Opinionated Family Migration Policies?

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Study II

Growing Apart or Growing Together?
Public support for shared-earning and shared-caring
in 33 EU and non-EU countries between 1990 and 2008[1]

'Fathers, meanwhile, could take on some of the logistical brain-mulch
of childcare, so that neither sex need be incapacitated by it.'
Jemima Lewis, The Telegraph (UK), 12 May 2012[2]

'Because this mentality is ingrained in the psyche of society, even policymakers think
in a traditional manner and, consequently, everything is being shouldered by the mother.'
Kristina Chetcuti, Times of Malta (MT), 31 December 2011[3]

Summary

Attitudes toward female employment (shared-earning) and especially toward gendered child-care roles (shared-caring) have been changing across Europe in recent times. The institutions of the European Union [EU] have supported female employment since the 1970s, but initiatives to fill the childcare vacuum that a female workforce leaves behind only started in the last twenty years. How does this harmonization of female employment and childcare policies relate to public opinion formation? This study uses data from the European Values Study between 1990 and 2008 in the 27 EU member states and six non-EU countries, to test whether public support for shared-caring versus shared-earning has diverged/converged across the EU. For shared-earning, where EU policies have been largely harmonized, attitudes have converged, but for shared-caring, where policies have not been harmonized, attitudes remain divergent. These patterns are not observed in non-EU countries.

Introduction

The debate on changing gender roles continues to rage across Europe, from Malta to the United Kingdom, as illustrated by the above quotes. The past fifty years have seen women increasingly entering the workforce, which has created a childcare vacuum in European homes (Pfau-Effinger & Rostgaard, 2011). The institutions of the European Union [EU] have approached these two aspects of developing gender roles (female employment and shared childcare) very differently. The European institutions have actively encouraged female employment since the 1970s, but the EU has only in the last twenty years begun to address the childcare vacuum caused by women entering the labor force *en masse* (O'Connor, 2005).

The EU's long history of supporting female employment has already been well researched (Mazey, 1988; O'Connor, 2005). Such authors show that the EU's early involvement in policies on anti-discrimination and equal opportunities has meant that policies are largely harmonized and the last twenty years have not seen significant policy developments on female employment at EU level. This early harmonization of female employment policies contrasts with the developments in childcare policies, where slow progress to address needs only started at the European level in the late 1990s (O'Connor, 2005). It remains the case that it depends on the EU country in question, how the 'brain-mulch of childcare' (see quote above) has been taken over from working women by different combinations of family, state and market institutions (Leitner, 2003).

The paper will look at the possible influence of the EU on public opinion by comparing attitude developments in female employment policies (here: 'shared-earning'), which are largely harmonized, to attitude developments in gendered childcare responsibilities (here: 'shared-caring'), where policies remain highly diverse. 'Shared' here refers to sharing

responsibility between partners and/or with the state and/or with the market and/or other actors. Supporting 'shared-caring' thus refers to supporting childcare models where women are not the sole care providers. 'Shared-earning' refers to supporting the ideal of both partners being in paid employment. This study will not focus on a detailed cross-country comparison of the *levels* of support for these ideals, but rather assess the influence of the EU by comparing the cross-country *trends* in developments of these attitudes over time.

This study of attitudes toward the gendered division of labor is steeped in past studies of differences in gender attitudes and policies. Attitudes are defined here as individuals' preferences in a specific situation, e.g. whether an individual thinks that women should work (Lück, 2005). According to previous studies, attitudes change to allow for norms and behaviors to be consistent with institutions and policies (Francois, 2008). But attitudes can also influence policies, as shown by previous authors. Kaufmann (2002), for example, shows how public attitudes about the family become manifest in political debates and in the implementation of policies.

As the EU widens and deepens its integration, it becomes important to see whether the harmonization of policies follows the harmonization of attitudes across European countries, as public support would ensure the legitimization of European policies. This study tests the influence of the EU by comparing the divergence/convergence of attitudes in a strictly harmonized policy area to ones with weak harmonization, and by comparing EU countries (at different stages of membership) with non-EU countries. It thereby answers the question: what has been the influence of EU membership on the divergence/convergence of gender role attitudes between 1990 and 2008?

Gender role attitudes: shared-earning and shared-caring

Mary Wollstonecraft, an 18th century British writer, describes women's dilemma as being fundamentally between paid and unpaid work (Korpi, 2000). According to Korpi (2000), the Wollstonecraft dilemma is centrally about who cares and who earns and there are different solutions to this unpaid care/paid work dilemma. These can be seen in the five dominant family models (excluding single-headed households) identified by Pfau-Effinger (2004: 383) as existing in European countries: '(1) the family economy model [i.e. in agrarian societies with gendered but equally valued division of labor]; (2) the housewife model in the male breadwinner marriage [i.e. separating the sphere of the male earner and female carer]; (3) the part-time carer model in the male breadwinner marriage; (4) the dual breadwinner model with external childcare; and (5) the dual breadwinner model with partner-shared childcare'. These distinctions between family models are made along the lines of earning and caring responsibilities. This study refers to these two dimensions of gender roles as 'shared-caring' (i.e. care is not the sole responsibility of the mother and

can be shared with others actors, e.g. partner, public/private institutions, other family and/or friends) and 'shared-earning' (i.e. partners share their earning responsibilities equally).

In line with previous studies, this study does not expect the relationship between attitudes toward shared-earning and shared-caring to be perfectly inversely related (Lück, 2005; Sjöberg, 2010). According to previous research, when applying the theory of attitudinal ambivalence, there is often tension between the ideals of motherhood and female employment. Sjöberg (2010), for example, shows how this ambivalence varies across countries, depending on the differences in national policies enabling women to realize both motherhood and employment. Indeed, as explained by Lück (2005:10):

> We might find women who are 'just' supportive of traditional gender roles, or 'just' job-oriented. But we also might find women who want both, a job career and the responsibility for the children... And we even might find women who find none of the two very attractive.

Measuring these gender attitudes is notoriously difficult. In the past, some studies have used single bipolar scales that included both of these dimensions in one measurement (i.e. measuring the level of egalitarian attitudes defined *both* in terms of work and care), ignoring the theoretical distinction between the two, or the differences in policy development related to the two dimensions (Brogan & Kutner, 1976; Eydal & Rostgaard, 2011; Korpi, 2000; Nordenmark, 2004). Examining gender attitudes with a single bipolar scale does not allow for the attitudinal ambivalence between gender role ideals found in previous studies (Sjöberg, 2010) nor the differences in care versus employment policies. These attitudes should therefore be studied separately.

Indeed, other studies find two distinct dimensions of attitudes regarding the gendered division of labor in line with the above theoretical expectations, when conducting simple factor analyses on the International Social Survey Programme [ISSP], World Values Study [WVS] and the European Values Study [EVS] data (Lück & Hofäcker, 2003; Voicu & Voicu, 2002). These studies using similar items as those used here, argue for moving away from a single bipolar scale on gender equality. This analysis will examine first whether the two dimensions (care and employment) found in previous studies can in fact be found in the data. It will then use a new method for testing the possible differences in divergence/convergence of these attitudes over time.

EU harmonization of female employment and childcare policies and public opinion toward shared-earning and shared-caring

Previous authors have observed that the EU institutions (e.g. the European Commission) have their own agenda on gender and can influence the national gender policies and culture of EU member states (Duina & Breznau, 2002). Such authors have shown that

the EU institutions have generally tried to encourage egalitarian gender norms, for example in family law (Marella, 2006). It can therefore be expected that the EU has influenced gender attitudes toward being more egalitarian. But, it is important to distinguish between the EU's strong initiatives to encourage women's access to the labor market (related to 'shared-earning') versus the EU's weaker initiatives on childcare (related to 'shared-caring').

Actions at EU level for female employment date back to the Treaty of Rome, signed in 1957, where Article 119 laid down that women should receive equal pay for equal work. In December 1964, gender discrimination was banned (Mazey, 1988), but it was not until the 1970s that women's equal access to employment was implemented in all member states. On 8 April 1976, a landmark judgment by the European Court of Justice (C-43/75, *Defrenne* v *Sabena Airlines)* ruled that Article 119 should have direct effect in member states regardless of national laws (Mazey, 1988). This judgment was coupled with new Directives that guaranteed non-discrimination of women in the labor force, including the Equal Pay Directive in 1975 (75/117/EEC) and the Equal Treatment Directive in 1976 (76/207/EEC) (Mazey, 1988). A few years later, Directives followed on maternal leave (92/85/EEC)[1] and on the length of the work-week (2003/88/EC) (Pascall & Lewis, 2004). These Directives had a direct impact on member states' institutions, encouraging gender equality in employment. This has meant that across the EU, there are now similarly high levels of female employment, in 2010 averaging 63% and ranging from 42% to 75% of women in EU27 (Eurostat, 2013a). Taking into account that the development of policies on female employment took place before the period examined here, this study therefore expects few attitudinal changes in support for shared-earning from 1990 to 2008, with possible convergence in EU countries.

Unlike the many early Directives on female employment, EU activity in childcare is more recent and hesitant (O'Connor, 2005; Pascall & Lewis, 2004). Initiatives have been in the form of intergovernmental co-operation and encouragement rather than direct and binding Directives that characterized the female employment initiatives. Childcare initiatives include the start of the European Commission Childcare Network (1988, 1990, 1996), the Council Recommendation on childcare in 1992 (92/241/EEC) and the European Commission's affirmation in the 1994 White Paper of the importance of family-friendly working arrangements. More commitment at the European level came in the 2002 Barcelona European Council's announcement that by 2010, member states should provide a certain level of childcare (O'Connor, 2005). Although EU involvement

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1   Revisions of this Directive started in 2008, but the adoption of these revised measures is beyond the time span of this study, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2010-0373+0+-DOC+XML+V0//EN, accessed 1 July 2015.

has increased, the abovementioned actions are non-binding, meaning there is scope for much variation in childcare coverage across the EU. Two years after the Barcelona deadline, for example, only ten EU member states had met the Barcelona target of 33% childcare coverage rate for children under three years old and only nine member states have met the Barcelona objective of a 90% coverage rate for children between three years old and the mandatory school age (European Commission, 2012). There is still large variation across countries (Eurostat, 2013c), which reflects a lack of EU harmonization in childcare policies. In 2011, the percentage of children under three years of age in formal day care averaged 14% across EU27, but ranged from 1% of children in the Czech Republic to 68% of children in Denmark (Eurostat, 2013c). Thus there is still large variation across countries, which reflects this lack of EU harmonization in childcare policies. This study therefore hypothesizes: *Shared-earning attitudes in EU countries will have converged more between 1990 and 2008 than shared-caring attitudes.*

Data and methodology

The influence of the EU is examined here by comparing attitudes in EU member states with attitudes in countries that became EU members during the studied period and with attitudes in non-EU member states. To allow further examination of the influence of the EU, the study will compare attitudes regarding a policy area with strict EU harmonization to one with weak EU harmonization. Using data from the European Values Study [EVS] allows for this design.

The EVS is a Europe-wide survey fielded every nine years (EVS, 2008). The EVS is the only Europe-wide survey that includes a range of repeated items on attitudes toward childcare and female employment over the relevant time period.[2] Data from three waves of the EVS (1990-1993, 1999-2001 and 2008-2010) are used here for all 27 EU member states when they participated in the survey, as well the six non-EU countries that were included in at least two of the waves.[3] These data allow for a quasi-experimental difference-in-differences approach (Ashenfelter & Card, 1986), assessing the influence of EU membership on attitudes by including countries that were EU members at every time

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2   The European Social Survey [ESS], for example, only started in 2002, which is too long after EU harmonization of many of these policies. Additionally, there are only two questions in the ESS on attitudes toward gender roles, which makes it difficult to show a distinction between female employment and care.

3   Data from the first wave of the EVS in 1981 were not used as too many of the countries and items were missing. A few countries did not participate in the waves included here. In 1990: BY, CY, EL, HR, LU, RU and UA were not part of the survey. In 1999, AT, CY, IE and NO have data missing. CY and NO did not participate, while AT and IE did take part in the survey, but some of items of this study's dependent variables were not included in the data for these countries. CY was only present in one of the survey points, so all the analyses were repeated without this country, but there were no differences in the results.

point (BE, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, IE, IT, LU, NL, PT, UK),[4] countries that became members at the second time point (AT, FI, SE) and at the third time point (BG, CY, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, MT, PO, RO, SI, SK), with countries that had not entered as at the third time point (BY, HR, IS, NO, RU, UA).

For the 33 European countries, the average number of respondents for all waves was 1242 respondents per country per wave. In the pooled sample of the 33 countries for the three waves, there were 122,962 respondents, 45.4% men and 54.6% women with an average age of approximately 46.

In the EVS, there are five items on the gendered division of labor that were repeated across waves. All items were coded so that higher values indicated more egalitarian gender norms:

1. Both the husband and wife should contribute to household income (0: strongly disagree, 3: strongly agree)
2. Having a job is the best way for a woman to be an independent person (0: strongly disagree, 3: strongly agree)
3. A job is all right but what most women really want is a home and children (0: strongly agree, 3: strongly disagree)
4. Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay (0: strongly agree, 3: strongly disagree)
5. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works (0: strongly agree, 3: strongly disagree)

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted on the pooled data for these five items using Principal Axis Factoring with oblimin rotation. To avoid confounding influences of between-country differences and historical changes, the items were first standardized by country and time point. The factor analysis resulted in a clear two-dimensional solution that was in line with the theoretical expectations of two dimensions of attitudes toward gendered division of labor: support for shared-earning and support for shared-caring (see Table 2.1). The finding of two factors is also in line with previous studies using similar items, although these studies do not term these factors as support for shared-earning and shared-caring (Lück, 2005; Lück & Hofäcker, 2003; Saxonberg, 2011; Sjöberg, 2004; Voicu, 2009; Voicu & Voicu, 2002). The factor A items do indeed appear to measure

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4   All country codes are in line with Eurostat guidelines on country abbreviations, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Country_codes, accessed 1 July 2015.
Countries included: Austria (AT), Belarus (BY), Belgium (BE), Bulgaria (BG), Croatia (HR), Cyprus (CY), Czech Republic (CZ), Denmark (DK), Estonia (EE), Finland (FI), France (FR), Germany (DE), Greece (EL), Hungary (HU), Iceland (IS), Ireland (IE), Italy (IT), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT), Luxembourg (LU), Malta (MT), Netherlands (NL), Norway (NO), Poland (PL), Portugal (PT), Romania (RO), Russia (RU), Slovakia (SK), Slovenia (SI), Spain (ES), Sweden (SE), Ukraine (UA), United Kingdom (UK).

whether women as well as men should earn a living. And the three factor B items all measure whether women should be the primary caregiver–the caring wife and mother. The inverse coding of the factor B items indicates that women do not necessarily want (items 3 and 4) or need (item 5) to be the single-carer, but rather that this role can be shared, e.g. with a pre-school carer (item 5). These items measure the acceptance of women wanting and being able to be more than the primary caregiver and whether it is acceptable to share the caring role with other actors. The overall correlation between the two factors was positive and weak, but it differed across survey time points and countries.

Table 2.1. Two-factor pattern matrix from Principal Axis Factoring with oblimin rotation, using standardized values by country and time point, correlation between factors: .173

	Factor loadings	
	A. Shared-earning	B. Shared-caring
Husband and wife should both contribute to income	**0.573**	-0.019
Job best way for women to be independent	**0.591**	0.023
Women want a home and children (reverse coding)	-0.104	**0.778**
Being a housewife just as fulfilling (reverse coding)	0.111	**0.481**
Pre-school age child suffers with working mother (reverse coding)	-0.011	**0.427**
Cronbach's α	0.500	0.562

The differences in these correlations have previously been studied intensively by the work of Sjöberg (2010) mentioned above and are therefore not examined here.

Two unweighted means scales were created by averaging the abovementioned items (unstandardized), where there was a value for at least two items in each scale: the shared-earning scale with two items (mean = 2.069, SD = 0.649) and the shared-caring scale with three items (mean = 1.318, SD = 0.662). The individual level reliability was 0.500 for the shared-earning scale and 0.562 for the shared-caring scale. These rather low reliabilities can be expected with the small number of items in each of the scales. Note however, that individual level reliability is not the same as the reliability of measurement at the aggregate level, which is the concern here and further analyzed below.

In Table 2.2, the observed means of the shared-caring and the shared-earning scales are ranked from highest to lowest for each survey year. The overall means and standard deviations shown are only for the 23 countries included at all three time points. EU countries are indicated in bold in the table, while the differences between EU and non-EU are explored further in the analyses. The overall means show that for shared-earning (1.968, 2.032, 2.115), support is generally higher than for shared-caring (1.118, 1.356, 1.462).

a. SUPPORT FOR SHARED-EARNING, correlation: .650
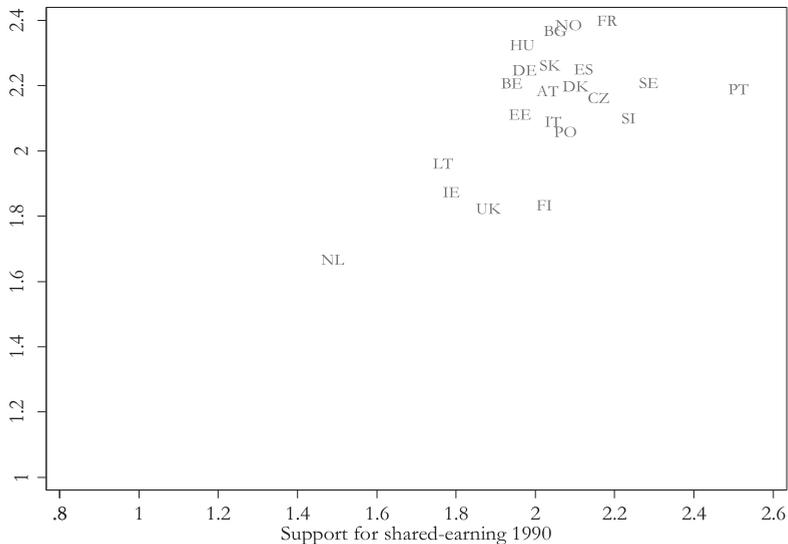
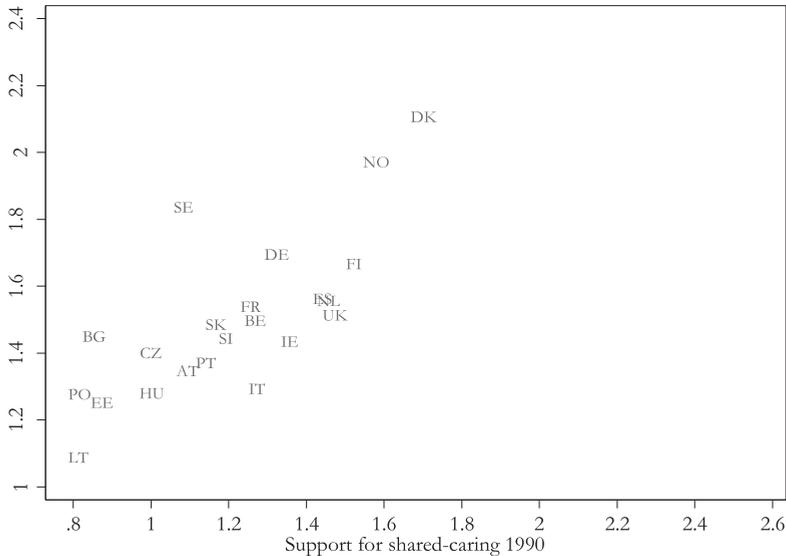b. SUPPORT FOR SHARED-CARING, correlation: .727

Figure 2.1. Relationship between support for shared-caring/earning in 1990 and 2008

Table 2.2. Ranked country means over time for two dependent variables (EU countries in bold). Overall means and standard deviations are only of the 23 countries repeated at each time point

Shared-earning index						Shared-caring index					
1990		1999		2008		1990		1999		2008	
PT	2.465	**SE**	2.317	**FR**	2.401	**DK**	1.645	**DK**	1.861	**DK**	2.109
SE	2.239	BG	2.259	NO	2.388	NO	1.522	**SE**	1.702	NO	1.974
SI	2.196	**EL**	2.236	**BG**	2.370	FI	1.479	**NL**	1.621	**SE**	1.838
RO	2.184	**FR**	2.220	**HU**	2.327	UK	1.419	**DE**	1.620	**DE**	1.697
FR	2.133	HU	2.215	UA	2.296	**NL**	1.404	**ES**	1.518	**FI**	1.668
CZ	2.109	SI	2.207	**CY**	2.291	**ES**	1.394	IS	1.510	IS	1.633
ES	2.074	RO	2.198	BY	2.280	**IE**	1.312	**UK**	1.508	**ES**	1.565
DK	2.046	SK	2.181	**EL**	2.275	**DE**	1.270	**PT**	1.419	**NL**	1.559
NO	2.029	HR	2.162	**LU**	2.267	IS	1.266	HR	1.401	**FR**	1.541
PO	2.024	PO	2.149	**SK**	2.264	**IT**	1.228	SI	1.392	**UK**	1.515
IT	2.002	CZ	2.140	**LV**	2.260	**BE**	1.217	**FI**	1.373	**BE**	1.499
BG	1.999	LV	2.138	**ES**	2.252	**FR**	1.207	**BE**	1.370	HR	1.496
SK	1.988	**PT**	2.117	**DE**	2.250	RO	1.201	RO	1.323	**SK**	1.487
AT	1.981	**DE**	2.115	**RO**	2.227	SI	1.152	**FR**	1.282	**BG**	1.451
FI	1.981	**BE**	2.085	**SE**	2.211	SK	1.117	**EL**	1.281	**LU**	1.446
DE	1.920	UA	2.079	**BE**	2.209	**PT**	1.092	LV	1.280	**SI**	1.446
LV	1.916	BY	2.055	**DK**	2.201	AT	1.042	**LU**	1.268	**IE**	1.437
HU	1.913	**ES**	2.047	**PT**	2.191	SE	1.036	BG	1.268	**CZ**	1.403
EE	1.910	EE	2.038	**AT**	2.185	CZ	0.948	CZ	1.244	**PT**	1.373
BE	1.892	**DK**	2.034	**CZ**	2.165	HU	0.946	EE	1.239	**LV**	1.370
UK	1.828	LT	2.021	**EE**	2.115	EE	0.822	**IT**	1.198	**AT**	1.349
IE	1.744	**LU**	2.019	**SI**	2.102	BG	0.800	SK	1.189	BY	1.334
LT	1.719	**IT**	1.999	HR	2.093	LV	0.798	HU	1.158	**IT**	1.295
MT	1.695	RU	1.976	**IT**	2.092	PO	0.763	BY	1.150	**HU**	1.283
IS	1.591	**FI**	1.821	RU	2.091	LT	0.763	PO	1.102	**PO**	1.279
NL	1.437	**UK**	1.726	**PO**	2.060	MT	0.740	RU	1.083	**EE**	1.254
BY		MT	1.616	**MT**	1.975	BY		UA	1.082	**RO**	1.251
HR		IS	1.550	LT	1.964	HR		LT	1.056	**CY**	1.167
CY		**NL**	1.538	**IE**	1.875	CY		MT	0.964	**EL**	1.114
EL		AT		**FI**	1.835	**EL**		AT		RU	1.095
LU		CY		**UK**	1.825	LU		CY		**LT**	1.090
RU		IE		IS	1.683	RU		IE		UA	1.027
UA		NO		**NL**	1.670	UA		NO		**MT**	1.012
Means	1.968		2.032		2.115		1.118		1.356		1.462
SD	0.217		0.221		0.199		0.255		0.213		0.234

Note: For some time points, countries are missing because they did not participate in the survey or the questions were not included in that wave of the survey for that country.

Figure 2.1 further illustrates the rankings of countries in 1990 and 2008, but also where countries have changed in the time period. The country rankings shown in Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1 give the impression that rankings are changing over time. For example, Sweden ranks as one of the top three countries in supporting shared-earning in 1990 and 1999, but drops to the middle of the table in 2008. Despite this observation, the correlations of the rankings of country means indicate great stability across waves. As shown in Table 2.3, the correlation between the country rankings over time is relatively high (for the 23 countries repeated at all time points), for example for shared-caring, the correlation between the means rankings of 1999 and 2008 is 0.896. This indicates that the positioning of the countries is not random across survey points; they are actually very consistent. At the country-aggregated level, the simplex measurement model for three-wave panel data (Alwin, 2007) revealed a reliability of 0.99 for the shared-earning scale and 0.97 for the shared-caring scale. This indicates that these scales provide a very reliable way of studying the attitudinal trends across countries. It is difficult to see a clear pattern in these trends using the observed data. For example, when looking at the standard deviations in Table 2.2, there is no clear increase/decrease in variance over time for shared-earning (0.217, 0.221, 0.199) or for shared-caring (0.255, 0.213, 0.234). The aim of the analyses below is to test the changes in these variances.

Table 2.3. Correlation between country means of shared-earning and shared-caring for repeated countries over time

	A) 1990-1999	B) 1999-2008	C) 1990-2008
Shared-earning index	0.756	0.881	0.650
Shared-caring index	0.749	0.896	0.727

The correlations and standard deviations in the tables above give some indication of the variation in attitudes across countries over time, but relying on these numbers to discuss divergence/convergence has several limitations. Firstly, only (the 23) repeated countries can be included in a comparison of standard deviations and correlations, and secondly, it is not possible to statistically *test* whether the variation is increasing or decreasing. This can only be done with an explicit model of the divergence/convergence in EU versus non-EU countries.

To enable the examination of divergence/convergence, the data were aggregated by country, time point, education, gender and age (e.g. Group 1: Austria-2002-low education-male-old). This aggregation was done to enable a more efficient analysis of country-trends, while still allowing education, gender and age as control variables. While the method developed here could also be used for individual level data in a multi-level

structure, this two-step approach follows the recent caution against using multilevel modeling with small sample sizes and the suggestion to return to meta-analyses to obtain more unbiased estimates and valid standard errors (Bryan & Jenkins, 2015; Hox & Maas, 2005). Separate regression analyses using SPSS 21 were conducted on the aggregated data file with 1050 cases.[5] In this file, weights were created in the form of the inverse of the squared standard error of the mean of the two dependent variables–shared-earning and shared-caring, a common procedure in meta-analysis (Sanchez-Meca & Marín-Martínez, 1998; Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The correlation between these two weights was 0.914; due to this high correlation, the same weight (for shared-earning) was used for all meta-analyses.

In the aggregated dataset, the three survey *time* points were coded as: -1=1990-1993, 0=1999-2001 and 1=2008-2010. The *EU* membership variable was coded in the aggregated dataset as a 0/1 variable, where 1 indicated EU membership *at that time point*. BY, HR, IS, NO, RU, and UA were thus coded as 0 at all three time points, while BE, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, IE, IT, LU, NL, PT, and UK were coded as 1 at all time points. AT, FI and SE have a 1 at two out of three data points, while BG, CY, CZ, EE, HU, LT, LV, MT, PO, RO, SI, and SK only have a 1 for the last time point. Gender, age, and education were used to create the aggregated dataset and also included as control variables. *Gender* was coded as female=1 (male=0). *Age* (range: 15-108, mean: 45.96, trimmed mean: 45.54) is included as a dichotomy with younger=1 (older=0), split at the mean (younger<47). The *education* variable included in the EVS for all countries and time points measures at what age respondents completed their education. This age-completed/education-duration variable was re-coded into three categories, broadly corresponding to primary (age 16 or lower when finished education), secondary (age 17-20 when finished education) and tertiary education (age 21 or above when finished education). There were 4451 out of the 122,962 cases with missing values on the education variable, which was partially remedied by replacing missing values with the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) one digit codes in the third wave. The few cases with missing values on all of the independent variables were listwise deleted before aggregation.[6]

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5   This number is not 33 countries x 3 time points x 3 educational groups x 2 genders x 2 ages = 1188, because of missing data due to including countries that were not present at all survey points as explained in footnote above and because of the omission of dependent variable items for AT and IE (these were 24 cases = 2 countries x 3 educational groups x 2 ages x 2 genders).

6   The percentages of missing values on the independent variables were very low in the individual-level dataset: 1.78% education (2192 cases), 0.37% age (460 cases), and 0.04% gender (49 cases).

To investigate the divergence/convergence of attitudes over time, a 'dissimilarity constraint' was created using a method similar to stereotyped regression analysis (Anderson, 1984). In a preparatory step for this procedure, a separate regression analysis was run for each of the two dependent variables:

$$y = B + B_1*time + B_{4-36}*country \qquad \text{(Model 0)}$$

In this model, **time** refers to the centered time variable described above and **country** refers to 32 dummy variables representing the 33 countries. The expected values of this model are used to create two constraints (referred to hereafter as '**dissimilarity**') representing how different countries were expected to be at the center of the data for the two dependent variables. To examine the divergence/convergence of attitudes in countries over time, the dissimilarity constraints are interacted with time and other independent variables:

$$y = B_0 + B_1*time + B_{4-35}*dissimilarity + B_{37}*dissimilarity*time \qquad \text{(Model 1)}$$
$$+ B_2*EU \qquad \text{(Model 2)}$$
$$+ B_3*EU*time + B_{36}*dissimilarity*EU + B_{38}*dissimilarity*time*EU \qquad \text{(Model 3)}$$

The numbering of the coefficients in these models follows the specification in Table 2.4. All models include country dummies as main effects and therefore the main effect of dissimilarity vanishes. This method implies that the models can control for alternative explanations for the developments in attitudes that are stable across countries, such as access to and quality of affordable childcare. All models also include the three control variables for relevant demographic composition: education, age and gender ($B_{39-41}*$**controls**).

The interaction term **dissimilarity*time** causes the expected values of the model to follow a regular bundle of country-level regression lines, as shown in Charts 2.1-2.4. The model prevents the regression lines from crossing within the time range of the data, enabling an overall test of whether the lines are moving closer together (i.e. converging) or further apart (i.e. diverging) over time. A negative interaction **dissimilarity*time** indicates convergence (i.e. smaller differences between countries over time), while a positive interaction term indicates divergence (i.e. greater differences between countries over time).

As outlined in the Model formulas above, the analyses were conducted in three steps using the aggregated dataset. Model 1 provides a general test for divergence/convergence over time. Model 2 examines the influence of EU membership on the dependent variables. Model 3 tests the possible influence of EU membership on attitudinal trends by including EU membership as a binary moderator interacted with the dissimilarity constraint, with **time** and with **dissimilarity*time** (i.e. between-country divergence/convergence).

Results

The first part of the analysis examined whether there was a divergence/convergence of attitudes over time in all countries. The results of the analyses in Model 1 of Table 2.4 show that support for shared-earning has increased over time (B_1 = 0.073, p< 0.001), as has support for shared-caring (B_1 = 0.148, p< 0.001). The ranges of the two variables are the same, but the standard deviations are slightly different, preventing a perfect comparability of the two coefficients. Still, a rough comparison confirms expectations that support for shared-caring and shared-earning have both increased, but support for shared-caring has increased more strongly over this time period. The results for the country-dissimilarity interaction with time indicate that there was no significant country-divergence on support for shared-earning (B_{37} =- 0.001, p= 0.956), but that support for shared-caring has been diverging (B_{37} = 0.068, p< 0.05). The results of the control variables (B_{39}-B_{41} in Table 2.4) indicate that the dependent variables are valid measures that can be explained to a great extent by group characteristics in a predictable way: highly educated, women and younger people support shared-caring more while mostly women support shared-earning.

The results of Model 1 show that over all countries there was a divergence of shared-caring attitudes, but no convergence of shared-earning attitudes. The results in Model 2 of Table 2.4 indicate that for shared-earning, there was no effect of EU membership (B_2=- 0.018, p= 0.206), but EU membership did have a positive effect on shared-caring attitudes (B_2 = 0.073, p< 0.001). This means that in EU countries, people are more positive toward shared-caring than in non-EU countries, but there is no such difference for shared-earning.

The final analyses examined the differences in attitudinal developments due to EU membership by comparing the results for shared-earning attitudes with shared-caring attitudes. In Model 3, EU membership was added in interaction with time, in interaction with the dissimilarity term and in interaction with dissimilarity*time (i.e. country divergence). The final model results of the analyses are shown in Model 3 of Table 2.4. The results are also illustrated in Charts 2.1- 2.4, where the model implications of 12 countries that were members of the EU at all time points (BE, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, IE, IT, LU, NL, PT, UK) are compared to those that were not members at the final time point (BZ, HR, IS, NO, RU, UA). The bold lines in the graphs indicate the predicted mean across countries. Country labels have been removed from these charts for clarity. The results indicate that similar to the first analysis, time had a positive effect on shared-earning attitudes (B_1 = 0.109, p< 0.001) and shared-caring attitudes (B_1 = 0.201, p< 0.001). This result can also be seen by comparing Charts 2.1 and 2.3 with Charts 2.2 and 2.4, which shows that time has a more positive effect on shared-caring than on shared-earning. Similar to the previous analyses, EU membership had no effect on shared-earning attitudes (B_2 =- 0.020, p= 0.159), while it positively affected shared-caring

Table 2.4. Regression analyses on dependent variables: support for shared-earning family model index and support for shared-caring family model index. Country divergence as a main term is included as country dummies. Intercept omitted.

		Shared-earning			Shared-caring		
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
		B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
B_1	Time	0.073 ***	0.077 ***	0.109 **	0.148 ***	0.128 ***	0.201 ***
		(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.012)
B_2	EU membership		-0.018	-0.020		0.073 ***	0.103 ***
			(0.014)	(0.014)		(0.018)	(0.019)
B_3	*Time			-0.045 ***			-0.127 ***
				(0.013)			(0.015)
B_{4-35}	Dissimilarity	a	a	a	a	a	a
B_{36}	*EU membership			-0.128			-0.015
				(0.097)			(0.096)
B_{37}	*Time	-0.001	0.004	0.201 **	0.068 **	0.126 ***	0.052
		(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.054)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.047)
B_{38}	*Time*EU membership			-0.266 ***			0.239 ***
				(0.064)			(0.066)
B_{39}	Female	0.117 ***	0.117 ***	0.117 ***	0.097 ***	0.096 ***	0.097 ***
		(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
B_{40}	Younger	-0.032 ***	-0.032 ***	-0.032 ***	0.153 ***	0.153 ***	0.153 ***
		(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
B_{41}	High education	0.016 **	0.017 **	0.016 **	0.137 ***	0.137 ***	0.135 ***
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Adjusted R2 (df)		0.730 (37)	0.730 (38)	0.737 (41)	0.813 (37)	0.816 (38)	0.828 (41)

a. country dummy variables not shown. ** $p < 0.001$, * $p < 0.05$

attitudes ($B_2 = 0.103$, $p < 0.001$). This means that in EU countries there are more positive attitudes toward shared-caring than in non-EU countries at the middle of the data (1999), but there is no such difference in shared-earning attitudes. These results can also be seen in the charts. Chart 2.1 versus Chart 2.3 show that there is no difference in support for shared-earning in 1999 between EU and non-EU countries. Chart 2.2 versus Chart 2.4, on the other hand, show that EU countries are more positive toward shared-caring than

non-EU countries. The effect of being in the EU is decreasing over time, both for shared-earning attitudes (B_3 =- 0.045, p< 0.001) and shared-caring attitudes (B_3 =- 0.127, p< 0.001), which means that EU and non-EU countries are converging. The results also show that EU countries are not more similar in their shared-earning attitudes (B_{36} =- 0.128, p= 0.185) nor in their shared-caring attitudes (B_{36} =- 0.015, p= 0.873) compared to non-EU countries. This result is difficult to see in the charts.

Aside from the comparison between EU and non-EU countries, the results in Model 3 of Table 2.4 also show the development *over time* of attitudes *within* EU countries or *within* non-EU countries. The results show that for *non-EU* countries, shared-earning attitudes are diverging (B_{37} = 0.201, p< 0.001), while shared-caring attitudes are not significantly diverging (B_{37} = 0.052, p= 0.270).[7] For *EU* countries, attitudes toward shared-earning are diverging less, to the point of almost *converging*, compared to non-EU countries (B_{37} + B_{38} = 0.201- 0.266, p< 0.001 = -0.065). By contrast, attitudes in EU countries toward shared-caring are found to be clearly *diverging* (B_{37} + B_{38} = 0.059+.239, p< 0.001 = 0.298). Chart 2.1 shows the convergence in attitudes toward shared-earning for EU member states, with the twelve tightly packed country lines becoming more indecipherable over time. These results strongly contrast with the results in Chart 2.2 showing divergence in support for shared-caring for the six non-EU countries. Chart 2.3 shows the divergence in support for shared-earning in non-EU countries, while Chart 2.4 shows the absence of divergence in support for shared-caring in non-EU countries. These results support the hypothesis of the paper, namely that *between 1990 and 2008, shared-earning attitudes in EU countries have converged more than shared-caring attitudes.*

Conclusion and discussion

This study asked what the influence of EU membership is on the divergence/convergence of gender role attitudes between 1990 and 2008. To assess the influence of the EU, this study included EU countries at different stages of membership, as well as non-EU countries. It compared attitudes about two policy areas with different levels of harmonization.

Female employment (shared-earning) is a policy area with early and strong EU harmonization of policies. The results indicate that for EU countries, attitudes to shared-earning have converged, or grown together, between 1990 and 2008 toward more positive attitudes. In non-EU countries, where there has not been the same policy development, attitudes toward shared-earning were found to be diverging, or growing apart. This

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7   Sensitivity analyses were conducted for both dependent variables in these final analyses. Without UA or without RU, the final analysis on shared-caring showed divergence instead of convergence for non-EU countries, but the term remained insignificant. For the final analysis of shared-earning, if IS was excluded, greater convergence was found for non-EU countries and greater divergence for EU countries, but the coefficients were in the same direction and had the same level of significance.

Chart 2.1. Model implication for support for shared-earning for EU12
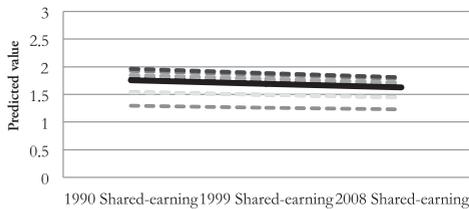
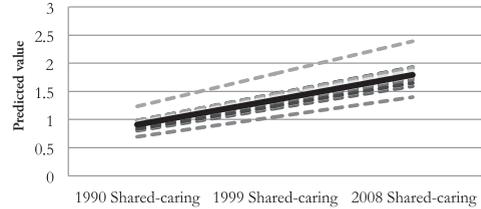Chart 2.2. Model implication for support for shared-caring for EU12

Chart 2.3. Model implication for support for shared-earning for non-EU countries
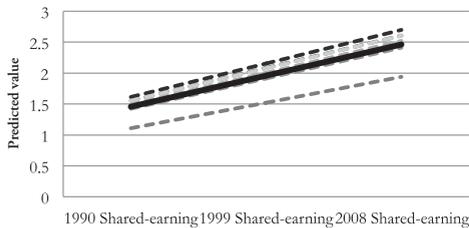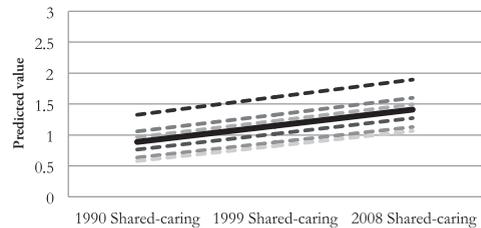
Chart 2.4. Model implication for support for shared-caring for non-EU countries

Charts 2.1-2.4. Model implications of shared-earning and shared-caring models for EU12 (BE, DE, DK, EL, ES, FR, IE, IT, LU, NL, PT, UK) and non-EU countries (BZ, HR, IS, NO, RU, UA). Country labels have been omitted to better illustrate time trends.

suggests that where policies have been harmonized across the EU, so too have attitudes. This is further supported by comparing shared-earning attitudinal development to developments in attitudes toward shared-caring. Policies on childcare have yet to be harmonized across the EU, and for EU-countries, the attitudes toward shared-caring have in fact been diverging. This divergence is not observed for non-EU countries.

The results thus show that although support for shared-earning and shared-caring have both increased in this twenty-year period, the development patterns of these attitudes vary for different policy areas, as a result of EU membership. The results suggest an influence of EU membership on attitudinal divergence/convergence, meaning that as policies become harmonized at EU level, attitudes appear to converge. Although this study can, of course, not make strong claims for the causal direction of these changes, the results suggest that where policies are *not* harmonized, attitudes diverge as attitudes in member states follow the separate policy strategies that individual countries adopt to deal with demographic challenges. This divergence of public opinion means that public approval of a future common EU childcare policy will prove *increasingly* difficult as time passes. As mentioned by other authors for different EU polices, EU harmonization plans are "feasible only as long as the national publics agree with what is being offered to them" (Ceobanu & Escandell, 2010: 323-324). Of course it may be *due* to these diverging attitudes that harmonization of childcare policies

has not taken place; this was not examined in this paper, but could be the topic of further study. As EU integration deepens in this area, it will be interesting to see whether shared-caring attitudes have the same pattern of development as shared-earning attitudes.

There are several lessons learned and extensions for further research stemming from this paper. This study showed that it is indeed useful to examine support for shared-caring and shared-earning as separate dimensions of attitudes toward gendered division of labor. This is underlined especially by the two dimensions having distinctly different development patterns over time that are in line with different patterns of policy harmonization. Further research could usefully expand on the study by examining attitudes against the backdrop of significant harmonization of female employment policies, namely prior to 1990. Doing this for all EU countries would require information not currently available with cross-national survey data, but would likely show the attitudinal differences *within* EU countries and *between* EU versus non-EU countries in line with the policy developments discussed in this paper. An additional extension of the study could examine what it is exactly about EU membership that influences public opinion of in-depth case studies–do attitudes change in preparation for membership or as a consequence? Further studies could also usefully verify the validity of the method for examining the divergence/convergence developed here with different attitudinal or policy measures (Søndergaard, 2014b).[8] The results and methodology of this study could be improved by including direct measurements of policies, which is the focus of another study (Søndergaard, 2015),[9] but with family migration policies, not employment/childcare policies.

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8   See Study III of this thesis for a version of this study.
9   See Study IV of this thesis for a version of this study.