LCSR
Laboratory for Comparative Social Research

HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY

Gender division of labour in the household

Academic Training Lecture Regular Programme, CERN

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Outline

1. Statistics. Gender division of labor in the household
2. Changes within the era of COVID-19
3. Social policies (maternity, parental leave)
4. Theoretical explanations of gender differences
5. Gender-role attitudes in domestic sphere
6. What to do? Social policies

Gender division of labor

1. Public sphere: labor market, career, discrimination
2. Domestic sphere: distribution the role in the housework, children healthcare

The two spheres are closely interrelated.

Division of domestic labor

- Although female labour force participation rates have increased significantly in the recent decades, women still bear the brunt of household chores across the globe. The same is true for dual-earner households. (ILO, 2018; Kan et al., 2011)
- For example, in the EU 32 % of women were engaged in part-time work, compared with only 10 % of men. 29 % of women employed part-time indicated that unpaid care itself was their main reason for working part-time, compared with only 6 % of men citing the same cause

Care work

- Care work = all activities and occupations that directly or indirectly involve care processes and entail ‘the provision of personal services to meet those basic physical and mental needs that allow a person to function at a socially determined acceptable level of capability, comfort and safety’ (Himmelweit, 2007, p. 581).
- Gender gap in care work:

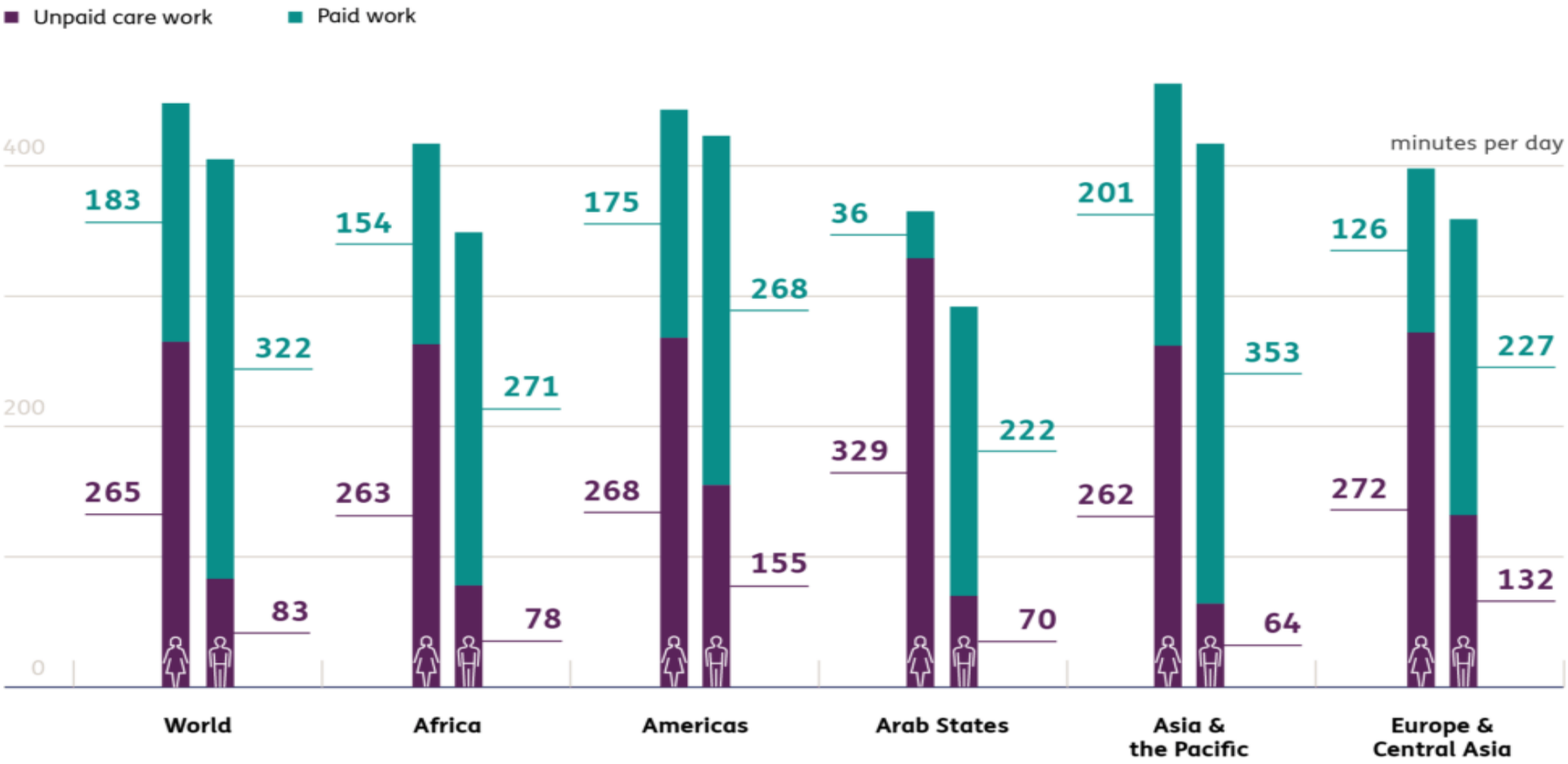
In EU: 92% women and 68% = regular carers

81% women and 48% men = daily carers

Care work

- Women living in couples with children spend more than double the daily time on care work spent by those living in couples without children (5.3 hours per day compared with 2.4 hours)
- Daily time spent on unpaid care is higher in the childbearing age group (those aged 25–49), especially for women, resulting in a higher gender care gap than in the other age categories.
- The burden of unpaid care work being higher for women in non-standard and low-paid jobs.
- Women in temporary jobs or with no formal contract spend twice the amount of time on unpaid care every day that women employed in permanent jobs do

Unpaid care work and paid work across continents (https://ilostat.ilo.org/)

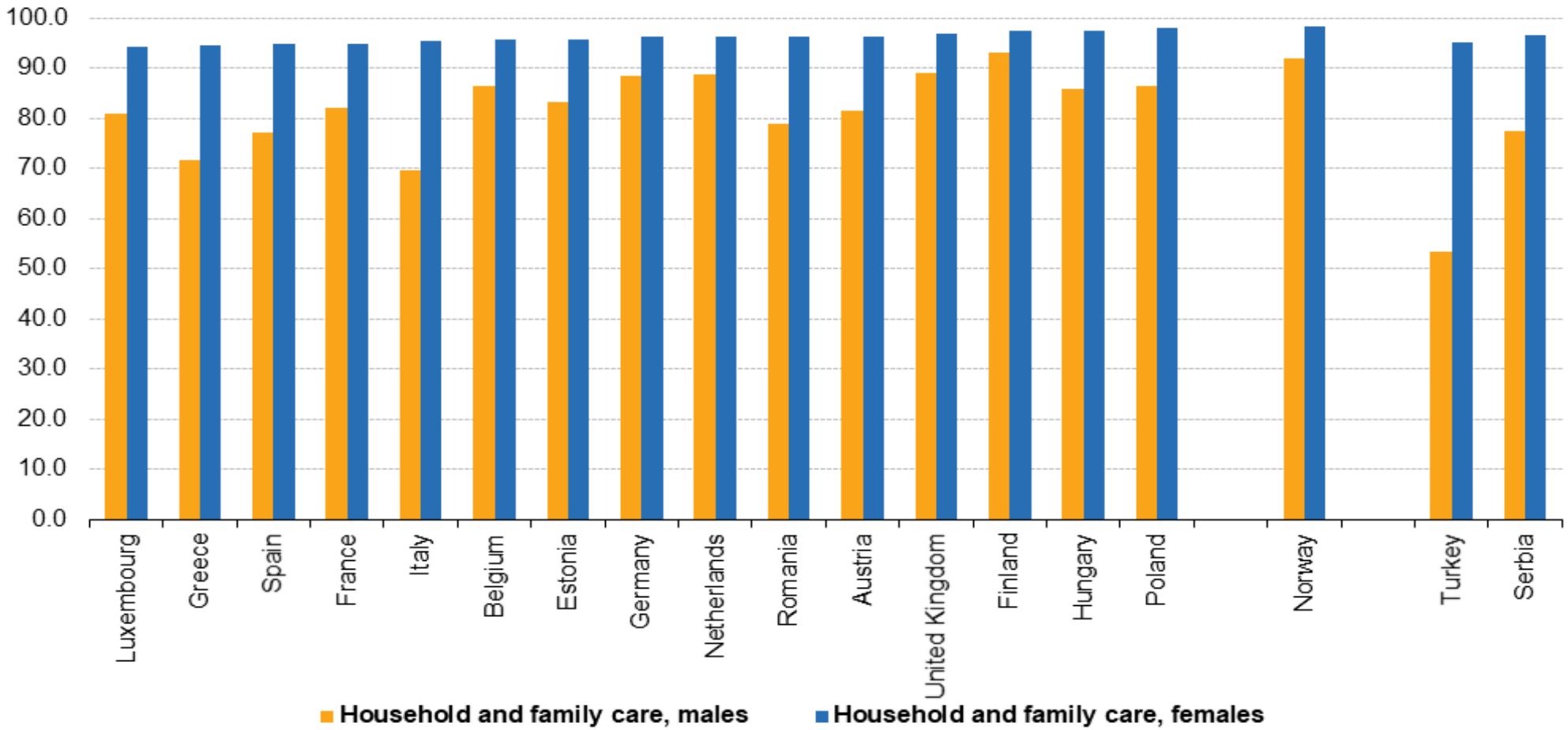


Data on time use in the household

- Harmonised European Time Use Surveys (HETUS 2010) (round 2, 2008-2015): conducted in 18 European countries - 15 EU countries, 3 non-EU countries (Norway, Serbia and Turkey).
- Representative samples of the population. From 2005 to 40048 respondents by country

Source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=How_do_women_and_men_use_their_time_-_statistics

Participation rate per day in household and family care, main activity, %, by gender (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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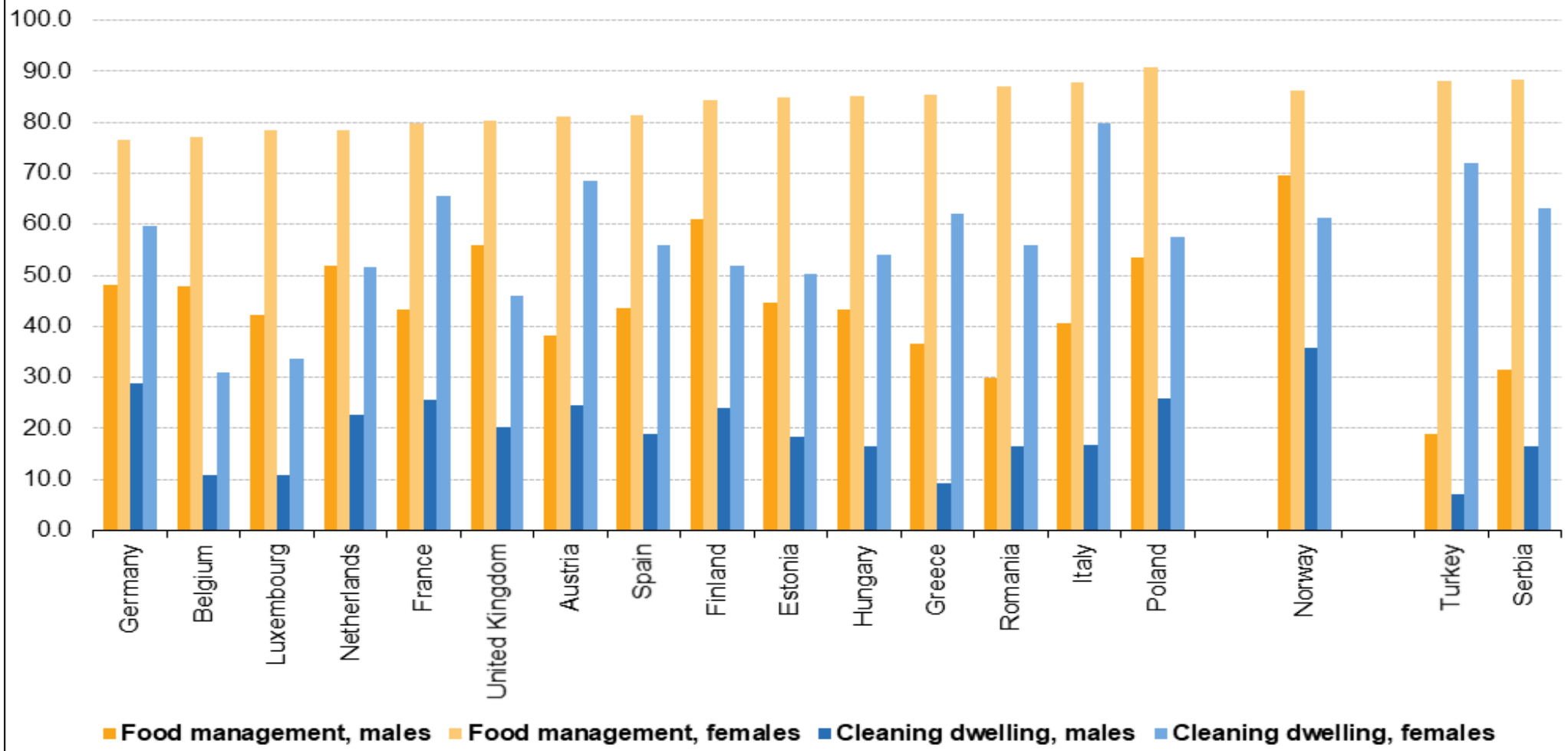
Participation rate per day in cleaning and food management, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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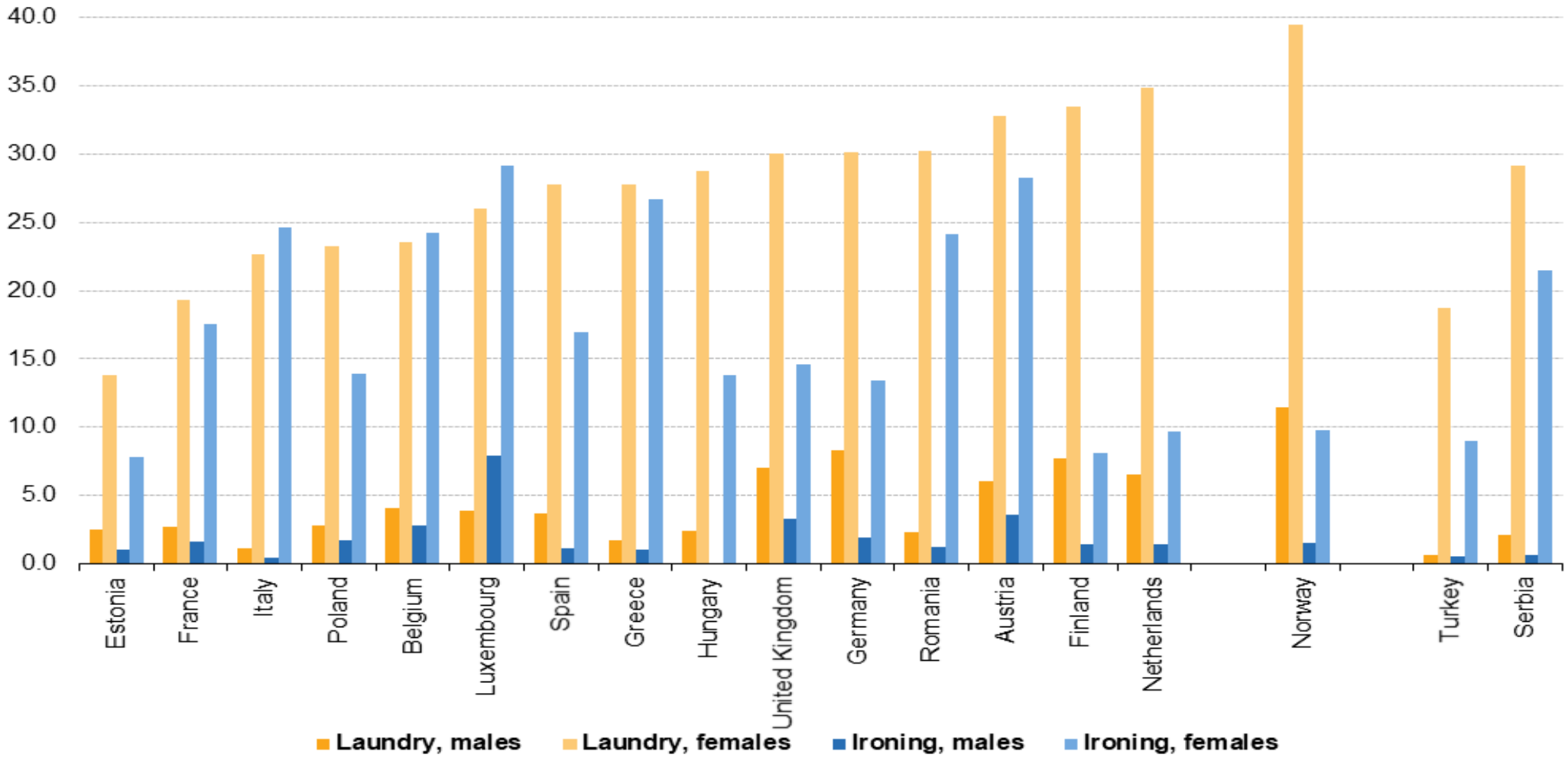
Participation rate per day in laundry and ironing, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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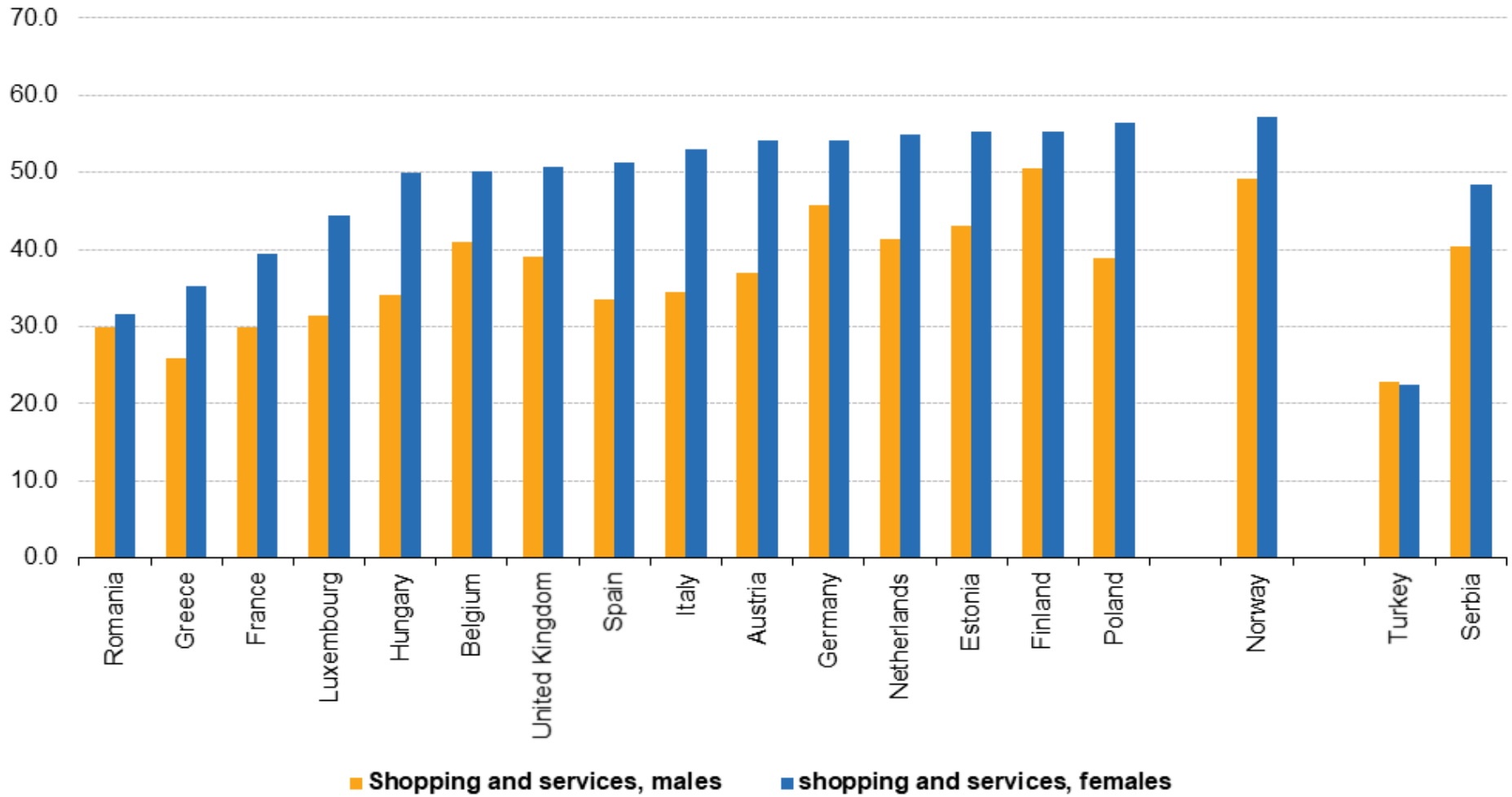
Participation rate per day in shopping and services, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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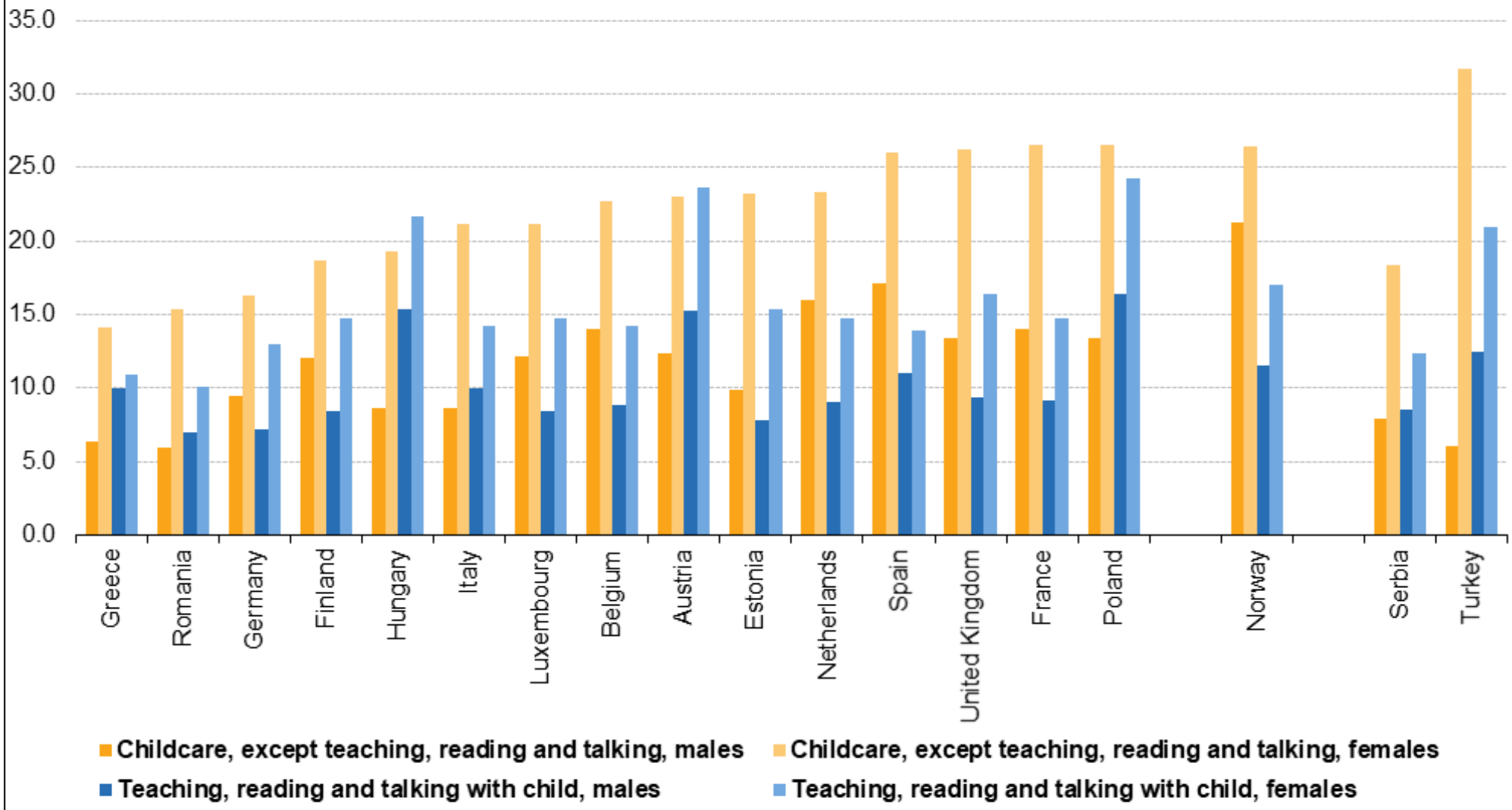
Participation rate per day in childcare, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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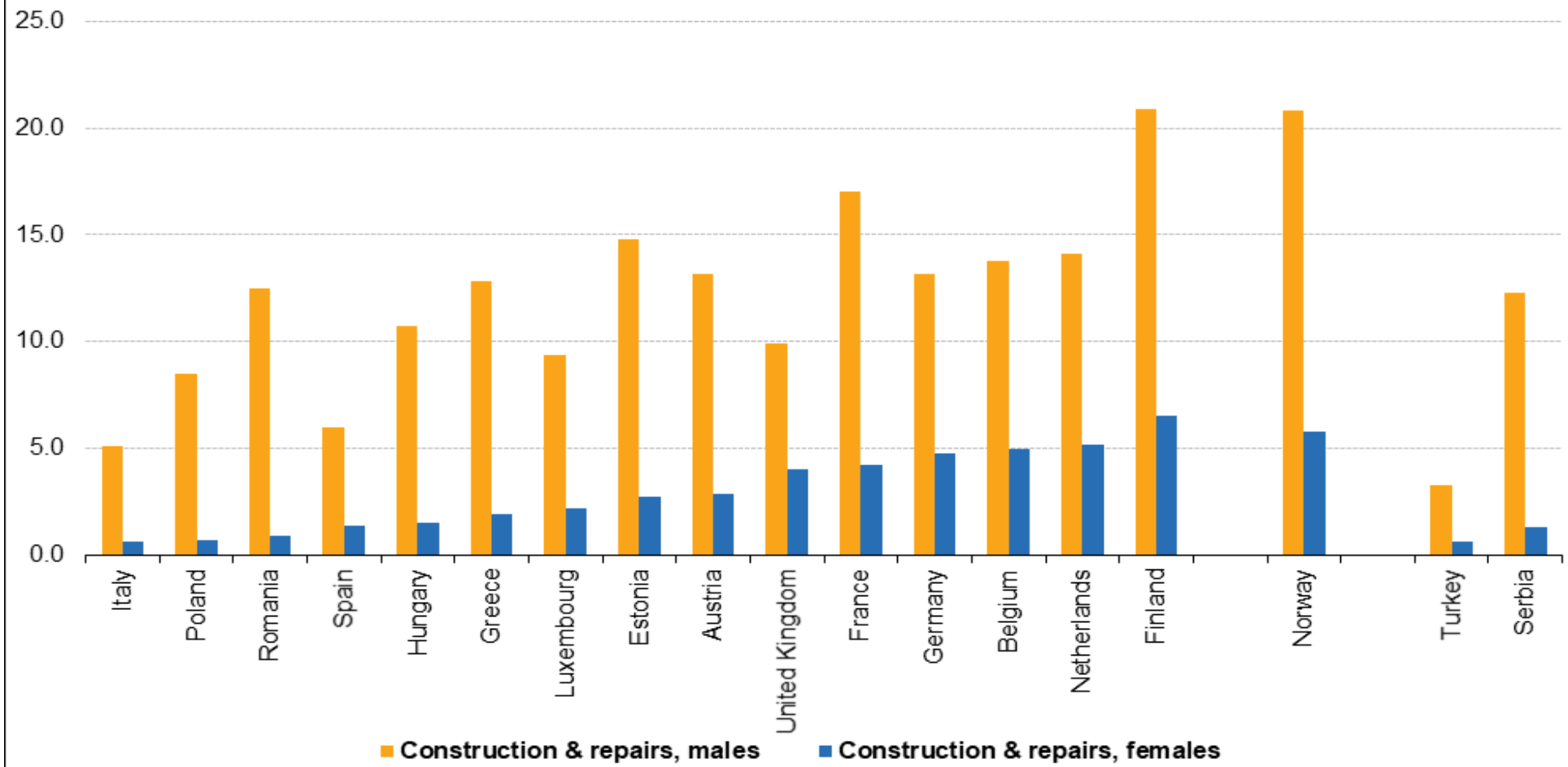
Participation rate per day in construction, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)

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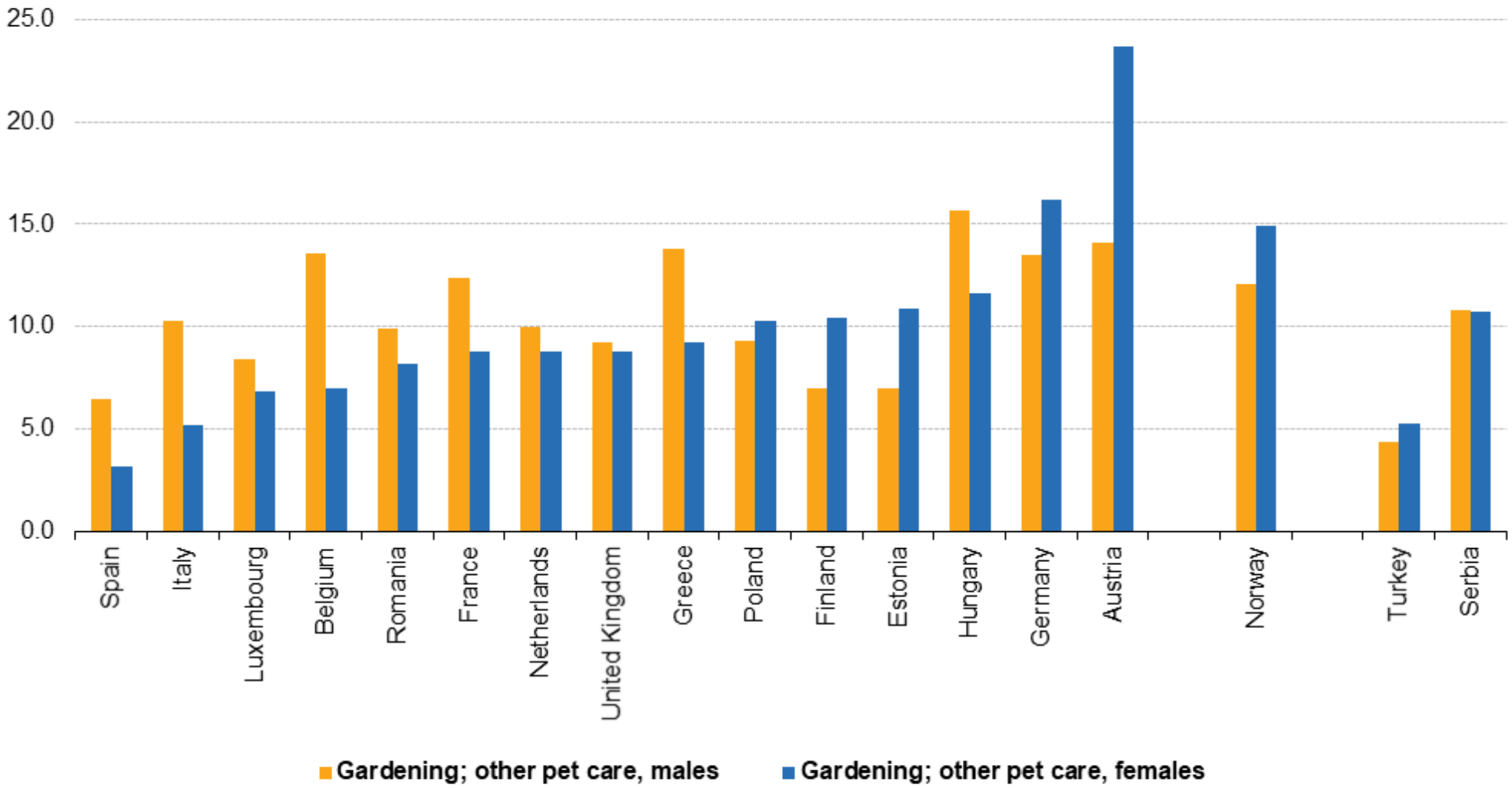
Participation rate per day in gardening and pet care, by gender, % (2008 to 2015)



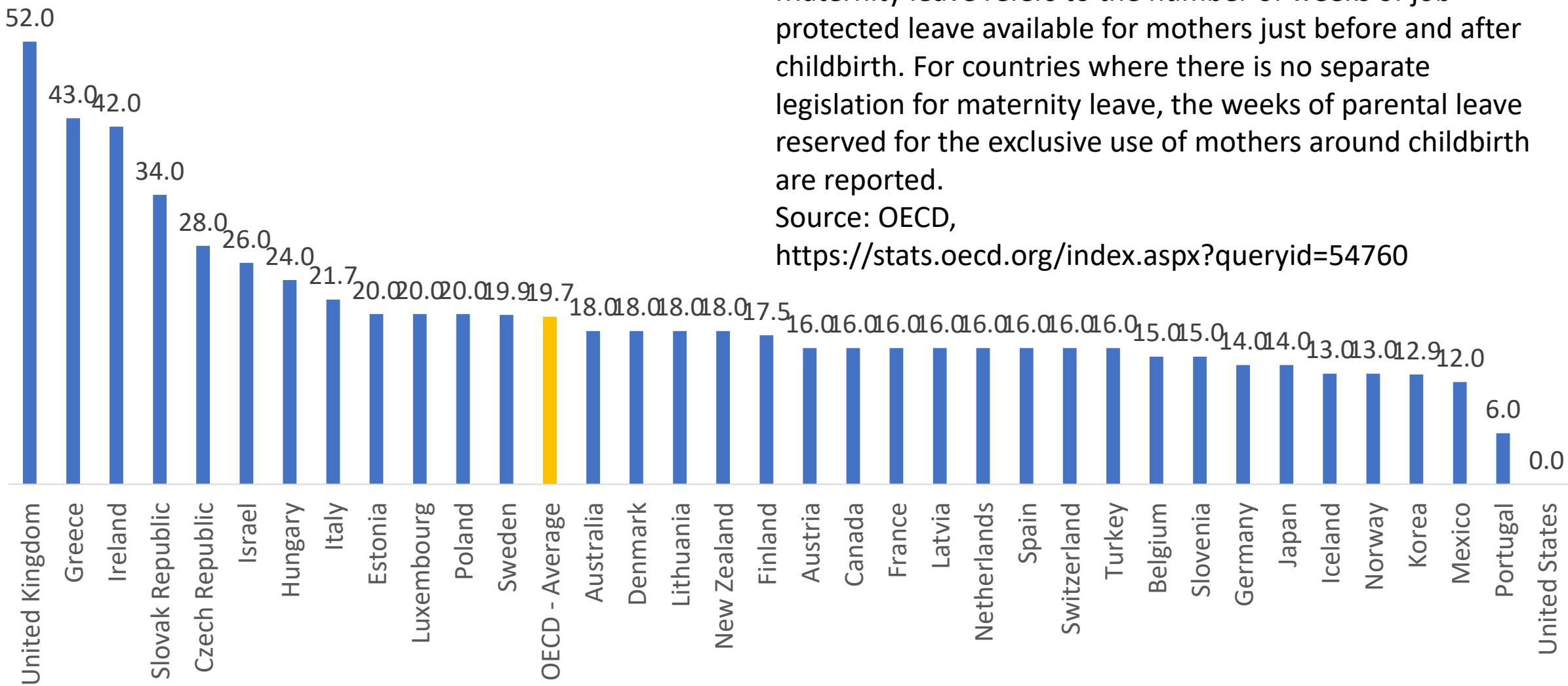
Source: Eurostat (online data code: tus_00educ)
FI and NO: rate for tending domestic animals 100% for both men and women (not shown in the chart).

eurostat

Social policies

- Maternity leave
- Parental leave
- Father-specific leave

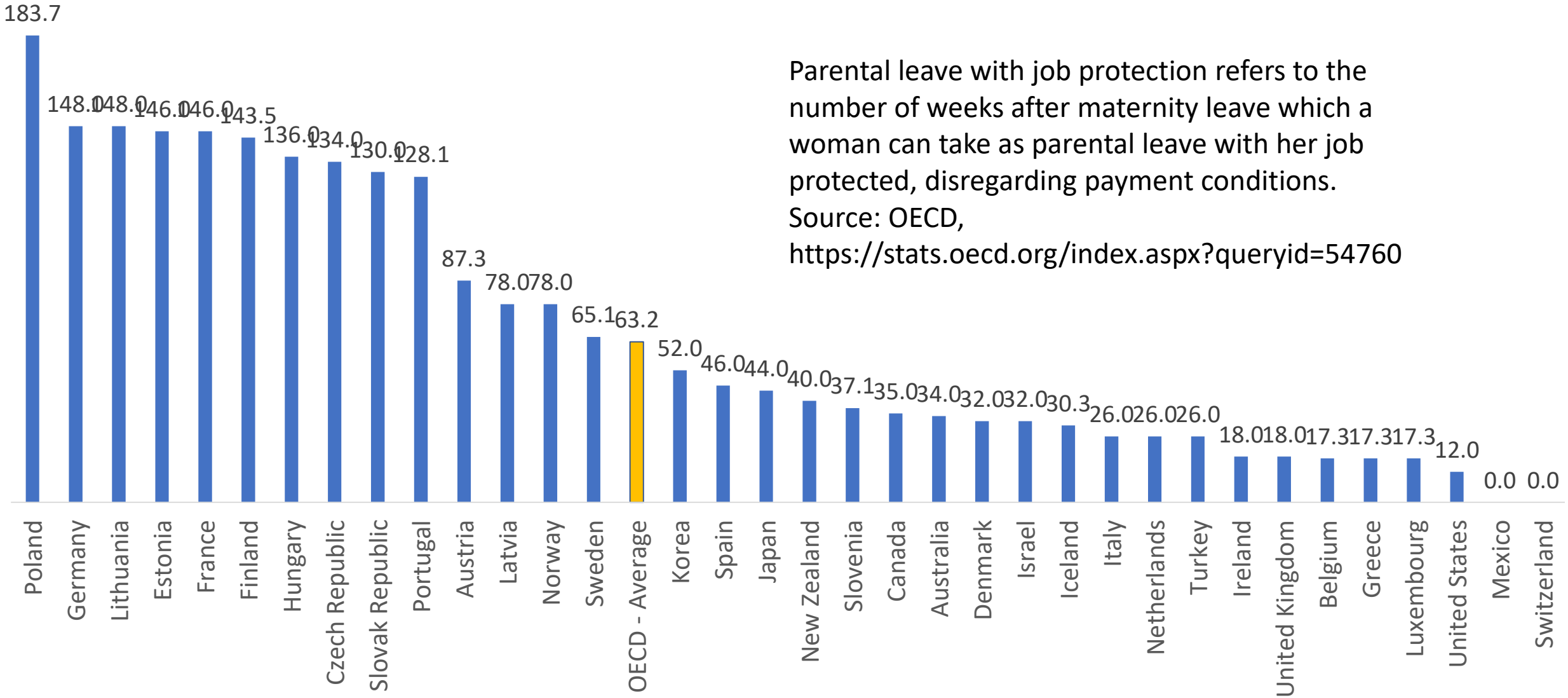
Maternity leave (weeks), 2018



Maternity leave refers to the number of weeks of job-protected leave available for mothers just before and after childbirth. For countries where there is no separate legislation for maternity leave, the weeks of parental leave reserved for the exclusive use of mothers around childbirth are reported.

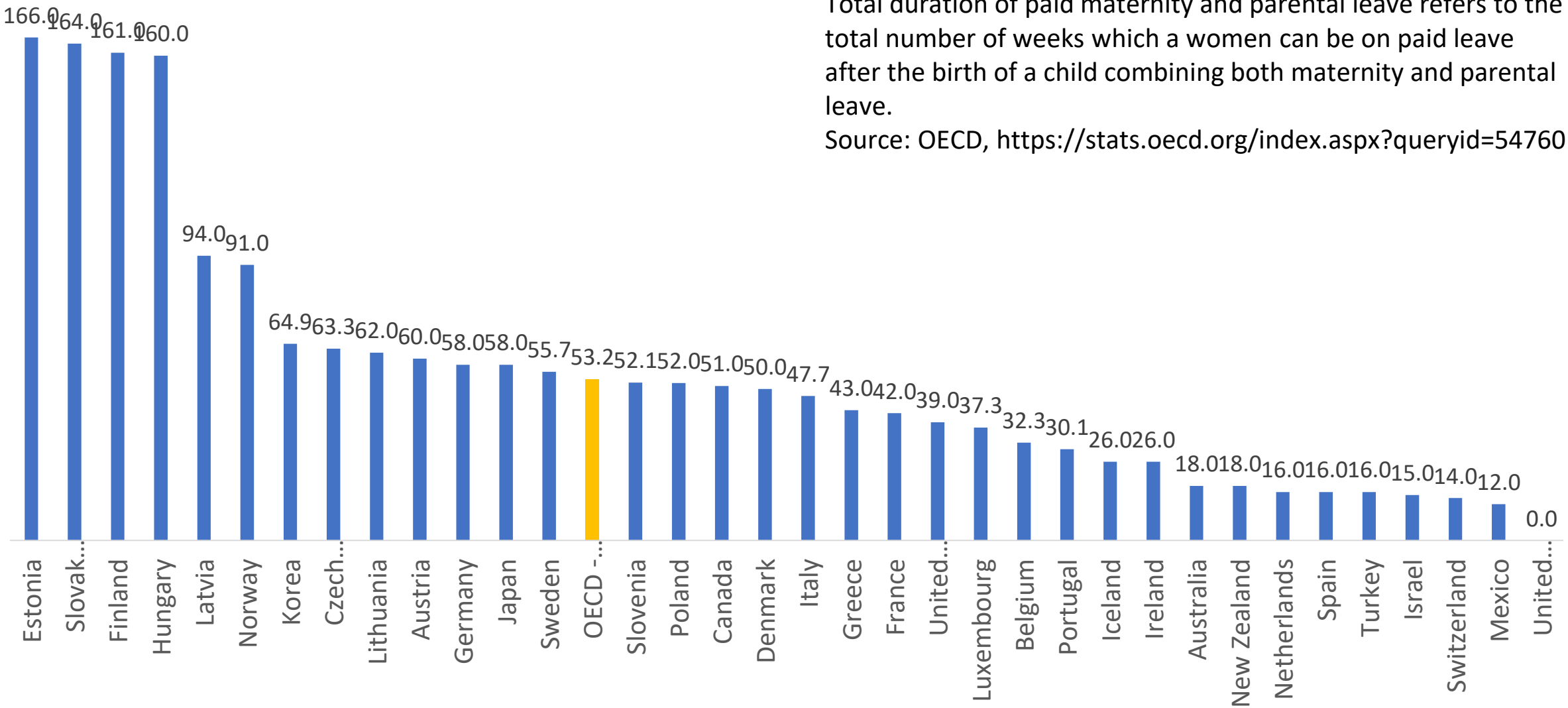
Source: OECD, https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54760

Parental leave with job protection (weeks), 2018



Parental leave with job protection refers to the number of weeks after maternity leave which a woman can take as parental leave with her job protected, disregarding payment conditions.
Source: OECD, https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54760

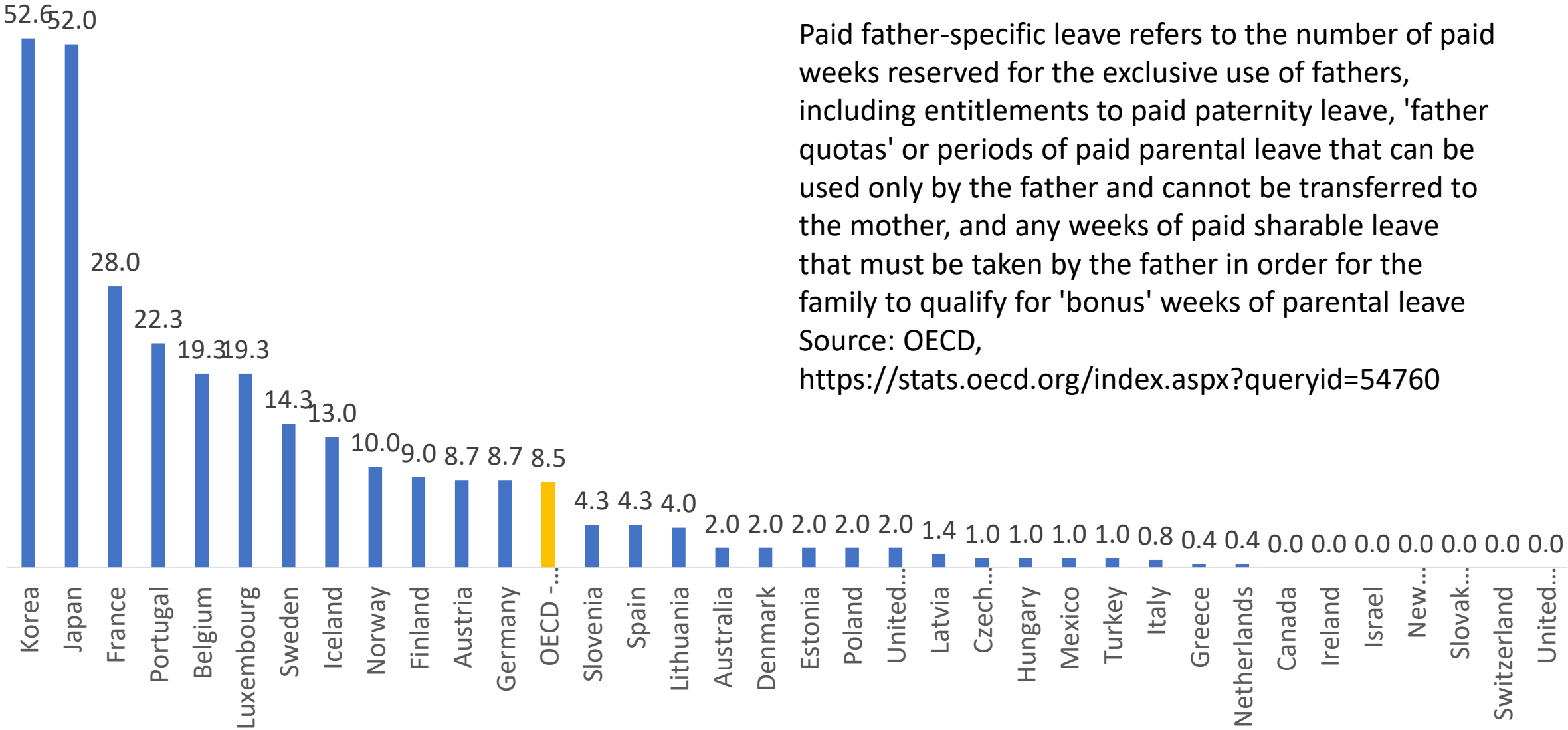
Total paid maternity and parental leave (weeks), 2018



Total duration of paid maternity and parental leave refers to the total number of weeks which a women can be on paid leave after the birth of a child combining both maternity and parental leave.

Source: OECD, https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54760

Paid father-specific leave (weeks), 2018



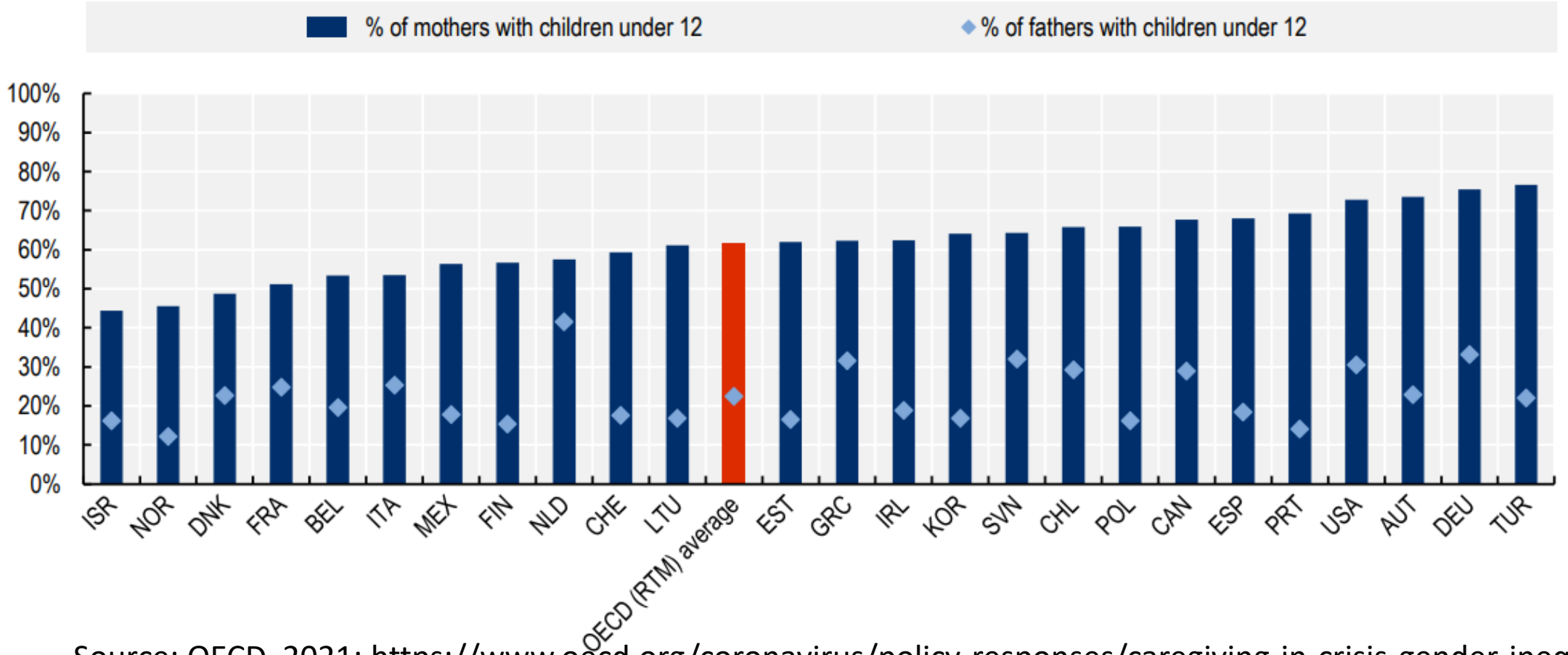
Paid father-specific leave refers to the number of paid weeks reserved for the exclusive use of fathers, including entitlements to paid paternity leave, 'father quotas' or periods of paid parental leave that can be used only by the father and cannot be transferred to the mother, and any weeks of paid sharable leave that must be taken by the father in order for the family to qualify for 'bonus' weeks of parental leave
Source: OECD, https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54760

Housework and COVID-19

- Women were affected more than men. They lost employment more often.
- Mothers were nearly three times as likely as fathers to report that they took on the majority or all of additional unpaid care work related to school or childcare facility closures: 61.5% of mothers of children under age 12 say they took on the majority or entirety of the extra care work, while 22.4% of fathers report that they did.
- Mothers of children under age 12 were the group most likely to move from employed to not employed status between Q4 2019 and Q3 2020, on average across OECD countries.

Figure 3. Mothers were nearly three times as likely as fathers to say they took on most or all of the additional unpaid care work caused by school and childcare closures

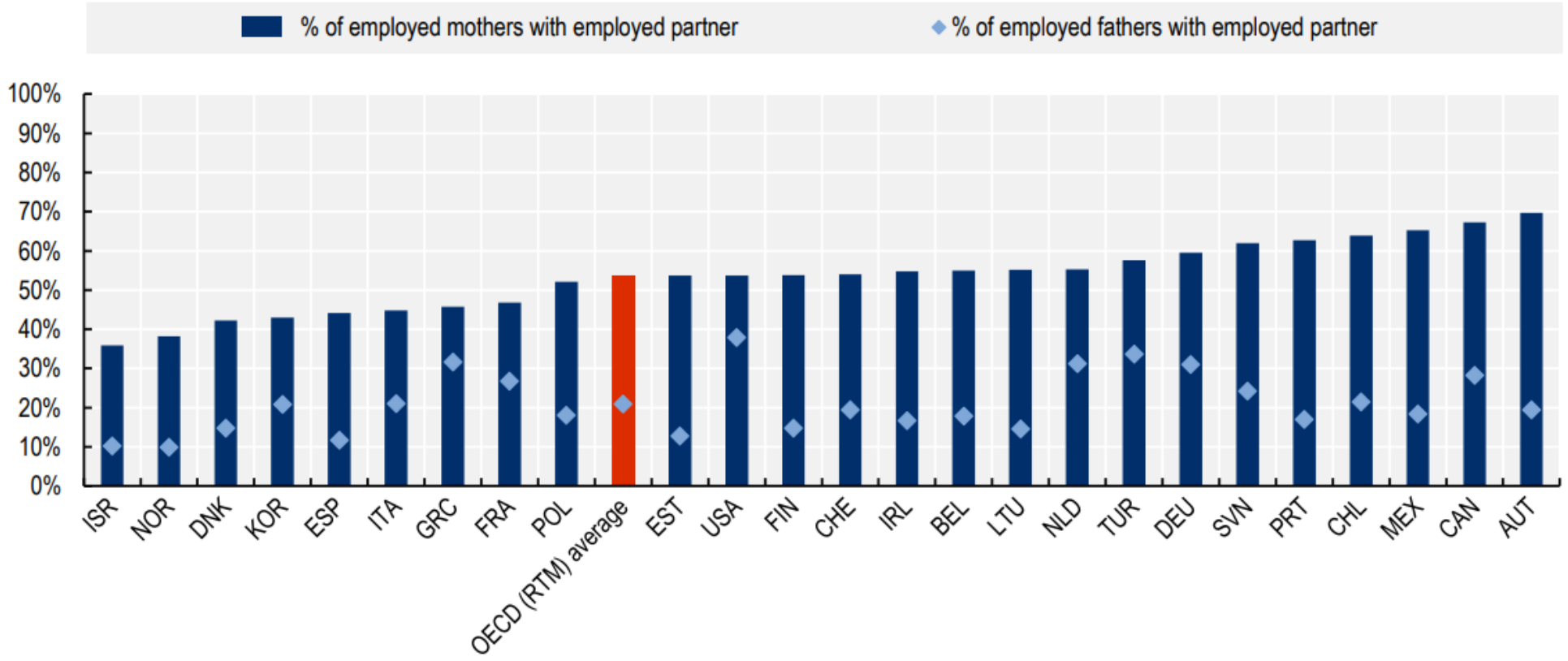
Share of parents with at least one child under 12 who report that they took on all or the majority of the additional care work caused by school or childcare facility closures, by gender, 2020



Source: OECD, 2021: https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/caregiving-in-crisis-gender-inequality-in-paid-and-unpaid-work-during-covid-19-3555d164/

Figure 4. The gender gap in unpaid caregiving persists even when both parents are employed

Share of employed parents with: 1) an employed partner and 2) at least one child under 18 who report that they took on all or the majority of the additional care work caused by school or childcare facility closures during COVID-19, by gender, 2020



Source: OECD, 2021: https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/caregiving-in-crisis-gender-inequality-in-paid-and-unpaid-work-during-covid-19-3555d164/

Housework and COVID-19

- Mothers and women more often experiences stress and decrease in well-being
- Those with small children more claim that they need governmental support
- In countries with better family policies the situation is better

Explanations of gender inequality

- **Sex segregation theory:** various tastes, aspirations and skills of men and women (Schultz 1990; Bussey and Bandura 1999; Grusky and Levanov 2008)

- Different motivation

- **Institutional theory:** positions of men and women mainly depend upon employment legislation and other social policies (Bonacich 1972)

- Differences in external conditions and discrimination

Time allocation in the family: theoretical approaches

- **relative resources approach:** a greater relative resource like education, work status or income, is related to a higher negotiating power on the respective share of unpaid work (Becker 1994, Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; Steiber & Haas, 2009)

- **gender role theory*:*** individual attitudes towards gender roles, i.e. which partner based on the respective gender should allocate more or less time in work and family domains, shape personal preferences for behavior and influence couples share of paid and unpaid work (Crompton & Lyonette, 2005; Steiber & Haas, 2009)

Time allocation in the family: theoretical approaches

- **institutional approach:** individuals' behaviors, and couples' work-family organizations, are nested in and framed by national-level institutional logics such as specific policies and public supports (Thornton et al., 2012; Ruppanner & Maume, 2016).

- **social role theory:** societies are characterized by normative gender roles for men and women that have been institutionalized and became the norm (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2012; Zhao et al., 2017).

Gender-role attitudes

Gender role attitudes represent a multidimensional concept involving two main aspects (Constantin & Voicu, 2015; Larsen & Long, 1988; Wilcox & Jelen, 1991).

- **the public sphere:** politics, labor market, education
- **the private one:** distribution of gender roles in the family

- **Traditional GRA:** support for specialized roles and responsibilities by gender, with women mainly devoted to childcare and unpaid domestic work and men see as the primary (or only) breadwinner of the household, with social roles in the public sphere.
- **Egalitarian GRA:** support for women's role in the public sphere as well as the men's role in the private one (Albrecht et al., 2000; Baxter & Kane, 1995; Cunningham et al., 2005). (Constantin & Voicu, 2015; Larsen & Long, 1988; Wilcox & Jelen, 1991).

Gender-role attitudes in domestic sphere

European Values Study (EVS): https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/

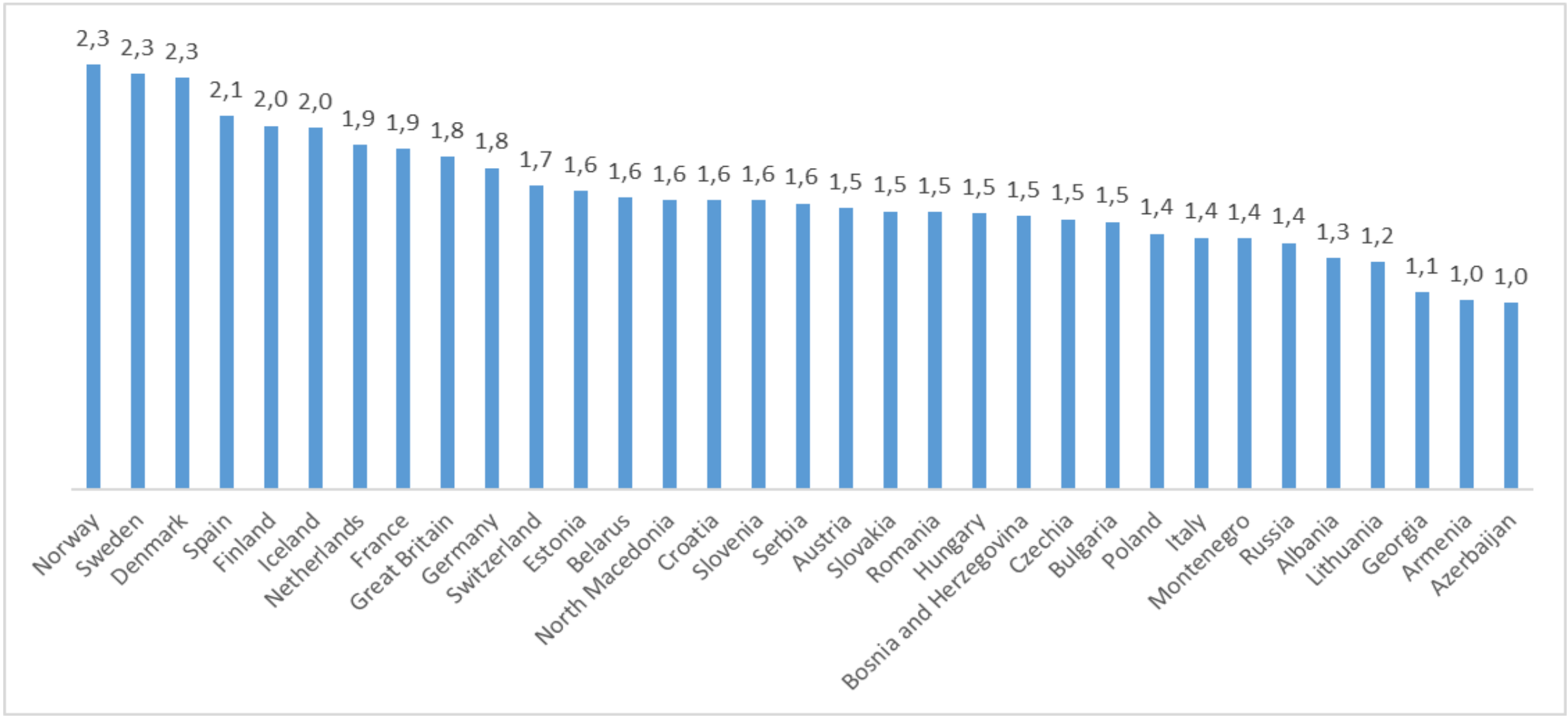
Gender-role attitudes in domestic sphere

- When a mother works for pay, the children suffer
- 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

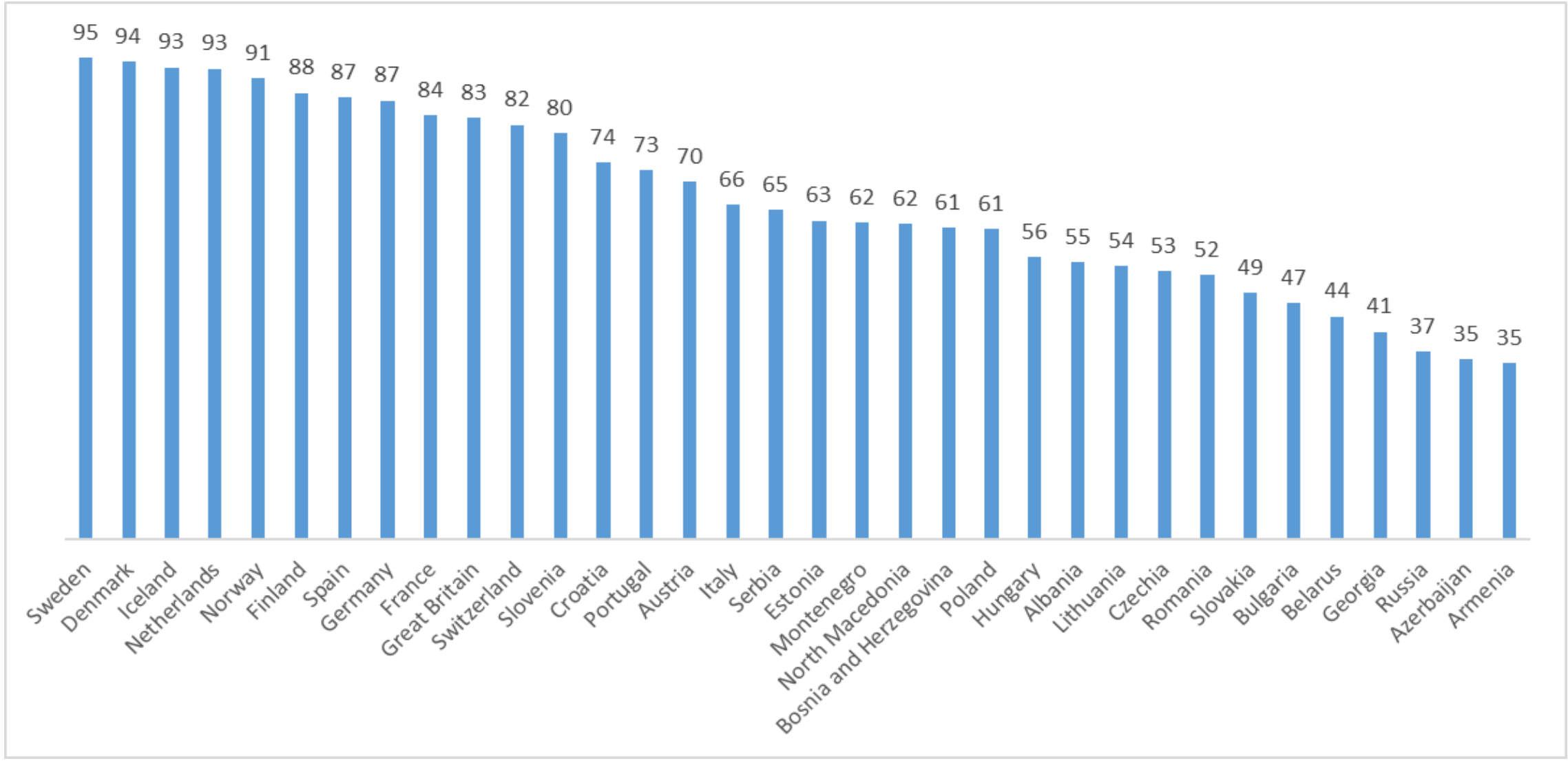
Doesn’t belong to any dimension:

- Man's job is to earn money; woman's job is to look after home and family

GRA in domestic sphere: index (0 – traditional, 3 – egalitarian), EVS2017-2018



Man's job is to earn money; woman's job is to look after home and family (%, share of those who disagree), EVS2017-2018



Gender-role attitudes in domestic sphere

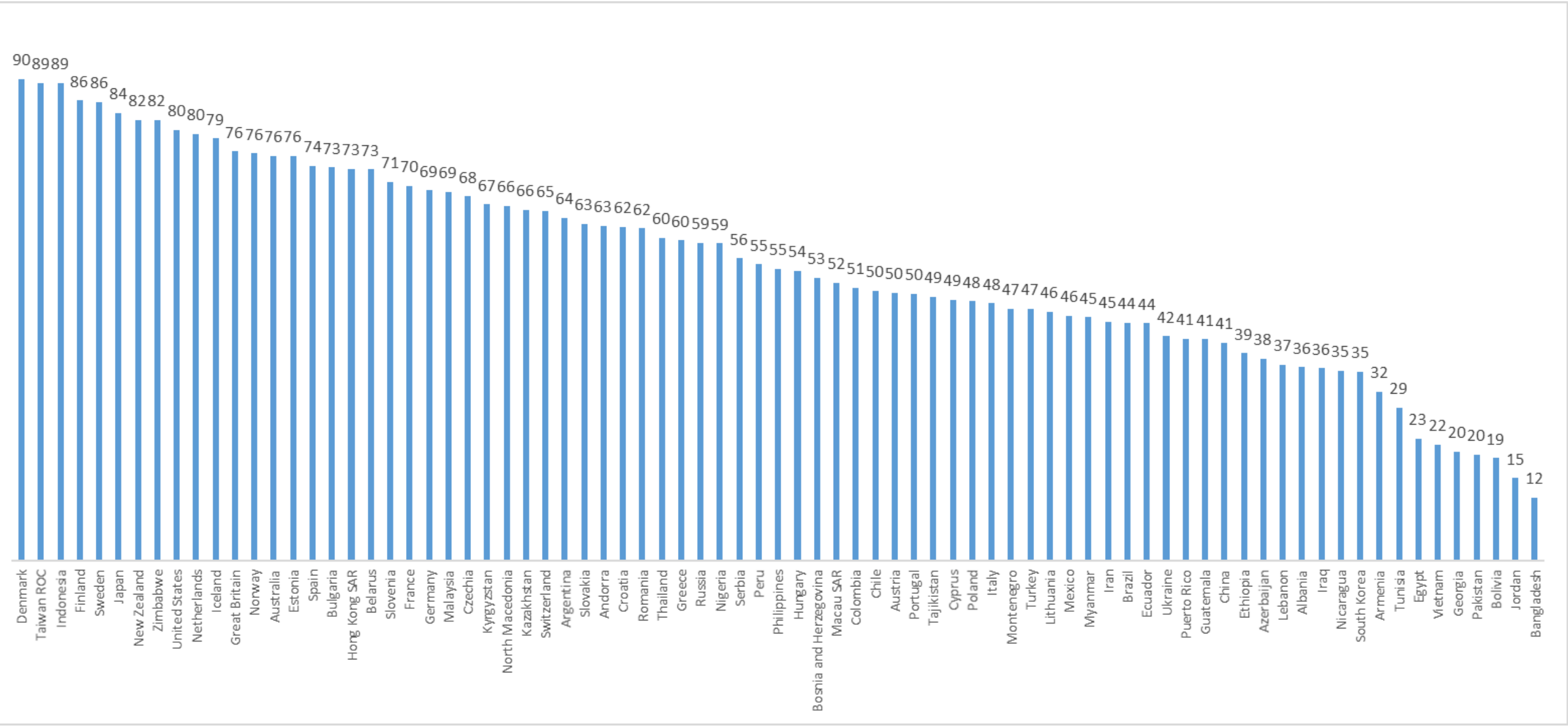
World Values Survey (WVS):

https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

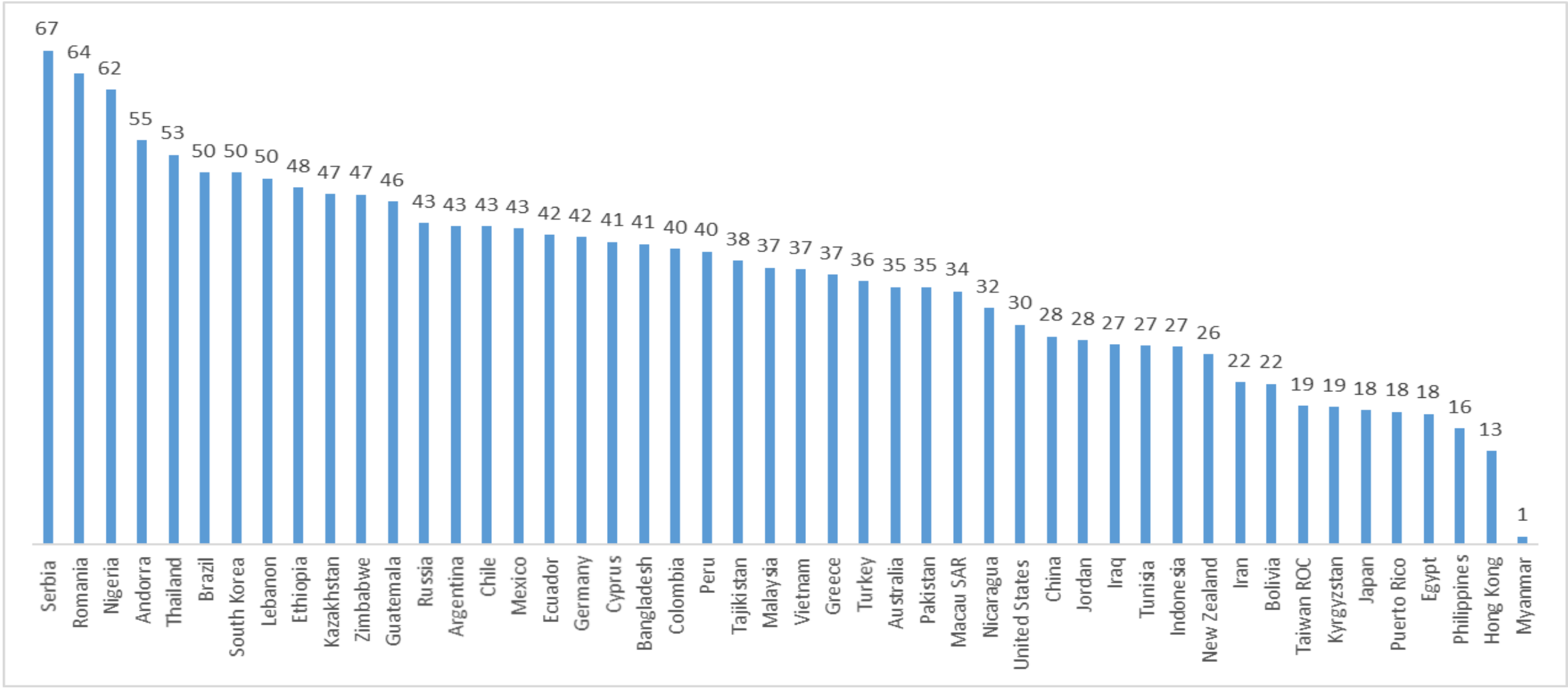
Gender-role attitudes in domestic sphere

- When a mother works for pay, the children suffer
- Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay
- If a woman earns more money than her husband, it's almost certain to cause problems

Pre-school child suffers with working mother (share those who DISAGREE), WVS-EVS 2017-2020



Being a housewife is as fulfilling as working for pay (share those who DISAGREE), WVS 2017-2020,



Problems with GRA

- Main focus on female roles. Male roles are largely neglected (Walter 2018; Grunow et al 2019)
- Multimensionality is often neglected (Walter 2018; Grunow et al 2019)
- Outdated wording: many of the items still keep formulation from the Seventies. This allows over time comparison, but imprint traditional views that are perceived differently across societies (Braun 2008)
- Different awareness about gender equality affects item interpretation and mechanisms of social desirability (as in the case of male roles items) (Braun 2008, 2009)
- Societies provides different context of opportunities and societal cultural orientations which explain gaps in measurement equivalence (Seddig & Lomazzi 2019)

- You never can construct ideal measure or gender-role attitudes but it is necessary for cross-cultural and longitudinal comparisons. Sometimes it is better when the measure is not perfect but is the same across countries and across time.
- Countries vary a lot in gender-role attitudes both in public and domestic sphere

Gender-role attitudes in the time of COVID

- Not much research. Transformation of attitudes and values is a long process and it is not so easily captured. Coronavirus pandemic affected more behavior than attitudes
- Example. Reichelt, Makovi and Sargsyan found for the US, Germany and Singapore that “among couples who had been employed at the start of the pandemic, men express more egalitarian gender-role attitudes if they became unemployed but their partners remained employed, while women express more traditional attitudes if they became unemployed and their partners remained employed” (2021)

How to reduce gender inequality in the household?

More difficult to regulate than the sphere of labor market because it is a closed area that cannot be directly controlled

1st way:

Improving childcare and housework infrastructure: kindergartens, delivery services, laundries, dry cleaners, home help (housekeepers, nurses in charge of children, caregivers)

Managing the household is a difficult and time-consuming task. Usually women are responsible of it

Sandwich generation –middle-aged adults who have to take care of children and old parents

Class of women who work as home help

Does not reduce gender inequality in the household

How to reduce gender inequality in the household?

2nd way: more effective

Involving men in household responsibilities: fathers have to take part of the parental leave (like in Sweden), men working part-time

Men get more involved in childcare and housework.

Change to more egalitarian gender-role attitudes

Not a fast and easy process!

COVID19 and distribution of housework

Coronavirus pandemic led to profound changes in the lifestyle: working and studying from home, closure of many activities. This led to the increasing share of housework. The problem of work-life balance became more acute?

There could be consequences regarding the distribution of household responsibilities, labor market and in future gender-role attitudes.

What to do

- Governments should include greater public investments in good-quality childcare, education, and out-of-school supports; increasing the length of, and mandating take-up of, paternity leave, which has implications for fathers' long-term caregiving behaviour; and normalising the use of telework across men and women, so that women are not penalised for using it.
- Invest in strengthening good-quality, widely accessible, and affordable supports. Also available for those with low income potential and especially for mothers
- Make telework gender-sensitive

Father’s caregiving

- Works differently across countries. Better in European than in Asian context. Depends on cultural characteristics and long-term tradition
- Sweden, Norway, Canada, Germany and Spain perform better than Japan and South Korea
- In general can strengthen female labor force participation and lead to more egalitarian gender-role attitudes

Findings

- Gender gaps during COVID-19 reflect longstanding weaknesses in countries' social protection systems and their historical reliance on women as a crucial pillar of the social safety net. The gender gap in COVID-19 care work tends to be lower in countries that have historically spent more on family policies like childcare, family allowances, maternity and parental leave, and other cash benefit
- It is impossible to achieve equal division of labour but equal opportunities should be created

Thank you for your attention!