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Does Involved Fathering Produce a Larger Total Workload for Fathers Than for Mothers? Evidence from Norway

Objective: To compare mothers' and fathers' total workloads within couples with different work-time arrangements in a social democratic welfare state (Norway) and explore possible changes in the 1990s and 2000s.

Background: Women's double workload in families with two full-time jobs has been well documented. However, some argue that fathers, too, may experience the double burden of market and domestic work as they become more involved in parenting.

Method: The data are from the Norwegian Time Use Surveys conducted in 1990, 2000, and 2010 among representative samples of the adult population. A subsample of coupled other-sex-parents with at least one child younger than age 20 years were used in the present study. Total workload is the sum of

paid and unpaid work activities reported in a time diary. Standard multivariate ordinary least square regressions were used to explore gender differences.

Results: Full-time work for both parents entailed approximately equal total workloads for fathers and mothers. However, fathers' total workload exceeded mothers' in full-time and part-time couples with school-aged children.

Conclusion: Despite equal total workloads and reduced specialization, mothers still do less paid work and more family work than fathers in couples where both work full-time in Norway. This is partly related to the gender-segregated labor market. In full-time and part-time couples with school-aged children, fathers' longer working hours are not fully offset by more family work for mothers.

Implications: Work-family reconciliation policies promoting mothers' employment and fathers' family work may have the potential to reduce gender imbalances in parent's total workloads and moderate gendered specialization patterns.

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Key Words: Childcare issues, father involvement, gender differences, work-family issues.

BACKGROUND

In *The Second Shift*, Hochschild (1989) argued that full-time work implied a double burden for mothers in the United States. On the basis of in-depth interviews with 50 couples, she found

that fathers did not increase their domestic work in response to their partner's paid work, and therefore concluded that mothers had to do a second shift of domestic labor at home in addition to their paid market labor (the first shift). This resulted in a greater total workload for mothers than for fathers, amounting to an extra month of labor per year. Researchers have since compared the total workloads of mothers and fathers in different couple types and discussed possible remedies for mothers' extra workload (Blair-Loy, Hochschild, Pugh, Williams, & Hartmann, 2015). In particular, these questions have been explored by researchers using diary-based time-use surveys (e.g., Gershuny, 2003; Gershuny, Sullivan, & Robinson, 2014; Milkie, Raley, & Bianchi, 2009; Sayer, England, Bittman, & Bianchi, 2009). Time diaries are usually regarded as the best source of data on people's time allocation, particularly concerning unpaid work. Some have found that a full-time job still involves longer total workloads for mothers than for fathers, although the gender gap is usually more modest than in Hochschild's study. Moreover, results differ depending on couples' work-time arrangements and whether researchers account for parallel activities, or so-called multitasking (Craig, 2007; Sayer et al., 2009).

Most of the research in this field applies to so-called liberal welfare states such as the United States, Australia, and Canada, in which long standard work hours coupled with a lack of work-family reconciliation policies may result in heavy workloads for employed mothers. Shorter standard work hours and more developed work-family policies are expected to facilitate more egalitarian gender patterns of work and family life (Hochschild, 1989; Stalker, 2011). In addition, it has been argued that shifts toward more involved fathering could imply that the double burden of market and domestic work is increasingly shared by fathers, at least when the father works full-time in the labor market (Stalker, 2011). However, less systematic research exists on gender imbalances in parents' total workload from countries with more established work-family reconciliation policies; the recent research that does exist comprises descriptive statistics of all parents, irrespective of work-time arrangement, and indicates that women and men tend to have similar total workloads with regard to mean number of hours worked (e.g., Molèn 2012).

There is also a lack of studies that examine how parents' total workloads have changed across time and whether changing gender imbalances may be related to family policy expansion and shifting social and cultural norms.

The present study fills in some of these gaps by analyzing the trend in mothers' and fathers' total work hours in a social democratic welfare state (Norway), using diary-based time-use data from 1990, 2000, and 2010. In line with Sayer et al. (2009), we distinguish among couples with different work-time arrangements and between parents with school-aged children only versus those with at least one preschooler. The latter group may also include older children. Previous analyses revealed a large increase in fathers' housework and childcare activities in the 1990s and 2000s in Norway (Kitterød & Rønson, 2013). The vast majority of couples are now dual earners, but about 3 in 10 women between 25 and 54 years of age work part-time, while most men work full-time (Statistics Norway, 2015). In the present study, we compared the relative total workload of fathers and mothers in couples with different work-time arrangements and explored how those relative differences changed as fathers became more involved with parenting in the 1990s and 2000s.

Although gender-role equality in couples has been a political ambition for decades in Norway, policy reforms were notably ambivalent in the 1990s as measures to explicitly advance gender convergence were often countered with measures considered by many to be a backlash to gender equality. The 2000s, however, were characterized by more uniformly gender-equalizing measures. Likewise, the public discourse in the 1990s circled around parents' time squeeze and too little time with children, whereas in the 2000s there was a greater acceptance of formal day care for small children and full-time work for mothers as well as fathers (Ellingsaeter, Kitterød, & Lyngstad, 2017).

First, we explored whether any changes occurred in mothers' and fathers' total workload in the 1990s and 2000s in accordance with the changing work-family policies of the two decades. Then we examined the importance of accounting for parallel activities and time with children. We also explored differences in gender imbalances in total workload across weekdays and weekends, and looked at gender differences in perceived time pressure.

Previous Research

Using diary-based time-use surveys, several researchers have found that men and women in heterosexual couples tend to have roughly similar workloads when both paid and unpaid tasks are counted (Gershuny, 2003; Gershuny et al., 2014; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). They therefore argue that although women's second shift does exist in the sense that women spend more time than men on unpaid work, it does not imply a longer total workload and should not be called a double burden.

However, as demonstrated by previous research, gender equality in total workloads masks considerable heterogeneity among couples with different employment arrangements. Using American and Australian time-use data, Sayer et al. (2009) found that women's total workload tended to require more time than men's total workload when both partners worked full-time in the labor market, but substantially less time in male-breadwinner couples wherein the woman is not employed in market labor and the man is employed in market labor full-time. Men also had somewhat longer workloads when they were employed in market labor full-time and their wives were employed in market labor part-time. Using American time-use data from 2000 and 2003, Milkie et al. (2009) showed that mothers did much more housework and childcare than fathers in families with a preschooler present when both partners were employed in market labor full-time, but this was partly counterbalanced by shorter hours in the labor market. The end result was that women's total workload exceeded men's total workload by 5 hours per week in these families.

Some have argued that women's workload may be underestimated in time-use studies if only main activities are counted, because women multitask more than men, and childcare in particular is often combined with other activities (Craig, 2007; Sayer et al., 2009). Using Australian data from 1997, Craig (2007) demonstrated that total workload increased 44% for women and 17% for men when parallel activities were accounted for among parents with young children. In a similar study using data from the United States, Milkie et al. (2009) found that the total workload increased by 10% for women and 6% for men when secondary activities were counted, which is less than in Craig's study from Australia.

Diary-based time-use surveys have also been viewed as gender biased because it is difficult to fully capture time spent managing and organizing household activities, which is mostly a female responsibility (Winkler & Ireland, 2009). Moreover, women's time-use pattern is usually more fragmented than men's, with more and shorter leisure and housework episodes (Mattingly & Bianchi, 2003). Hence, mean workload times may mask different time structures characterized by more interruptions for women than for men, and these interruptions may lead women to experience greater time pressure than men, even if women have similar or shorter total workload times, as measured in time-use surveys.

Previous analyses of Norwegian time-use data from 1970 and 1980 indicate that, compared to men, women's total workload required more time when they were employed in the labor market full-time, about the same amount of time when employed in the labor market part-time, and less time when not employed in the labor market (Lingsom & Ellingsaeter, 1983). In 1990, both part- and full-time labor market employment for women entailed approximately similar total workloads for mothers and fathers, whereas women not employed in the labor market still had shorter total workloads than men (Haraldsen & Kitterød, 1992). However, these analyses were based on main activities only, and the distinction between full-time and part-time labor market participation was set to 30 hours per week, which is shorter than in many other studies, including the present study.

Although many theories try to explain couples' division of paid and unpaid work, theoretical considerations are scarcer in analyses of couples' total workloads. However, Becker's (1991) economic theory on specialization and comparative advantages has been employed in discussions of the partners' total work commitments as well (Sayer et al., 2009; Stalker, 2011). The supposition is that partners will have roughly equal total workloads because men's and women's roles are complementary and decisions on the allocation of market work and unpaid family work are made on the basis of efficiency. An important assumption, then, is that both partners prefer the same amount of leisure.

In contrast, Sayer et al. (2009) argued that women's double burden in dual-earner couples is consistent with the doing-gender perspective. The basic assumption of this theory is that women and men continuously construct

and reconstruct their gender identity, which for men entails undertaking typical masculine tasks and avoiding activities with feminine connotations, whereas the reverse applies to women (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Hence, men will not increase their housework in response to women's longer paid hours, and women may hesitate to reduce their housework even when they are employed full-time in the labor market. However, Cooke and Baxter (2010) argued that this perspective may be less relevant in countries with a high level of gender equality, such as social democratic countries like Norway, than in countries with more traditional gender practices and norms. Moreover, Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, and Robinson (2012) argued that the doing-gender perspective may be less relevant for childcare than for routine housework, given that both mothers and fathers report greater enjoyment with childcare activities.

Even though Becker's (1991) economic theory and the doing-gender perspective may be helpful when it comes to predicting patterns of gender imbalances in total workload among couples in Norway in recent decades, we believe that it is more relevant to focus on the role of family policies, because in Norway these have been shown to influence peoples' parental practices, gender norms, and perceptions of which tasks are masculine versus feminine (Ellingsaeter et al., 2017). Before analyzing the trends in mothers' and fathers' total work hours in couples with different work-time arrangements and with younger and older children, we provide an overview of important work-family policy reforms in the 1990s and 2000s in Norway.

Family Policy and Parents' Total Workload

Although work-family policies can ease the tension between work and family for parents and promote a more equitable division of paid and unpaid work, it is less obvious how they affect parents' total workload. For instance, public childcare may reduce women's childcare time, but that time may be offset by a corresponding increase in paid work hours. Similarly, while initiatives to increase father involvement may enhance fathers' unpaid work, more public childcare may lessen the need for their involvement. We now explore these possible linkages by examining work-family policies and practices in Norway during our study period (1990–2010).

In the 1990s work-family policies expanded rapidly, but not in a uniform manner. Between 1990 and 1993, paid parental leave increased from 28 weeks with full wage compensation or 35 weeks with 80% pay to 42 or 52 weeks depending on compensation rate. A large body of literature has documented that a lengthening of paid leave gives future mothers stronger incentives to be employed before birth in order to qualify for benefits, which raises the likelihood of their return to work once the leave period expires but also prolongs the career breaks of already-entitled mothers (see, e.g., Rønsen & Sundström, 2002). Whereas the first effect may imply more paid work for mothers, the second effect may reduce mothers' time spent in the labor market when they have small children.

In 1993, 4 weeks of the parental leave scheme were reserved for the father, and the father's quota was still 4 weeks when the 2000 time-use survey was undertaken in Norway. Eventually, most fathers made use of all or part of the quota, which has hastened the movement toward a more equal division of paid and unpaid work in couples in Norway (Brandth & Kvande, 2013). Only minor and somewhat contradictory effects have been found in quasi-experimental studies that examine the causal impact of the paternal quota on fathers' and mothers' time use by comparing parents who had children immediately before and after introduction of the reform in 1993 (see, e.g., Cools, Fiva, & Kirkebøen, 2013; Kotsadam & Finseraas, 2011; Rege & Solli, 2013). However, researchers agree that the quota has gradually contributed to more involved fathering practices and probably also to more paid work for mothers (Brandth & Kvande, 2013).

In the late 1990s, there was a shift in policy focus from gender-equalizing measures to measures that would give families more time with children and more flexibility in their work-family choices. This resulted in the introduction of a cash-for-childcare (CFC) benefit in 1998, which many regarded as a backlash to gender equality (Ellingsaeter, 2007). The program offered a cash, nontaxable benefit to parents of 1- and 2-year-old children who did not use state-sponsored childcare, but parents were not required to look after children themselves. At first, a large majority of parents with eligible children used the benefit, at least in part because of the inadequate supply of subsidized childcare, which had a capacity for only 37% of 1- and 2-year-olds at the turn of the century

(Ellingsaeter et al., 2017). The take-up rate diminished in tandem with improved childcare coverage; by 2010 only 22% of parents with 1- and 2-year-old children received the CFC benefit (Rønsen & Kitterød, 2015).

According to Drange and Rege (2013), the CFC reform had a noteworthy negative effect on mothers' employment, which may have slowed the increase in mothers' labor market participation in the 1990s. If fathers became more involved in childcare and housework in the 1990s, mothers may have scaled back their housework and childcare, resulting in a smaller total workload in 2000 than in 1990. Fathers' labor supply was not affected by the CFC reform (Naz, 2004), but a somewhat greater involvement in childcare may have increased fathers' total workload during the 1990s.

In the 2000s, work-family policies expanded more uniformly in the gender-equalizing direction. Formal day care became cheaper and more widely available, and by 2010 day-care attendance had risen to 79% among 1- and 2-year-olds and 97% among 3- to 5-year-olds (Ellingsaeter et al., 2017). Moreover, renewed attention was given to the father's quota, which was extended to 5 weeks in 2005, 6 weeks in 2006, and 10 weeks in 2009. Both access to formal day care and paternal leave facilitate mothers' paid employment, and recent research has corroborated the fact that mothers entered paid work faster after childbirth in the late 2000s than they did in the mid- and late 1990s (Rønsen & Kitterød, 2015). If more market work has not been replaced by correspondingly less home production, mothers' total workload may have increased during that decade. For fathers, the incentives were more mixed. A longer father's quota could promote a greater shift from paid to unpaid work, whereas more day care may reduce the need for fathers' presence at home. We expect the former to be the stronger because of the public emphasis on more active fathering practices and fewer hours performing market labor. Our a priori assumption is therefore that fathers of small children reduced their paid work and increased their unpaid work between 2000 and 2010. The net result for their total workload, however, is difficult to predict.

Parents' time use may also be shaped by shifting norms and expectations regarding women and men's family and work practices (Cooke & Baxter, 2010). As in many other countries (see Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004), parents in

Norway face rising standards for good parenting; they are expected to be actively involved with their children, stimulate their development, and participate in their leisure activities (Kitterød, 2016). Moreover, some researchers have speculated that both mothers and fathers sometimes undertake certain housework chores more for the sake of pleasure or as part of a family activity than out of necessity (Aarseth, 2009). Hence, parents may spend much time on unpaid work regardless of their paid work hours and the availability of public childcare arrangements. In addition, attitudes toward working mothers have become more positive since the early 1990s, and fathers are expected to work fewer hours (Hellevik & Hellevik, 2012). Attitudes toward public childcare have also become more positive, and it is widely recognized that publicly subsidized day-care centers provide ample opportunities for children's development and socialization (Ellingsaeter et al., 2017).

However, the strongly gender segregated labor market in Norway, with women concentrated in public-sector jobs in health, education, and care professions, and men dominating the private sector (Schøne, 2015), entails longer working hours for men than for women, even in full-time jobs (Statistics Norway, 2016). Male-dominated private-sector jobs are also typically well paid, which may lead couples to prioritize the father's career over the mother's. Thus, the gender-segregated labor market may to some extent mitigate the effects of the gender-equalizing work-family policies.

METHOD

Sample

The data are from the Norwegian Time Use Surveys conducted in 1990, 2000, and 2010. These are cross-sectional studies that contain representative samples of the population aged 16–74 years in 1990 and 9–79 years in 2000 and 2010. The response rates were 64%, 50%, and 48%, respectively. In the last two surveys, weights were calculated to adjust for the underrepresentation of the oldest and the less educated groups in the net sample relative to the overall sample. Also, the data cover observations for all days of the year to account for seasonal effects.

The present study was conducted using a subsample of married or cohabiting other-sex parents with at least one child younger than 20 years

Table 1. *Proportion of Subsample within Each Employment Status Combination*

	<i>n</i>	Both full-time	He full-time, She part-time	He full-time, She not employed	Other
1990					
Fathers	530	.26	.42	.20	.12
Mothers	621	.28	.42	.20	.11
2000					
Fathers	482	.39	.39	.12	.09
Mothers	491	.38	.42	.10	.09
2010					
Fathers	566	.48	.31	.12	.10
Mothers	572	.53	.27	.07	.13

of age living in the household. Same-sex couples were not included because there are few of them in the data. The data are not dyadic, but respondents reported both their own and their partners' employment status and working hours at the time of interview. The subsamples comprise 2,302, 1,946, and 2,274 diary days in 1990, 2000, and 2010, respectively. The gross sample was smaller in 2000 than in 2010. Hence, there are fewer diary days in the analysis despite similar response rates.

Most mothers in Norway were employed in the labor market during our study period. According to the Norwegian Labour Force Survey, the employment rate of mothers with children 0–15 years of age was 77%, 83%, and 87% in 1990, 2000, and 2010, respectively (Kitterød, 2016). Thus, the majority of couples in our analytical sample were either full-time/full-time or full-time/part-time couples (see Table 1). In 2010 and 2000, about 80% of the analytical sample belonged to one of these couple types, and in 1990 the corresponding percentage was about 70%. The percentage of full-time/full-time couples was larger in 2010 than in the previous surveys; about half the analytical sample belonged to a couple type with two full-time working parents in 2010, compared to 40% in 2000 and 25% in 1990. In each year, there were also some couples in which the father worked full-time and the mother was not employed, and some where he worked part-time or not at all and she had any employment status (the "other" category in Table 1), but closer analyses of the 2010 survey (not shown) reveal that these couples differ somewhat from the majority, with either the mother or the father having more health problems and somewhat less education, and more often regarding themselves as students, unemployed, disabled, or retired.

Hence, these couple types were excluded from the analyses in favor of a focus on heterosexual couples in which both partners were employed in the labor market full-time, or where the father is employed full-time and the mother part-time.

Data Collection Procedures

Respondents reported their activities in a diary for two consecutive days. Respondent intake was spread evenly throughout the year to capture a balanced representation of data across the calendar year. Demographic and socioeconomic background information was captured through a telephone interview as well as from various administrative registers. The diaries had fixed time intervals, and for each time slot participants were asked to write down their main activity, simultaneous activities where appropriate, and whether they were alone or with other people. Activities were subsequently coded according to a detailed coding list.

Measures

Total work 1 is the sum of time spent on paid work, unpaid work, and education as main activities reported in the time diary. Paid work encompasses travel time as well as actual work hours. Unpaid work includes routine housework, direct childcare (nursing, playing, reading aloud, and escorting children to and from various activities), maintenance work, shopping, and administrative chores such as organizing daily routines. Educational activities include taking lessons and related preparations and homework. Although time spent on education is rarely included in total workload measures (see, e.g., Gershuny, 2003), it is incorporated here because a large proportion of adults are part-time or full-time students

in Norway, and the proportion is higher among women than men (Statistics Norway, 2016). Like paid and unpaid work, studying may restrict time for leisure and personal activities.

Total work 2 includes total work 1 plus paid work, unpaid work, and education recorded as a secondary activity. Admittedly, such activities were rarely reported as secondary activities in the Norwegian time-use surveys; socializing, radio listening, and television watching were typically the types of activities recorded as secondary (Vaage, 2011), which probably reflects that these were mentioned as typical secondary activities in the examples presented to the respondents. Thus, parallel activities may be a less relevant measure of multitasking than in some other countries. Nonetheless, the measure is included here because previous researchers (e.g., Craig, 2007) have emphasized the importance of looking at secondary activities in analyses of parents' total workload.

Total work 3 combines total work 2 and information from the time diary concerning whether the time was spent in the company of one or more children younger than 12 years of age and living in the same household. Time spent with children does not presuppose direct interaction and can, in principle, go along with any activity except sleep, which was coded as time alone.

Perceived weekday time pressure is based on 2010 reports in the interview of (a) how often respondents had so many duties to carry out on weekdays that it was difficult to get everything done, and (b) how often there were activities they would have liked to do on weekdays that they could not undertake because of time pressure. Response options in both cases were *often*, *sometimes*, *seldom*, and *never*. Two corresponding indicators were used in the analyses; responses were dichotomized to distinguish between those who responded *often* and those who chose any of the other three response options (weekday time pressure 1 and weekday time pressure 2). Unfortunately, the survey had no questions concerning time pressure experienced on weekends.

The couple's employment status is based on respondent reports in the interview of their own and their partner's employment status and working hours. Consistent with time-use surveys in some other countries (e.g., Gershuny et al., 2014; Sayer et al., 2009), the Norwegian surveys do not have dyadic couple data. Following the lead of Sayer et al. (2009), we classified

respondents into four groups according to their dyadic work arrangement: (a) both partners work full-time (35 hours or more per week), (b) he works full-time and she works part-time (less than 35 hours per week), (c) he works full-time and she is not employed, and (d) he works part-time or not at all and she has any employment status (see Table 1).

Age of youngest child was dichotomized according to whether the respondent's youngest child was 0–6 or 7–19 years of age. Until the late 1990s, children started school at 7 years of age in Norway; from 1997 children start school at 6 years of age.

Analytical Procedure

Although the sample procedure and sample weights should in principle ensure equivalent subsamples of mothers and fathers in each couple type, the small number of observations implies that there were some differences on important variables, such as age and number of children in the household, as well as day of the week. These variables are strongly correlated with parents' paid work in Norway (Kitterød & Rønsen, 2013). To adjust for the differences between the subsamples of mothers and fathers when it comes to these important variables, we ran standard multivariate ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions of gender differences in total workload, controlling for the ages and number of children, and weekday. Because these variables are controls and not explanatory variables in our study, we only report the regression results for gender in the tables. Results for the control variables are available on request. In principle, we could also control for both partners' education, occupation, sector of work, and so on, but such information on the partner is less accurate and sometimes lacking in the surveys. Controlling only for the respondent's education, occupation, sector of work, and so on, is not a viable option in our context here given that women and men with identical education, occupations, and the like usually have different family situations in Norway (Kitterød, 2016). Although time-use data often contain a high number of zero observations, many experts recommend OLS regressions rather than Tobit regressions because zero observations are usually not a result of censoring or truncation, but rather stem from the fact that the respondent did not conduct a certain activity on the diary day. Tobit models

may therefore produce biased estimates (Brown & Dunn, 2011). In our analyses, only 1%–2% of observations on the dependent variables (total work 1, 2 and 3) are zero observations. To control for the dependency among the two diary days, we used an estimation procedure for each individual participant that yields robust standard errors.

Gender differences concerning perceived time pressure are reported in bivariate analyses. We also constructed multivariate logit models to ensure that the gender differences found in the bivariate analyses were statistically significant when number and age of children as well as weekday are controlled for. Results are available on request.

RESULTS

Gender Differences in Total Workload Over Time

Summary statistics of the observed levels of mothers' and fathers' time use in each of the three surveys are displayed in Table 2. Table 3 reports the regression results for gender from the multivariate analyses. In these analyses, we used information on respondents' main activities only (total work 1). Somewhat surprisingly, in the 1990 data we found that two full-time jobs resulted in a total workload that was 0.8 hours (49 minutes) per day more for fathers than for mothers in couples with younger children (see Table 3). This was mainly due to fathers' paid work amounting to 2.7 hours (164 minutes) more per day than women's paid work, which was only partially offset by women's unpaid work amounting to 1.9 hours (114 minutes) more per day than men's unpaid work. The gender difference in time spent on paid work in full-time/full-time couples probably reflects that full-time working fathers tended to work more than standard full-time hours, and that women tended to work standard full-time hours, which is the pattern provided by the Norwegian Labour Force Survey (Kitterød, 2016). The gender gap in total observed workload hours declined among these couples one and two decades later; compared to 1990, the gap was about 20% and 87% smaller in 2000 and 2010, respectively. For full-time/full-time couples with older children (7–19 years of age), there were no statistical or meaningful gender differences in total workload in 1990 and 2010, but in 2000 fathers reported

a statistically smaller total workload than did mothers, reflecting that their longer paid hours were not compensated by correspondingly shorter unpaid hours relative to women.

For full-time/part-time couples with younger children, none of the regressions produced statistical gender effects. However, for those with older children, fathers worked considerably longer total workload hours than mothers, especially in 2000 but also in 2010, reflecting that their longer paid hours were not counterbalanced by correspondingly less unpaid work.

The slight reduction in fathers' longer total workload from 1990 to 2000 in full-time/full-time couples with younger children came about despite an increase in fathers' longer paid work hours relative to mothers. According to Table 2, the larger gender gap in paid hours resulted from fathers doing more as well as mothers doing less paid work in 2000 than in 1990, and the larger gender gap in unpaid hours resulted from fathers doing less as well as from mothers doing more unpaid work. Although further analyses (not shown) revealed that these changes are not statistically significant at conventional levels, the analyses suggest that the gendered division of paid and unpaid work in this couple type did not become less specialized during the 1990s, but rather remained stable or perhaps grew even more specialized.

The vanishing gender difference in total workload in 2010 in full-time/full-time couples with younger children is the outcome of reductions in the gender gap in both paid and unpaid work (see Table 3). According to results shown in Table 2, the former resulted from an increase in mothers' and a decrease in fathers' paid work hours in the 2000s, whereas the latter resulted mainly from an increase in fathers' unpaid work. Fathers in this couple type spent less time on paid work in 2010 than in the previous years, but this was offset by a corresponding increase in their unpaid work. Although these changes are not statistically significant at conventional levels, the results suggest a less specialized division of paid and unpaid work between parents in 2010 than in 2000. It is also worth noting that mothers in these couples did not reduce their unpaid work in this decade, despite more paid work on their part, more involvement from fathers at home, and the improved coverage of kindergartens.

The fact that fathers in full-time/full-time couples with school-aged children worked

Table 2. Mean Hours and Minutes of Daily Work Among Fathers and Mothers, by Employment Status and Age of Youngest Child, in 1990, 2000, and 2010

	Parents of Young Children				Parents of School-Aged Children			
	Both full-time		He full-time, she part-time		Both full-time		He full-time, she part-time	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
1990	<i>n</i> = 106	<i>n</i> = 144	<i>n</i> = 202	<i>n</i> = 234	<i>n</i> = 174	<i>n</i> = 206	<i>n</i> = 238	<i>n</i> = 282
Paid work	5:23	3:29	5:50	2:19	6:25	5:04	5:47	3:38
Unpaid work	3:41	5:27	3:21	6:40	2:31	3:56	2:18	4:53
Education	0:10	0:10	0:00	0:03	0:05	0:08	0:02	0:07
Total work 1	9:15	9:07	9:11	9:01	9:01	9:09	8:18	8:37
2000	<i>n</i> = 162	<i>n</i> = 190	<i>n</i> = 192	<i>n</i> = 194	<i>n</i> = 216	<i>n</i> = 192	<i>n</i> = 191	<i>n</i> = 212
Paid work	6:07	3:03	5:56	3:06	6:02	6:03	6:05	3:13
Unpaid work	3:24	5:47	3:36	5:46	2:29	3:27	3:07	4:14
Education	0:01	0:02	0:10	0:13	0:02	0:05	0:02	0:16
Total work 1	9:32	8:52	9:42	9:05	8:33	9:35	9:13	7:43
2010	<i>n</i> = 233	<i>n</i> = 284	<i>n</i> = 158	<i>n</i> = 128	<i>n</i> = 315	<i>n</i> = 335	<i>n</i> = 196	<i>n</i> = 182
Paid work	4:58	3:56	6:15	3:20	5:45	5:04	6:31	3:22
Unpaid work	4:37	5:40	3:42	6:22	3:02	3:55	2:30	4:25
Education	0:05	0:01	0:03	0:03	0:00	0:01	0:02	0:10
Total work 1	9:40	9:37	10:01	9:46	8:47	9:01	9:02	7:57

Note. *n* = number of diary days.

Table 3. The Effect of Gender on Total Workload in Multivariate Analyses, Controlling for Number and Age of Children and Weekday, in 1990, 2000, and 2010 (Reported in Minutes per Day)

	Parents of Young Children						Parents of School-Aged Children					
	Both full-time			He full-time, she part-time			Both full-time			He full-time, she part-time		
	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
1990	<i>n</i> = 250			<i>n</i> = 436			<i>n</i> = 380			<i>n</i> = 520		
Paid work	163.78	5.87	<.001	227.27	8.49	<.001	89.97	3.62	<.001	156.74	7.26	<.001
Unpaid work	-114.36	5.18	<.001	-203.03	11.69	<.001	-84.51	5.58	<.001	-146.58	10.64	<.001
Total work 1	49.19	2.00	.048	22.53	1.02	.309	3.08	0.15	.879	5.86	0.30	.762
2000	<i>n</i> = 352			<i>n</i> = 386			<i>n</i> = 408			<i>n</i> = 403		
Paid work	186.65	6.08	<.001	173.46	5.61	<.001	21.90	0.75	.452	155.94	5.75	<.001
Unpaid work	-146.88	6.87	<.001	-129.08	7.22	<.001	-60.68	4.18	<.001	-64.85	3.77	<.001
Total work 1	39.46	1.58	.117	40.16	1.59	.113	-41.34	1.70	.091	76.11	3.13	.002
2010	<i>n</i> = 517			<i>n</i> = 286			<i>n</i> = 650			<i>n</i> = 379		
Paid work	78.63	2.90	.004	171.21	4.82	<.001	53.98	2.37	.018	170.00	5.22	<.001
Unpaid work	-75.53	3.82	<.001	-158.44	6.53	<.001	-55.67	4.23	<.001	-115.00	6.23	<.001
Total work 1	6.30	0.31	.761	12.84	0.45	.650	-2.69	0.13	.901	46.75	1.64	.102

Note. *n* = number of diary days. Mothers is the reference category.

fewer total hours than mothers in 2000, but not in 1990, resulted from a reduction in fathers' paid work in the 1990s, combined with a strong increase in mothers' paid work hours that exceeded the simultaneous decrease in their unpaid work. This is the opposite trend of what we saw for full-time/full-time couples with

younger children. The declining gender difference in total workload in the 2000s for couples with older children was due to a slight increase in fathers' total workload and a decrease in mothers' total workload. More total work for fathers resulted from increased unpaid work that was not fully offset by decreased paid work,

whereas less total work for mothers was the outcome of reduced paid work that was not fully compensated by more unpaid work.

In full-time/part-time couples with school-aged children, fathers' total workload exceeded mothers' more in 2000 than in 1990. This resulted from an increase in fathers' paid as well as unpaid work combined with a decrease in mothers' unpaid work. In the 2000s, there was a reduction in fathers' unpaid work and a small increase in mothers' unpaid work, which resulted in a smaller gender difference in total workload in 2010 than in 2000.

Multitasking and Weekday–Weekend Variation in 2010

Previous research has indicated that gender imbalances in parents' total workloads increase substantially when multitasking is taken into consideration. We examined whether this was the case in Norway using the 2010 data. First, we mention some results (more detailed results available on request) for all coupled parents, irrespective of work-hour arrangement, so that differences across workload measures can more easily be compared to those reported from other countries (discussed earlier; Craig, 2007; Milkie et al., 2009). Summing main activities only (total work 1), we found that fathers and mothers had fairly similar total workloads in Norway. Parents with younger children had a total workload of about 9 hours 20 minutes per day when only main activities were counted; fathers and mothers with school-aged children had total workloads of 8 hours 40 minutes and 8 hours 26 minutes per day, respectively. To be sure, women spent more time than men on unpaid work, but this was offset by men's longer paid work hours. Neither gender spent much time on educational activities.

Including secondary activities (total work 2) entails only a minor expansion of the workload; 3% for both fathers and mothers with a younger child present and even less for those with school-aged children. As mentioned already, work was rarely reported as a secondary activity in Norway, probably because recording work as a secondary task was seldom mentioned in survey guidelines. The high percentages of children in day-care centers and after-school programs may further imply that parents prefer to focus actively on their children when they are together after spending much time apart.

Indeed, the inclusion of time spent with children younger than 12 years of age (total work 3) augments both parents' total workload considerably compared with the total workload based on main activities only. However, even when based on the most expansive total workload-measure, there are modest gender differences in total workload among parents in Norway, at least as long as different work-time arrangements are not taken into account. According to the most expansive total workload measure, mothers and fathers with young children had a workload amounting to about 12 hours per day and parents with school-aged children had a workload amounting to about 9.5 hours per day.

The picture is modified somewhat when parents with different work-time arrangements are analyzed separately. Results from multivariate analyses for full-time/full-time couples and full-time/part-time couples are shown in Table 4. As before, the number and age of children and weekday were controlled in the analyses. For the week as a whole, there were no statistical gender differences in total workload for couples with young children in any couple type, and this is true regardless of the workload measure used. As for couples with school-aged children, there were no statistical gender differences in total workload in full-time/full-time couples, but fathers worked statistically longer total hours than mothers according to the first and third total workload measure in full-time/part-time couples (47 minutes and 68 minutes longer per day, respectively).

The multivariate analyses show further that the means for all days mask different patterns across weekdays and weekends, and this is true for both couple types. In full-time/full-time couples, mothers have considerably longer total workloads than fathers do on weekends. For those with older children this holds for all three total workload measures, whereas for those with younger children it holds only for the most comprehensive measure. As for weekdays, none of the measures yielded statistical gender effects.

For full-time/part-time couples with younger children, fathers' total workload statistically exceeded mothers' on weekdays, whereas mothers' workload exceeds fathers' on weekends. The gender differences are quite substantial. On weekends, total work commitments of mothers exceeded those of fathers by almost three hours per day according to both the first and second total workload measures, whereas on weekdays

Table 4. *Multivariate Analyses of the Effect of Gender on Total Workload 1, 2, and 3, Controlling for Number and Age of Children and Weekday (Reported in Minutes per Day), 2010*

	Parents of Young Children						Parents of School-Aged Children					
	Both full-time			He full-time, she part-time			Both full-time			He full-time, she part-time		
	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
All days	<i>n</i> = 517			<i>n</i> = 286			<i>n</i> = 650			<i>n</i> = 378		
Total work 1	6.30	0.31	.761	12.84	0.45	.651	-2.69	0.13	.901	46.75	1.64	.102
Total work 2	-0.17	0.01	.993	-2.41	0.09	.931	-7.40	0.34	.731	41.97	1.48	.141
Total work 3	-12.98	0.81	.419	-12.39	0.53	.102	-18.17	0.85	.394	68.01	2.52	.012
Weekdays	<i>n</i> = 366			<i>n</i> = 204			<i>n</i> = 183			<i>n</i> = 121		
Total work 1	18.88	0.82	.413	73.40	2.59	.011	22.53	0.82	.410	76.32	2.28	.024
Total work 2	12.47	0.55	.586	60.98	2.25	.026	19.78	0.73	.469	70.47	2.10	.037
Total work 3	4.81	0.28	.778	16.10	0.63	.528	2.68	0.11	.916	76.84	2.42	.017
Weekends	<i>n</i> = 151			<i>n</i> = 82			<i>n</i> = 183			<i>n</i> = 121		
Total work 1	-25.31	0.76	.452	-167.19	3.52	.001	-73.72	2.53	.013	-16.73	0.35	.727
Total work 2	-31.26	0.92	.361	-190.39	4.04	< .001	-84.01	2.89	.005	-18.71	0.40	.693
Total work 3	-56.34	1.85	.067	-112.43	2.40	.020	-82.51	2.61	.010	46.92	1.00	.319

Note. *n* = number of diary days. Mothers is the reference category.

fathers' total work commitments exceeded mothers' by slightly more than an hour according to the first and about an hour according to the second workload measure. In full-time/part-time couples with school-aged children, statistical gender differences in total workload were found only for weekdays, when fathers' total workload exceeded mothers' by 70–80 minutes per day, depending on the measure used.

Closer analyses showed that fathers' longer total workloads on weekdays in full-time/part-time couples resulted from a substantial amount of unpaid family work in addition to a full-time job, whereas mothers' paid work hours were much shorter (results available on request). On weekends, mothers' longer unpaid work hours were not offset by more paid work for fathers. The latter was also the case in full-time/full-time couples, particularly for those with older children. Although both mothers and fathers had shorter total workloads on weekends than on weekdays, the difference was more modest for mothers than for fathers.

Perceived Weekday Time Pressure

Gender differences in perceived time pressure on weekdays were explored using data from two questions in the interview section of the 2010 time-use survey. According to Table 5, fathers and mothers in full-time/full-time couples reported similar time pressure on weekdays.

This was true for both time–pressure measures and irrespective of the age of the youngest child, and it also held true in the multivariate analysis (results available on request). In full-time/part-time couples, however, higher proportions of fathers than of mothers reported time pressure on weekdays. In the multivariate analysis the gender effect was statistically different from 0 for parents with school-aged children, but not for those with younger children. Hence, the primary circumstance where fathers and mothers differ with regard to feeling time pressure is on weekdays in full-time/part-time couples with older children.

DISCUSSION

The so-called second shift and double burden have often been discussed primarily as problems for women, but more involved fathering practices in recent decades have led to questions about whether long total work hours are also a problem for fathers who work full-time in the labor market. Thus, we investigated gender imbalances in total workload among coupled parents with different employment arrangements in Norway using time-use surveys conducted in 1990, 2000, and 2010. Using the 2010 data, we also examined how sensitive the results are to multitasking, whether gender dissimilarities vary between weekdays and weekends, and whether there are gender differences between

Table 5. *Perceived Time Pressure on Weekdays Among Fathers and Mothers, by Employment Status and Age of Youngest Child (%)*

	Parents of Young Children				Parents of School-Aged Children			
	Both full-time		He full-time, she part-time		Both full-time		He full-time, she part time	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Weekday time pressure 1	<i>n</i> = 117	<i>n</i> = 142	<i>n</i> = 79	<i>n</i> = 64	<i>n</i> = 158	<i>n</i> = 167	<i>n</i> = 98	<i>n</i> = 91
Often	44	45	49	38	37	39	39	23
Sometimes	32	36	33	37	39	41	35	44
Rarely	20	17	14	21	19	15	19	27
Never	4	2	4	4	5	5	7	6
Weekday time pressure 2								
Often	39	38	40	32	28	31	32	13
Sometimes	41	45	41	45	50	47	38	44
Rarely	18	15	15	20	19	18	25	36
Never	3	2	4	3	3	4	5	7

Note. *n* = number of respondents.

mothers and fathers with regard to the frequency of experiencing time pressure on weekdays. When examining changes in gender differences in parents' total workload, we paid special attention to the possible influence of shifting work-family policies, as the 1990s were characterized by somewhat ambivalent reforms, whereas the expansion in the 2000s went more uniformly in the gender-equalizing direction. The role of shifting expectations for good mothering and fathering practices was also discussed. However, changing gender imbalances in total workload are not easily predictable because the outcome depends on changes in paid as well as unpaid work hours among both fathers and mothers.

Somewhat surprisingly, the analyses revealed that fathers in couples where both father and mother have full-time jobs and young children had longer total work hours than mothers in 1990. In 2000, too, there was a large, though not statistically significant, gender gap, whereas in 2010 that gap had almost vanished. During the 1990s, the gender division of labor in full-time/full-time couples with preschool children remained stable or even became more specialized with increased gender gaps in both paid and unpaid hours, as a result of fathers doing more paid and less unpaid work and mothers doing less paid and more unpaid work. This may be associated with the introduction of a cash-for-childcare reform in that decade that emphasized parents' flexibility of choice and time with children. The vanishing gender gap in

total workload in 2010 among full-time/full-time couples with younger children resulted from less specialization in both paid work and unpaid work. Improved day-care coverage and a larger paternal quota in the parental leave program are likely to have encouraged mothers' employment in this decade, which may have resulted in longer hours for full-time working mothers as well as more mothers working full-time. At the same time, the opportunity and expectations for greater father involvement probably induced fathers to spend more time with their families and work fewer hours. Full-time work for both partners thus entails approximately equal total workloads for mothers and fathers in present-day Norway, and this is true irrespective of the age of the youngest child and whether parallel activities are included. These findings suggest that work-family reconciliation policies may have the potential to moderate gendered specialization patterns and reduce gender imbalances in parents' total workloads, at least if they attempt to change both parents' practices. This is true even in countries like Norway with a strongly gender-segregated labor market.

However, the fact that mothers in full-time/full-time couples did not reduce their unpaid work in the 2000s may also be related to intensive parental practices as well as some housework (e.g., baking, extensive cooking) being undertaken more as a family activity than for the sake of necessity. This may, of course, also be the case for fathers' housework. Moreover, the increase in fathers' family involvement

demonstrates that fathers are not unwilling to do more housework and childcare, which is at odds with the doing gender perspective (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Full-time work for the father and part-time work for the mother also entail fairly equal total workloads for parents with younger children, but larger total workloads for fathers than for mothers when there are only school-aged children in the home. In the latter group, fathers' longer paid hours are not fully offset by mothers' longer unpaid hours. This is so even when accounting for multitasking and time spent with children. It is primarily on weekdays that fathers' total workload exceeds mothers' in these couples; mothers have a longer total workload on weekends. This may suggest that fathers in particular try to compensate for their shorter leisure hours during the week, while mothers are still responsible for the family work.

Because it is often argued that time diaries tend to underrate mothers' total workload (Craig, 2007), we also examined possible gender differences in perceived time pressure in 2010, although only weekday time pressure was captured in the data. Mothers did not report more time pressure than fathers in any couple type, but fathers in full-time/part-time couples with school-aged children perceived more time pressure on weekdays. This supports the findings that a full-time/part-time arrangement entails a heavier workload for fathers in couples with older children and is in line with Rupperer and Huffman's (2013) finding that fathers often report that family demands interfere with their job in countries such as Norway, where women have great economic and political power.

These analyses contribute to research on gender imbalances in total workload by supplying evidence from a social democratic country with generous work-family policies, involved fathering practices, and high employment rates among mothers, as well as a labor market characterized by gender segregation and high female part-time rates. The fact that full-time employment for both parents is not associated with longer total work hours for mothers than fathers in contemporary Norway is at odds with previous research from Australia and the United States (Craig, 2007; Milkie et al., 2009). It is also at odds with concerns that fathers in these couples may now be the ones who face a double burden because they spend more time on housework and childcare than did previous

cohorts of fathers. However, it is consistent with the assumption that mothers and fathers prefer the same amount of leisure and try to allocate market and family work according to this goal.

An important finding is that fathers in full-time/full-time couples with younger children reduced their paid work hours in the 2000s, which may be related to family policies and norms that spur more gender equal practices at home. However, although fathers in full-time/full-time couples have extended their unpaid family work, they still do less than full-time working mothers. Hence, a smaller part of mothers' than of fathers' total work is remunerated with wages and pension credits. Despite equal total workloads for parents, full-time/full-time couples are still specialized in Norway, which may in part be related to the gender segregated labor market with women and men concentrated in different sectors and occupations.

In full-time/part-time couples with school-aged children, shorter paid work hours for mothers than for fathers seems to leave some room for leisure and personal activities on top of housework and childcare for mothers; fathers are expected to attend to their fair share of unpaid work at home irrespective of the mother's paid work time. Although women's unpaid work may be underrated given that they are usually responsible for planning and management activities that are not well captured in time-use surveys, the fact that fathers' report more time pressure than mothers in full-time/part-time couples with school-aged children may suggest that fathers actually do have a heavier workload than mothers in these couples. However, a different picture might emerge with a more general time pressure measure that also captures time pressure on weekends. Moreover, although part-time work may imply more leisure for mothers than for fathers, it may have negative short- and long-term consequences for mothers' income and wages.

This article also contributes to the discussion on how to capture multitasking in time use studies and how to interpret the different measures that are used by researchers on this topic. In Norway, parents rarely report paid and unpaid work as secondary activities, which is in stark contrast to Australia, where the inclusion of secondary activities raised mothers' and fathers' total workload by 44% and 17%, respectively, in families with young children (Craig, 2007),

but closer to findings from the United States, where the corresponding increases were 10% for mothers and 6% for fathers (Milkie et al., 2009). Although the differences may reflect divergent parental practices across countries, they probably also result from different survey guidelines and examples. Hence, although time-use studies are usually regarded as the best source of data on people's unpaid work, results for secondary activities may be sensitive to the survey design and guidelines. Including time spent with children may provide a more valid measure for parents' multitasking, although guidelines may vary across surveys as to what is to be counted as time with children as well.

Limitations and Future Directions

An obvious limitation of the current analysis is that the Norwegian time-use surveys, like time-use surveys from some other countries, do not provide dyadic data on couples. Similar mean total workloads for fathers and mothers belonging to the same couple type does not necessarily mean that individual couples do not have work imbalances. Future analyses would benefit from dyadic couples data and from time diaries covering more than two days for each participant, so that different rhythms of paid and unpaid work for the partners are more fully accounted for. Moreover, longitudinal data would allow for analyses of possible changes in couples' work-time arrangements and the short- and long-term outcomes of different arrangements for fathers' and mothers' career opportunities and income. Future analyses should look more closely at factors that affect fathers' and mothers' total workload within the different couple types discussed in this article, such as parents' education, occupation, and work sector, as well as parents' and children's ages and health conditions. Analyses of the partners' total workload in same-sex couples should also be undertaken. Another shortcoming of the present study is that the questions on subjective time pressure only apply to weekdays. A more general question could reveal more perceived time pressure for mothers given that their total workload exceeds fathers' total workload on weekends. Moreover, it would be advantageous to utilize questions that better capture parents' planning and managerial practices and time for childcare, including on-call time and passive supervision. Last but not least, the analysis would benefit from

information on the partners' perceived fairness when it comes to each partner's total workload, and the reasons behind their work-time arrangements and allocation of domestic duties.

Despite these limitations, the analyses suggest that employment-supporting policies with a focus on fathers' family role as well as mothers' paid work may help full-time/full-time couples balance their total workloads. These policies may also spur less specialization in paid and unpaid work in such couples and induce more women to work full time.

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