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Mikael Nordenmark¹

1) Mid Sweden University. Sweden

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Disagreement about Division of Household Labour and Experiences of Work–Family Conflict in Different Gender Regimes

Mikael Nordenmark
Mid Sweden University

Abstract

This article focuses on the level of disagreement about how to divide household labour as well as on the experience of work-family conflicts among cohabiting women and men living in different gender regimes. The German speaking countries Germany, Switzerland and Austria represent a typical conservative gender regime while the Scandinavian countries Sweden, Denmark and Norway are representatives of a typical egalitarian gender regime. The data used comes from the International Social Survey Program 2002. Results support the notion that people living in a context characterised by an egalitarian gender regime to a higher extent report disagreement about the division of household work and work-family conflict than people living in a context characterised by a more traditional gender regime. The results indicate that these differences can be explained by the fact that people in an egalitarian gender regime have a more egalitarian gender ideology than people in a more conservative context.

Keywords: disagreement, gender ideology, gender regime, household labour, work-family conflict

Desacuerdos sobre la División del Trabajo Doméstico y Experiencias de Conflictos Trabajo-Familia en Diferentes Regímenes de Género.

Mikael Nordenmark
Mid Sweden University

Resumen

Este artículo se centra en el nivel de desacuerdo sobre cómo dividir el trabajo doméstico así como sobre la experiencia de conflictos familia-trabajo en la convivencia de mujeres y hombres en diferentes regímenes de género. Los países de habla alemana, Alemania, Suiza y Austria representan un típico régimen de género conservador, mientras que los países escandinavos, Suiza, Dinamarca y Noruega son representativos de un típico régimen de género igualitario. La información utilizada proviene de la International Social Survey Program 2002. Los resultados apoyan la noción de que las personas que viven en un contexto caracterizado por un régimen de género igualitario plantean un mayor desacuerdo sobre la división del trabajo doméstico y sobre los conflictos trabajo-familia que las personas viviendo en un contexto caracterizado por un régimen de género más tradicional. Los resultados indican que estas diferencias pueden ser explicadas por el hecho de que las personas en un régimen más igualitario tienen una ideología de género más igualitaria que las personas de un contexto más conservador.

Palabras clave: desacuerdo, ideología de género, régimen de género, trabajo doméstico, conflicto trabajo-familia

One of the most dramatic changes that has occurred in the European labour market during the twentieth century is the entry of women. This could be exemplified by the case of Sweden where the percentage of women between 16 and 64 years participating in the labour force increased from just above 50 percent in the middle of 1900 to around 75 percent at the beginning of the new millennium. During the same period the labour force participation among men dropped from above 90 percent to around 80 (Statistics Sweden, 2012). This “equalization” of the percentage of women and men being active on the labour market has generated new research areas as well new as political issues. One such issue is the question of how couples manage to divide responsibility for household work and balance work and family responsibilities in a situation where both are active on the labour market. Some of the research related to the division and balance of work and family issues has focused on the question of how the actual level of involvement in paid and unpaid work is perceived by men and women.

One such research area is perceived work-family conflicts. Most of this research has focused on how men and women experience the fact that they are involved in both working and family matters. Even though the division of work is still gender segregated there is a development over time showing that most men and women have one role as an employed and another as household worker and parent; they have what is often called multiple social roles (Nordenmark, 2004). A main question in this research field is whether multiple social roles in general are experienced as something beneficial for the individual or if the main characteristic of this situation is the experience of work-family conflicts and stress symptoms. Another research area connected to men’s and women’s involvement in labour is the level of satisfaction with the division of labour among couples. As a result of the development towards gender equality in paid and unpaid work researchers have developed an interest in analysing perceptions of unfairness and the level of disagreements between spouses. A central research question has been what the factors are that can explain the variation in the level of disagreement and quarrels about how to divide labour (Nordenmark, 2008).

Gender Ideology and Perceptions of Labour Involvement

Relatively few studies have explored dissatisfaction with the division of labour and work-family conflicts in different national and gender regimes (exceptions regarding work-family conflict are Cousins and Tang, 2004, Crompton and Lyonette, 2006, Edlund, 2007, Strandh and Nordenmark, 2006). Therefore a main aim of this article is to analyse the level of dissatisfaction with the division of household labour and work-family conflicts among couples who live in either an egalitarian or a traditional gender regime. Why are there reasons to assume that the perceptions of labour involvement differ depending on whether one lives in an egalitarian or a traditional context? A hypothesis is that the context associated with a certain gender regime will be reflected in the attitudes of individuals. This means that people living in an egalitarian regime are assumed to have a more egalitarian gender ideology than people living in a more conservative context. Gender ideology is defined as the beliefs or attitudes that a person holds about gender (Hochschild, 1997). From childhood and on, women and men acquire gender role attitudes through the socialisation process, including preferences of how women and men should behave. These attitudes, or this gender ideology, can be of importance for how women and men later in life perceive their own and their partner's level of involvement in paid and unpaid work.

The assumption has been supported in studies indicating that gender ideology plays an important role in forming perceptions of work-family conflicts and dissatisfaction with the division of labour within couples (Blair and Johnson, 1992, Greenstein, 1996, Hochschild, 1989). An individual's gender ideology then may influence how a certain division of labour is valued and what standards and references are used to judge outcomes. For instance, people with an egalitarian gender ideology might emphasise equality and independence, while people with a more traditional gender ideology might emphasise stability and harmony. This difference in gender ideology can mean that people from different gender regimes may evaluate the same division of labour in different ways.

Because labour to a large extent is still divided according to traditional patterns there exists a gap or tension between the actual division of labour and attitudes towards how work should be divided among people with egalitarian attitudes. A traditional division of labour, and the outcomes from a traditional division of labour, may not be in line with the expectations of those with an egalitarian gender ideology. Therefore, there is a high risk that they will look at the division as unfair and problematic. This means that people with an egalitarian gender ideology will express more dissatisfaction in a situation that is characterised by a traditional division of labour, compared to people with a more traditional gender ideology (Greenstein, 1996, Nordenmark and Nyman, 2003). Because women normally have the main responsibility for household work and children, though they are employed, the assumption is that especially *women* with an egalitarian gender ideology will perceive this situation as unfair, unequal and problematic (Greenstein, 1995, Strandh and Nordenmark, 2006).

Gender Regime and Perceptions of Work Involvement

A hypothesis based on the above theoretical discussion is that people, and especially women, in an egalitarian gender regime have an egalitarian gender ideology, and therefore will express more dissatisfaction and work-family conflict, compared to people living in a more conservative gender regime. To explore this hypothesis there is a need to identify a typical egalitarian gender regime and a typical traditional gender regime that can be compared with each other.

Research on social policy differences indicates that countries, and the welfare policy within countries, represent different gender regimes. States can be classified as representing varying beliefs about how to organize individual and family welfare. Esping-Andersen's (1990) now classic categorization of welfare states into welfare state types (further discussed and updated in Esping-Andersen 1999) illustrates that it is possible to classify countries in the north/west into three different welfare types: a social democratic welfare state type, a liberal welfare state type and a conservative welfare state type. However, feminist academics have pointed out that the social policy contexts are not gender-neutral and are embedded in systems of gender relations. Therefore the social policy contexts on a structural level

also represent different types of gender regimes (Duncan, 1996, Lewis, 1992, Walby, 1994).

A main aim of this study is to compare the levels of dissatisfaction with division of labour and work-family conflicts in a typical egalitarian national context with a typical conservative national context. Therefore the strategy is to choose countries that are as similar as possible regarding culture and living conditions, but opposites regarding policies and values in relation to gender relations. More concrete, a main goal is to discern national contexts that give extensive support to families with an aim to facilitate female employment and national contexts with a relatively passive social policy, resulting in the preservation of the male breadwinner family. The national contexts selected as representatives of a typical egalitarian gender regime are the Scandinavian countries Sweden, Denmark and Norway. The German speaking countries former West Germany (later referred to as Germany), Switzerland and Austria will represent a typical conservative gender regime. A further argument for including these states, apart from the fact that they represent different gender regimes, is that they are relatively similar regarding standard of living conditions.

Characteristics of the typical conservative or family-centred welfare states Germany, Switzerland and Austria are a relative passive social policy, values like minimisation of (labour) market distributed welfare and the preservation of traditional family ties and norms. Family policy consists mainly of support from the state for the male breadwinner family – meaning families consisting of a full time employed man and a woman who has the main responsibility for housework and childcare. There are few policy measures aimed at breaking up the traditional division of labour and at strengthening women's independence from men. The fact that the countries classified as conservative welfare states have in common a relative strong belief in upholding traditional family ties and norms means that they represent a relative conservative or traditional gender regime (Duncan, 1996, Esping-Andersen, 1999, Lewis, 1992, Walby, 1994).

The social democratic or state-centred welfare states Sweden, Denmark and Norway try to offer universal social rights and de-commodification of social rights, even to the new middle classes. Characteristics of these welfare states are encouragement for individual independence, mainly through paid labour in combination with universal schemes. In contrast to the conservative or family-oriented gender regime, the ideal is to maximize individual independence and to minimize family dependence. The state offers a good infrastructure of support services aimed at enhancing the individual's independence from the market and the family. Family policy is comprehensive and encourages female labour market participation and emphasises gender equality. The main aim of family policy is to enable the combination of paid work and parenthood. Because one main political goal is to support women's independence from men the social democratic or state-centred welfare state model can be described as representing an egalitarian gender regime (Duncan, 1996, Ellingsæter and Leira, 2006, Esping-Andersen, 1999, Lewis, 1992, Walby, 1994).

Other Factors of Importance

In addition to gender regime and individual gender ideology the study also includes variables that have been of relevance in earlier studies of experiences of work-family conflict and level of disagreement about how to divide work. One such factor is actual involvement in employment and household work. Most of the studies of conflicts and disagreements about labour involvement among couples stress the importance of the division of labour and time within the household. Spouses in couples who are characterised by a relatively equal distribution of paid work and household work report less disagreements and conflicts than spouses who do not share work to the same extent (Baxter, 2000, Blair and Johnsson, 1992, Dempsey, 1999, Lennon and Rosenfeld, 1994, Perry-Jenkins and Folk, 1994, Sanchez, 1994, Sanchez and Kane, 1996, Wilkie et al., 1998). On the other hand, there are also studies indicating that couples who experience the least conflicts are those who divide labor traditionally (Bahr et al., 1983, Moen and Yu, 1998, Scanzoni and Fox, 1980).

Also studies of work-family conflicts emphasise people's involvement in labour, but instead of pointing out the *division* of labour between partners as a major explanation these studies highlight the importance of *time* spent on paid and unpaid work. People who try to engage strongly in both employment and household work experience work-household conflict more often than others. The more working hours and responsibility in the household (for instance due to the presence of small children), the higher the risk for experiencing work-family conflicts (Bahr et al., 1983, Bolger et al., 1990, Cleary and Mechanic, 1983, Doyle and Hind, 1998, Glass and Fujimoto, 1994, Hall, 1992, Kinnunen and Mauno, 1998, Lundberg et al., 1994, Moen and Yu, 1998, Nordenmark, 2004, Strandh and Nordenmark, 2006, Ozer, 1995, Reifman et al., 1991, Scanzoni and Fox, 1980, Scharlach, 2001, Walters et al., 1998).

Hypotheses

On the basis of the above discussion three hypotheses concerning disagreement about division of household labour and experiences of work-family conflict among women and men in two different gender regimes will be formulated. Hypothesis one relates to the possible link between gender regime on a macro level and the level of dissatisfaction and work-family conflict among individuals.

Hypothesis 1. People, and especially women, living in an egalitarian gender regime (Scandinavia) more often report disagreement and work-family conflict than people living in a more conservative gender regime (Germany, Switzerland and Austria).

The second hypothesis relates to the relationship between gender ideology and disagreement about household work and work-family conflict on an individual level.

Hypothesis 2. People, and especially women, with an egalitarian gender ideology more often report disagreement about the division of household work and work-family conflict than people with a traditional gender ideology.

Hypothesis three tests whether possible relationships between gender regime on a macro level and level of dissatisfaction and work-family conflict among individuals can be explained by differences in gender ideology among individuals.

Hypothesis 3. Gender ideology among individuals can to some extent explain variations between gender regimes regarding the experience of disagreement about the division of household work and work-family conflict.

Data and Variables

The data used comes from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). The aim of the ISSP is to create comparative statistics on attitudes and values in about 40 industrialized countries. Data consist of a representative sample of the adult population of each country (about 2000 individuals per country). The ISSP investigations are conducted annually and each investigation includes one in-depth theme that is replicated at 8-year intervals, allowing comparisons between nations as well as over time. The thematic section of ISSP used in this study is “Family and Changing Gender Roles III, 2002”. It contains questions on gender role attitudes, labor market participation, division of household work, disagreement about household work and perceived conflicts between working life and family life. For more information on data see <http://www.issp.org/homepage.htm>. Because the purpose of this article is to analyse the experience of disagreements about how to divide household work and work-family conflict in different gender regimes the analyses includes only six countries: Sweden, Denmark, Norway on the one hand and Germany, Austria and Switzerland on the other hand. Other restrictions are that the analyses include cohabiting people only and that the analyses of work-family conflicts include employed people only.

The dependent variable measuring disagreement about how to divide household labour is the question: *How often do you and your partner disagree about sharing of household work?* The response alternatives vary in five steps from never to several times a week. The measures of to what extent work conflicts with family life are the following two statements. *How often has each of the following happened to you during the past three months? In the three past months it has happened that: 1) I have come home from work too tired to do the chores which need to be done. 2) It has been difficult for me to fulfil my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spent on my job.* The responses, that vary in four steps from never to several times a week, have been summarised into an index (Cronbach's alpha 0.72), which varies from 0 to 6; the higher the score the higher the level of work-family conflict.

The independent variables of most interest in this study are gender regime and gender ideology. Gender regime is, as mentioned, studied in terms of the dichotomy egalitarian and conservative; three countries represent an egalitarian gender regime (Sweden, Denmark, Norway) and three countries represent a conservative gender regime (Germany, Austria and Switzerland). Gender ideology is measured by an index constructed from the following six statements about attitudes towards gender roles. *1) A working mother can establish just as warm and secure relationship with her children as a mother who does not work (reverse). 2) A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. 3) All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job. 4) A job is all right, but what a woman really wants is a home and children. 5) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay. 6) A man's job is to earn money; a woman's is to look after the home and family.* The answers to the statements vary in five steps from strongly agree to strongly disagree. They are strongly correlated to each other (Cronbach's alpha 0.79) and are therefore summarised into a "gender ideology index" varying from 0 to 24; the higher the score, the more egalitarian the gender ideology.

The multivariate analyses also include other independent variables that have shown to be of importance in earlier studies of perceived disagreements

about household responsibilities and work-family conflict. Each respondent's and partner's number of working hours is measured by the question: *How many hours do you/your partner normally work a week in your/her/his main job, included any paid or unpaid overtime?* The level of involvement in household work is indicated by the question: *On average, how many hours a week do you/your partner personally spend on household work, not including childcare and leisure time activities?* The workload within the household is also measured by a question about children living at home (no children, children 0-6 years, children 7-17 years). Age indicates stage in life cycle. The highest level of education achieved measures educational level (0 No formal qualification, 1 Lowest formal qualification, 2 Above lowest qualification, incomplete secondary, 3 Higher secondary completed, 4 Above higher secondary level, below full university degree, 5 University degree completed).

It is of course not unproblematic to analyze statistics generated from comparative studies, which means that the results should be interpreted with some caution. There are at least two main limitations that are important to bear in mind when analyzing the material. First, the framing of questions and attitudes are context dependent, which means that certain questions may be understood and interpreted differently in different national contexts. One way to strengthen the validity of different measures is to put together items into indexes, which for instance is done in this study concerning gender ideology and the experience of work-family conflicts. Second, there are some differences between the studied countries regarding sampling, representativity and response rates. However, the respondents are weighted according to the principles described in the ISSP 2002 Codebook¹ in order to assure that the samples correspond to comparable sources of statistics in each country. This means that the samples should be fairly nationally representative.

Results

Table 1 gives a descriptive picture of household and employment characteristics among women and men in the studied countries. Means on

housework hours show that women in Germany, Switzerland and Austria dedicate more time to household work than women in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. This is a result that in some sense supports the notion that Denmark, Sweden and Norway represent a relative egalitarian gender regime while Germany, Switzerland and Austria represent a more conservative gender regime. On the other hand, women are notably more engaged than men in housework in all countries and there are small variations in men's level of housework involvement. These results support the view that responsibility for household work still is divided according to a traditional pattern in all the studied countries. Further, there are relatively small variations in mean age and the occurrence of children between the countries. There are somewhat higher percentages of cohabiting men and women in Norway who state that they have children.

The employment characteristics indicate that it is more common that both men and women are employed in Denmark, Sweden and Norway than in Germany, Switzerland and Austria, with the exception of Norwegian women who are employed to a same level as women in Switzerland. Seventy two percent of the women in Denmark and Sweden are employed which is substantially higher levels in comparison to the other countries, especially in relation to the employment levels among women in Germany and Austria. Mean number of working hours per week indicate that women are more engaged in paid work in Denmark, Sweden and Norway than in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. There is also more common that women in Denmark, Sweden and Norway have an educational degree above higher secondary than in Germany, Switzerland and Austria. All these results to some extent support the notion that these countries represent two different types of gender regimes.

Table 1

Household and employment characteristics among cohabiting women and men in the studied countries. Percent. Mean for housework hours, age and work hours.

	<i>Denmark</i>		<i>Sweden</i>		<i>Norway</i>		<i>Germany</i>		<i>Switzerland</i>		<i>Austria</i>	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<i>Household</i>												
Housework hours	8	13	8	14	5	12	7	21	7	21	8	23
Age	49	46	49	47	48	45	49	46	51	45	49	45
Children 0-6 years	20	21	18	16	22	25	16	21	17	22	21	21
Children 7-17 years	30	30	32	28	37	33	29	29	30	33	30	33
<i>Employment</i>												
Employed	71	72	78	72	77	63	68	46	73	64	61	50
Work hours	30	26	32	26	34	21	31	16	33	18	27	17
No qualification	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	1	0	0
Lowest qualification	4	6	21	15	7	10	39	32	7	9	15	25
Above lowest qualification	6	7	33	31	14	20	27	40	45	56	61	49
Higher secondary	46	35	17	16	34	33	6	8	6	11	10	10
Above higher secondary	25	41	9	8	15	10	11	4	22	12	5	8
University degree	18	11	21	30	30	28	16	13	20	12	11	8

Table 2 shows how gender ideology, disagreement about household work and perceived work-family conflict are related to different gender regimes. Mean values on the gender ideology index illustrate that women have more egalitarian attitudes than men in all countries. However, there are substantial differences between the two different types of gender regimes. Mean values on the gender ideology index are higher in the Scandinavian states, which are classified as representing an egalitarian regime, compared to mean values among individuals in countries classified as conservative regimes. The mean value is 15.8 for people living in the egalitarian states and 12.4 for the people in conservative states. The most egalitarian values are found in Denmark, and among Danish women in particular. People, and especially men, in Switzerland and Austria have the most conservative attitudes toward gender roles. These results support the notion that gender regime on a macro level, expressed by the social and family policy that each state represents, and gender role ideology on an individual level are embedded in each other. Also, ideology on a macro level seems to be reflected in people's attitudes toward gender roles. However the results also indicate that there is substantial variation within the two clusters of gender regimes. For instance, people in Germany, which is a country classified as a conservative gender regime, have relatively egalitarian attitudes in relation to Switzerland and Austria.

Looking at the level of disagreement about how to divide household labour there is a similar pattern among the countries. People in the egalitarian regimes report more disagreements than people living in conservative regimes. The mean value is 2.3 for the egalitarian regimes and 1.7 for the states classified as conservative regimes. Again, people in Switzerland and Austria distinguish themselves by having the lowest mean values, meaning that they report the lowest levels of disagreements about household work. Germans report more disagreements than people in Switzerland and Austria, but less than people in the egalitarian states. These results support the notion that people living in egalitarian regimes, and who therefore also have an egalitarian ideology, more often disagree about how to divide household work than people living in a more conservative context, and who therefore have relatively traditional gender role attitudes.

Table 2

Gender ideology, disagreement about housework and work-family conflict among cohabiting men and women in different gender regimes. Mean

	<i>Gender ideology</i>			<i>Disagree household work</i>			<i>Work-family conflict</i>		
	All	Men	Wom	All	Men	Wom	All	Men	Wom
<i>Egalitarian regimes</i>	15.76 ***	15.08 ***	16.38 ***	2.26 ***	2.24 ***	2.28 ***	2.39 ***	2.34 ***	2.45 ***
Denmark	16.60 ***	15.94 ***	17.21 ***	2.42 ***	2.39 ***	2.45 ***	2.33 ***	2.15 ***	2.50 ***
Sweden	15.45 ***	14.66 ***	16.17 ***	2.14 ***	2.13 ***	2.15 ***	2.46 ***	2.33 ***	2.58 ***
Norway	15.23 ***	14.60 ***	15.80 ***	2.19 ***	2.18 ***	2.20 ***	2.40 ***	2.50 ***	2.30 ***
<i>Conservative regimes</i>	12.44	11.69	13.27	1.71	1.70	1.72	1.81	1.81	1.81
Germany (West)	13.75 ***	12.84 ***	14.75 ***	1.95 ***	1.94 ***	1.97 ***	2.36 ***	2.58 ***	2.06
Switzerland	12.24	11.66	12.97	1.74 **	1.68	1.82 **	1.50	1.41	1.61
Austria	11.87	11.10	12.68	1.57	1.58	1.56	1.67	1.58	1.78
Total mean	14.29	13.45	15.03	2.01	1.98	2.04	2.16	2.11	2.22
N	4863	1295	2551	4768	1281	2481	3325	1022	1666

***=0.001 **=0.01 *=0.05. Significance in relation to *conservative regimes* and Austria.

Also the experience of work-family conflict differs, to some extent, between egalitarian and conservative regimes. The mean value is 2.4 for people living in the states categorised as egalitarian regimes and 1.8 for people in conservative regimes. Employed people in Switzerland and Austria express the lowest levels of work-family conflict. Women experience more work-family conflict than men in all countries apart from Norway and Germany. The real outliers are German men who express work-family conflict at the same high level as women in Sweden.

To sum up the results in table 2 there is some support for hypothesis 1 stating that people living in an egalitarian gender regime to a higher extent experience disagreements about household work and work-family conflicts, compared to people in a more traditional gender regime. The results also indicate that this, to some extent, can be explained by the fact that people in an egalitarian context have more egalitarian attitudes than people in a more conservative context. There are only marginal gender differences, with the exception of the more egalitarian attitudes among women. However, there is some notable variation within the two clusters of gender regimes. Germany was classified as a conservative regime but the attitudes among individuals are not as traditional as the attitudes among people in the other two conservative gender regimes Switzerland and Austria. This may be one explanation to why people in Germany express more disagreements about the division of household work and work-family conflict than people in Switzerland and Austria.

One requirement for the possibility that differences in gender ideology on an individual level can to some extent explain the general difference between the egalitarian and conservative regimes regarding disagreements about household labour and work-family conflict is that there in fact exists a significant relationship between gender ideology and the dependent variables. In table 3 correlations between gender ideology, disagreements about how to divide household labour and work-family conflict are studied among cohabiting men and women in the included countries. Coefficients are presented in normal style for men and in italics for women.

Table 3.
Bivariate correlations among cohabiting Men and Women. Pearson

	Gender ideology	Disagree household work	Work-family conflict
Gender ideology	-----	0.189***	0.080**
Disagree household work	0.227***	-----	0.262***
Work-family conflict	0.063**	0.226***	-----

***=0.001 **=0.01 *=0.05 (*)=0.1

Gender ideology is significantly positive related to disagreements about sharing of household tasks among both women and men, but the relationship is stronger among women. This means that the more egalitarian attitudes people have, the more often they report that they disagree with their partner about how to divide household work. There is a similar but weaker relationship between gender ideology and experiences of work-family conflict. The correlation coefficients illustrate that egalitarian attitudes are related to a higher risk for the experience that work conflicts with family life. Finally, the results also show that there is a strong and positive relationship between disagreements about division of household work and the experience of work-family conflicts among both men and women.

The final step is to do multivariate analyses of the relationships between the dependent variables and the independent variables gender regime and gender ideology among individuals, when controlling for age, the occurrence of children and respondent’s and partner’s working hours, hours in household work and educational level. The analysis strategy in table 4 is as follows. Model 1, 4, 7 and 10 show regression coefficients indicating the bivariate relationships between the two different types of gender regimes and disagreements about household work and work-family conflict. Models 2, 5, 8 and 11 control for gender ideology among individuals and models 3, 6, 9 and 12 also control for children, age and respondent’s and partner’s housework hours, work hours and education level.

Models 1 and 4 confirm the results in table 2 illustrating that men and women in an egalitarian gender regime experience disagreements to a significantly higher degree than people in a conservative gender regime. The difference is somewhat larger among women. Models 2 and 5 include individual gender ideology. Gender ideology is also significantly correlated with disagreements about distribution of housework in a multivariate analysis. The fact that the coefficient for the egalitarian regimes decreases when gender ideology is introduced into the model supports the notion that an individual's gender ideology to some extent explains the difference between egalitarian and conservative regimes regarding the level of disagreements about household work. In other words, when controlling for differences in gender ideology the egalitarian and the conservative regimes become more similar regarding the level of disagreements about division of household work. The decrease of the coefficients for the egalitarian regimes is more obvious for women, indicating that the explanatory power of gender ideology is stronger for women.

Table 4.

OLS-regression. Disagreement about household work and work-family conflict by gender regime, individual gender ideology and variables measuring occurrence of children, age and respondent's and partner's educational level and involvement in employment and household work. Cohabitants. B-coefficients

	<i>Disagreement about division of household work</i>							<i>Work-family conflict</i>				
	Men			Women				Men		Women		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Constant	1.751	1.440	2.114	1.737	1.260	1.629	1.926	1.819	1.392	1.823	1.654	1.601
Living in an egalitarian gender regime	0.519***	0.450***	0.488***	0.561***	0.442***	0.455***	0.439***	0.417***	0.562***	0.624***	0.597***	0.542***
Gender ideology		0.024***	0.013*		0.036***	0.022***		0.008	0.002		0.011	-0.008
Resp housework hours			0.001			0.010***			-0.020*			0.004
Partn housework hours			0.007**			-0.006			0.019***			0.013
Children 0-6 years			0.149*			0.249***			-0.003			-0.049
Children 7-17 years			0.155**			0.137**			0.104			-0.101
Resp age			-0.016***			-0.011***			-0.025***			-0.013**
Resp work hours			-0.002			0.001			0.019***			0.012***
Partn work hours			-0.001			-0.004			0.010*			0.003
Resp education			0.042			0.116***			0.067			0.136**
Partn education			0.002			-0.025			-0.000			-0.015
R ²	0.051	0.062	0.117	0.059	0.083	0.149	0.014	0.014	0.071	0.032	0.033	0.055

***=0.001 **=0.01 *=0.05

Models 3 and 6 control for children, age, and housework hours, working hours and education among respondents and partners. Respondents' number of housework hours is significantly and positively correlated for women. This means that the more time women spend on housework, the more often they report disagreements about how to divide household work. The importance of the woman's housework load is also reflected in men's answers. The more hours their partner spends doing housework, the more often they disagree about the division of household work. These results support the notion that the more traditional the division of household labour is (the more work done by the woman), the higher the risk for disagreements about how to divide household work. The presence of children, and especially preschool children among women, is significantly and positively correlated with disagreements about household work. Age is significantly and negatively related to disagreements about household work among both women and men; the higher age, the lower the risk for disagreements. Education level is significantly and positively related to disagreements about household work among women. This result implies that women with a high education report more disagreements. Because highly educated women in general have a more egalitarian gender ideology than those with a lower level of education, this result support the notion that women with an egalitarian gender ideology express more dissatisfaction with the division of household labour.

Models 7 to 12 in table 4 analyse how the independent variables are related to the experience of work-family conflict. The results in model 7 and 10 illustrate that the coefficients are higher, indicating a higher risk for experiencing work-family conflict in countries classified as egalitarian regimes in relation to conservative regimes. The gap is substantially larger among women. Gender ideology is introduced into the analyses in models 8 and 11. As the results of the multivariate regression show there is no significant relationship between gender ideology and the experience of work-family conflict. As a consequence, there is only a marginal decrease in the relationships between type of regime and work-family conflict when controlling for gender ideology. This indicates that differences in gender ideology among individuals are not a significant explanation for the

difference between egalitarian and conservative regimes regarding work-family conflict.

The relevance of number of hours in paid work and in household work, children, age and education is analysed in models 9 and 12. Housework hours are significantly related to work-family conflict among men. The more hours men spend on housework, the *lower* the risk for experiencing work-family conflict, and the more hours their partner spend on housework, the *higher* the risk for perceived work-family conflict. The occurrence of children is not significantly related to work-family conflict among either men or women. Age is significantly and negatively related for both men and women; the higher age, the lower the risk for experiencing work-family conflict. Both women and men experience more work-family conflict the more hours they work in a paid job. Also partner's number of working hours is significantly and positively related to experience of work-family conflicts among men. Education is significantly and positively correlated with the experience of work-family conflict among women, which means that the higher education women have, the more often they experience work-family conflict. There is a decrease of the coefficient for egalitarian regimes between model 11 and 12 implying that the difference between women in egalitarian regimes and women in conservative regimes partly can be explained by the fact that women in the egalitarian regimes in general work more hours and have more qualified jobs.

Conclusions

A main aim in this paper has been to analyse disagreement about division of household labour and experiences of work-family conflict among women and men living in different gender regimes. This has been done by analysing the following three hypotheses: 1) People, and especially women, living in an egalitarian gender regime (Scandinavia) more often report disagreements and work-family conflicts than people living in a more conservative gender regime (Germany, Switzerland and Austria). 2) People, and especially women, with an egalitarian gender ideology more often report disagreement about the division of household work and work-family conflict than people

with a traditional gender ideology. 3) Gender ideology among individuals can to some extent explain variations between gender regimes regarding the experience of disagreement about the division of household work and work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 1 gets some support. Results indicate that people who live in an egalitarian gender regime to a higher extent experience disagreement about household work and work-family conflict, compared to people in a more traditional gender regime. However, there are only marginal differences between the answers from women and men respectively. There is also some notable variation within the two clusters of gender regimes. Germany was classified as a conservative regime together with Switzerland and Austria, but people in Germany express more disagreements about the division of household work and work-family conflict than people in Switzerland and Austria. German men even report work-family conflict to the same degree as women in Sweden, who are in the top among the egalitarian regimes.

Hypothesis 2 gets some support. On a general level, people with an egalitarian gender ideology report a higher level of disagreement about division of household labour and work family conflict than people with a more traditional gender ideology. However, the relationship between gender ideology and experienced work-family conflict is significant only in a bivariate analysis. The relationship between gender ideology and disagreement about household work is stronger among women than among men, which supports the notion that gender ideology plays a more significant role among women than among men for the experience of work-family conflict.

Hypothesis 3 gets some support regarding disagreements about the division of household labour. When controlling for individual gender ideology the difference between egalitarian and conservative gender regimes regarding reported level of disagreement decreases. This result indicates that the difference between egalitarian and traditional gender regimes to some extent can be explained by the fact that people in an egalitarian context have more egalitarian attitudes than people in a more conservative context. The more prominent decrease of the coefficient for egalitarian regimes among

women indicates that the explanatory power of gender ideology is stronger among women than among men.

Although the results from this study indicate that type of gender ideology may be of some relevance for the understanding of how people perceive phenomenon such as level of disagreement about division of labour and experienced work-family conflict, and that this can explain some of the variance between countries regarding levels of disagreement and work-family conflict among individuals, the results must be interpreted with some caution. First, the hypotheses in this study were only partly supported. Second, the amount of variance explained is relative low, especially regarding work-family conflict, which suggests that there are other factors of importance which are not included in the analyses. Third, other studies that have included more countries than the present study, have shown that the variation between national and social policy contexts regarding level of disagreements about division of labour (Nordenmark, 2008) and experience of work-family conflict (Edlund, 2007) can not so easily be explained by the gender ideology that characterises each nation state. Results have indicated that it may be hard to find systematic differences between types of gender regimes and that the differences within clusters of regime types can be as prominent as the systematic differences between different welfare and gender regimes. Therefore there is a need for more research within this relatively new research area.

Notas

¹ http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/data/2002_Family_III.htm

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Mikael Nordenmark Professor at the Department of Health Sciences. Mid Sweden University.

Contact Address: SE-831 25 Östersund, Sweden.
mikael.nordenmark@miun.se