can be accessed at: https://www.information-compliance.admin.cam.ac.uk/data-protection/research-participant-data.

What will happen to the results of the research project? The project's research findings will be written up and published in the form of a PhD thesis. They will also be shared at academic conferences and will be published in relevant academic journals, such as Work, Employment and Society. Findings will be shared with participants. An overview of research findings with all participants made completely unidentifiable will be shared with respondents. In the published research, results will primarily be presented in terms of groups of individuals and overall trends. Where individual data are presented, the data will be totally anonymous, without any means of identifying the individuals involved.

Who is organising and funding the research? The research is organised by Jules Allen, PhD candidate at the University of Cambridge Centre for Gender Studies. The research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

Ethical review of the study: *The project has received ethical approval from the Department of Politics and International Studies Ethical Committee of the University of Cambridge.*

Contact for further information*: Jules Allen, PhD researcher and project lead:*

Consent Form

Social Norms and Fathers' Use of Parental Leave

I confirm that I have read and understand the Research Participant Information Sheet.

Yes / No

I have had the opportunity to ask questions and had them answered.

Yes / No

I understand that all personal information will remain confidential and that all efforts will be made to ensure I cannot be identified (except as might be required by law).

Yes / No

I agree that data gathered in this study may be stored anonymously and securely and may be used for future research.

Yes / No

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Yes / No

I agree to take part in this study.

Yes / No

Signed:

Print name:
Date:

Signed (Investigator):

Print name:
Date:

Interview Guide:

The guide below is the father interview guide. Adaptations made to tailor the interview to the mother are indicated in [brackets].

Introduction
A 2015 policy change, the Shared Parental Leave policy, meant that parents can now share parental leave equally if they want to. I've come to interview you because your company makes it possible for new parents to take a generous amount of leave.

There are so many ways that couples plan to care for a new baby: sometimes mums take it all, sometimes dads take a little bit, some families share it equally, some fathers don't take any at all, some fathers take lots more than is average.

The right way to balance work and a new baby really depends on the family and the circumstances of the parents and I'm really interested in finding out what you are planning to do[/have done] and understand the factors that have influenced that decision.

Before we begin, there are just a couple of questions that I need the answer to:

- When is the baby due, or when was it born?
- Have you decided what you are going to do in terms of using leave?
- How much leave are you using and how much is your partner using?
- Was there a date that you had to agree what you were going to by? Such as a date requested by your workplace?

0. **Could you begin by telling me a bit about you and your partner and your decision to start a family?**

1. **So now could you tell me about your experience of planning parental leave?**
    a. **Have you made a decision about how you are going to use the leave?**
    b. **How did you come to that decision?**

Key things to have answers to:

- Have you talked/did you talk about how you would share the leave? What were the factors that you had to consider?

- Was the decision you came to a joint one, or was one partner more influential in coming to the decision?

- Why have you decided to use the length of leave that you have? Are you happy with that amount? If not, why not? [*Mother questionnaire:* This question was omitted]

- <<Did you consider whether you would take leave together or alone, without your partner? Why did you come to the decision you did? Were there reasons you decided not to use leave alone?>> [*Mother questionnaire:* This question was omitted]

- [*Mother questionnaire:* From your perspective, why did your partner decide to use the length of leave chosen? Were you involved in deciding the length? Are you happy with the amount your partner is using? If not, why not?]

- Was breastfeeding consideration a factor?

- Do you think anyone else will help out with childcare? E.g. grandparents, other family members?

2. Workplace:

Do you think your employer or your particular job (such as the requirements of your job, working hours, your workplace policy or environment) made any difference to your decision? What about for your partner? [*Mother questionnaire:* Do you think your partner's employer or particular job (such as the requirements of the job, working hours, the workplace policy or environment) made any difference to his & your decision? What about the requirements/situation in your job?]

Probing:

- From your perspective, did your workplace help or hinder the process? [*Mother questionnaire*: From your perspective, did his workplace help or hinder the process?]
    - How did you find out about the policy? Did they provide information about your entitlements, help you to understand the process, and was it clear what needed to happen? [*Mother questionnaire*: How did he find out about the policy? Did his workplace provide information about his entitlements, help him to understand the process, and was it clear what needed to happen?]

- Thinking about your decision to use/not use X leave, how has your workplace responded to that? In terms of your line manager/senior people in your department, and also colleagues more widely [*Mother questionnaire:* Thinking about his decision to use/not use X leave, do you know how his workplace responded to that? In terms of his line manager/senior people in his department, and also his colleagues more widely.]
    - What about your partner's workplace? [*Mother questionnaire:* What about your own workplace?]

- Do you think if you wanted to use more leave it would have been a problem for your workplace, line manager or colleagues? If so, why? [*Mothers' questionnaire:* Do you think if he had wanted to use more leave it would have been a problem for his workplace, line manager or colleagues? If so, why?]

- How would you describe your workplace culture in regard to flexible working? [*Mother questionnaire:* How would you describe his workplace culture in regard to flexible working?]

- Would you say your workplace is a family-friendly employer? What do you think about your company's leave policy? [*Mother questionnaire*: Would you say his workplace is a family-friendly employer? What do you think about his company's leave policy?]

- [*Mother questionnaire*] What about your own workplace?

3. Family & friends:

Before you made the decision, did you talk family and friends about parental leave and how you might arrange using it?

Probing:

- Were you aware of what other people might think of your decision? Did that concern you/was it something you took into consideration?

- If you did speak to friends and family, what sort of things did they say? Do you think that impacted on your decision?

- Do you have friends/family/acquaintances that have had babies in the recent past? Do you think what they did influenced your decision?

- Did what other people do make you want to do similar, or opposite, or no impact?

4. National ideals of parenthood/policy subject:

- So, now I'd like to ask you a bit about your family and your thoughts on gender roles. Can you tell me how your parents divided up caring for you when you were small? Did your mother work? Did she go back to work after you were born?

- Do you feel your own parents are/were sort of typical in terms of gender roles?

- Do you think times have changed since then?

- People talk about equality a lot at the moment—what do you think about gender equality? Do you think that lots of things have changed, or not so much as we might think, or somewhere in between?

- And do you think that either ideas about typical gender roles or ideas around gender equality have influenced what you and your partner have decided to do?

- So coming from a perspective where there are lots of different ways of being equal, could you talk to me a bit about how you see your lives evolving following your periods of parental leave/caring for your child in his/her first year?

- And if I showed you this scale of balancing work and family life between you, where would you put yourselves on the scale? From where you stand at the moment?

- And can you say a bit about whether you think that's in line with what society expects from you?

- Do you think that whether or not the fact that it is in line with what society expects from you has made any difference to what you are planning you do, what you decided to do, or what you are you planning to do in the future?

5. **Final questions:**

What do you think mattered most in the decision you have made? Were there any factors that really stood out above the rest of them? [*Mother questionnaire*: What do you think mattered most to your partner in the decision you and he have made? Were there any factors that you think really stood out above the rest of them, from his perspective?]

Probing:

- Were there any difficult moments in making the decision? Compromises you have had to consider and/or agree to?

- Is there anything else that we haven't covered that you think made a difference to your decision?
    - Is there anything else you'd like to tell me in that respect?

Overall, how do you feel about the decision made? Are you happy with it? Would you like to use more or less, and if so why couldn't you?

Do you think your partner is happy with the decision? [*Mother questionnaire:* Do you think your partner is? Would he like to use more or less, and if so why couldn't he?]

If you had to make the decision again, do you think you would do anything differently or come to a different conclusion? [*Mother questionnaire:* If you and he had to make the decision again, do you think he would do anything differently or come to a different conclusion? What about you?]

Do you think your partner feels the same?

6. **Some admin bits:**

- Are you aware of your entitlement to parental leave as per government policy on parental leave?
- Can you tell me what your statutory entitlement is? And do you know what your partner's entitlement is?
    - <<tell policy>>
- Do you know what your workplace entitlement is?

- What is your age
- What is your job title?
- What is your grade? E.g. Officer/manager/etc.
- What is your salary bracket?

    £0 -£14,999 p.a. [€16,673]
    £15,000 - £24,999 p.a. [€16,674 - €27,804]
    £25,000 - £34,999 p.a. [€27,805 - €38,928]
    £35,000 - £44,999 p.a. [€38,929 - €50,067]
    £45,000 - £59,999 p.a. [€50,068 – €66,764]
    £60,000 - £74,999 p.a. [€66,765 - €83,455]
    £74,000 – £89,999 p.a. [€83,456 – €100,156]
    £90,000 - £149,999 p.a. [€100,157 – €166,960]
    £150,000+ p.a. [€166,961+][118]

[118] *1 EUR = 0.898412 GBP / 1 GBP = 1.11308 EUR:* Exchange rate from xe.com at: 2019-01-04 15:34 UTC

2. Appendices to Chapter 4: The normative environment: Comparative context and attitudes to gender roles

Table 8: EVS 2017 variables pre-coding and recoded

Variable	Original code	Responses	Recoded	Responses
1. Age (recoded)	age_r	-2 no answer -1 don't know 1 15–24 years 2 25–34 years 3 34–44 years 4 45–54 years 5 55–64 years 6 65 and more years	agecat	1 15–24 years 2 25–34 years 3 34–44 years 4 45–54 years 5 55–64 years 6 65 and more years
2. Sex	v225	-2 no answer -1 don't know 0 male 1 female	sex	0 male 1 female
3. Edulevel	v243_EISCED	-2 no answer -1 dont know 0 No formal or less than primary education 1 Primary education 2 Lower secondary (including vocational … 3 Upper secondary without access to HE 4 Upper secondary with access to HE 5 Post-secondary/advanced vocational 6 Bachelor's level 7 Master's and higher level 6666 other	edulevel	0 primary or lower 1 lower/upper secondary 2 post secondary non tertiary advanced vo 3 graduate or higher
4. Socio-economic status/Occupation:	v246_ESeC	-10 multiple answers -3 not applicable	ocutyp2	0 working class 1 intermediate

ESeC classification		-2 no answer -1 dont know 1 Large employers, higher mgrs/professionals 2 Lower mgrs/professionals, higher supervis.. 3 Intermediate occupations 4 Small employers and self-employed (non-agriculture) 5 Small employers and self-employed (agriculture) 6 Lower supervisors and technicians 7 Lower sales and service 8 Lower technical 9 Routine		2 salariat
Dependent Variables				
5. Happy in marriage: Share household chores	v68	-2 no answer -1 don't know 1 very important 2 rather important 3 not very important	hapmasha	0 not important 1 important
6. When a mother works for pay, the children suffer	v72	-2 no answer -1 don't know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 disagree 4 disagree strongly	wwcsuff	0 agree 1 disagree
7. A job is alright but what most women really want	v73	-2 no answer -1 don't know 1 agree strongly 2 agree	wwantchild	0 agree 1 disagree

is a home and children		3 disagree 4 disagree strongly		
8. All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job	v74	-2 no answer -1 don’t know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 disagree 4 disagree strongly	wtfsuff	0 agree 1 disagree
9. A man's job is to earn money, a woman's job is to look after the home	v75	-2 no answer -1 don’t know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 disagree 4 disagree strongly	tradgen	0 agree 1 disagree
10. Men make better politicians than women	v76	-2 no answer -1 don’t know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 disagree 4 disagree strongly	betterpol	0 agree 1 disagree
11. Men make better business executives than women	v78	-2 no answer -1 don’t know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 disagree 4 disagree strongly	betterexe	0 agree 1 disagree
12. When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women	v81	-2 no answer -1 don’t know 1 agree strongly 2 agree 3 neither agree nor disagree	jobscarce	0 agree 1 disagree

		4 disagree 5 disagree strongly		

Country sample breakdowns:

Table 9: Country sample by age category and gender

		Gender		
Country	Age category	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total (%)
Sweden	15-24	51 (9.03%)	49 (7.89%)	100 (8.43%)
	25-34	71 (12.57%)	88 (14.17%)	159 (13.41%)
	35-44	88 (15.58%)	81 (47.93%)	169 (14.25%)
	45-54	91 (16.11%)	97 (51.60%)	188 (15.85%)
	55-64	101 (17.88%)	111 (52.36%)	212 (17.88%)
	65+	163 (28.85%)	195 (54.47%)	358 (30.19%)
	Total	565 (100.00%)	621 (100.00%)	1,186 (100.00%)
UK	15-24	41 (5.20%)	51 (5.17%)	92 (5.18%)
	25-34	84 (10.65%)	140 (14.18%)	224 (12.61%)
	35-44	120 (15.21%)	156 (15.81%)	276 (15.54%)
	45-54	127 (16.10%)	192 (19.45%)	319 (17.96%)
	55-64	151 (19.14%)	182 (18.44%)	333 (18.75%)
	65+	266 (33.71%)	266 (29.95%)	532 (29.95%)
	Total	789 (100.00%)	987 (100.00%)	1,776 (100.00%)
Portugal	15-24	29 (5.80%)	46 (6.46%)	75 (6.19%)
	25-34	58 (11.60%)	74 (10.39%)	132 (10.89%)
	35-44	91 (18.20%)	104 (14.61%)	195 (16.09%)
	45-54	57 (11.40%)	66 (9.27%)	123 (10.15%)
	55-64	79 (15.80%)	168 (23.60%)	247 (20.38%)
	65+	186 (37.20%)	254 (35.67%)	440 (36.30%)
	Total	500 (100.00%)	712 (100.00%)	1,212 (100.00%)

Table 10: Country sample by socio-economic group and gender

		gender		
country	Class	male (%)	female (%)	total (%)
Sweden	Manual	216 (41.78%)	177 (32.01%)	393 (36.73%)
	Intermediate	19 (3.68%)	58 (10.49%)	77 (7.20%)
	Professional	282 (54.55%)	318 (57.50%)	600 (56.07%)
	Total	517 (100.00%)	553 (100.00%)	1,070 (100.00%)
UK	Manual	391 (51.38%)	468 (50.21%)	859 (50.74%)
	Intermediate	40 (5.26%)	100 (10.73%)	140 (8.27%)
	Professional	330 (43.36%)	364 (39.06%)	694 (40.99%)
	Total	761 (100.00%)	932 (100.00%)	1,693 (100.00%)
Portugal	Manual	351 (73.43%)	515 (82.01%)	866 (78.30%)
	Intermediate	18 (3.77%)	30 (4.78%)	48 (4.34%)
	Professional	109 (22.80%)	83 (13.22%)	192 (17.36%)
	Total	478 (100.00%)	628 (100.00%)	1,106 (100.00%)

Table 11: Country sample by education level and gender

		gender		
country	Education level	male (%)	female (%)	total (%)
Sweden	< Primary	30 (5.34%)	33 (5.34%)	63 (5.34%)
	Secondary	308 (54.80%)	275 (44.50%)	583 (49.41%)
	Post-secondary/non-tertiary	50 (8.90%)	75 (12.14%)	125 (10.59%)
	Undergraduate+	174 (30.96%)	235 (38.03%)	409 (34.66%)
	Total	562 (100.00%)	618 (100.00%)	1,180 (100.00%)
UK	< Primary	199 (25.25%)	197 (19.92%)	396 (22.28%)
	Secondary	218 (27.66%)	252 (28.51%)	500 (28.14%)
	Post-secondary/non-tertiary	102 (12.94%)	156 (15.77%)	258 (14.52%)
	Undergraduate+	269 (34.14%)	354 (35.79%)	623 (35.06%)
	Total	788 (100.00%)	989 (100.00%)	1,777 (100.00%)
Portugal	< Primary	240 (47.90%)	401 (56.16%)	641 (52.76%)
	Secondary	173 (34.53%)	221 (30.95%)	394 (32.43%)
	Post-secondary/non-tertiary	7 (1.40%)	6 (0.84%)	13 (1.07%)
	Undergraduate +	81 (16.17%)	86 (12.04%)	167 (13.74%)
	Total	501 (100.00%)	714 (100.00%)	1,215 (100.00%)

Chi Squared Tests: Result Tables[119]

Table 12: Crosstabulation results for 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family'

(tradgen)	Men - % disagreeing						Total M % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total W % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	94.12	95.77	96.59	92.22	95.96	90.06	93.57 *524*	95.92	96.59	95.00	98.97	98.20	94.30	96.28 *596*	95.00 *1,120*
UK	100.00	85.71	85.59	99.98	82.67	69.62	81.00*** 631	92.00	86.43	85.81	92.15	89.50	72.62	84.59*** *829*	83.00 *1,460*
Portugal	79.31	82.76	80.90	87.50	70.89	52.43	69.56*** 345	91.30	83.56	87.13	81.82	71.52	64.80	74.89*** 525	72.68 *870*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	83.33	92.13	98.00	97.67			93.90** *523*	81.82	96.35	97.33	98.30			96.43*** *595*	95.23 *1,118*
UK	69.07	82.95	83.00	86.89			80.85*** *629*	65.10	84.34	91.67	92.92			84.83*** *833*	84.83 *1,462*
Portugal	56.54	77.91	71.43	90.12			69.62*** 346	63.34	87.96	83.33	92.94			74.82*** *526*	72.67 *872*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	91.94	89.81	95.73				93.57 *480*	92.59	94.95	97.80				96.01* *530*	94.84 *1,010*
UK	76.96	80.19	84.71				81.23 *610*	77.43	84.43	92.01				84.99*** *787*	83.30 *1,397*
Portugal	64.31	68.75	79.82				68.78* *326*	74.16	71.74	92.68				76.25** *472*	73.01 *798*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

[119] The Stata files are available via email if the examiner/reader would like them.

Table 13: Crosstabulation results for 'A job is alright, but what women really want is a home and children'

(wwantchild)	Men - % disagreeing						Total M % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total W % *n*	Total M+W % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	79.59	89.71	87.50	76.67	74.49	63.69	76.18*** *419*	76.09	88.37	89.74	94.86	91.74	80.73	86.78** *525*	81.73 *944*
UK	73.68	75.61	70.69	76.23	66.89	50.97	64.88*** *497*	72.00	71.01	78.06	79.37	74.44	53.99	69.85*** *681*	67.66 *1,178*
Portugal	76.00	67.86	72.73	56.36	51.95	44.97	57.02*** *268*	68.89	60.27	61.17	63.64	48.75	46.25	53.71** *369*	55.06 *637*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	36.67	71.57	89.80	88.17			76.42*** 418	62.50	83.58	89.04	93.48			86.90*** *524*	81.91 *942*
UK	49.49	66.67	66.67	74.23			64.84*** *496*	42.19	72.50	75.66	80.68			69.98*** *683*	67.72 *1,179*
Portugal	44.04	63.23	71.43	78.75			57.11*** *269*	43.83	63.30	66.67	73.81			53.85*** *371*	55.17 *640*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	66.67	60.75	85.14				75.55*** *380*	76.69	86.60	91.32				86.88*** *470*	81.42 *850*
UK	60.09	62.69	69.14				64.77 *478*	58.28	68.57	83.15				70.79*** *652*	68.11 *1,130*
Portugal	53.60	51.58	64.49				55.75 *252*	51.61	48.31	75.61				54.37*** 330	54.96 *582*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

Table 14: Crosstabulation results for 'Sharing household chores is important for a happy marriage'

(hapmasha)	Men - % agreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % agreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	96.08	95.77	97.73	94.51	95.05	95.71	95.75 *541*	100.00	87.50	92.59	94.85	95.50	90.21	92.58 *574*	94.09 *1,115*
UK	90.24	86.90	93.33	94.49	94.04	91.70	92.26 *727*	86.27	90.71	88.46	90.62	89.56	79.92	87.01** *859*	89.34 *1,584*
Portugal	96.55	96.55	95.60	98.25	97.47	95.14	96.19 *480*	97.83	98.65	100.00	96.97	96.43	97.22	97.61 *693*	97.02 *1,173*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	96.67	95.13	96.00	96.55			95.73 *538*	87.88	90.15	93.33	95.74			92.54 *571*	94.06 *1,109*
UK	88.89	90.83	95.10	94.80			92.25 *726*	88.32	81.56	86.54	91.48			87.23** *861*	89.46 *1,587*
Portugal	95.82	95.38	100.00	98.77			96.2 *481*	96.99	97.74	100.00	98.84			97.47 *694*	96.95 *1,175*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	96.80	98.18	95.74				96.52 *499*	89.14	92.82	93.08				92.39 *510*	94.39 *1,009*
UK	89.14	92.82	94.24				92.37 *702*	85.98	85.02	90.08				87.33 *813*	89.59 *1,515*
Portugal	96.31	93.81	98.17				96.23 *459*	97.33	95.74	100.00				97.45 *611*	96.92 *1,070*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, $p < 0.001$
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, $p < 0.01$
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, $p < 0.05$

Table 15: Crosstabulation results for 'When a mother works for pay, the children suffer'

(wwcsuff)	Men - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total**	**Total**
Sweden	85.71	87.14	88.51	84.62	77.00	74.38	81.33 *453*	86.96	93.18	92.50	91.75	90.83	85.94	89.71 *549*	85.71 *1,002*
UK	90.24	83.33	74.36	84.55	72.30	67.32	75.06*** *578*	81.63	75.91	79.22	81.38	77.78	72.55	77.26 *744*	76.28 *1,322*
Portugal	75.00	72.41	59.55	65.45	42.31	35.14	50.71*** *250*	78.26	69.86	56.73	50.00	49.40	34.29	49.29*** *345*	49.87 *595*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	58.62	77.89	92.00	88.95			81.59*** *452*	67.74	88.19	90.54	94.02			89.67*** *547*	85.82 *999*
UK	61.03	79.91	78.35	79.92			74.94*** *577*	67.91	75.91	75.82	84.57			77.49*** *747*	76.36 *1,324*
Portugal	39.41	54.71	42.86	75.31			50.61*** *250*	36.41	60.91	83.33	74.42			49.15*** *345*	49.75 *595*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	72.95	79.63	85.30				81.14* *413*	85.07	90.72	92.43				90.33 *495*	85.90 *908*
UK	71.89	70.73	79.19				74.73* 556	73.63	72.84	85.15				77.94*** *710*	76.50 *1,266*
Portugal	44.19	48.42	61.47				49.04** *231*	44.75	44.44	71.08				50.41*** *311*	49.82 *542*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

Table 16: Crosstabulation results for 'All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job'

(wftsuff)	Men - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+W % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	88.00	89.86	89.77	89.01	79.59	68.94	81.69*** *455*	85.42	90.91	92.50	88.66	89.91	82.45	87.54 *534*	84.75 *989*
UK	87.80	85.71	73.73	83.06	66.67	61.09	71.71*** *555*	78.00	70.00	66.88	72.63	65.54	56.92	66.12** *642*	68.60 *1,197*
Portugal	75.00	73.68	63.74	67.86	52.63	37.16	54.38*** *267*	71.11	68.49	47.12	60.61	44.58	40.49	49.22*** *345*	51.34 *612*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	51.72	78.69	94.00	90.00			82.13*** *455*	63.33	85.82	89.33	92.34			87.66*** *533*	85.03 *988*
UK	54.36	73.11	80.20	80.00			71.67*** *554*	52.13	65.71	65.58	74.29			66.15*** *643*	68.60 *1,197*
Portugal	41.45	63.74	42.86	72.50			54.27*** *267*	39.80	57.99	50.00	68.60			49.08*** *345*	51.21 *612*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	77.87	72.22	86.79				81.57** *416*	82.31	87.63	91.51				88.62* *483*	85.21 *899*
UK	67.91	66.18	77.68				71.72** *535*	57.32	65.84	75.21				66.59*** *610*	68.89 *1,145*
Portugal	49.25	53.61	62.04				53.08 *250*	48.44	47.19	62.65				50.16* *311*	51.42 *561*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

Table 17: Crosstabulation results for 'When jobs are scarce, men have more right to a job than women'

(jobscarce)	Men - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	97.92	100.00	97.70	95.51	100.00	99.35	98.53 *536*	95.74	95.40	98.70	97.89	99.07	96.09	97.13 *576*	97.80 *1,112*
UK	94.74	96.05	98.21	98.32	92.06	83.26	91.83*** *641*	95.92	99.25	98.56	98.31	91.91	80.34	92.49*** *838*	92.21 *1,479*
Portugal	95.24	89.80	75.32	86.00	66.15	64.03	74.06*** *297*	92.68	86.36	87.78	86.44	77.94	67.44	78.42*** *476*	76.69 *773*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	96.55	97.94	100.00	99.42			98.52 *533*	92.00	96.59	97.18	98.27			97.12 *574*	97.79 *1,107*
UK	82.93	90.16	92.63	97.96			91.54*** *638*	78.57	94.12	96.00	97.31			92.72*** *841*	92.21 *1,479*
Portugal	60.00	84.93	83.33	89.23			74.13*** *298*	67.78	88.32	100.00	96.15			78.29*** *476*	76.63 *774*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	97.39	99.07	98.54				98.39 *488*	96.85	98.91	97.42				97.54 *516*	97.95 *1,004*
UK	85.95	92.59	94.68				91.70** *619*	89.76	90.22	96.80				92.69** *799*	92.26 *1,418*
Portugal	66.22	78.08	86.36				73.11** *280*	77.11	78.31	94.52				79.66** *427*	76.93 *707*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

Table 18: Crosstabulation results for 'On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do'

(betterpol)	Men - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	96.08	92.75	94.32	94.51	95.05	93.79	94.30 *529*	93.88	97.65	95.00	98.97	100.00	93.75	96.41* *591*	95.40 *1,120*
UK	92.50	86.42	88.89	94.40	86.67	80.86	86.61** *666*	91.67	88.15	91.50	94.21	91.62	87.40	90.49 *875*	88.77 *1,541*
Portugal	88.46	84.21	77.01	83.64	71.83	66.24	74.83** *339*	91.11	95.77	87.88	93.65	83.97	78.60	85.52** *555*	81.13 *894*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Secondary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	90.00	92.13	100.00	97.11			94.27* *526*	83.37	95.99	97.26	98.28			96.40** *589*	95.38 *1,115*
UK	77.72	87.74	89.00	90.87			86.46*** *664*	82.63	91.21	90.91	94.60			90.71*** *879*	88.83 *1,543*
Portugal	70.79	75.60	71.43	84.21			74.83 *339*	79.94	90.52	83.33	94.12			85.25*** *555*	80.98 *894*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	90.16	91.82	96.44				93.96* *482*	93.33	94.95	98.10				96.36* *529*	95.20 *1,011*
UK	81.99	87.38	88.27				86.23 *639*	86.77	90.98	94.18				90.82** *831*	88.77 *1,470*
Portugal	69.46	80	80.95				74.42* *323*	82.24	91.95	93.90				85.34** *495*	80.67 *818*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

Table 19: Crosstabulation results for 'On the whole, men make better business executive than women'

(betterexe)	Men - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Women - % disagreeing						Total % *n*	Total M+w % *n*
By age & gender	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	**15-24**	**25-34**	**35-44**	**45-54**	**55-64**	**65+**	**Total n**	
Sweden	88.24	94.29	93.18	90.00	96.00	95.00	93.38 *522*	100.00	97.73	98.75	100.00	98.18	96.81	98.20 *601*	95.90 *1,123*
UK	95.00	90.36	88.89	92.86	90.07	85.27	89.03 *690*	92.16	92.86	94.74	95.31	95.48	87.36	92.60** *901*	91.02 *901*
Portugal	85.71	87.50	83.33	85.71	84.85	78.71	82.92 *369*	97.78	92.96	95.96	96.77	92.99	88.26	92.58° *599*	88.64 *968*
By gender & education level	**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				**<= Primary**	**Second ary**	**Post-second**	**>= Grad**				
Sweden	90.00	91.80	98.00	95.91			93.53 *520*	96.55	97.44	98.67	99.14			98.20 *599*	95.97 *1,119*
UK	84.97	90.28	86.14	90.91			88.63 *686*	87.05	91.40	97.37	94.87			92.72** *904*	90.91 *1,590*
Portugal	78.89	85.89	83.33	87.18			82.96 *370*	89.24	95.31	83.33	98.82			92.44** *599*	88.57 *969*
By gender and occupation type	**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					**Manual**	**Interm**	**Profes.**					
Sweden	88.62	93.64	95.70				93.55* *479*	98.51	97.94	98.73				98.53 *538*	96.12 *1,017*
UK	85.05	89.42	90.15				88.49 *661*	89.27	93.44	94.97				92.60* *851*	90.76 *1,512*
Portugal	80.00	83.91	89.22				83.02 *352*	92.86	93.02	97.56				93.55 *537*	89.08 *889*

***denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.001
** denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.01
* denotes significant within-sex differences by category, p <0.05

T-test Result Tables

Table 20: All countries by gender: statistical significance of differences between mean value for men and women in each category

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	<pri	sec.	post-sec	grad+	work.	inter.	prof
Sweden	-	-	-	**	***	**	-	***	-	*	*	***	**
UK	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	***
Portugal	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	*	-	-	**	-	**

***denotes significant difference between the mean value for men and women, $p < 0.001$
** denotes significant difference between the mean value for men and women, $p < 0.01$
* denotes significant difference between the mean value for men and women, $p < 0.05$
- denotes no statistically significant difference between the mean value for men and women

Table 21: Sweden: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	<= Pri	Seco	Post-sec	Grad+	Work.	Inter.	Prof
15-24		-	-	-	-	*							
25-34	-		-	-	-	***							
35-44	-	-		-	-	***							
45-54	*	-	-		-	*							
55-64	*	-	-	-		-							
65+	-	*	*	**	**								
<=Prim.								**	***	***			
Second							***		**	***			
Post-sec							***	-		-			
Grad+							***	***	-				
Working												-	***
Interm.											-		***
Profess.											***	-	

***denotes significant difference between the mean value for the two categories, $p < 0.001$
** denotes significant difference between the mean value for the two categories, $p < 0.01$
* denotes significant difference between the mean value for the two categories, $p < 0.05$
- denotes no statistically significant difference between the mean value for the two categories
Green cells represent men's responses
Orange cells represent women's responses

Table 22: UK: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	<= Pri	Seco	Post-sec	Grad+	Work.	Inter.	Prof
15-24		-	*	-	**	***							
25-34	-		-	-	-	***							
35-44	-	-		*	-	***							
45-54	-	-	-		***	***							
55-64	-	-	-	-		**							
65+	***	***	***	***	***								
<=Prim.								***	***	***			
Second							***		-	-			
Post-sec							***	-		-			
Grad+							***	***	*				
Working												-	***
Interm.											*		*
Profess.											***	***	

Table 23: Portugal: statistical significance of differences between means in each category (age, education level and occupation type), by gender

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	<= Pri	Seco	Post-sec	Grad+	Work.	Inter.	Prof
15-24		-	-	-	**	***							
25-34	-		-	-	***	***							
35-44	*	-		-	*	***							
45-54	-	-	-		**	***							
55-64	***	***	*	*		*							
65+	***	***	***	***	**								
<=Prim.								***	-	***			
Second							***		-	**			
Post-sec							-	-		-			
Grad+							***	**	-				
Working												-	***
Interm.											-		*
Profess.											***	***	

3. Appendices to Chapter 5: The Factors at Play: National norms, policy, discourse and peer group effect.

Table 24: Parental leave days: Absolute usage

Country	Father name (alias)	Age	Ethnicity and Nationality	Job Title	Highest Level Edu	Service Line	Dept	No. Children	Total days	Total weeks	'Home alone leave' days	Overlap days	Type of leave used
UK	Max	33	White British	Assistant Director	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Real Estate	1	100	20	80	20	PAT + SPL*
UK	John	33	White British	Director	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Transaction Services	1	80	16	0	112	PAT + SPL
UK	Joshua	28	Mixed British	Assistant Director	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Transaction Services	1	80	16	0	112	PAT + SPL
UK	Neal	35	White British	Senior Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Risk Advisory	1	80	16	0	112	PAT + SPL
UK	Stephen	35	White British	Associate Director	Undergrad	Tax	Employer Services	1	55	11	33	22	PAT + SPL*
UK	Felix	24	White British	Manager	A-Level	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	55	11	0	55	PAT + SPL
UK	Elliott	29	White British	Associate Director	Undergrad	Tax	Business Tax	1	55	11	0	55	PAT + SPL
UK	Harry	33	White British	Manager	Undergrad	Tax	Employer Services	1	35	7	0	35	PAT + SPL
UK	Jeremy	32	White British	Senior Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	30	6	0	35	PAT + SPL
UK	Dominic	34	White British	Senior Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	1	30	6	0	35	PAT + SPL
UK	Austin	31	White British	Director	Undergrad	Tax	Transaction Services	1	30	6	0	30	PAT + SPL
UK	Patrick	35	White British	Senior Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	20	4	0	20	PAT + SPL
UK	Christian	38	White British	Director	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Transaction Services	1	15	3	0	15	PAT + SPL
UK	Anthony	31	White British	Director	Undergrad	Tax	Indirect Tax	1	10	2	0	10	PAT **

UK	Luke	33	White British	Associate Director	Undergrad	Tax	Business Tax	1	10	2	0	10	PAT
UK	Matthew	36	White British	Assistant Director	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Transaction Services	1	10	2	0	10	PAT
UK	Julian	33	White British	Director	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	10	2	0	10	PAT
UK	Robert	30	White S. African	Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	10	2	0	10	PAT
UK	James	42	White British	Senior Manager	Undergrad	HR	Talent	1	10	2	0	10	PAT
UK	Mark	39	White British	Partner	Undergrad	Financial Advisory	Transaction Services	1	9	2	0	9	PAT
SE	Lars	30	White Swedish	Experienced Assistant	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	2 -i	110	22	90	20	PL
								2 – ii	110	22	90	20	PL
SE	Mikael	35	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	2 -i	150	30	130	20	PL*
								2 - ii	150	30	130	20	PL
SE	Peter	32	White Swedish	Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Bus. Process Solutions	1	75	15	75	0	PL*
SE	Thomas	34	White Swedish	Partner	Postgrad	Audit & Risk	Bus. Process Solutions	1	75	15	75	0	PL*
SE	Daniel	33	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Tax	Business Tax	2 - i	65	13	65	0	PL
								2 - ii	110	22	110	0	PL
SE	Fredrik	37	White Swedish	Partner	Postgrad	Audit & Risk	Audit & Assurance	1	114	22.5	114	0	PL
SE	Hans	35	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	2 -i	130	26	130	0	PL*
								2 - ii	130	26	130	0	PL*
SE	Niklas	35	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Tax	Employer Services	1	130	26	130	0	PL*
SE	Stefan	31	White Swedish	Manager		Tax	Indirect tax	1	130	26	130	0	PL*
SE	Andrej	33	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	1	150	30	150	0	PL*

SE	Mats	30	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	1	240	48	240	0	PL
SE	Henrik	42	*not provided*	Partner		Consulting	Technology	2 - i	85	17	85	0	PL
								2 - ii	85	17	65	20	PL
SE	Magnus	38	White Swedish	Manager	Postgrad	Audit & Risk	Risk Advisory	2 - i	130	26	130	0	PL*
								2 - ii	32.5	6.5	0	32.5	PL
SE	Karl	37	*not provided*	Manager		Audit & Risk	Bus. Process Solutions	2 – i	110	22	110	0	PL
								2 - ii	110	22	110	0	PL
PT	Gonçalo	34	White Portuguese	Senior Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Strategy & Operations	3 – i	50	10	0	50	PT + IPL
								3 – ii	20	4	0	20	PT
								3 - iii	25	5	0	25	PT
PT	Carlos	38	White Portuguese	Director	Undergrad	Consulting	Technology	2 – i	15	3	0	15	PT
								2 - ii	20	4	0	20	PT
PT	Cláudio	37	White Portuguese	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	2 – i	15	3	0	15	PT
								2 - ii	45	9	0	45	PT + IPL
PT	Hugo	35	White Portuguese	Manager	Undergrad	Consulting	Strategy & Operations	2 – i	50	10	0	50	PT + IPL
								2 - ii	55	11	0	55	PT + IPL
PT	Gilberto	34	White Portuguese	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	2 – i	50	10	30	20	PT + IPL
								2 - ii	55	11	30	25	PT + IPL
PT	Eduardo	30	White Portuguese	Manager	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	1	45	9	0	45	PT + IPL
PT	Joaquim	42	White Portuguese	Director	Undergrad	Consulting	Strategy & Operations	3 – i	20	4	0	20	PT
								3 – ii	20	4	0	20	PT
								3 - iii	25	5	0	25	PT
PT	Sebastião	34	White Portuguese	Senior Manager	Undergrad	Audit & Risk	Risk Advisory	2 – i	33	6.5	15	18	PT + IPL***
								2 – ii					
PT	Rui	38	White Portuguese	Director	Postgrad	Consulting	Technology	1	40	8	0	40	PT + IPL***

PT	Salomão	33	White Portuguese	Senior Manager	Undergrad	Consulting	Strategy & Operations	3 – i	5	1	0	5	n/a (overseas)
								3 – ii	25	5	0	25	PT
								3 – iii	55	11	30	25	PT+IPL
PT	Tobias	33	*not provided*	Manager		Consulting	Technology	2 – i	45	9	0	45	PT + IPL
								2 – ii	55	11	0	55	PT + IPL

*These fathers also used some holiday: in the UK this was most often simultaneously with a partner, in Sweden this holiday was sometimes effectively used as ‘home alone’ leave.
**Anthony planned two weeks of paternity and nine weeks of SPL but due to a planned job move, which took place after our interview, ended up taking unpaid leave instead of SPL.
*** These fathers booked the whole of the ‘sixth month’ (sharing bonus month) but used only half of it. This practice contravened the conditions of the sharing bonus.

9. Bibliography

Aarntzen, L. et al. (2021). How individual gender role beliefs, organizational gender norms, and national gender norms predict parents' work-Family guilt in Europe. *Community, Work & Family*, 24 (2), pp.120–142.

Abendroth, A.-K. and den Dulk, L. (2011). Support for the work-life balance in Europe: the impact of state, workplace and family support on work-life balance satisfaction. *Work, Employment and Society*, 25 (2), pp.234–256.

Aboim, S. 2010. Género, Família e Mudança em Portugal. In: Aboim, S. and Wall, K. (Eds). *A Vida Familiar no Masculino: Novos Papéis, Novas Identidades*. Lisboa: CITE, pp.39–66.

Aboim, S. and Marinho, S. (2006). Men and gender equality: The role of men and fathers in the promotion of reconciliation of work and private life. Report on Portugal. Portugal, Greece, Norway, Cyprus: CIDM/KEITH.

Aboim, S. and Vasconcelos, P. (2012). Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality in Portugal. Brussels: European Commission.

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations. *Gender and Society*, 4 (2), pp.139–158.

Adams, M. and Coltrane, S. (2005). Boys and Men in Families: The Domestic Production of Gender, Power, and Privilege. In: Kimmel, M. S., Hearn, J. and Connell, R. W. (Eds). *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications, pp. 230–248.

Adamson, M. et al. (2021). Introduction: Critically interrogating inclusion in organisations. *Organization*, 28 (2), pp.211–227.

Addis, E. (2002). *Gender Symmetry in the Reform of European Welfare States*. [Online]. Available at: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/1783/02_25.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y [Accessed 6 August 2016].

Aftonbladet.se. (2010). 'Both are needed'. Available at: https://www.aftonbladet.se/kultur/a/zLMbe5/bada-behovs [Accessed 12 March 2021].

Ahmed, S. (2004). Declarations of Whiteness: The Non-Performativity of Anti-Racism. *Borderlands*, 3 (2), n.p.

Ahmed, S. (2012). *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

AJ+. [@ajplus]. (2018). *"Please stop worrying about other fathers' masculinity and start worrying about yours"* [Tweet]. Twitter, October 23, online. Available at: https://twitter.com/ajplus/status/1054862530626109440?s=20 [Accessed 01 August 2021]

Albrecht, J. W. et al. (1999). Career Interruptions and Subsequent Earnings: A Reexamination Using Swedish Data. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 34 (2), pp.294–311.

Alcoff, L. (1995). The Problem of Speaking for Others. In (Ed.) J. Roof and R. Wiegman, *Who can Speak: Authority and Critical Identity,* pp. 97–119. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Alhejji, H. et al. (2018). The Impact of Formal and Informal Distance on Gender Equality Approaches: The Case of a British MNC in Saudi Arabia. *Thunderbird International Business Review*, 60(2), pp.147–159. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1002/tie.21828 [Accessed 7 July 2021].

Allen, S. M. and Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal Gatekeeping: Mothers' Beliefs and Behaviors That Inhibit Greater Father Involvement in Family Work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61 (1), pp.199–212.

Allen, J., Jenkins, D. and Howard, M. (2020). Crises Collide: Capitalism, Care, and COVID-19. *Feminist studies*, 46 (3), pp.583–595.

Allen, J. (2021). *Maternity, Paternity and Parental Leave*. London: Women's Budget Group. [Online]. Available at: https://wbg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Maternity-paternity-and-parental-leave.pdf [Accessed 16 August 2021].

Allen, J. (2021b) Paternal care and the future of shared leave policy. *Autonomy*. [Online]. Available at: https://autonomy.work/portfolio/allen-parental-leave/ [Accessed 16 August 2021].

Almqvist, A.-L. and Duvander, A.-Z. (2014). Changes in gender equality? Swedish fathers' parental leave, division of childcare and housework 1. *Journal of Family Studies*, 20 (1), pp.19–27.

Alsarve, J., Boyce, K., and Roman, C. (2016). The crossroads of equality and biology: the child's best interests and constructions of motherhood and fatherhood in Sweden. In: Grunow, D. and Evertsson, M. (Eds). *Couples' Transitions to Parenthood: Analysing Gender and Work in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.79–102.

Alston, P. (2018). *Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom by Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights*. London: UN Human Rights Council. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/documents/issues/poverty/eom_gb_16nov2018.pdf [Accessed 20 April 2021].

Alves, S. (2015). Welfare State Changes and Outcomes - The Cases of Portugal and Denmark from a Comparative Perspective. *Social Policy & Administration*, 49 (1), pp.1–23. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1111/spol.12075 [Accessed 13 July 2020].

Alvesson, M. and Billing, Y. D. (1992). Gender and Organization: Towards a Differentiated Understanding. *Organization Studies*, 13 (1), p.73.

Alvesson, M. (1993). *Cultural Perspectives on Organizations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alvesson, M. (2002). *Understanding Organizational Culture.* London: SAGE.

Alvesson, M. (2011). Organizational Culture: Meaning, Discourse, and Identity. In: Ashkanasy, N. M., Wilderom, C. and Peterson, M. F. (Eds). *The Handbook of Organizational Culture and Climate.* Thousand Oaks, California and London: SAGE Publications, pp.11–28.

Andrew, A. et al. (2020). *How Are Mothers and Fathers Balancing Work and Family under Lockdown?* Institute for Fiscal Studies. Available at: https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/14860 [Accessed July 7 2020].

Anker, R. (1997). Theories of Occupational Segregation by Sex: An Overview. *International Labour Review*, 136 (3), pp.315–340.

Antonopoulos, R. (2008). The Unpaid Care Work-Paid Work Connection. *SSRN Electronic* Journal. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.2139/ssrn.1176661 [Accessed 15 March 2018].

Anzaldúa, G. (2002). Speaking in Tongues: A Letter to Third World Women Writers. In: Moraga, C. and Anzaldúa, G. (Eds). *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Colour*. Berkeley: Third Woman Press, pp.183–193.

Atkinson, J. (2017). Shared Parental Leave in the UK: Can It Advance Gender Equality by Changing Fathers into Co-Parents? *International Journal of Law in Context*, 13 (3), pp.356–368.

Atkinson J., O'Brien, M. and Koslowski, A. (2020) 'United Kingdom country note.' In: Koslowski, A., et al. (Eds). Inte*rnational Review of Leave Policies and Research 2020*. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/ [Accessed 03 March 2021].

Atkinson J., O'Brien, M. and Koslowski, A. (2021) 'United Kingdom country note', in Koslowski, A., et al. (Eds). *International Review of Leave Policies and Research 2021*. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/ [Accessed 3 September 2021].

Auspurg, K., Iacovou, M. and Nicoletti, C. (2017). Housework share between partners: Experimental evidence on gender-specific preferences. *Social Science Research*, 66, pp.118–139.

Austin. J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bacchi, C. (2009). The issue of intentionality in frame theory: The need for reflexive framing. In: Lombardo, E., Meier, P. and Verloo, M. (Eds). *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy-Making*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.19–35.

Bacchi, C. L. (2009). Analysing policy: what's the problem represented to be? Frenchs Forest, NSW: Pearson Australia.

Baird, M. and O'Brien, M. (2015). Dynamics of parental leave in Anglophone countries: the paradox of state expansion in liberal welfare regimes. *Community, Work & Family*, 18 (2), pp.198–217.

Bakir, C. and Caliskan, C. (2013). Global Companies and Emerging Market Countries. In: Mikler, J. (Ed.) *The Handbook of Global Companies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc., pp. 227–238.

Bangham, G. and Gustafsson, M. (2020). *Time of our lives: Time use in London and the UK over the past 40 years*. London: The Resolution Foundation. Available at: https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/publications/the-time-of-your-life/ [Accessed 15 January 2021].

Barbieri, D. et al. (2020). *Gender Equality Index 2020: Digitalisation and the Future of Work*. Vilnius: European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE). Available at: https://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/documents/mhaf20001enn_002.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2021]

Barros, S. et al. (2016). Infant child care quality in Portugal: Associations with structural characteristics. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 37, pp.118–130.

Bartky, S. L. (1988). Feminism, Foucault and the Modernisation of Patriarchal Power. In: Diamond L. and Quinby, I. (Eds). *Feminism and Foucault: Reflections on Resistance*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, pp.61–86.

BBC. (2014). *'Barriers' stop fathers taking paternity leave – report*. [Online]. 24 March. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/business-26710507 [Accessed 3 September 2021].

BBC. (2018). *Piers Morgan mocks Daniel Craig for carrying baby*. [Online]. 16 October. Available at: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-45873664 [Accessed 01 August 2021]

Becker, G. S. (1985). Human Capital, Effort, and the Sexual Division of Labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 3 (1, Part 2), pp.S33–S58.

Becker, G. S. (1993). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Bekkengen, L. (2002) Man får välja – om föräldraskap och föräldraledighet i arbetsliv och familjeliv [One has to choose – parenthood and parental leave in work and family life]. Malmö: Liber.

Ben-Bassat, A. and Dahan, M. (2008) 'Social rights in the constitution and in practice', *Journal of Comparative Economics* 36(1), pp. 103–119

Bendl, R. (2008). Gender Subtexts – Reproduction of Exclusion in Organizational Discourse. *British Journal of Management*, 19, pp.S50–S64.

Benhabib, S. (1995). *Feminism and Postmodernism.* In: Benhabib, S., et al. (Eds). *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange.* New York: Routledge*,* pp.17–34.

Benhabib, S. et al. (Eds). (1995). *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*. London and New York: Routledge.

Benschop, Y. and Doorewaard, H. (1998). Covered by Equality: The Gender Subtext of Organizations. *Organization Studies*, 19 (5), pp.787–805.

Benschop, Y. and Doorewaard, H. (2012). Gender subtext revisited. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 31 (3), pp.225–235.

Bergqvist, C. and Saxonberg, S. (2016). The State as a Norm-Builder? The Take-up of Parental Leave in Norway and Sweden. Social Policy & Administration, p. x-x [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1111/spol.12251.

Bergman, H. and Hobson, B. (2002). Compulsory fatherhood: the coding of fatherhood in the swedish welfare state. In: Hobson, B. (Ed). *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*,* pp.92–124.

Bertie, A., Himmelweit, S. and Trigg, A. (2006). Social norms, cognitive dissonance and broadcasting: how to influence economic agents. In: Bruun, C. (Ed.) *Advances in artificial economics*. Berlin: Springer, pp. 235–252. [Online]. Available at: http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/3-540-37249-0_17.pdf [Accessed 28 July 2015].

Birkett, H. and Forbes, S. (2019). Where's dad? Exploring the low take-up of inclusive parenting policies in the UK. *Policy Studies*, 40 (2), pp.205–224.

Blau, F. D. (2012). The Sources of the Gender Pay Gap. In: Grusky, D. and Kricheli-Katz, T. (Eds). *The New Gilded Age: The Critical Inequality Debates of Our Time*. Stanford University Press. pp.189–210.; Blau, F. D. (2016). *The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Borchorst, A. and Siim, B. (2008). Woman-friendly policies and state feminism: Theorizing Scandinavian gender equality. *Feminist Theory*, 9 (2), pp.207–224.

Borchorst, A. and Siim, B. (2002). The women-friendly welfare states revisited. *NORA - Nordic Journal of* Feminist and Gender Research, 10 (2), pp.90–98. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1080/080387402760262186 [Accessed 9 March 2021].

Bordo, S. (2004). *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Borgerson, J. (2005). Judith Butler: On Organizing Subjectivities. *The Sociological Review*, 53, pp.63–79.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital. In (Ed) J. G. Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bragues, G. (2012). Portugal's Plight: The Role of Social Democracy. *The Independent Review*, 16 (3), pp.325–349. [Online]. Available at: http://undefined/stable/24563206 [Accessed 3 April 2018].

Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2001). Flexible Work and Flexible Fathers. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15 (2), pp.251–267.

Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2009). Gendered or Gender-Neutral Care Politics for Fathers? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 624 (1), pp.177–189.

Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2012). Free choice or gentle force? How can parental leave change gender practices. In: Kjørholt, A. and Qvortrup, J. (Eds). *The Modern Child and the Flexible Labour Market: Early Childhood Education and Care*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.56–71. [Online]. Available at: //www.palgrave.com/us/book/9780230579323 [Accessed 21 February 2018].

Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2016). Masculinity and Fathering Alone during Parental Leave. *Men and Masculinities*, 21 (1), pp.72–90.

Browne, J. (2006). *Sex segregation and inequality in the modern labour market*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Browne, J. (2013). The Default Model: Gender Equality, Fatherhood, and Structural Constraint. *Politics & Gender*, 9 (2), pp.152–173.

Browne, J. (2016). The Corporate Father. In: Inhorn, M. C., Chavkin, W. and Navaro, J. (Eds). *Globalized Fatherhood*. New York and Oxford, Berghahn, pp. 31–52.

Bryce, A. (2018). *Finding meaning through work: eudaimonic well-being and job type in the US and UK.* Sheffield Economic Research Paper Series. Sheffield: University of Sheffield.

Buelens, M. and Broeck, H. V. den. (2007). An Analysis of Differences in Work Motivation between Public and Private Sector Organizations. Public *Administration Review*, 67 (1), pp.65–74.

Budig, M. J. (2014). *The fatherhood bonus and the motherhood penalty. Parenthood and the gender gap in pay.* Third Way: Washington D.C. Available at: https://www.west-info.eu/children-boost-fathers-career-but-damage-mothers/next_-_fatherhood_motherhood/ [Accessed 12 June 2018].

Burchell, B. J. (1996). Gender Segregation, Size of Workplace and the Public Sector. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 3 (4), pp.227–235.

Burgess, A. and Davies, J. (2017). *Cash or Carry: Fathers combining work and care in the UK.* London: Fatherhood Institute. [Online]. Available at: http://www.fatherhoodinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Cash-or-carry-Executive-Summary-PDF-1.pdf [Accessed 6 December 2017].

Burgess, A. and Goldman, R. (2021). *Lockdown Fathers: The Untold Story (full report).* London: Fatherhood Institute.

Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies that Matter.* London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1995). For a Careful Reading. In: Benhabib, S., et al. (Eds). *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange.* New York: Routledge. New York: Routledge, pp.127-144.

Butler, J. P. (1997). *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Thinking gender. Second edition. London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2001). Chapter 1: The Question of Social Transformation. *Counterpoints*, 242, pp.1–28.

Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender.* London and New York: Routledge.

Butler, J. (2015). *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bygren, M. and Duvander, A. (2006). Parents' Workplace Situation and Fathers' Parental Leave Use. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68 (2), pp.363–372.

Calado, A., Capucha, L. and Estêvão, P. (2019). Welfare State Development in Portugal: From "Stage Zero" to the Post-Crisis "Leftist" Compromise against Austerity. *Comparative Sociology*, 18 (5–6), pp.658–686.

Carvalheiro, R. and Silveirinha, M. J. (2018). Género e receção mediática no Estado Novo [Gender and media reception in Estado Novo]. *Mediapolis – Revista de Comunicação, Jornalismo e Espaço Público*, (7), pp.199–213.

Carvalho, S. and White, H. (1997). *Combining the quantitative and qualitative approaches to poverty measurement and analysis: the practice and the potential*, World Bank technical paper no. 366. Washington, D.C: World Bank.

Case, M. A. (1998). Unpacking package deals: separate spheres are not the answer. *Denver University Law Review*, 75 (4), pp.1305-1320.

Castro-García, C. and Pazos-Moran, M. (2016). Parental Leave Policy and Gender Equality in Europe. *Feminist Economics*, 22(3), pp. 51-73.

Chambers, C. (2008). *Sex, Culture, and Justice: The Limits of Choice*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press.

Chanfreau, J. et al. (2011). *Maternity and Paternity Rights Survey and Women Returners Survey 2009/10*. London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Chodorow, N. J. (1999). *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chow, R. (1997). Where Have All the Natives Gone? In: Mongia, P. (Ed). *Contemporary Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, p.123–145. London: Arnold.

Chowbey, P., Salway, S. and Clarke, L. (2013). Supporting Fathers in Multi-Ethnic Societies: Insights from British Asian Fathers. *Journal of Social Policy*, 42 (02), pp.391–408.

Chung, H. (2017). *Evidence for Women and Equalities Committee Fathers and the Workplace* R*eport*. London: HM Government. [Online]. Available at: http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/women-and-equalities-committee/fathers-and-the-workplace/written/48110.pdf [Accessed 8 June 2018].

Chung, H. (2018). 'Women's work penalty' in access to flexible working arrangements across Europe. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, p.0959680117752829.

Chung, H. (2020). Gender, Flexibility Stigma and the Perceived Negative Consequences of Flexible Working in the UK. *Social Indicators Research*, 151 (2), pp.521–525.

Chung, H. and van der Lippe, T. (2020). Flexible Working, Work–Life Balance, and Gender Equality: Introduction. *Social Indicators Research*, 151 (2), pp.365–381.

Chung, H. et al. (2021). Covid-19, Flexible Working, and Implications for Gender Equality in the United Kingdom. *Gender & Society*, 35 (2), pp.218–232.

Chzhen, Y., Gromada, A. and Rees, G. (2019). *Are the world's richest countries family friendly? Policy in the OECD and EU*. Florence: UNICEF.

Cislaghi, B. and Heise, L. (2020). Gender norms and social norms: differences, similarities and why they matter in prevention science. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 42 (2), pp.407–422.

Cockburn, C. (1985). *Machinery of Dominance*. London: Pluto Press.

Code, L. (1983). Taking Subjectivity into Account. In (Eds.) L. Alcoff and E. Potter, *Feminist Epistemologies,* p. 49-82. New York: Routledge.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, pp. S95–S120.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Connell, R. W. (1990). The State, Gender, and Sexual Politics: Theory and Appraisal. *Theory and Society*, 19 (5), pp.507–544.

Connell, R. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*. University of California Press.

Connell, R. (2005). *Masculinities: Second Edition*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Connell, R. W. and Wood, J. (2005). Globalization and Business Masculinities. *Men and Masculinities*, 7 (4), pp.347–364.

Cooper, M. (2017). Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism. Brooklyn: Zone Books.

Correia, R. B., Wall, K. and Leitão, M. (2021). Portugal Country Note. In: Koslowski, A. et al. (Eds). *17th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2021*. International Network on Leave Policies and Research. pp.473–488. [Online] Available at: https://www.leavenetwork.org/annual-review-reports/review-2021/ [Accessed 3 September 2021]

Cory, G. (2020). *Childcare: A pre-budget briefing from the Women's Budget Group*. [Online]. Available at: https://wbg.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/final-childcare-2020.pdf [Accessed 30 March 2021].

Costa Dias, M., Elming, W., and Joyce, R. (2016). The Gender Wage Gap. IFS Briefing Note BN186. Institute for Fiscal Studies. Available at: https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/bns/bn186.pdf [Accessed 27 August 2020]

Creswell, J. W. and Cresswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Fifth edition. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Creswell, J. W. (2010). Mapping the Developing Landscape of Mixed Methods Research. In: *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*, pp.45–68. Thousand Oaks, London and Delhi: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. and Plano Clark, V. (2018). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Third Edition. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Crompton, R., Dennett, J. and Wigfield, A. (2003). *Organisations, Careers and Caring*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Crompton, R., & Le Feuvre, N. (2000). Gender, family and employment in comparative perspective: The realities and representations of equal opportunities in Britain and France. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 10(4), pp.334–348.

Crompton, R. and Lyonette, C. (2006). Work-Life 'Balance' in Europe. *Acta Sociologica*, 49 (4), pp.379–393. [Online]. Available at: http://undefined/stable/20459956 [Accessed 3 April 2018].

Crompton, R., and Lyonette, C. (2008). Who does the housework? The division of labour within the home. In: Park, A., Curtice, J., Thomson, K., Phillips, M., Johnson, M. and Cleary, E. (Eds). *British social attitudes*. London: Sage, pp.53–80.

Cunha, V., Atalaia, S. and Wall, K. (2017). *Policy Brief II: Men and parental leaves: legal framework, attitudes and practices*. Lisboa: Comissão para a Igualdade no Trabalho e no Emprego [Commission for Equality in Labour and Employment].

Chzhen, Y., Gromada, A. and Rees, G. (2019). *Are the world's richest countries family-friendly? Policy in the OECD and EU*. Florence: Unicef.

Dahan, N., Doh, J. and Guay, T. (2006). The role of multinational corporations in transnational institution building: A policy network perspective. *Human Relations*, 59 (11), pp.1571–1600.

Daly, M. (2011). What Adult Worker Model? A Critical Look at Recent Social Policy Reform in Europe from a Gender and Family Perspective. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 18 (1), pp.1–23. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1093/sp/jxr002 [Accessed 12 March 2021].

Daly, M. (2020). *Gender Inequality and Welfare States in Europe*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

Daly, M. and Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 51 (2), pp.281–298.

Daminger, A. (2019). The Cognitive Dimension of Household Labor. *American Sociological Review*, 84 (4), pp.609–633.

Davey, K. M., and Symon, G. (2001). Recent approaches to the qualitative analysis of organizational culture. In: Cooper, C. L., Cartwright, S. and Earley, P. C. (Eds). *The international handbook of organizational culture and climate*. New York: Wiley, pp. 123–142.

Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, Race and Class*. New York: Vintage Books.

Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique. Theory and Society, 30 (3), pp. 337–361. [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/657965 [Accessed 15 January 2021].

Dermott, E. (2008). *Intimate Fatherhood: A Sociological Analysis*. London: Routledge.

DeRose, L. F. et al. (2019). Are Children Barriers to the Gender Revolution? International Comparisons. *European Journal of Population*, 35 (5), pp.987–1021.

Derrida, J. (1988). *Limited Inc*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Detomasi, D. A. (2007). The Multinational Corporation and Global Governance: Modelling Global Public Policy Networks. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 71 (3), pp. 321–334.

Detraz, N. and Peksen, D. (2018). "Women Friendly" Spending? Welfare Spending and Women's Participation in the Economy and Politics. *Politics and Gender*, 14 (2), pp.137–161.

Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Undoing Gender. *Gender and Society*, 21 (1), pp.106–127.

Dex, S., Hawkes, D., Joshi, H., and Ward, K. (2005). Parents' employment and childcare. In: Dex, S. and Joshi, H. (Eds). *Children of the 21st century: From birth to nine months*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 207–236.

Denzin, N. K. (2013). The Elephant in the Living Room, or, Extending the Conversation about the Politics of Evidence. In: Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials,* pp. 517–546. Fourth edition. Thousand Oaks, London and Delhi: SAGE.

Dickson, M. W., Resick, C. J., and Hanges, P. J. (2006). When organizational climate is unambiguous, it is also strong. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91 (2), pp.351–364.

Dores Guerreiro, M., Caetano, A. and Rodrigues, E. (2014). Gendered family lives through the eyes of young people: diversity, permanence and change of gender representations in Portugal. *Gender and Education*, 26 (1), pp.35–51.

Doucet, A. (2004a). Fathers and the responsibility for children: A puzzle and a tension. *Atlantis* 28(2), pp.103–14.

Doucet, A. (2004b). "It's almost like I have a job, but I don't get paid": Fathers at home reconfiguring work, care, and masculinity. *Fathering* 2(3), pp. 277–96.

Doucet, A. (2006). *Do Men Mother*? Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Doucet, A. (2009). Dad and Baby in the First Year: Gendered Responsibilities and Embodiment. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 624 (1), pp.78–98.

Doucet, A. (2009). Gender Equality and Gender Differences: Parenting, Habitus, and Embodiment (The 2008 Porter Lecture). *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 46 (2), pp.103–121.

Doucet, A. (2017) The ethics of care and the radical potential of fathers 'home alone on leave': care as practice, relational ontology, and social justice. In: O'Brien, M. and Wall, K. (Eds). *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality*. London: Springer, pp.11–26.

Duncan, S. and Edwards, R. (1997). Lone Mothers and Paid Work - Rational Economic Man or Gendered Moral Rationalities? *Feminist Economics*, 3 (2), pp.29–61.

Dunstan, R. (2021). Honey, I shrunk the Shared Parental Leave take-up figures. *Maternity Action*. [Online]. Available at: https://maternityaction.org.uk/2021/02/honey-i-shrunk-the-shared-parental-leave-take-up-figures/ [Accessed 21 April 2021].

Duvander, A.-Z. and Bygren, M. (2005). *Who Takes Care of the Children: Couples Workplace Situation and their Division of Parental Leave.pdf*. Stockholm: Försäkringskassan (Swedish Social Insurance Agency). [Online]. Available at: https://www.forsakringskassan.se/wps/wcm/connect/8e704962-5aa8-41f4-a82a-9f3c809ceccf/wp0502_who_takes_care_of_the_children_couples_workplace_situation_and_their_division_of_parental_leave.pdf?MOD=AJPERES [Accessed 14 November 2018].

Duvander, A.-Z. and Johansson, M. (2012). What are the effects of reforms promoting fathers' parental leave use? *Journal of European Social Policy*, 22 (3), pp.319–330.

Duvander, A.-Z. and Johansson, M. (2015). Parental Leave Use for Different Fathers: a Study of the Impact of Three Swedish Parental Leave Reforms. In: Eydal, G. B. and Rostgaard, T. (Eds). *Fatherhood in the Nordic Welfare states: Comparing care policies and practice*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp.349–374.

Duvander, A.-Z., Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2017). Sweden country note. In: Moss, P., Koslowski, A. S. and Blum, S. (Eds). *International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research*, pp.392–400. [Online]. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports [Accessed 27 September 2017].

Duvander, A.-Z., Haas, L. and Thalberg, S. (2017). Fathers on Leave Alone in Sweden: Toward More Equal Parenthood? In: O'Brien, M. and Wall, K. (Eds). *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality: Fathers on Leave Alone*. London: Springer International Publishing, pp.125–146.

Duvander, A.-Z. and Johansson, M. (2019). Does Fathers' Care Spill Over? Evaluating Reforms in the Swedish Parental Leave Program. *Feminist Economics*, 25 (2), pp.67–89. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1080/13545701.2018.1474240 [Accessed 7 March 2019].

Duvander, A.-Z., and Löfgren, N. (2020). Sweden Country Note. In: Koslowski, A., Blum, S., Dobrotić, I., Kaufman, G. and Moss, P. (Eds). In*ternational Review of Leave Policies and Research 2020,* pp.555–566. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/ [Accessed 03 March 2021].

Earley, P. C. (1989) Social Loafing and Collectivism: A comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. *Administrative Science Quarterly,* 34, pp. 565–581.

Ehrhart, M., Schneider, B., and Macey, W. G. (2014). *Organizational climate and culture: an introduction to theory, research, and practice*. New York: Routledge.

Elson, D. (1999). Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment Issues. *World Development*, 27 (3), pp.611–627.

England, P. (1982). The Failure of Human Capital Theory to Explain Occupational Sex Segregation. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 17 (3), pp.358–370.

England, P. (2005). Gender Inequality in Labor Markets: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 12 (2), pp.264–288.

England, P. (2010). The Gender Revolution Uneven and Stalled. *Gender and Society*, 24(2), pp.149–166.

Eriksson, R. and Nermo, M. (2010). Care for Sick Children as a Proxy for Gender Equality in the Family. *Social Indicators Research,* 97(3), pp. 341–56.

Errante, A. (1998). Education and National Personae in Portugal's Colonial and Postcolonial Transition. *Comparative Education Review*, 42 (3), pp.267–308. [Online]. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1189162 [Accessed 21 April 2021].

Escobedo, A. and Wall, K. (2013). *Southern European revision of leave policies in the last decade (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal).* [Online]. Accessed 31 November 2014. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/Leavenetwork/Seminars/2013/AEscobedoKWall.pdf.

Escobedo, A. and Wall, K. (2015). Leave policies in Southern Europe: continuities and changes. *Community, Work & Family*, 18 (2), pp.218–235.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, G. (2009). *The Incomplete Revolution: Adapting to Women's New Roles*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity.

Estévez-Abe, M. (2006). Gendering the varieties of capitalism: A study of occupational segregation by sex in advanced industrial countries. *World Politics,* 59 (1), pp.142–175.

Esterberg, K. G. (2002). *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Estrela, E. (2012). From prescribed to narrative curriculum – An attempt to understand educational change in Portugal. In: (Ed.) Cuadra-Montiel, H. *Globalization Education and Management Agendas*. London: IntechOpen, pp.109–150. Available at: doi:10.5772/50072 [Accessed 21 April 2021].

Eurofound. (2020a [2016]). Total Working Hours. *European Quality of Life Survey – Data Visualisation.* Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-quality-of-life-survey [Accessed 8th March 2021]

Eurofound. (2020b [2016]). Hours Spent caring for and/or educating your children. *European Quality of Life Survey – Data Visualisation.* Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-quality-of-life-survey [Accessed 8th March 2021]

Eurofound. (2020c [2016]). It has been difficult to fulfil family responsibilities because of time spent on job. *European Quality of Life Survey – Data Visualisation.* Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-quality-of-life-survey [Accessed 8th March 2021]

Eurofound. (2020d [2016]). How easy or difficult is it to combine paid work with your care responsibilities? *European Quality of Life Survey – Data Visualisation.* Available at: https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-quality-of-life-survey [Accessed 6 April 2021]

European Commission. (2016). *Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016-2019.* Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/document/files/strategic_engagement_en.pdf [Accessed 4 January 2018].

European Union. (2010). *EU directive 2010/18/EU.* Available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:068:0013:0020:en:PDF [Accessed 4 January 2018].

European Values Study. (2018). *The TRAPD method for survey translation.* [Online]. Available at: https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/methodology-data-documentation/survey-2017/methodology/the-trapd-method-for-survey-translation/ [Accessed 5 January 2022].

European Values Study. (2021a). *Methodology, Data, Documentation*. Cologne: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences. Available at: https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/methodology-data-documentation/ [Accessed 23 July 2021].

European Values Study. (2021b). EVS 2017: *What has been done to achieve good data quality?* Cologne: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences. Available at: https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/methodology-data-documentation/survey-2017/methodology/evs2017-what-has-been-done-to-achieve-good-data-quality/ [Accessed 23 July 2021].

Eurostat. (2020a). Gender Pay Gap Statistics. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics [Accessed 08 March 2021]

Eurostat. (2020b). Labour Force Survey. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/lfs/data/database [Accessed 5 December 2020].

Eurostat. (2020c). GDP per capita in PPS. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tec00114/default/table?lang=en [Accessed 20 April 2021].

Eurostat. (2021a). Employment rate by sex, age group 20-64. Brussels: Eurostat. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/t2020_10/default/table?lang=en [Accessed 11 March 2021.]

Eurostat. (2021b). Employment rate by sex. Brussels, Eurostat. Accessed 9 July 2020. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/tesem010/default/table?lang=en

Eurostat. (2021c). Gender pay gap in unadjusted form. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg_05_20/default/table?lang=en [accessed 08 March 2021]

Eurostat. (2021d). Part-time employment and temporary contracts - annual data. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/bookmark/36e47c1a-b367-401c-9507-4388a0fdd4cc?lang=en [Accessed 23 March 2021]

Eurostat. (2021e). Tertiary educational attainment by sex. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg_04_20/default/table?lang=en [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Evans, M. (2021). 'Opening Conversation: Envisioning Care.' *The Social Life of Care Conference.* Online, 13–15 May 2021. Cambridge: Cambridge University and Gender and Working Lives Group.

Evertsson M (2014) Gender ideology and the sharing of housework and child care in Sweden. *Journal of Family Issues* 35(7), pp. 927–949.

Ewing, F. (1991). Norms, Discipline and the Law. In: Post, R. (Ed). *Law and the Order of Culture.* Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.138–160.

Eydal, G. B. and Gíslason, I. V. (2020). Iceland Country Note. In: Koslowski, A. et al. (Eds). *16th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2020,* pp. 313–321. International Network on Leave Policies and Research.

Fagan, J. and Barnett, M. (2003). The Relationship between Maternal Gatekeeping, Paternal Competence, Mothers' Attitudes about the Father Role, and Father Involvement. *Journal of Family Issues*, 24 (8), pp.1020–1043.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change.* Cambridge: Polity, Polity Press.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour.* London: Sage.

Faircloth, C. (2013). *Militant lactivism?: attachment parenting and intensive motherhood in the UK and France.* New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Faircloth, C. (2014). Intensive Fatherhood? The (Un)involved Dad. In: Lee, E. et al. (Eds). *Parenting Culture Studies*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.184–199.

Faircloth, C. (2020). When equal partners become unequal parents: couple relationships and intensive parenting culture. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 10(2), pp.231–248.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.

Federici, S. (2010). 'The reproduction of labour-power in the global economy, Marxist theory and the unfinished feminist revolution.' [Online]. Available at: https://caringlabor.wordpress.com/2010/10/25/silvia-federici-the-reproduction-of-labour-power-in-the-global-economy-marxist-theory-and-the-unfinished-feminist-revolution/ [Accessed 26 April 2018].

Feldman, M. (1995.) *Strategies for interpreting qualitative data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ferguson, S. (2020). *Women and Work: Feminism, Labour, and Social Reproduction*. London: Pluto Press.

Ferrarini, T. and Duvander, A. Z. (2010). Earner-Carer Model at the Crossroads: Reforms and Outcomes of Sweden's Family Policy in a Comparative Perspective. *International Journal of Health Services* 40(3): pp. 373–98.

Ferrera, M. (1996). The "Southern Model" of welfare in Social Europe. *Journal of European Social Policy* 6(1), pp.17–37.

Filmarkivet.se. (1976). Försäkringskassan (1976). Available at: https://www.filmarkivet.se/movies/forsakringskassan/ [Accessed 12 March 2021].

Filmarkivet.se. (1976). Försäkringskassan (1978). Available at: https://www.filmarkivet.se/movies/forsakringskassan-2/ [Accessed 12 March 2021].

Fisher, D. (2010). *Baby's Here! Who Does What?: How to Split the Work without Splitting Up*. Llandovery: Grandma's Stories Ltd.

Flick, U. (2009). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Fourth Edition. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Flohr, A. et al. (2010). Variations in corporate norm-entrepreneurship: Why the home state matters. In: Ougaard, M., Leander, A. and Leander, A. (Eds). *Business and Global Governance*. London: Taylor & Francis Group.

Folbre, N. (1994). *Who pays for the kids? Gender and the structures of constraint*. New York and London: Routledge.

Folbre, N. (1995). 'Holding hands at midnight': The paradox of caring labor. *Feminist Economics*, 1 (1), pp.73–92.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Foucault, M. (1998). *The History of Sexuality 1: The Will to Knowledge*. London and New York: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1991). *Discipline and Punish*. London and New York: Penguin.

Fox, B. (2019). *When Couples Become Parents: The Creation of Gender in the Transition to Parenthood*. University of Toronto Press.

Fraser, N. (1997). *Justice Interruptus: Rethinking Key Concepts of a Post-socialist Age*. New York: Routledge.

Fraser, N. (2013). *Fortunes of Feminism: From State-Managed Capitalism to Neoliberal Crisis*. London and New York: Verso.

Fraser, N. (2017). Crisis of Care? On the Social-Reproductive Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism. In: Bhattacharya, T. (Ed). *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression.* London: Pluto Press, pp.21–36.

Fusulier, B. and Nicole-Drancourt, C. (2020). Towards a Multi-Active Society: Daring to Imagine a New Work-Life Regime. In: Moss, P., Duvander, A.-Z. and Koslowski, A. (Eds). *Parental leave and beyond: Recent International Developments, Current Issues and Future Directions*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp.315–332.

Game, A. and Pringle, R. (1984). *Gender at Work*. London: Pluto Press.

Gallie, D. (2003). The Quality of Working Life: Is Scandinavia Different? *European Sociological Review*, 19 (1), pp.61–79.

Gatrell, C. and Cooper, C. L. (2016). A sense of entitlement? Fathers, mothers and organizational support for family and career. *Community, Work & Family*, 19 (2), pp.134–147.

Gauntlett, D. (2018). *Making Is Connecting: The Social Power of Creativity, from Craft and Knitting to Digital Everything.* Newark, UK: Polity Press.

Gauntlett, D. (2011). *Three Approaches to Social Capital.* [Online]. Available at: https://davidgauntlett.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/gauntlett2011-extract-sc.pdf [Accessed 5 June 2020].

Gauthier, A. H., Smeedeng, T. M. and Furstenberg, F. F. (2004). Are Parents Investing Less Time in Children? Trends in Selected Industrialized Countries. *Population and Development Review*, 30 (4), pp.647–671.

Geppert, M., Matten, D. and Walgenbach, P. (2006). Transnational institution building and the multinational corporation: An emerging field of research. *Human Relations*, 59 (11), pp. 1451–1465.

Gershuny, J. and Sullivan, O. (2003). Time Use, Gender, and Public Policy Regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 10 (2), pp.205–228.

Gheaus, A. and Robeyns, I. (2011). Equality-Promoting Parental Leave. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 42 (2), pp.173–191.

Gill, R. (2002) Cool, creative and egalitarian? Exploring gender in project-based new media work in Europe. *Information*, *Communication and Society*, 5(1), pp. 70–89.

Gillies, V. (2009). Understandings and Experiences of Involved Fathering in the United Kingdom: Exploring Classed Dimensions. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 624, pp.49–60.

Gimenez-Nadal, J. I., Molina, J. A. and Sevilla-Sanz, A. (2012). Social norms, partnerships and children. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 10 (2), pp.215–236.

Giner, S. (1982). Political Economy, Legitimation and the State in Southern Europe. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 33 (2), pp.172–199.

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.; Saldaña, J. (2009). *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* New York: Aldine.

Goldscheider, F., Bernhardt, E. and Lappegård, T. (2015). The Gender Revolution: A Framework for Understanding Changing Family and Demographic Behavior. *Population and Development Review*, 41(2), pp.207–239.

Gornick, J. C. and Meyers, M. K. (2008). Creating Gender Egalitarian Societies: An Agenda for Reform. *Politics & Society*, 36 (3), pp.313–349.

Gracyalny, M. L. (2017). Scales, Likert Statement. In: Allen, M. (Ed). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, pp.1555–1557. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.4135/9781483381411 [Accessed 6 September 2021].

Gray, A. (2006). The time economy of parenting. *Sociological Research Online*, 11(3).

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J. and Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a Conceptual Framework for Mixed-Method Evaluation Designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 11 (3), pp. 255–274.

Greene, J. C. (2008). Is Mixed Methods Social Inquiry a Distinctive Methodology? *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 2 (1), pp.7–22.

Gregory, A. and Milner, S. (2008). Fatherhood regimes and father involvement in France and the UK. *Community, Work & Family*, 11 (1), pp.61–84.

Gregory, A. and Milner, S. (2011). Fathers and work-life balance in France and the UK: policy and practice. The International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 31 (1/2), pp.34–52.

Grönlund, A. and Magnusson, C. (2016). Family-friendly policies and women's wages – is there a trade-off? Skill investments, occupational segregation and the gender pay gap in Germany, Sweden and the UK. *European Societies*, 18 (1), pp.91–113.

Grönlund, A., Halldén, K. and Magnusson, C. (2017). A Scandinavian success story? Women's labour market outcomes in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. *Acta Sociologica*, 60 (2), pp.97–119.

Grosz, E. A. (2005). *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature, Power.* Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.

Grunow, D. and Evertsson, M. (Eds). *Couples' Transitions to Parenthood: Analysing Gender and Work in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing

Grunow, D. and Veltkamp, G. (2016). Institutions as Reference Points for Parrents-to-be in European Societies: A Theoretical and Analytical Framework. In: Grunow, D. and Evertsson, M. (Eds). *Couples' Transitions to Parenthood: Analysing Gender and Work in Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp.3–33.

Guibentif, P. (1996) 'The transformation of the Portuguese social security system', in M. Rhodes (ed), Southern European Society and Politics, Special Issue on Southern European Welfare States, 1(3): 219–39.

Haas, L., Allard, K. and Hwang, P. (2002). The impact of organizational culture on men's use of parental leave in Sweden. *Community, Work & Family*, 5 (3), pp. 319–342.

Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2007). Gender and Organizational Culture: Correlates of Companies' Responsiveness to Fathers in Sweden. *Gender and Society*, 21 (1), pp.52–79.

Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2008). The Impact of Taking Parental Leave on Fathers' Participation In Childcare And Relationships With Children: Lessons from Sweden. *Community, Work & Family*, 11 (1), pp.85–104.

Haas, L. and Hwang, C. P. (2016). "It's About Time!": Company Support for Fathers' Entitlement to Reduced Work Hours in Sweden. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 23 (1), pp.142–167.

Haas, L. and Rostgaard, T. (2011). Fathers' rights to paid parental leave in the Nordic countries: consequences for the gendered division of leave. *Community, Work & Family*, 14(2), 177–195.

Hagqvist, E. et al. (2017). Parental leave policies and time use for mothers and fathers: a case study of Spain and Sweden. *Society, Health & Vulnerability*, 8 (1), p.1374103. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1080/20021518.2017.1374103 [Accessed 10 March 2021].

Hall, S. M. et al. (2018). *Intersecting Inequalities*. Available at: https://wbg.org.uk/blog/intersecting-inequalities-impact-austerity-bme-women-uk/ [Accessed 20 April 2021].

Hall, M. and Stephens, L. *Quality Childcare for All*. London: New Economics Foundation. [Online]. Available at: https://neweconomics.org/uploads/files/Quality-childcare_NEF.pdf [Accessed 30 March 2021].

Hamilton, P. (2021). Researching parental leave during a pandemic: lessons from black feminist theory and relationality. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 10 (1), pp.197–203.

Hancock, P. and Tyler, M. (2007). Un/doing Gender and the Aesthetics of Organizational Performance. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 14 (6), pp. 512–533.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), pp. 575–599.

Haraway, D. J. (2016). *Manifestly Haraway*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What Is 'Strong Objectivity'? In (Eds.) L. Alcoff and E. Potter, *Feminist Epistemologies,* p. 49–82. New York: Routledge.

Harding, S. (1995). Subjectivity, Experience and Knowledge: An Epistemology from/for Rainbow Coalition Politics. In (Ed.) J. Roof and R. Wiegman, *Who can Speak: Authority and Critical Identity,* p. 120–136. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Harding, N. H., Ford, J. and Lee, H. (2017). Towards a Performative Theory of Resistance: Senior Managers and Revolting Subject(ivitie)s. *Organization Studies*, 38 (9), pp. 1209–1232.

Hearn, J. (2002). Men, fathers and the state: national and global relations. In: (Ed.) B. Hobson, *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 245–272.

Held, D. et al. (Eds). (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Henwood, K., Shirani, F. and Coltart, C. (2010). Fathers and financial risk-taking during the economic downturn: insights from a QLL study of men's identities-in-the-making. *Twenty-First Century Society*, 5 (2), pp.137–147.

Heritage, S. (2018). Yes, Piers Morgan, James Bond would totally wear a baby sling. *Guardian, Tuesday 16th October, online.* Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/oct/16/piers-morgan-james-bond-baby-sling-daniel-craig-007 [Accessed 01 Aug 2021].

Hernes, H. M. (1987). *Welfare state and woman power: essays in state feminism.* Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

Hesse-Biber, S. N., Rodriguez, D. and Frost, N. A. (2015). A Qualitatively Driven Approach to Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research. In: Hesse-Biber, S. N. and Johnson, R. B. (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry.* Oxford: Oxford University Press*,* pp. 3–20.

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2015). Introduction: Navigating a Turbulent Research Landscape: Working the Boundaries, Tensions, Diversity, and Contradictions of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Inquiry. In: Hesse-Biber, S. N. and Johnson, R. B. (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry,* pp.xxxiii–Iiii.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). Black Feminist Thought. New York and London: Routledge.

Himmelweit, S. and Sigala, M. (2004). Choice and the Relationship between Identities and Behaviour for Mothers with Pre-School Children: Some Implications for Policy from a UK Study. *Journal of Social Policy*, 33 (3), pp.455–478.

Hirdman, Y. (1988). Genussystemet – reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning. *Kvinnovetenskapligtidskrift.* 3, pp.49–64.

Hirdman, Y. (1990). Genussystemet. *Statens Offentliga Utredningar,* 44, Demokrati och makt i Sverige. Stockholm, SOU.

Hobson, B. (1990) 'No exit, No Voice: Women's Economic Dependency and the Welfare State'. *Acta Sociologica* 33, 3: 235–50.

Hobson, B. (1993) 'Married Women's Right to Work in the U.S. and Sweden During the 1930s'. In: Koven, S. and Michel, S. (Eds). *Mothers of a New World. Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States.* New York: Routledge.

Hobson, B. (1994). Solo Mothers, Social Policy Regimes and the Logics of Gender. In: Sainsbury, D. (Ed). *Gendering Welfare States.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.170–188.

Hobson, B. (Ed). (2002). *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobson, B. (2006). The Evolution of the Women-friendly State: Opportunities and Constraints in the Swedish Welfare State. In: Razavi, S. and Hassim, S. (Eds). *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context: Uncovering the Gendered Structure of 'the Social'.* Social Policy in a Development Context. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. pp.151–172.

Hobson, B, Duvander, A.-Z. and Halldén, K. (2006). Men and women's agency and capabilities to create a worklife balance in diverse and changing institutional contexts. In: (Ed.) J. Lewis. *Children, Changing Families and Welfare States*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Pub.

Hobson, B. and Fahlén, S. (2009). Competing Scenarios for European Fathers: Applying Sen's Capabilities and Agency Framework to Work—Family Balance. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 624 (1), pp.214–233.

Hobson, B. (2011). The Agency Gap in Work-Life Balance: Applying Sen's Capabilities Framework Within European Contexts. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 18 (2), pp.147–167.

Hobson, B., Fahlén, S. and Takács, J. (2011). Agency and Capabilities to Achieve a Work-Life Balance: A Comparison of Sweden and Hungary. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 18 (2), pp.169–198.

Hochschild, A. (1997). *The Time Bind, When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*. New York: Owl Books.

Hochschild, A. and Machung, A. (2003). *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home.* Penguin.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviours, Institutions and Organizations across Nations.* Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, London and Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hofstede, G. (2010). *Cultures and organizations: software of the mind: intercultural cooperation and its importance for survival.* New York and London: McGraw-Hill.

Hollywood, A. (2002). Performativity, Citationality, Ritualization. *History of Religions*, 42 (2), pp.93–115.

Hudson, C. and Rönnblom, M. (2007). Regional development policies and the constructions of gender equality: The Swedish case. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46 (1), pp.47–68. [Online]. Available at: doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00642.x [Accessed 12 March 2021].

Hughes, C., and Cohen, R. L. (Eds.). (2011). *Feminism counts: Quantitative methods and researching gender.* London: Routledge.

Hupkau, C. and Petrongolo, B. (2020). *Work, care and gender during the Covid-19 crisis: A CEP Covid-19 analysis.* London: LSE Centre for Economic Performance.

Hustad, I. B. et al. (2020). Occupational Attributes and Occupational Gender Segregation in Sweden: Does It Change Over Time? *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2020.00554 [Accessed 10 March 2021].

Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2021). Monthly Ranking of women in national parliaments. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union. Available at: https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking?month=4&year=2021 [Accessed 14 April 2021]

Irigaray, L. (1985). *Speculum of the Other Woman.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

ISER. (no date a). The European Socio-economic Classification. Colchester: University of Essex. Available at: https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/archives/esec/user-guide/the-european-socio-economic-classification [accessed 1 December 2017]

ISER. (no date b). Six five and three class models. Colchester: University of Essex. Available at: https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/archives/esec/user-guide/detailed-category-descriptions-and-operational-issues/six-five-and-three-class-models [accessed 22 January 2018]

Jaffe, S. and Bhattacharya, T. (2020). Social Reproduction and the Pandemic, with Tithi Bhattacharya. *Dissent Magazine.* [Online]. 2 April. Available at: https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/social-reproduction-and-the-pandemic-with-tithi-bhattacharya [Accessed 10 May 2021].

Javornik, Jana and Oliver, L. (2019). Converting shared parental leave into shared parenting: the role of employers and use of litigation by employees in the UK. In (Eds.) M. Yerkes and J. Javornik, *Social Policy and the Capability Approach: Concepts, Measurements and Application*. 61–82: Policy Press.

Jayaratne, T. E. (1983). The Value of Quantitative Methodology for Feminist Researcb. In: Bowles, G. and Klein, R. (Eds). *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.140–161.

Jezierska, K. and Towns, A. (2018). Taming feminism? The place of gender equality in the 'Progressive Sweden' brand. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 14 (1), pp.55–63. [Online]. Available at: doi:http://dx.doi.org.ezp.lib.cam.ac.uk/10.1057/s41254-017-0091-5 [Accessed 10 March 2021].

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment. *Development and Change*, 30 (3), pp. 435–464.

Kamerman, S. B., and Moss, P. (Eds). (2009). *The politics of parental leave policies. Children, Parenting, Gender and the Labour Market.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Kan, M.-Y. and Laurie, H. (2018). Who Is Doing the Housework in Multicultural Britain? *Sociology*, 52 (1), pp. 55–74.

Kanbur, R. (2001). Qualitative and Quantitative Poverty Appraisal: The State of Play and Some Questions. In: Kanbur, R. et al. (Eds). *Qual-Quant: Qualitative and Quantitative Poverty Appraisal: Complementarities, Tensions and the Way Forward.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Karamessini, M. (2008) 'Continuity and change in the Southern European social model', International Labour Review 147(1): 43–70.

Karu, M. and Kasearu, K. (2011). Slow Steps Towards Dual Earner/Dual Carer Family Model: Why Fathers do not Take Parental Leave. *Studies of Transition States and Societies*, 3 (1) pp.24–38.

Kato-Wallace, J. et al. (2014). Global pathways to men's caregiving: Mixed methods findings from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey and the Men Who Care study. *Global Public Health*, 9 (6), pp.706–722.

Kaufman, G. (2017). Barriers to equality: why British fathers do not use parental leave. *Community, Work & Family*, 0 (0), pp.1–16. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1080/13668803.2017.1307806 [Accessed 24 October 2017].

Kaufman, G. and Almqvist, A.-L. (2017). The Role of Partners and Workplaces in British and Swedish Men's Parental Leave Decisions. *Men and Masculinities*, 20 (5), pp. 533–551.

Kaur, S. (2020). *Sex and Power 2020*. London: Fawcett Society. [Online]. Available at: https://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk/Handlers/Download.ashx?IDMF=bdb30c2d-7b79-4b02-af09-72d0e25545b5 [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Kelan, E. (2008). Gender, risk and employment insecurity: The masculine breadwinner subtext. *Human Relations*, 61 (9), pp.1171–1202.

Kelan, E. K. (2010). Gender Logic and (Un)doing Gender at Work. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 17 (2), pp. 174–194.

Kelan, E.. (2012). Gender In Consulting: A Review and Research Agenda. In: M. Kipping and T. Clark (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Management Consulting*. Oxford University Press. pp. 1–12.

Kelan, E. K. (2018). Men Doing and Undoing Gender at Work: A Review and Research Agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 20 (2), pp. 544–558.

Kelan, E. (Forthcoming). *Men as Middle Managers Doing and Undoing Gender In Organizations*. Working Paper, University of Essex Business School.

Kerber, L. K. (1988). Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History. *The Journal of American History*, 75 (1), pp.9–39.

Kipping, M. and Clark, T. (Eds). (2012). *The Oxford Handbook of Management Consulting*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kerfoot, D. and Knights, D. (1993). Management, Masculinity and Manipulation: From Paternalism to Corporate Strategy in Financial Services in Britain. *Journal of Management Studies*, 30 (4), pp.659–677.

Knights, D. and Kerfoot, D. (2004). Between Representations and Subjectivity: Gender Binaries and the Politics of Organizational Transformation. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 11 (4), pp.430–454.

Knights, D., and Willmot, H. (1985). *Gender and the Labour Process*. Aldershot: Gower.

Kilkey, M., Perrons, D. and Plomien, A. (2013). *Gender, Migration and Domestic Work. Masculinities, Male Labour and Fathering in the UK and USA*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kolleck, N. (2013). How Global Companies Wield Their Power: The Discursive Shaping of Sustainable Development. In: Mikler, J. (Ed). *The Handbook of Global Companies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Korpi, W., Ferrarini, T. and Englund, S. (2013). Women's Opportunities under Different Family Policy Constellations: Gender, Class, and Inequality Tradeoffs in Western Countries Re-examined. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 20 (1), pp.1–40. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1093/sp/jxs028 [Accessed 14 June 2018].

Koslowski, A. et al. (2020). *16th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2020*. International Network on Leave Policies and Research.

Koveshnikov, A., Tienari, J. and Piekkari, R. (2019). Gender in international business journals: A review and conceptualization of MNCs as gendered social spaces. *Journal of World Business*, 54 (1), pp. 37–53.

Krefting, L. A., and Frost, P. J. (1985). Untangling webs, surfing waves, and wildcatting: a multiple-metaphor perspective on managing organizational culture. In: Frost, P. J., Moore, L. F., Louis, M. R., Lundberg, C. C., and Martin, J. (Eds). *Organizational culture,* pp. 155–168. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Kremer, M. (2007). *How welfare states care: culture, gender and parenting in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kumra, S. and Vinnicombe, S. (2008). 'A Study of the Promotion to Partner Process in a Professional Services Firm: How Women are Disadvantaged'. *British Journal of Management*, 19 (S1), pp.S65–S74.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing Interviews*. SAGE Publications.

Lamb, M. E. and Lewis, C. (2010). The Development and Significance of Father–Child Relationships in Two-Parent Families. In: Lamb, M. E., *The Role of the Father in Child Development*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, pp.94–153.

Lammi-Taskula, J. (2006). Nordic men on parental leave: Can the welfare state change gender relations? In (Eds): A. Ellingsaeter and A. Leira, *Politicizing parenthood in Scandinavia: Gender relations in welfare states,* pp. 79–100. Bristol: Policy Press.

Layton, L. (1997). The doer behind the deed: Tensions and intersections between Butler's vision of performativity and relational psychoanalysis. *Gender and Psychoanalysis*, 2 (2), pp.131–155.

Layton, L. (2013). *Who's That Girl? Who's That Boy?: Clinical Practice Meets Postmodern Gender Theory*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4 (2), pp.141–164.

Leana, C. R. and Van Buren III, H. J. (2012). Organizational Social Capital and Employment Practices. In: Godwyn, M. and Gittell, J. H. (Eds). *Sociology of organizations: structures and relationships*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press. pp. 41–52.

Leavy, P. (2017). *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, Mixed Methods, Arts-based, and Community-based Participatory Research Approaches*. New York: Guildford Press; 2017.

Leibfried, S. (1992). Towards a European welfare state? On integrating poverty regimes into the European Community.' In: Ferge, Z and Eivind Kolberg, J (Eds). *Social Policy in a Changing Europe*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 245–279.

Lesthaeghe, R. (2010). The unfolding story of the second demographic transition. *Population and Development Review,* 36, pp. 211–251.

Lévesque, C. and Murray, G. (2010). Asymmetric Integration and the Restructuring of Social Relations in Global Firms: Actors, Institutions and Norms. In: Blackett, A. and Lévesque, C. (Eds). *Social Regionalism in the Global Economy*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 31–47.

Lewis, J. (2002). The problem of fathers: policy and behaviour in Britain. In (Ed) B. Hobson, *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood,* pp.125–149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, J. and Ostner, I. (1994). *Gender and the Evolution of European Social Policies*. Bremen: Centre for Social Policy Research, University of Bremen.

Lewis, J. (1994). Gender and the Development of Welfare Regimes. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2 (3), pp.159–173.

Lewis, J. (1997). Gender and Welfare Regimes: Further Thoughts. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 4 (2), pp.160–177.

Lewis, J., Campbell, M. and Huerta, C. (2008). Patterns of paid and unpaid work in Western Europe: gender, commodification, preferences and the implications for policy. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 18 (1), pp.21–37.

Lewis, J., Knijn, T., Martin, C. and Ostner, I. (2008). Patterns of Development in Work/Family Reconciliation Policies for Parents in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK in the 2000s. *Social Politics* 15 (3), pp.261–286.

Lewis, S. (2020). *The dad-friendly parental leave policies changing family life for the better*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.aviva.co.uk/aviva-edit/life-changes-articles/equal-parental-leave-policies/ [Accessed 23 September 2020].

Lohmann, H. and Zagel, H. (2016). Family policy in comparative perspective: The concepts and measurement of familization and defamilization. *Journal of European Social Policy*, 26 (1), pp.48–65.

Lombardo, E., Meier, P. and Verloo, M. (2009). *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy-Making*. Routledge.

Louis, M. R. (1980). Surprise and Sense Making: What Newcomers Experience in Entering Unfamiliar Organizational Settings. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 25 (2), pp. 226–251.

Lister, R. (2007). *Gendering citizenship in Western Europe: new challenges for citizenship research in a cross-national context.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Lombardo, E., Meier, P. and Verloo, M. (2009). *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality: Stretching, Bending and Policy-Making*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lopes, R. (2017). Fado and Fatima: Salazar's Portugal in US Film Fiction. *Film History*, 29 (3), pp.52–75.

Lundqvist, Å. (2012). The Gender Equal Father? The (Welfare) Politics of Masculinity in Sweden, 1960-2010. In: McDonald, P. et al. (Eds). *Men, Wage Work and Family*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. pp.34–49.

Lyonette, C., Crompton, R. and Wall, K. (2007). Gender, Occupational Class and Work–Life Conflict. *Community, Work & Family*, 10 (3), pp.283–308.

Lyonette, C. and Crompton, R. (2015). Sharing the load? Partners' relative earnings and the division of domestic labour. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29 (1), pp.23–40.

Ma, L., Anderson, G., Duvander, A.-Z. and Evertsson, M. (2020). Fathers' Uptake of Parental Leave: Forerunners and Laggards in Sweden, 1993–2010. *Journal of Social Policy*, 49 (2), pp.361–381.

Maanen, J. and Schein, E. H. (1960). Toward a Theory of Organizational Socialization. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 1, pp. 209–264. [Online]. Available at: https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/1934/?sequence=1 [Accessed 23 February 2021].

Macheray, P. (1992). Towards a Natural History of Norms. In: Armstrong, T. *Michel Foucault, Philosopher*. New York and London: Routledge, pp.176–191.

Magnusson, L. and Ottosson, J. (Eds). (2009). *The Evolution of Path Dependence*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Mandel, H. and Semyonov, M. (2006). A welfare state paradox: State interventions and women's employment opportunities in 22 countries. *American Journal of Sociology* 111, pp. 1910–1949.

Marques, S. R., Casaca, S. F. and Arcanjo, M. (2021). Work–Family Articulation Policies in Portugal and Gender Equality: Advances and Challenges. *Social Sciences*, 10 (4), pp.1–22.

Martin, B. (1994). Sexualities without Genders and Other Queer Utopias. *Diacritics*, 24 (2/3), pp.104–121.

Martin, J. (2002). *Organizational culture: Mapping the terrain*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mandel, H. (2012). Winners and losers: The consequences of welfare state policies for gender wage inequality. *European Sociological Review* 28: 241–262.
Martinsson, L. and Griffin, G. (2016). *Challenging the Myth of Gender Equality in Sweden*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Mauthner, N. (2020). Feminist Methods. In: Atkinson, P. et al. (Eds). *SAGE Research Methods Foundations*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.4135/9781526421036882369 [Accessed 9 July 2021].

McCorkel, J. A. and Myers, K. (2003). What Difference Does Difference Make? Position and Privilege in the Field. *Qualitative Sociology*, 26 (2), pp.199–231.

McDowell, L. and Court, G. (1994). Performing Work: Bodily Representations in Merchant Banks. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12 (6), pp.727–750.

McDowell, L. (1997). *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.

McDowell, L., Batnitzky, A. and Dyer, S. (2007). Division, Segmentation, and Interpellation: The Embodied Labors of Migrant Workers in a Greater London Hotel. *Economic Geography*, 83 (1), pp.1–25.

McKenzie, C. R. M., Liersch, M. J. and Finkelstein, S. R. (2006). Recommendations Implicit in Policy Defaults. *Psychological Science*, 17 (5), pp.414–420.

McMunn, A. et al. (2017). Fathers' Involvement: Correlates and Consequences for Child Socioemotional Behavior in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Family Issues*, 38 (8), pp.1109–1131.

McMunn, A. et al. (2020). Gender Divisions of Paid and Unpaid Work in Contemporary UK Couples. *Work, Employment and Society*, 34 (2), pp.155–173.

McKay, L. and Doucet, A. (2010). 'Without Taking Away Her Leave': A Canadian Case Study of Couples' Decisions on Fathers' Use of Paid Parental Leave. *Fathering*, 8 (3), pp.300–320.

McKay, L., Mathieu, S. and Doucet, A. (2016). Parental-leave rich and parental-leave poor: Inequality in Canadian labour market-based leave policies. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 58 (4), pp.543–562.

McNay, L. (2000). *Gender and Agency.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Messerschmidt, J. W. (2017). Managing to Kill: Masculinities and the Space Shuttle Challenger Explosion. In: Tomsen, S. (Ed) *Crime, Criminal Justice and Masculinities*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. *no page numbers.*

Meulders-Klein, M.-T. (1990). The Position of the Father in European Legislation. *International Journal of Law and the Family*, 4 (2), pp.131–153.

Meulders, D. and O'Dorchai, S. (2008). The position of mothers in a comparative welfare state perspective. In: del Boca, D. and Wetzels, C. (Eds). *Social Policies, Labour Markets and Motherhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.3–27.

Mies, M. (1983). Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research. In: Bowles, G. and Klein, R. (Eds). *Theories of women's studies*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.117–139.

w, T. (2011a). Falling back into Gender? Men's Narratives and Practices around First-time Fatherhood. *Sociology*, 45 (6), pp.1094–1109.

Miller, T. (2011b). *Making Sense of Fatherhood: Gender, Caring and Work.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Miller, T. (2017). Making Sense of Motherhood and Fatherhood: Competing Moral Discourses and Logics of caring and work 'choices' in the UK. In: Brandth, B., Halrynjo, S. and Kvande, E. (Eds). *Work–Family Dynamics: Competing Logics of Regulation, Economy and Morals*. Taylor & Francis.

Mincer, J. and Polachek, S. (1974). Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women. *Journal of Political Economy*, 82 (2), pp.S76–S108.

Mingione, E. (2001) 'The Southern European welfare model and the fight against poverty and social exclusion,' in M. K. Tolba (ed), *Our Fragile World. Challenges and Opportunities for Sustainable Development*, pp.1041–51. Oxford: EOLSS Publishers.

Mohanty, C. T. (1991). Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses. In (Eds.) C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres, *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, p. 51–80. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Monteiro, R., Fernandes, M., Verissimo, M., Costa, I. P., Torres, N., and Vaugn, B. (2010). Perspectiva do pai acerca do seu envolvimento em famílias nucleares: Associações come o que é desejado pela mãe e com as características da criança. *Revista INteramericana de Psicologia/Interamerican Journal of Psychology*, 44 (1), pp.120–130.

Morgan, D. (Ed). (2002). Epilogue. In (Ed.) B. Hobson, *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood*, pp. 273–286. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morgan, Piers. [@piersmorgan]. (2018). *Oh 007.. not you as well?!!! #papoose #emasculatedBond* [Tweet]. Twitter, October 15. Available at: https://twitter.com/piersmorgan/status/1051707168490221568 [Accessed 1 August 2021].

Moss, P., and Deven, F. (2006). Leave policies and research: A cross-national overview. *Marriage and Family Review*, 39 (3/4), 255–285.

Moss, P., Duvander, A.-Z. and Koslowski, A. (Eds). (2020). *Parental leave and beyond: Recent International Developments, Current Issues and Future Directions*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Moss, P. and O'Brien, M. (2020). United Kingdom: Leave policy and an attempt to take a new path. In: Moss, P., Duvander, A.-Z. and Koslowski, A. (Eds). *Parental leave and beyond: Recent International Developments, Current Issues and Future Directions*. Bristol: Policy Press, pp. 57–74.

Murgia, A. and Poggio, B. (2009). Challenging Hegemonic Masculinities: Men's Stories on Gender Culture in Organizations. *Organization*, 16 (3), pp.407–423.

Murphy, K. (2014). A Marriage Bar of Convenience? The BBC and Married Women's Work 1923–39. *Twentieth Century British History*, 25 (4), pp.533–561.

Nandy, S. and Selwyn, J. *Spotlight on Kinship Care: Using Census microdata to examine the extent and nature of kinship care in the UK*. Bristol: University of Bristol. [Online]. Available at: http://www.education.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Spotlight-on-kinship-care-An-Analysis-of-2001-Census-Data-Stage-1.pdf [Accessed 3 September 2021].

Nawojczyk, M. (2006). Universalism Versus Particularism Through the European Social Survey Lenses. *Acta Physica Polonica B*, 37, p.3059.

Neilson, J. and Stanfors, M. (2014). It's About Time! Gender, Parenthood, and Household Divisions of Labor Under Different Welfare Regimes. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35 (8), pp.1066–1088.

Nelson, J. A. (1993). Gender and Economic Ideologies. *Review of Social Economy*, 51 (3), pp.287–301.

Nelson, K. (2018). *Towards a more modern Swedish parental leave benefit*. Stockholm: European Commission.

Nentwich, J. C. (2008). New Fathers and Mothers as Gender Troublemakers? Exploring Discursive Constructions of Heterosexual Parenthood and their Subversive Potential. *Feminism & Psychology*, 18 (2), pp.207–230.

Nicholson, L. (1995). Introduction. In: Benhabib, S., et al. (Eds). *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*. New York: Routledge, pp.1–16.

Nielsen, C. S., Soares, A. M. and Páscoa Machado, C. (2009). The Cultural Metaphor Revisited: Exploring Dimensions, Complexities and Paradoxes through the Portuguese Fado. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 9 (3), pp.289–308.

Nightingale, M. (2019). Looking beyond Average Earnings: Why Are Male and Female Part-Time Employees in the UK More Likely to Be Low Paid Than Their Full-Time Counterparts? *Work, Employment and Society*, 33 (1), pp.131–148.

Nkomo, S. M. (2021). Reflections on the continuing denial of the centrality of "race" in management and organization studies. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 40 (2), pp.212–224.

Nolan, J. M. et al. (2008). Normative Social Influence is Underdetected. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34 (7), pp.913–923.

Nolan, J. M. (2015). Social Norms and Their Enforcement. In: Harkins, S. G., Williams, K. D. and Burger, J. (Eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Social Influence*., pp.1–30. Oxford University Press. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199859870.013.6 [Accessed 9 July 2021].

Norman, H., Elliot, M. and Fagan, C. (2014). What Makes Fathers Involved? Exploring the Relationship Between Paid Work and Childcare. *Community, Work & Family*, 17 (2), pp.63–180.

Norman, H., Elliot, M. and Fagan, C. (2018). Does Fathers' Involvement in Childcare and Housework Affect Couples' Relationship Stability?. *Social Science Quarterly*, 99 (5), pp.1599–1613.

North, A. (2018). 'Piers Morgan made fun of Daniel Craig for carrying his baby. The response from dads was adorable.' *Vox, October 16, online.* Available at: https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/10/16/17983280/piers-morgan-daniel-craig-papoose-children-emasculated [Accessed 01 August 2021].

Nussbaum, M. C. (1999). The Professor of Parody. *The New Republic.* [Online]. Available at: https://newrepublic.com/article/150687/professor-parody [Accessed 1 September 2021].

Oakley, A. (1982). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms? In H. Roberts (Ed). *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.30–61.

Oakley, A. (1999). Paradigm wars: Some thoughts on a personal and public trajectory. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2 (3), pp.247–254.

O'Brien, M. (2006). Fathers, family life and work: can fathers have it all? *Paper presented at the WELLCHI Network Conference 2*. Centre for Globalisation and Governance: University of Hamburg.

O'Brien, M. (2009). Fathers, parental leave policies and infant quality of life: International perspectives and policy impact. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, 624, pp. 190–213.

O'Brien, M. and Twamley, K. (2017). Fathers Taking Leave Alone in the UK – A Gift Exchange Between Mother and Father? In: *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality: Fathers on Leave Alone*. London: Springer International Publishing, pp.163–181.

O'Brien, M. and Wall, K. (Eds). (2017). *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality: Fathers on Leave Alone*. London: Springer International Publishing.

O'Brien, M. et al. (2018a). *Inequalities in Access to Paid Maternity & Paternity Leave and Flexible Work*. London: UCL.

O'Brien, M. et al. (2018b). *Who is Parental Leave Poor? Challenges for Inclusive Leave Policies*. Sheffield: Work, Pensions and Labour Economics Group. [Online]. Available at: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.797184!/file/A2_MATTHEW_ALDRICH.pdf [Accessed 29 March 2021].

O'Brien, M., Atkinson J., and Koslowski, A. (2019). United Kingdom Country Note. In: Koslowski, A., et al. (Eds). International Review of Leave Policies and Research 2019. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/ [Accessed 1 October 2019]

OECD. (2018). *Multinational Enterprises in the Global Economy: Heavily Debated but Hardly Measured.pdf.* Paris: OECD. [Online]. Available at: https://www.oecd.org/industry/ind/MNEs-in-the-global-economy-policy-note.pdf [Accessed 7 July 2020].

OECD. (2019). PF1.1: Public spending on family benefits. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF1_1_Public_spending_on_family_benefits.pdf [accessed 8th March 2021]

OECD. (2019b). Chart PF1.1: Public spending on family benefits – data. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF1_1_Public_spending_on_family_benefits.xlsx [accessed 8th March 2021]

OECD. (2019c). PF2.2: Parents' use of childbirth-related leave. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF2-2-Use-childbirth-leave.pdf [accessed 11 March 2021]

OECD. (2019d). PF2.2: Parents' use of childbirth-related leave – data. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/family/PF2-2-Use-childbirth-leave.xlsx [accessed 11 March 2021]

OECD. (2019e). PF3.2: Enrolment in childcare and pre-school. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF3_2_Enrolment_childcare_preschool.pdf [Accessed 6 April 2021]

OECD. (2019f). PF3.2: Enrolment in childcare and pre-school – data. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/PF3_2_Enrolment_childcare_preschool.xlsx [Accessed 6 April 2021].

OECD. (2020a). Average usual weekly hours worked on the main job. Paris: OECD. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=AVE_HRS# [Accessed 8 July 2020].

OECD. (2020b). LMF1.2. Maternal employment rates. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/social/family/LMF1_2_Maternal_Employment.pdf [Accessed 11 March 2021].

OECD. (2020c). Chart LMF1.2.A Maternal employment rates, 2019 or latest available year. Paris: OECD. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/LMF_1_2_Maternal_Employment.xlsx [accessed 11 March 2021]

OECD. (2020d). *Fertility Rates*. Available at: https://data.oecd.org/pop/fertility-rates.htm [Accessed 18 July 2020].

OECD. (2021a). Gender wage gap (indicator). Available at: doi: 10.1787/7cee77aa-en [Accessed 8 March 2021]

OECD. (2021b). Average usual weekly hours worked on the main job. Available at: https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=AVE_HRS [Accessed 6 April 2021]

OECD. (2021c). Foreign-born population (indicator). Available at: https://doi.org/10.1787/5a368e1b-en [Accessed 20 April 2021].

OECD (2021d), Part-time employment rate (indicator). Available at: https://doi: 10.1787/f2ad596c-en [Accessed 24 September 2021].

Oláh, L. M. and Bernhardt, E. M. (2008). Sweden: Combining childbearing and gender equality. *Demographic research*, 19, pp.1105–1144.

Olsen, W. et al. (2018). *The gender pay gap in the UK: evidence from the UKHLS*. London: Government Equalities Office.

ONS (Office for National Statistics). (2021a). *Average weekly earnings in Great Britain: January 2021*. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/averageweeklyearningsingreatbritain/january2021 [Accessed 24 March 2021]

ONS (Office for National Statistics). (2021b). *Female employment rate aged 16-64, seasonally adjusted)*. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/timeseries/lf25/lms [Accessed 30 March 2021]

Orgad, S. (2019). *Heading Home: Motherhood, Work, and the Failed Promise of Equality*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Orloff, A. S. (1993). 'Gender and the social rights of citizenship: The comparative analysis of gender relations and welfare states.' *American Sociological Review*, 58 (15), pp. 303–328.

Orloff, A. (1996). Gender in the Welfare State. *Annual review of sociology*, 22 (1), pp.51–78.

Orloff, A. S. (2009). Gendering the Comparative Analysis of Welfare States: An Unfinished Agenda. *Sociological Theory*, 27 (3), pp.317–343.

Pateman, C. (1989). The Patriarchal Welfare State. In: Pateman, C. (Ed). *The Disorder of Women*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research*, 34 (5 Pt 2), pp. 1189–1208. [Online]. Available at: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1089059/ [Accessed 28 July 2021].

Paul, D. (2018). 'Piers Morgan mocked Daniel Craig's baby carrier. Twitter gave him a lesson on modern manhood.' *The Washington Post, October 16, online*. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2018/10/16/piers-morgan-mocked-daniel-craigs-baby-carrier-twitter-gave-him-lesson-modern-manhood/ [Accessed 01 August 2021]

Pearse, R. and Connell, R. (2016). Gender Norms and the Economy: Insights from Social Research. *Feminist Economics*, 22 (1), pp.30–53.

Pereira, M. (2010). Os Discursos de Género: Mudança e Continuidade nas Narrativas sobre Diferenças, Semelhanças e (Des)Igualdade entre Mulheres e Homens [*Discourses of Gender: Change and continuity in narratives about differences, similarities and (in)equality between women and men*]. In: Aboim, S. and Wall, L. (Eds). *A Vida Familiar no Masculino: Novos Papéis, Novas Identidades* [*Family life in the masculine: new fathers, new identities]*. Lisboa: CITE, pp.225–262.

Peretz, H., Fried, Y. and Levi, A. (2018). Flexible work arrangements, national culture, organisational characteristics, and organisational outcomes: A study across 21 countries. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 28 (1), pp.182–200.

Perista, H., et al. (2016). *Os Usos do Tempo de Homens e de Mulheres em Portugal*. Lisboa: CESIS and CITE. Available at: http://cite.gov.pt/asstscite/downloads/publics/INUT_livro_digital.pdf [Accessed 1 April 2021].

Perrons, D. (2003) The new economy and the work–life balance: Conceptual explorations and a case study of new media. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(1), pp. 65–93.

Perrons, D. (2012). 'Global' Financial Crisis, Earnings Inequalities and Gender: Towards a More Sustainable Model of Development. *Comparative Sociology*, 11 (2), pp.202–226.

Pfau-Effinger, B. (1998). Gender cultures and the gender arrangement—a theoretical framework for cross-national gender research. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 11 (2), pp.147–166.

Pfau-Effinger, B. (2004). *Development of culture, welfare states and women's employment in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Phillips, A. and Taylor, B. (1986). Sex and skill. In: Feminist Review (Ed). *Waged work*. London: Virago.

Plantenga, J. and Remery, C. (2015). Provision of childcare services: A comparative review of EU member states. *DICE Report* 13(1), pp. 20–24. Available at: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/167196/1/ifo-dice-report-v13-y2015-i1-p20-24.pdf [Accessed 6 April 2021]

Podsiadlowski, J. H. and A. (2014). Envisioning 'inclusive organizations'. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 33 (3).

Poggio, B. (2006) Editorial: Outline of a theory of gender practices. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(3), pp.225–33.

Polachek, S. (1995). Earnings over the life cycle: What do human capital models explain? *Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, 42 (3), pp.267–289.

Polachek, S. (2012). A Human Capital Account of the Gender Pay Gap. In: Grusky, D. and Kricheli-Katz, T. (Eds). *The New Gilded Age: The Critical Inequality Debates of Our Time*. Stanford University Press. pp.161–188.

Proctor, K. (2021). *Boris Johnson Now Won't be Taking Paternity Leave Because Of His 'Huge Workload'*. Politics Home. [Online]. 8 March. Available at: https://www.politicshome.com/news/article/prime-minister-boris-johnson-wont-be-taking-paternity-leave [Accessed 1 August 2021]

Prosser, J. (1998). *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Putnam, R. D. (1994). Social Capital and Public Affairs. *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 47 (8), pp.5–19.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.

Putnam, R. (2001). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*. [Online]. Available at: https://prospect.org/api/content/27753724-6757-5e80-925d-9542fc7ad4cb/ [Accessed 6 August 2020].

PYP. (2019). The ________________ men. Canada: PYP LLP. *[omitted to preserve organisational anonymity)*

PYP. (2021). Global Revenue Report. Available at: [OMITTED] [Accessed 26 August 2021].

Ranson, G. (2010). *Against the Grain: Couples, Gender, and the Reframing of Parenting.* University of Toronto Press.

Ranson, G. (2012). Men, Paid Employment and Family Responsibilities: Conceptualizing the 'Working Father'. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 19 (6), pp.741–761.

Ranson, G. (2015). *Fathering, Masculinity and the Embodiment of Care*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rege, M. and Solli, I. F. (2013). The Impact of Paternity Leave on Fathers' Future Earnings. *Demography*, 50 (6), pp.2255–2277.

Rehel, E. M. (2014). When Dad Stays Home Too Paternity Leave, Gender, and Parenting. *Gender & Society*, 28 (1), pp.110–132.

Reinharz, S. (1992) *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Rhodes, M. (1997) 'Southern European welfare states, identity, problems and prospects for reform. In: Rhodes, M. (Ed). *Southern European Welfare States: Between Crisis and Reform*. London: Frank Cass, pp.1–22.

Rich, A. (1986). Notes Towards a Politics of Location. In: Rich, A. (Ed). *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979-85*. London: Virago, pp.210–231.

Rich, A. (2003). Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence. *Journal of Women's History*, 15 (3), pp.11–48.

Ripken, S. (2019). *Corporate Personhood.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Risman, B. J. (1998). *Gender vertigo: American families in transition.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Risman, B. J. (2004). Gender as a Social Structure: Theory Wrestling with Activism. *Gender and Society*, 18 (4), pp.429–450.

Rose, D. and Corti, L. (2001). *Researching Social and Economic Change: The Uses of Household Panel Studies.* London, Taylor & Francis Group.

Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D. and Almond, P. (2014). Multinational companies and the host country environment. In: Harzing, A.-W. and Pinnington, A. (Eds). *International Human Resource Management.* Fourth edition. Los Angeles and London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp.191–222.

Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace: Toward a Politics of Peace*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rudman, L. A. and Mescher, K. (2013). Penalizing Men Who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma? *Journal of Social Issues*, 69 (2), pp.322–340.

Saavedra, L. et al. (2017). Gender Norms in Portuguese College Students' Judgments in Familial Homicides: Bad Men and Mad Women. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 32 (2), pp.249–267.

Sainsbury, D. (1996). *Gender, Equality and Welfare States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sainsbury, D. (1999). *Gender and Welfare State Regimes*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Saint-Martin, D. (2013). Making Government More 'Business-Like': Management Consultants as Agents of Isomorphism in Modern Political Economies. In: Mikler, J. (Ed). *The Handbook of Global Companies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc., pp.173–208.

Salih, S. and Butler, J. (2004). *The Judith Butler Reader*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Santos, D. A. C. and do Mar Pereira, M. (2013). *The Policy on Gender Equality in Portugal*. Brussels: European Parliament Directorate General for Internal Policies.

Schein, E. H. (1988). Organizational Socialization and the Profession of Management. *Sloan Management Review*, 30 (1), p. 53.

Schein, E. H. (1991). What is culture? In: In: Frost, P. J., Moore, L. F., Louis, M. R., Lundberg, C. C., and Martin, J. (Eds). *Reframing organizational culture*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp.243–253.

Schein, E. H. (2010). *Organizational culture and leadership*. Fourth Edition. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schein, E. (2011). Preface. In: Ashkanasy, N. M., Wilderom, C., and Peterson, M. F. (Eds). *The Handbook of Organizational Culture and Climate*. Thousand Oaks, California and London: SAGE Publications.

Schneider, S. (2020) *Guidelines for the measurement of educational attainment*. Mannheim, GESIS. Available at: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/ESS_guidelines_for_the_measurement_of_educational_attainment_ed2.pdf [Accessed 20 December 2020]

Schober, P. and Scott, J. (2012). Maternal employment and gender role attitudes: dissonance among British men and women in the transition to parenthood. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26 (3), pp.514–530.

Schwab, K. et al. (2021). *Global gender gap report 2020 insight report*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.

Schwartz, S. (2006). A Theory of Cultural Value Orientations: Explication and Applications. *Comparative Sociology*, 5 (2–3), pp.137–182.

Schober, P. and Scott, J. (2012). Maternal employment and gender role attitudes: dissonance among British men and women in the transition to parenthood. Work, Employment & Society, 26 (3), pp.514–530.

Scism, A. R. and Cobb, R. L. (2017). Integrative Review of Factors and Interventions That Influence Early Father–Infant Bonding. *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic & Neonatal Nursing*, 46 (2), pp. 163–170.

Scott, J. (2006). Family and Gender Roles: How Attitudes Are Changing (GeNet Working Paper No. 21). Available at: http://www.genet.ac.uk/workpapers/GeNet2006p21.pdf [Accessed 26 July 2015].

Scott, J. (2010). Quantitative methods and gender inequalities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 13 (3), pp.223–236.

Scott, J., Crompton, R. and Lyonette, C. (2010). *Gender Inequalities in the 21st Century*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Scott, J. and Clery, E. (2019). Gender roles: An incomplete revolution? London: NatCen Social Research. [Online]. Available at: https://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/38457/bsa30_gender_roles_final.pdf [Accessed 8 April 2021].

Sevilla, A. and Borra, C. (2015). *Parental Time Investments in Children: The Role of Competition for University Places in the UK*. Bonn: IZA Institute of Labor Economics., p.51. [Online]. Available at: http://ftp.iza.org/dp9168.pdf [Accessed 21 July 2021].

Sevilla, A. and Smith, S. (2020). *Baby Steps: The Gender Division of Childcare during the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Bonn: IZA Institute of Labor Economics.

Shorten, A. and Smith, J. (2017). Mixed methods research: expanding the evidence base. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 20 (3), pp.74–75.

Sigle-Rushton, W. and Waldfogel, J. (2007). Motherhood and women's earnings in Anglo-American, Continental European, and Nordic Countries. *Feminist Economics*, 13 (2), pp.55–91.

Silva, F. and Martinez, L. (2015). Sophie's Choice: Social attitudes to welfare state retrenchment in bailed-out Portugal. *European Societies*, 17 (3), pp.351–371.

Smith, A. and Williams, D. (2007). Father-friendly legislation and paternal time across Western Europe. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 9 (2), pp.175–192.

Somerset, M. (2017). Norway or the Highway: Closing the Participation Gap in the United Kingdom's Labor Force Using Nordic Models of Success Notes. *George Washington International Law Review*, 50 (2), pp.389–420.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In: Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. (Eds). *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, p. 66–111.

Spivak, G. C. (2012). Outside in the Teaching Machine. New York and London: Routledge.

Squires, J. and Wickham-Jones, M. (2004). New Labour, Gender Mainstreaming and the Women and Equality Unit. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6 (1), pp.81–98.

Stansors, M. (2014). Policy: Educational Policies: Sweden. *The Social PoLicy Archive for SHARE (SPLASH* Database). [Online]. Available at: https://splash-db.eu [Accessed 1 July 2021].

Stanley, M. *Women in the UK Civil Service - History*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.civilservant.org.uk/women-history.html [Accessed 15 April 2020].

Stephens, L. *Boris Johnson is right to be worried about the cost of childcare*. [Online]. Available at: https://neweconomics.org/2020/09/boris-johnson-is-right-to-be-worried-about-the-cost-of-childcare [Accessed 30 March 2021].

Sullivan, O., Gershuny, J. and Robinson, J. P. (2018). Stalled or Uneven Gender Revolution? A Long-Term Processual Framework for Understanding why Change is Slow. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 10 (1), pp.263–279.

Sundström, M. and Duvander, A. E. (2002). Gender Division of Childcare and the Sharing of Parental Leave among New Parents in Sweden. *European Sociological Review*, 18 (4), pp.433–447.

Sunstein, C. R. (1996). Social Norms and Social Roles. *Columbia Law Review*, 96 (4), pp.903–968.

Tang, N. and Cousins, C. (2005). Working time, gender and family: An east–west European comparison. *Gender, Work and Organization,* 12(6), pp. 527–550.

Tarrant, A. et al. (2017). "You try to keep a brave face on but inside you are in bits": Grandparent experiences of engaging with professionals in Children's Services. *Qualitative Social Work*, 16 (3), pp.351–366.

Tarrant, A. (2021). *Fathering and Poverty: Uncovering Men's Participation in Low-Income Family Life.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Tavora, I. and Rubery, J. (2013). Female employment, labour market institutions and gender culture in Portugal. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 19 (3), pp.221–237.

Taylor, E. A. and Scott, J. (2018) Gender. In: Phillips, D. Curtice, J. and Phillips, M. (Eds). *British Social Attitudes Survey: The 35th Report.* London: The National Centre for Social Research, pp.56–85.

Tear, M. J. et al. (2020). Safety culture and power: Interactions between perceptions of safety culture, organisational hierarchy, and national culture. *Safety Science*, 121, pp.550–561.

Teddlie, C., and Tashakkori, A. (2006). A general typology of research designs featuring mixed methods. *Research in the Schools*, 13(1), pp. 12–28.

Topping, A. (2021). Shared parental leave: scrap 'deeply flawed' policy, say campaigners. [Online]. 26 April. Available at:
https://www.theguardian.com/money/2021/apr/26/shared-parental-leave-scrap-deeply-flawed-policy-say-campaigners [Accessed 26 April 2021].

Torres, A. (2004). Homems e mulheres entre família e trabalho [Men and women between family and work]. Lisbon: CITE.

Torres, A., Coelho, B. and Cabrita, M. (2013). Bridge over troubled waters. European Societies, 15 (4), pp.535–556.

Towns, A. (2002). Paradoxes of (In)Equality: Something is Rotten in the Gender Equal State of Sweden. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 37 (2), pp.157–179.

Tremblay, D.-G. and Lazzari Dodeler, N. (2017). Fathers on Leave Alone in Quebec (Canada): The Case of Innovative, Subversive and Activist Fathers! In: O'Brien, M. and Wall, K. *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality: Fathers on Leave Alone*. London: Springer International Publishing. pp.69–87.

Trice, H. M., and Beyer, J. M. (1993). *The Cultures of Work Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Trifiletti, R. (1999) 'Welfare regimes and the worsening position of women', *Journal of European Social Policy,* 9, pp. 49–64.

Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care.* Psychology Press.

Twamley, K. and Schober, P. (2019). Shared Parental Leave: Exploring Variations in Attitudes, Eligibility, Knowledge and Take-up Intentions of Expectant Mothers in London. *Journal of Social Policy*, 48 (2), pp. 387–407.

Tyler, M. and Cohen, L. (2008). Management in/as Comic Relief: Queer Theory and Gender Performativity in The Office. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 15 (2), pp.113–132.

Tyler, M. and Cohen, L. (2010). Spaces that Matter: Gender Performativity and Organizational Space. *Organization Studies*, 31 (2), pp.175–198.

Tyler, M. (2019). *Judith Butler and Organization Theory.* London and New York: Routledge.

UNDP. (2020) *Latest Human Development Index Ranking.* Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/latest-human-development-index-ranking [accessed 8th March 2021]

UNDP. (2020a) *Gender Inequality Index (GII).* Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii [accessed 8th March 2021]

UNDP (2020) *Frequently Asked Questions – Gender Inequality Index (GII).* Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/en/faq-page/gender-inequality-index-gii [accessed 8th March 2021]

UNESCO. (2006) *International Standard Classification of Education ISCED.* Paris: UNESCO. Available at: http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/international-standard-classification-of-education-1997-en_0.pdf [Accessed 23 July 2021].

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. (2017). *Women at work, but in which sector? Assessing persisting gender segregation across the region.* Geneva: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. [Online]. Available at: https://unece.org/statistics/news/women-work-which-sector-assessing-persisting-gender-segregation-across-region [Accessed 13 June 2021].

UNHR. (1979). *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cedaw.aspx [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Unterhofer, U. and Wrohlich, K. (2017). *Fathers, Parental Leave and Gender Norms*. SSRN Scholarly Paper, Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. [Online]. Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2952289 [Accessed 18 August 2021].

UN Women. (1995). *Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing 1995*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/ [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Vaismoradi, M. and Snelgrove, S. (2019). Theme in Qualitative Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 20 (3), n.p.

Votinius, J. J. (2020) Collective Bargaining for Working Parents in Sweden and Its Interaction with the Statutory Benefit System. *International Journal of Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations,* 36 (3), pp. 367–386.

Wahl, A. (2014). Male Managers Challenging and Reinforcing the Male Norm in Management. *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 22 (2), pp.131–146.

Walby, S. (2001). From gendered welfare state to gender regimes: National differences, convergence or re-structuring?, *Paper Presented to Gender and Society Group, Stockholm University*, January 2001.

Walby, S. (2009). *Globalization and inequalities: complexities and contested modernities*. Los Angeles, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Walby, S. (2020). Varieties of Gender Regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 27 (3), pp.414–431.

Wall, G. and Arnold, S. (2007). How Involved is Involved Fathering?: An Exploration of the Contemporary Culture of Fatherhood. *Gender & Society*, 21(4), pp.508–527.

Wall, K. (2014). Fathers on leave alone: does it make a difference to their lives? *Fathering*, 12 (2), pp.196–210.

Wall, K. and Escobedo, A. (2009). Portugal and Spain: two pathways in Southern Europe. In: Kamerman, S. B. and Moss, P. (Eds). *The politics of parental leave policies children, parenting, gender and the labour market.* Bristol: Policy Press, pp.207–226.

Wall, K, Aboim, S., and Cunha, V. (Eds). (2010). *A Vida Familiar no Masculino. Negociando Velhas e Novas Masculinidades* [*Male Family Life: Negotiating Old and New Masculinities]*. Lisboa: CITE

Wall, K. (2011). A intervenção do Estado: políticas públicas de famíla. In: Nunes de Almedia, A. (Ed). *História da vida privada em Portugal: Os nossos dias*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, pp. 340-374.

Wall, K. (2015). Fathers in Portugal: from old to new masculinities. In: (Ed.) J. L. Roopnarine. *Fathers across cultures: the importance, roles, and diverse practices of dads,* pp.132–154. Santa Barbara and Denver: Praeger. [Online]. Available at: http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/20082 [Accessed 28 January 2019].

Wall, K. et al. (2016a). White Paper: Men and Gender Equality in Portugal. Lisbon: ICS.

Wall, K., Cunha, V., Atalaia, V., Rodrigues., L., Correia, R., Correia, S. V., and Rosa, R. (2016b). Main Conclusions and Recommendations of the White Book: Men and Gender Equality in Portugal. Lisbon: ICS.

Wall, K. and Leitão, M. (2017). Fathers on Leave Alone in Portugal: Lived Experiences and Impact of Forerunner Fathers. In: *Comparative Perspectives on Work-Life Balance and Gender Equality: Fathers on Leave Alone*. Life Course Research and Social Policies. Volume 6. Springer International Publishing. pp.45–67.

Wall, K., Correia, R. B. and Gouveia, R. (2019). Atitudes face às licenças parentais em Portugal [Attitudes towards parental leave in Portugal]. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas [Sociology, Problems and Practices],* (90), pp.55–76. [Online]. Available at: doi:10.7458/SPP20199015525 [Accessed 20 April 2021].

Wall, K., Correira, R. B. and Leitão, M. (2020). Portugal Country Note. In (Ed.) A. Koslowski, S. Blum, I. Dobrotić, G. Kaufman and P. Moss, *16th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research,* pp. 468–483. [Online]. Available at: http://www.leavenetwork.org/lp_and_r_reports/ [Accessed 1 April 2021].

Weber, Y., Shenkar, O., and Raveh, A. (1996). National vs. corporate cultural fit in mergers and acquisitions: An exploratory study. *Management Science,* 42 (8)*,* pp.1215-1221.

Weeks, K. (2011). *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries.* Duke University Press.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing Gender. *Gender & Society*, 1 (2), pp.125–151.

West, C. and Zimmerman, D. H. (2009). Accounting for Doing Gender. *Gender & Society*, 1 (2), pp.112–122.

White, L. A. (2017). Which Ideas, Whose Norms? Comparing the Relative Influence of International Organizations on Paid Maternity and Parental Leave Policies in Liberal Welfare States. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 24 (1), pp.55–80.

Wilks, S. (2013). The National Identity of Global Companies. In: Mikler, J. (Ed.) *The Handbook of Global Companies*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc, pp. 35–52.

Will, J. (2017). *Super Dads Are Getting Swedish Women Hot, Bothered, and Paid.* [Online]. Available at: https://www.fatherly.com/love-money/sweden-latte-papas-paternity-leave/ [Accessed 1 September 2021].

Williams, J. (2001). *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What to Do About It.* Oxford University Press, USA.

Williams, J. C. (2012). *Reshaping the Work-Family Debate*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Williams, J. C. (2020). The Pandemic Has Exposed the Fallacy of the "Ideal Worker". *Harvard Business Review*. [Online]. Available at: https://hbr.org/2020/05/the-pandemic-has-exposed-the-fallacy-of-the-ideal-worker [Accessed 19 September 2021].

Williams, C. (2014). Gender Performance: The TransAdvocate interviews Judith Butler. *TransAdvocate*. [Online]. Available at: https://www.transadvocate.com/gender-performance-the-transadvocate-interviews-judith-butler_n_13652.htm [Accessed 25 February 2021].

Wisniewska, A. (2021). UK companies' gender pay gap reporting drops. [Online]. 28 June. Available at: https://www.ft.com/content/24d5caad-9c67-4f78-9d85-7ef6dc71a93d [Accessed 23 September 2021].

Women and Equalities Committee. (2018). *Fathers and the Workplace*. London: HM Government.

World Bank. (2021). Gini index (World Bank estimate). Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?end=2018&locations=PT-SE-GB-EU-IS&start=1967&view=chart [Accessed 20 April 2021].

World Economic Forum. (2017). *The global human capital report 2017: preparing people for the future of work*. [Online]. Available at: https://weforum.ent.box.com/s/dari4dktg4jt2g9xo2o5pksjpatvawdb [Accessed 28 April 2018].

World Economic Forum. (2021). *Global Gender Gap Report 2021*. Geneva: World Economic Forum. [Online]. Available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf [Accessed 6 August 2021].

Youdell, D. (2006). Subjectivation and Performative Politics: Butler Thinking Althusser and Foucault: Intelligibility, Agency and the Raced-Nationed-Religioned Subjects of Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27 (4), pp.511–528.

Young, H. P. (2015). The Evolution of Social Norms. *Annual Review of Economics*, 7 (1), pp.359–387.