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Contextualizing Gender Inequality in Division of Household Labor and Family Life: A Cross-National Perspective

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CONTEXTUALIZING GENDER INEQUALITY IN DIVISION OF
HOUSEHOLD LABOR AND FAMILY LIFE: A CROSS-NATIONAL
PERSPECTIVE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
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in

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Abstract

This dissertation aims to provide contextual understanding of the persistence of gender inequality at home from a comparative perspective. Although the equality between men and women has been considered desirable and mostly achieved in the domain of paid labor in most industrial societies, unpaid labor in the domestic sphere is one of the most obstinate realms of gender inequality. Previous comparative research on housework provides valuable insights into the mechanism underlying the gender division of household labor and has revealed that both micro- and macro-level gender equalities play a key role in explaining the gender division of household labor. Building on prior empirical research and theories explaining cross-national variations in gendered housework and family life, I argue that the shift toward greater gender equality at both individual- and country-levels is the key in leading to the equal division of household labor, reducing work-family conflict, and achieving satisfactory family life. To achieve this goal, this dissertation investigates the relationship between the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction across countries, with a particular emphasis on individual- and country-level gender equalities. The findings overall demonstrate that gender equality at both levels is an important factor in configuring lower levels of work-family conflict and higher levels of family life satisfaction, and that the relationship between housework, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction varies by country-level gender equality. This dissertation contributes to the comparative housework literature and also provides support for the argument that societal and political development should be in line with greater gender equality.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of the Dissertation

The study of the gender division of household labor is an area of research social scientists frequently investigate, but the underlying social mechanisms that continue to maintain this division are still not fully understood. Contemporary societies have experienced substantial developments leading to more gender equality in the past several decades, and the equality between men and women has been considered desirable in the domain of paid labor in most industrial countries. Yet, unpaid labor in the domestic sphere is one of the most obstinate realms of gender inequality and is less affected by such a social change. Despite considerable movement toward greater gender equality in paid work during the last few decades, women still have a majority of responsibility for domestic labor, and the types of housework are also “gendered” regardless of individual characteristics such as income, education, and ideology (Bianchi et al. 2000; Coltrane 2000; Geist and Cohen 2011; Hook 2006, 2010; Inglehart and Norris 2003). Given this, scholars argue that the family, as a socially constructed institution, is one of central places where gendered practices occur in everyday life (Berk 1985; Ferree 2010), and that unpacking the mechanisms of the gendered divisions of household labor is essential to understanding the continued generation and perpetuation of gender inequality in society (Bittman et al. 2003; Coltrane and Adams 2008).

Multiple theoretical perspectives (e.g., relative resources, time availability, and gender role ideology) have been proposed to account for why the gendered division of household labor persists and how individual factors are associated with the unequal distribution of housework between couples (Baxter 2000, Baxter and Western 1998; Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994; Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992; Crosby 1976; Kamo 1988; Sorensen and McLanahan 1987).

While most studies through the late 1990s focused on the influences of individual-level characteristics on the division of household labor, the effects of cross-national contexts have received much attention since 2000, with developments of statistical techniques and a growing availability of cross-national data sets. Comparative scholars have found that unequal divisions of household labor and housework-related family life are situated in various national contexts, which can be explored through variables such as the economic development level, female labor force participation, divorce and cohabitation propensity, and social policy (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Braun et al. 2008; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fuwa 2004; Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Geist 2005; Greenstein 2009; Hook 2006; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Ruppner 2012; Yodanis 2005). In particular, both individual- and national-level gender equality, in most studies, are consistently observed as significant factors that affect housework distribution between couples as well as cross-national variations in the division of household labor. This suggests that gender equality at the micro- and macro-levels plays a key role in explaining the persistence of gender division of household labor.

Previous comparative research provides valuable insights into the mechanism of household labor across countries, but there are still some gaps to be addressed. First, the influences of macro-level variables in terms of gender equality are well documented, but the effects of micro-level variables, which might depend upon gender equality at the national level, have been investigated less often. This calls attention to the complexity of cross-level interactions which situate macro-level gender equality in the context of various individual characteristics and social status. Second, while many have documented actual and perceived inequalities in household labor, cross-national research examining the link between the gender division of household labor and work-family conflict has been scant. Work-family conflict has

become an important issue for both researchers and policy makers as the dominant family model largely shifted to the dual-earner family in most industrial countries. This suggests the need for further comparative research examining antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict, in terms of the gender division of household labor and related-family life. Lastly, many possible predictors have not yet been examined empirically even though they are likely to link to the division of household labor theoretically. Specifically, the attitudes toward work-family arrangements are likely to be associated with the actual division of household labor, and in turn, national contexts may also affect the construction of individuals' preferences regarding work-family arrangement. However, partly because of the limitations of data sets, almost no attention has been paid to the role of personal preferences with regard to work-family arrangement.

In this dissertation, I attempt to address the above three issues by conducting multi-level analyses using data from the 2012 International Social Survey Programme, a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration involving 40 countries (ISSP Research Group 2016). The 2012 module "Family and Changing Gender Roles IV" provides a variety of measures for the current study including gender division of time spent on paid and unpaid work, attitudes toward gender role ideology, preferences on work-family arrangement, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction. Building on prior theoretical and empirical literature on social changes in gender roles and changing gender relations within the family, I aim to examine the relationships between the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction across countries, with a particular emphasis on the national context of gender equality.

As a result, the purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to expanding our knowledge about how gendered power relations are (re)produced and legitimated in domestic life and how national contexts influence that relationship. The important connections my work draws between

national contexts and individual interactions support the development of family policies that can encourage individuals to move toward gender equality within the family. Without considering national contexts, some family policies aiming to dissipate women's double burden in paid and unpaid labor can lead to unintended results. For instance, prior research shows that a policy allowing a long-term parental leave led to women's long-term career interruptions, and the effects of that policy also vary according to the national contexts of gender equality and labor market conditions in a given country (Fagnani 1999; Fuwa and Cohen 2007). By shedding light on the cross-national variations in the relationship between housework, family life, and gender inequality, this study will contribute to a better understanding of the complexities of outcomes of family policies across countries.

1.2. Structure of the Dissertation

I organize this dissertation as follows. Following this introductory chapter (Chapter 1), I review prior literature on the division of household labor and its relationships with perceived fairness of that division, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction (Chapter 2). By doing this, I build theoretical frameworks for the current study, and then propose hypotheses that I test throughout my dissertation. Next, I introduce the data set, measures, and analytical strategies in the methodology section (Chapter 3).

Chapter 4 is the results section that presents the findings of the analyses. First, I examine the cross-national variations in the division of household labor, with a particular emphasis on the role of individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement (Chapter 4.1). The division of housework is likely to be associated with an individual's preference on work-family arrangement, and such a relationship may also be affected by cultural, structural, and economic aspects of national context. Yet, the empirical investigation of this relationship across countries

are lacking. I address this void by using the 2012 ISSP data with a new question about preferences on work-family arrangement. Next, I explore the extent to which and how the unequal division of household labor and perceived unfairness of that division are associated with individual-level work-family conflict from a comparative perspective, by focusing on gender differences (Chapter 4.2). Lastly, I examine the association between the division of housework, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction across countries by considering the possible moderating effect of country-level gender equality (Chapter 4.3).

In the final chapter (Chapter 5), I conclude this dissertation by summarizing the key findings of the analyses and by discussing implications and contributions of this study.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review

In this chapter, I begin with an overview of social changes related to changing gender roles during the past several decades. It is typically expected that such trends in changing gender roles in paid work lead to changes in gender relations in families. However, women still bear a disproportionate share of family responsibilities at home, and traditional patterns in the division of household labor remain prevalent in most industrial societies. Given this, I review theories that explain the persistence of gender inequalities in household labor at the individual-level. Then I highlight the role of national contexts by reviewing previous comparative research on cross-national variations in the division of household labor and its influence on housework-related family life. In the following three subchapters, I discuss three main topics of this dissertation—the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction, respectively. Finally, I propose hypotheses for the current study.

2.1. Social Changes, Changing Gender Roles, and National Context

2.1.1. Social Changes and Changing Gender Roles

The past several decades have witnessed considerable social changes in most industrial societies which are closely related to changes in gender roles. First, the increasing participation of women in paid work is one of the major driving forces of changes in gender relations in families. The concept of the “modern nuclear family” consisting of a breadwinner-husband, a homemaker-wife, and their children has been dominant in most advanced countries during the 20th century (Cornell 1990). The nuclear family model assigns responsibilities of paid work to men while responsibilities of domestic labor to women based on the belief in gendered separate spheres (South and Spitze 1994; West and Zimmerman 1987). Given this family model, men should work in the paid labor market to support their family, while women should stay at home

to take responsibility for childrearing and housework, and this form of division of labor has been considered most desirable. Meanwhile, economic systems that allow men to earn enough money to support their families have legitimated the ideal of a modern nuclear family since the postwar era (Fraser 1994; Glickman 1999). Yet, economic changes and growing during the past few decades no longer allow men to earn a “family wage.” For example, the inflation-adjusted median hourly wage for American men was peaked in 1974 and has not increased since then (Johnson 1997). Earnings inequality has also rapidly spread throughout the United States around the same time. For the first three decades after World War II, pretax incomes grew at roughly the same rate for households at all rungs of the income ladder. Since the mid-1970s, however, the lion’s share of real income growth has been concentrated among top earners in the group, while those at the bottom of the top quartile have seen little real income growth (Frank 2018; Saez 2018). In the context of the sharp rise in income inequality and the virtual stagnation of the average real wage, the dual-earner family is more likely to be preferred than the male-breadwinner model for the greater financial contribution to the household. Indeed, real median household incomes in the United States have grown by roughly 15% since the mid-1970s, and this is primarily because of large increases in female labor force participation (Frank 2018). With this background, the share of dual-income households and the labor force participation rates of women, especially mothers, had both increased substantially in many industrialized societies over the last few decades (Gornick and Meyers 2003), even though the labor force participation rates for both women and men have somewhat decreased over the last two decades at global level (52.4% to 49.6% for women, 79.9% to 76.1% for men, 1995-2015) (International Labour Organization 2016). The shift to the service economy, in turn, has played a role in widening the opportunities of women’s participation in the labor market with the expansion of jobs in the

service sector along with increasing numbers of part-time jobs (Lewis 2009). As a result, dual-earner households have become commonplace today, and women are more likely to be expected to work outside the home.

Second, changes in gender ideology toward greater gender equality also made a significant contribution to changes in gender roles in both public and domestic dimensions. Above all, the women's liberation movement that emerged in the 1960s and led to the second wave of the feminist movement until the early 1980s (Tong 2013) has played a significant role in constructing a contemporary society favorable to egalitarianism. Not only did the feminist movement expand understandings of the concept of gender equity, but it also had a major influence on the development of state policies aimed to enhance gender equality in the public sphere (McAdams et al. 1996). In addition to the role of the feminist movement, other mechanisms and factors have also influenced the general trend toward a more egalitarian beliefs about gendered behaviors at the both micro- and macro-levels. For instance, by focusing on the micro-level dynamics underlying the trend toward a more egalitarian gender ideology, Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) argue mechanisms producing feminist opinion using two sets of approaches based on interests-based explanations and exposure-based explanations. The interest-based explanations posit that individuals are likely to favor egalitarianism when their interests benefit from gender equality, while the exposure-based explanations emphasize the effects of exposure to gender egalitarian situations and contexts (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004). These approaches provide valuable insights into understanding variations in changes in egalitarian attitudes at the individual level, while showing how changing gender ideology interplays with other social, cultural, and political contexts at the macro-level. Given those two clusters of approaches, Davis and Greenstein (2009) categorize social and demographic predictors of gender

ideology, including individuals' social location, parents' gender ideologies, racial differences intersecting with social stratification, religion, educational attainments, employment status, occupation, and entrance into gendered relationships of marriage and parenthood. In doing so, they point out the complex nature of the construction of gender ideology (Davis and Greenstein 2009). On the other hand, recent research has found that the changes in population structure on the macro-level, which result from births and deaths, play an important role in explaining the general trend toward a more egalitarian gender ideology (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Brewster and Padavic 2000; Ciabattari 2001; Davis and Greenstein 2009; Mason and Lu 1988).

Conducting a regression decomposition analysis using data from the General Social Surveys (1977 to 1996), Brewster and Padavic (2000) illuminate that demographic processes of population turnover and micro-level attitude change caused by cohort replacement are both important in understanding changes in attitude trends toward more egalitarian gender ideology. In the research on the period and cohort effects on changes in men's attitudes toward women's roles, Ciabattari (2001) argues that the overall increase in men's egalitarian attitudes results from two main processes: individual-level changes (e.g., the improvements of women's education and labor force participation, and the expansion of the feminist movement) and the cohort replacement effect. In other words, she finds that the oldest cohort is more traditional than the more recent cohort, suggesting that men's conservative attitudes have overall decreased as the size and influence of this oldest and most conservative cohort has reduced over time (Ciabattari 2001).

Finally, a third major social change related to changing gender roles is recent transformations in family and living arrangements that occurred in most industrialized countries during the latter half of the 20th century. Despite considerable variations in the degrees and

patterns of changes in family life and behaviors within and between countries, today people are more likely to live longer, have fewer children, and get married later or not at all. Divorce rates are high (although they have recently leveled off in many countries), and various forms of alternative family, such as cohabitation, nonmarital childbearing, gay marriage, childlessness, or single-parent families, are more socially acceptable in many industrialized societies (Amato et al. 2007; Casper and Bianchi 2002; Cherlin 2010; Coontz 2004, 2015; Hiekel et al. 2014; Kasearu and Kutsar 2011; Kiernan 2001; Raymo et al. 2015; Reher 1998). As family life and behaviors have dramatically changed, the function and meaning of family have also changed, although the direction of the causality is not always clear. The traditional “modern nuclear family” has lost its normative place, while many alternatives to marriage have emerged (Cherlin 2010; Cooke and Baxter 2010; Coontz 2015; Raymo et al. 2015; Reher 1998; Surkyn and Lesthaeghe 2004). In turn, all these changes have led to increasing numbers of various family structures and relationships. The traditional gender roles based on the modern nuclear family consisting of the male-breadwinner and female-homemaker are no longer adequate to cope with recent changes in families. Accordingly, families need to reorganize their roles to be flexible in response to recent changes in family structures and living arrangements.

In sum, the literature provides evidence that there have been considerable social changes that are related to changes in gender relations within families in most industrial countries over the last decades. In this regard, changing gender roles and their impacts on family life have received much attention from scholars and policymakers, and examining the ramifications of such changes in gender roles has become a more important research agenda for family scholars. Given the considerable improvement of women’s participation to paid labor, the spread of egalitarianism, and transformations of family structures, family scholars have sought to examine

how such changes influence gender dynamics in the domestic sphere (Sullivan 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2009). In particular, a growing body of literature has focused on explaining how the traditional division of household labor is redistributed between couples (e.g., Hochschild 1989), how dual-earner couples reorganize work and family life in the boundaries of roles between providers and caregivers (e.g., Gornick and Meyers 2003; Padavic and Reskin 2002), and how such experiences of changes in family life are associated with individuals' well-being and subjective perceptions (e.g., Greenstein 1996; Minnotte et al. 2010; Sanchez and Kane 1996).

2.1.2. Theories Explaining Unequal Gender Relations in Families at the Individual-Level

Up until the late 1990s, scholarship explaining domestic gender relations focused primarily on the influences of individual-level characteristics, mostly because of the lack of available cross-national data sets. The various theoretical frameworks are proposed to account for why unequal gender relations in families persist despite the substantial improvements in women's roles in the public sphere. As a result, both economic approaches and feminist perspectives have provided important conceptual and theoretical frameworks for family scholarship.

The time availability approach from Becker's (1965) theory of the allocation of time is one of the most influential theories explaining the division of household labor from an economic point of view. This theory focuses on rational time allocation between paid labor market and housework by postulating that the time spent in household labor is negatively associated with the time spent in the paid labor market. In light of this framework, the time availability perspective assumes that if one spouse works longer outside of the home, he or she does less housework. This model was particularly well supported in the context of the modern nuclear family model in which the male breadwinner specializes his role in the labor market while the female home-

maker specializes her role in terms of domestic labor. On the other hand, the relative resources approach based on exchange theory from Blood and Wolfe's (1960) bargaining model posits that individuals' resources (e.g., income and education) can be exchanged for household labor, and they use their resources to negotiate the allocation of housework with their partners. According to this perspective, one spouse who has a higher level of resources than his/her partner is likely to do less housework. In sum, both models address the gender division of labor from an economic perspective, and many studies offer empirical evidence to support them (Bianchi et al. 2000; Blair and Lichter 1991; Brines 1994; Coverman 1985; Davis & Greenstein 2004; England & Farkas 1986; Greenstein 2000; Kamo 1988; Ross 1987, South & Spitze 1994). Yet, these economic-based approaches do not provide a thorough explanation for disproportionate shares of domestic labor performed by women regardless of their economic resources in many countries.

Meanwhile, feminist scholars have argued that gender itself has a crucial effect on the mechanisms in gender practices within the domestic sphere. Most notably, West and Zimmerman (1987) provide the concept of "doing gender" that highlights that gender is socially constructed by displaying proper gender identity and by doing appropriate gender behaviors based on gendered social orders. Given this conceptualization of doing gender, men and women are socialized in accordance with their assigned gender. In this regard, gender ideology and gender role expectations, which individuals internalize through their daily life, play a significant role in explaining the division of labor between men and women. Furthermore, in light of the concept of family as the basic unit of society where daily practices and interactions occur, scholars argue that the family becomes a "gender factory" that creates both the material (i.e., housework) and symbolic (i.e., gender) productions of the households (Berk 1985). This claim provides important insights into understanding how gender is (re)constructed as a routine accomplishment

embedded in everyday life within families. As a result, these feminist conceptual frameworks have considerably influenced family scholarship. Empirical evidence has also been well documented (Blair and Lichter 1991; Brines 1994; Davis & Greenstein 2009; Kamo 1988, 1994; Pittman and Blanchard 1996; Presser 1994; Shelton & John 1996). Nowadays, most research on examining gender-based inequalities in families builds upon both approaches.

2.1.3. Cross-national Differences in Changing Gender Relations and the Importance of National Context

While the impact of individual-level factors on gender relations in families is well documented, the importance of national contexts has received increasing scholarly attention in that the patterns of domestic gender relations and its effects on individuals' family life vary across countries. Previous studies have found that individual-level processes of domestic gender relations operate differently in different national contexts, which can be explored through variables such as the level of economic development, female labor force participation, welfare regimes, social policies, divorce and cohabitation propensity, and the degree of gender equality typically measured by the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) and aggregate gender role ideology in countries (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Braun et al. 2008; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fuwa 2004; Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Geist 2005; Geist and Cohen 2011; Greenstein 1996, 2009; Hook 2006, 2010; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Ruppner 2010a, 2010b; Stier et al. 2001; Yodanis 2005).

Modernization and concomitant industrialization are associated with changes in family life and behavior. Although the relationship between modernization and gender equality in the domestic sphere is not very clear (for example, see Jackson 1998; Mies 2014), their development in social, economic, and political areas might affect changing dynamics of domestic gender relations. On the one hand, structural and institutional developments in modern societies provide

greater opportunities for women in education and employment, which causes the necessity for women to reduce their load of unpaid work, while the increasing demand for men to participate in domestic labor (Hareven 1976). On the other hand, the development of the service economy and technology provides the new possibility of outsourcing housework to the market (Cohen 1998). In this regard, the degree of modernization and industrialization, which is typically measured by a country's gross domestic product (GDP) and female labor force participation, is likely to relate to changes in gender relations in families.

Social policy also appears to have an important impact on individuals' processes of organizing family life between couples (Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Hook 2006, 2010; Stier et al. 2001). For example, social policy that inhibits gender discrimination in the labor market (e.g., prohibitions to employment discrimination against women) and that encourages women to participate in the labor market (e.g., affirmative action) can lead to the necessities of reorganizing the traditional divisions of labor between men and women. On the contrary, social policy assuming a sole earner in the household (e.g., conservative taxation, and limited or absence of parental leave) might strengthen traditional gendered relations in families by discouraging women from labor market participation. At the same time, other social policies, such as national employment hours, and the presence and availability of public childcare services, may also affect organizing individuals' processes of domestic gender relations.

In a similar vein, cross-national variations in welfare regimes are associated with gender relations in families. The classical welfare state classification has been given by the Esping-Andersen's (1990) categorization into three welfare regimes, labeled as liberal (e.g., the United States), conservative (e.g., Germany), and social democratic (e.g., Sweden), respectively. Empirical findings have shown that in countries with a conservative regime, couples are less

likely to share housework equally in general (Fuwa 2004; Geist 2005). In this sense, it may be the case that the negative effects of unequal domestic labor on individuals' well-being and family life may be weaker in less egalitarian countries because the traditional gender norms and beliefs embedded in social systems and orders may justify the unequal gender relations in the domestic sphere.

In addition, there is evidence of the effects of cross-national differences in “divorce and cohabitation cultures” on gender relations between married couples. Yodanis (2005) finds that a “divorce culture,” which is a composite measure of attitudes toward divorce and divorce rates on the national level, appears to contribute to more equal marital relationships between men and women. On the other hand, Batalova and Cohen (2002) document that couples' premarital cohabitation experience is positively associated with husbands' housework participation. These results support a hypothesis that in a country where alternatives to marriage are widely available, women may have greater bargaining power to demand more gender-equitable relationships. Meanwhile, in a society with limited alternatives to marriage, women may have less power to negotiate the domestic division of labor with their partners because women are most likely to stay in the current marital relationship regardless of how dissatisfied they are with their unequal status in marriage (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Yodanis 2005).

Especially given the gendered nature of the family, it is not surprising that country-level gender equality and gender role ideology, in most studies, are consistently observed as a significant factor that influences the effects of individual-level factors on domestic gender relations. In a society characterized by structural, institutional, and cultural factors that promote and favor gender equality, women tend to share household labor more equally with their partners in a given national context that views gender equality as more preferable and desirable.

Therefore, women who live in more egalitarian countries may perceive the unequal division of labor as more unfair because they can easily find a comparable couple who shares domestic labor more equally, which makes their unequal situation more unjust (Braun et al. 2008; Davis 2010; Greenstein 2009; Jansen et al. 2016; Öun 2013; Ruppanner 2008). Likewise, when it comes to the effects of the unequal division of household labor on work-family conflict and subjective well-being, the negative effects of the unequal divisions of housework may be stronger in more egalitarian countries through this comparison process (Greenstein 2009; Ruppanner 2010).

Meanwhile, it is important to differentiate country-level gender equality from country-level gender ideology. The country-level gender equality refers to the degree of national-level gender equality in social, political and economic areas. This is typically measured by the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) score, gender wage gap, female labor force participation rates, and sociopolitical structures of support for gender equality in relation to the type of welfare regimes and the effect of social policy. The country-level gender ideology refers to how people think about the proper roles for men and women. This measurement is typically constructed by aggregating the responses to a set of statements about individuals' attitudes toward gender roles, such as "A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family," "All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job," and "A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children." Although both are frequently used to measure the degree of gender equality in a given society, it is important to note that the underlying nature of those two measures are different and that there might be a discrepancy between them depending on individual and national contexts. For example, there may be considerable differences in gender role ideology between men and women at the country-level even though both men and women live under the same social, political, and economic settings in

a given society. It is also possible that the direction and magnitude of correlation between them may differ across countries.

Thus far, I have broadly dealt with the main drivers for the recent changes in gender relations within families, and how individual and national contexts are associated with such changes, with an emphasis on a gender perspective and cross-national differences. In the following sections, I will focus on three specific aspects of domestic gender relations, which have been key issues of comparative family scholarship in the context of social changes and changing gender roles over the past decades: the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction.

2.2. Stalled Revolution? Continuity and Changes in the Division of Household Labor

Women's participation in paid work has been expected to lead to men's increasing participation in unpaid labor. However, unlike anticipation, men have not yet become comparably involved in domestic labor, whereas female labor force participation has gradually increased over the past several decades in most industrial countries. Women still perform a larger share of domestic labor than their male partners over the globe and even in the most industrial countries (Bianchi et al., 2000). This phenomenon is often described by the well-known term "stalled revolution," coined by Hochschild (1989). This term indicates that women remain largely responsible for household labor and care work at home despite substantial social changes related to changing gender roles. To examine factors that are associated with this enduring continuity of the gendered division of household labor, a substantial body of theoretical approaches—such as relative resources, time availability, and gender ideology—have been proposed, and much of them are well supported empirically by individual-level variables including earnings, paid work hours, and gender role attitudes (Bianchi et al. 2000; Brines 1994;

Coltrane and Ishii-Kuntz 1992; Kamo 1988; Sorensen and McLanahan 1987; South and Spitze 1994).

While individual-level factors influencing the existence and persistence of gendered division of housework are well documented, comparative scholars highlight the importance of national contexts that have differing effects for individuals' processes in the distribution of housework between partners (Cooke and Baxter 2010). For example, Fuwa (2004) finds a significant association between the division of housework and the various macro-level factors, such as gender inequality, economic development, female-labor force participation, gender norms, and welfare regimes. Geist (2005) shows the important link between welfare state policies and the domestic division of labor. Meanwhile, Hook (2010) finds that public policies that are particularly influential to women's employment and individuals' work-family life affect the unpaid work behaviors of men. Yodanis (2005) finds that a strong divorce culture in a society is related to a more equal division of housework, and Batalova and Cohen (2002) reveal the association between premarital cohabitation experiences and the equal sharing of household labor along with equalizing effects of national cohabitation rates.

More recently, scholarly attention has been given to exploring how national patterns in the division of household labor change over time. In research that analyzes time use survey between 1965 and 2003 from multiple countries, Hook (2006, 2010) finds that cross-national differences in time spent on housework between men and women have decreased over time. Furthermore, Geist and Cohen (2011), using data from 13 countries between 1994 and 2002, conclude that cross-national differences in housework patterns have converged over time toward greater gender equality. But, at the same time, they emphasize that it does not mean that such convergence will lead to complete equality in the future because this is mostly attributable to the

shift of housework patterns in most traditional countries, and even in most egalitarian countries women still do the majority of housework (Geist and Cohen 2011: 842-843).

Overall, previous research on the division of household labor provides valuable insight into the mechanism underlying household gender inequality in terms of both individual- and societal-level characteristics. However, partly because of the lack of datasets, almost no attention has been paid to the impact of personal preferences with regard to the family distribution of paid and unpaid labor on the actual divisions of housework. The attitudes toward preferred work-family arrangement between partners are likely to be associated with the actual divisions of domestic labor. For instance, women who prefer the traditional divisions of labor may participate less in paid work, do more housework, and be less egalitarian. On the contrary, women who do not favor the traditional division of labor may participate more in the labor market, perform less housework, and be more egalitarian. Disentangling the influence of preferences on work-family arrangement on the actual division of household labor can contribute to the previous literature on the division of household labor by testing the association of housework divisions with previously unexplored characteristics.

In this regard, preference theory elaborated by Hakim (2000, 2003) provides a useful framework for the relationship between personal preferences on the division of labor and the actual distribution of housework. Preference theory posits that women are heterogeneous in their preferences and priorities for work-family life, and they have genuine choices about how to shape their work and family lives on the basis of three different lifestyles: adoptive, work-centered, or home-centered (Hakim 2003: 355, 358-359). The distinctive feature of preference theory involves the causal explanation between personal preferences and behavior. Hakim (2003) argues that personal preferences are defined as causal factors in modern affluent societies, and in

broad terms preferences can predict outcomes (Hakim 2003: 355, 364). Although there are ongoing debates over the aptness of preference theory for explaining women's lives to combine work and family life (for example, see Leahy and Doughney 2006), some ideas of preference theory—such as the growing importance of personal preferences as an influential factor for work and family life in modern societies, and the causal explanations centered on women's preferences on their work-family choices—can help us deepen our understanding of the underlying mechanisms of the domestic division of labor.

Given the link between personal preferences and individuals' choices for work and family life, the impact of preferences on the division of household labor is likely to be stronger in modern societies, in which individuals gain more freedoms and options for their family and personal lives with the spread of individualization. Sociological theories of late modernity argue that unlike the past, in which family and personal life was largely regulated by the social norms, the power of social norms and institutions has weakened in contemporary societies, while the role of personal choice to make a decision about individuals' lives has become important (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002; Giddens 1991, 1992). In his work that examines the changes in the meaning of marriage during the past few decades, Cherlin argues that marriage in the United States (and possibly in other Western modernized countries also) has undergone a process of deinstitutionalization along with the weakening of social norms and the expanding roles of personal choice (Cherlin 2004: 848). These works suggest the importance of personal choice for family life in modern societies on the one hand and the growing roles of personal preferences in relation to their decision-making on the other.

In order to examine the influence of preferences on work-family arrangement on the actual divisions of housework, it is important to consider national contexts because individual-

level gender relations as well as expectations for work and family life are socially constructed (West and Zimmerman 1987; Ferree et al. 1999). Country-level gender equality is particularly important to understanding cross-national variations in the division of household labor. Previous comparative studies have shown that housework arrangements between women and men considerably vary depending on country-level gender equality (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Fuwa 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Greenstein 2009; Ruppanner 2010a; Treas and Tai 2016). Specifically, individuals in egalitarian countries tend to divide household labor with their partner more equally. Although work-family arrangement has not yet been explicitly examined in a cross-national setting, it is reasonably expected that individuals in egalitarian countries may prefer to organize their work and family life in an egalitarian way.

Another important structural condition related to preferences on work-family arrangement and the divisions of household labor is women's labor force participation in each country. With women's increased participation in the labor market, the dominant family model has changed from the male-breadwinner/female-homemaker to the dual-earner model in most industrial societies, which necessarily leads to the need of changes in work-family arrangements. Hence, in countries with high rates of female labor force participation, both women and men are likely to prefer dual-earner family models (either part-time or full-time) than a traditional male breadwinner model. Nonetheless, women's increased labor force participation has not yet comparably led to men's increasing involvement in domestic labor (Bianchi et al. 2000; Coltrane 2000; Hochschild 1989). Given little changes in men's housework participation, reducing the amount of time spent in domestic labor would be the best way for women to deal with their double burden in both paid work and domestic labor in a society where women are expected to

participate more in paid work as an important income earner for households. Thus, it is plausible that women in countries with higher rates of female labor force participation may do less housework, while men's household labor may be relatively unaffected by country's female labor force participation.

Along with country's gender equal climate and female labor force participation, economic development is often regarded as one of the key national contexts that have a major influence on changes in traditional gender roles and in the way that people organize their work and family lives due to social changes caused by economic development (Fuwa 2004; Jansen et al., 2016; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018). Researchers also find that cross-national differences in state regimes have implications for the division of household labor in terms of gender inequality at home (Davis and Greenstein 2004; Geist 2005; Kornrich and Eger 2016).

Thus far, I have reviewed prior studies about the division of household labor by putting emphases on the importance of comparative perspectives and on the void that has received limited attention from family scholarship. Previous comparative research on housework has revealed that national contexts play a significant role in understanding the gender division of household labor. Yet, there is a lack of studies which examine the effects of preferences on work-family arrangement regarding the actual divisions of housework from a comparative perspective, despite the expanding roles of personal preferences and choices for their work and family lives in modern societies. This calls for the further cross-national research on the division of household labor with a consideration of the explanatory power of personal preferences, which I address in Chapter 4.1 of my dissertation.

2.3. Work-Family Conflict and Gender Inequality in Household Labor

Work-family conflict has been the subject of extensive research in the past few decades (Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Eby et al. 2005). With the considerable advancement of women's labor force participation, the dominant family model has been largely shifted to the dual-earner families from the breadwinner model in most industrial countries. Unlike couples in the traditional family model, in which men take primary responsibility for earning in the labor market while women play a major role in household and care work at home, couples in the dual-earner household need to deal with the (re)distribution of paid and unpaid work between partners. As a consequence, work-family tensions and/or incompatibilities has been growing for both women and men (Nomaguchi 2009; Winslow 2005). Previous findings show that work-family conflict has the deleterious effects on individuals' lives in general. Work-family conflict is associated with a number of negative consequences, including psychological distress, reduced satisfaction with job and family, less occupational commitment, increased marital tensions, and poorer performance of the parenting role (for a review, see Eby et al. 2005; Frone 2003; Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1999). Given this, examining factors relating to work-family conflict has become an important issue of social science scholarship and public policy (Allen et al. 2000).

Work and family researchers have attempted to identify the different forms and types of work-family conflict (Netemeyer et al. 1996). Notably, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) define work-family conflict as "a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (p. 77). This definition is based on theories of role conflict and interrole conflict (Kahn et al. 1964). Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) assume that the demands in the workplace, which require a certain amount of time and

energy for individuals, make them difficult to fulfill the demands at home and vice versa. Given this, they propose three forms of work-family conflict: (a) time-based conflict, (b) strain-based conflict, and (c) behavioral-based conflict. More specifically, time-based conflict occurs when time spent on requirements within one role makes it difficult to fulfill requirements of another, strain-based conflict occurs when the strain from activities within one role makes it difficult to comply with the demands of another, and behavioral-based conflict occurs when specific behavior in one role is not compatible with expected behaviors in another role (pp. 77-82).

Nowadays, the definition of work-family conflict proposed by Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) is most widely used in work and family research.

While earlier studies contributed to distinguishing the different forms of work-family conflict, the direction of work-family conflict has received attention in recent years (Duxbury et al. 1994; Frone et al. 1992; Gutek et al. 1991). Although work-family conflict occurs when role requirements from the work and family domains are not compatible with each other, its features and aspects might vary depending on whether such conflict results from work interfering with family (WIF) or family interfering with work (FIW). For example, Gutek et al. (1991) find that conflict arising from family responsibilities (FIW) operates differently than conflict arising from paid work duties (WIF) using two separate samples of psychologists from the American Psychological Association and senior managers in a university-based executive education program. Given these findings, they suggest that WIF and FIW are separable and relatively independent of each other. Additionally, Carlson and her colleagues (2000) further a multidimensional measure of work-family conflict by combining three forms (time, strain, and behavior) and two directions (WIF and FIW) of conflict. After performing a set of analyses with those items, they conclude that each of the scales is differentially related to consequences of

work-family conflict. These findings indicate the importance of considering both forms and direction of work-family conflict in a given context.

Given the salient adverse effect of work-family conflict and the increasing sense of work-family conflict across the globe over the past decades, a large literature has examined factors that contribute to the change in work-family conflict (Allen et al. 2012; Batt and Valcour 2003; Dex and Bond 2005; Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Kinnunen and Mauno 1998; Kinnunen et al. 2004; Maume and Houston 2001; Voydanoff 2007; White et al. 2003). Based on the nature of work-family conflict that makes role pressures in the work and family domains mutually incompatible, most studies have been done on two main axes: One is work characteristics that make it difficult to fulfill the family demands, and the other is family characteristics that make it difficult to fulfill the work demands. With respect to work characteristics, prior research finds a strong relationship between job characteristics, workplace conditions, and work-family conflict (Batt and Valcour 2003; Grzywacz and Marks 2000; Maume and Houston 2001; White et al. 2003). Grzywacz and Marks (2000) find that work and family factors that facilitated development (e.g., decision latitude and family support) are associated with less negative and more positive spillover between work and family, while work and family barriers (e.g., job pressure and family disagreements) are associated with more negative spillover and less positive spillover between work and family. Using a sample of white-collar workers, Maume and Houston (2001) find that work hours are positively associated with work-family conflict. White et al. (2003) demonstrate that alongside long work hours, employer's 'high-performance' practices (e.g., appraisal systems, group-working practices, and performance-related pay) have a negative impact on work-family conflict. These results indicate that job characteristics play a significant role in producing work-family conflict.

Previous studies also show that variables related to the roles and demands within families are significantly associated with work-family conflict (Dex and Bond 2005; Kinnunen and Mauno 1998; Kinnunen et al. 2004; Maume and Houston 2001; Voydanoff 2007). For instance, the presence of children is strongly associated with work-family conflict. Having a child not only requires more time and effort in terms of child care but also increases overall time spent on housework. This makes it difficult to fulfill the demands of other roles at work, and thus people who have children are more likely to experience work-family conflict (Voydanoff 2007). Gender also appears to be one of most powerful determinants of who experience more or less work-family conflict. Even though the dominant family model has been largely shifted to the dual-earner families from the breadwinner model in most industrial societies, women still do the majority of household labor in a context of the stalled revolution (Bianchi et al. 2000; Coltrane 2000; Hochschild 1989). The disproportionate family distribution of paid and unpaid labor may create more role pressures and interrole conflict for women, which results in gender differences in work-family conflict (Cinamon and Rich 2002; Duxbury and Higgins 1991; Duxbury et al. 1994). In a similar vein, housework divisions may also have uneven impacts on men's and women's work-family conflict. Given the gendered nature of housework, women are expected to be more responsible for domestic labor than men, regardless of their socioeconomic status. Therefore, even if men and women spend the same amount of time on their work and family lives, women likely feel more pressures and strains for their family responsibilities than men because of gendered social norms and role expectations that impose the primary family responsibilities for women (Milky and Peltola 1999). Such a gendered nature of household labor may lead to the stronger effects of unequal divisions of housework on work-family conflict for women than men.

Aside from individual-level characteristics, country-level characteristics play a crucial role in people's experiences of work-family conflict (Allen et al. 2015; Ollier-Malaterre et al. 2013). Earlier comparative research on work-family conflict utilized a small number of countries largely centered on Europe (e.g., Crompton and Lyonette 2006; Gornick and Meyers 2003; Hochschild 1997; Nordenmark 2004; Ruppanner 2008; Strandh and Nordenmark 2006). However, with the increased availability of cross-national datasets, growing attention has been paid to cross-national variations in work-family conflict by considering various macro-level contextual factors (Edlund 2007; Stier et al. 2012). Using the sample of working couples in 29 countries, Edlund (2007) shows that the likelihood of achieving work-family balance varies systematically according to the level of modernization (i.e., GDP per capita) and types of family regimes (i.e., the market-oriented, familialist, and de-familialist regime). He further finds that although the overall probability of work-family balance increases with the wealth of a country, women's disadvantage of work-family conflict persist because modernization transforms the female disadvantage from a dual work-overload situation in poor countries to an occupational work-overload in the rich countries (Edlund 2007). On the other hand, Stier and colleagues' (2012) study of the relationship between social policies and work-family conflict in 27 countries shows that women on average report higher levels of work-family conflict than men, and that working long hours, having young children, and holding more demanding jobs all contribute to increased work-family conflict at the individual-level, while the state policy providing day care centers for young children allow parents to better balance their work and family demands at the country-level (Stier et al. 2012). To sum up, the recent cross-national research on work-family conflict underscores the important role of national contexts played in individuals' work-family conflict, as well as gender differences in work-family conflict.

Among macro-level contextual factors, the significant role of country-level gender equality in family and housework are well documented, but the effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict in terms of the gender division of household labor has not been explicitly examined. Nonetheless, previous cross-national studies provide important insight for the possible influence of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict. Findings show that country-level gender equality—typically measured by country-level gender equity or country’s average gender ideology—plays a significant role in family processes, such as the divisions of household labor, perceptions of fairness of that division, satisfaction with family life, and marital quality (Bataloa and Cohen 2002; Braun et al. 2008; Davis 2010; Forste and Fox 2012; Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018; Jansen et al. 2016; Kornrich and Eger 2016; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Öun 2013; Ruppanner 2010a, 2010b; Treas and Tai 2016). Women in more egalitarian countries not only share housework with their partners more equally but also benefit more from their individual-level assets in the negotiation over housework with their partners (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Fuwa 2004; Greenstein 2009; Ruppanner 2010; Treas and Tai 2016). Furthermore, people living in countries with a higher level of gender equality tend to strongly perceive a large share of housework as unfair, and the effect of the actual division of housework on perceived fairness is stronger in those countries (Braun et al. 2008, Greenstein 2009; Jansen et al. 2016; Öun 2013). Similarly, country-level gender equality appears to be a significant predictor of women’s family life satisfaction, and the negative effect of perceived unfairness on family life satisfaction is also stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality (Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Kornrich and Eger 2016s).

This line of research underscores that mechanisms of the division of household labor and related-family processes are highly associated with country-level gender equality.

Considering the close link between the division of household labor and work-family conflict, the similar process can be applied to explaining cross-national variations in work-family conflict. Previous comparative studies to date have shown that housework arrangements between women and men considerably vary depending on country-level gender equality, and people in egalitarian countries tend to share household labor more equally with their partner (Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Treas and Tai 2016). Therefore, individuals—particularly women—in more egalitarian countries may experience less work-family conflict due to the relatively equal divisions of household labor. On the other hand, it might also be possible that people in egalitarian countries may report more work-family conflict because they are likely to be more sensitive and/or have higher expectations to gender equality within the family, and thus they may perceive gendered responsibilities of household labor as more unfair.

Although a particular direction of the effect of country-level gender inequality on work-family conflict still needs to be tested, the recent meta-analytic research provides useful insights for the relationship between country-level gender equality and work-family conflict. By meta-analytically examining mean differences in work-family conflict across multiple macro-level factors, Allen and colleagues (2015) conclude that work-family conflict is higher in countries with a higher gender gap. In other word, individuals who live in countries with a higher, rather than lower, level of gender equality experience less work-family conflict. They also find that among various macro-level factors, country-level gender equality—measured by the gender gap index—appears to be the most powerful differentiator (Allen et al. 2015). Based on these findings, it is expected that individuals in countries with greater gender equality may experience

less work-family conflict, compared to their counterparts living in countries with a lower level of gender equality.

Meanwhile, considering work-family conflict as a gendered process, the influence of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict may differ by gender. While much of comparative research investigating the role of country-level gender equality in terms of the division of housework has been done with the female sample (i.e., Fuwa 2004, Greenstein 2009, Braun et al. 2008) or without considering the interactive effect of gender (i.e., Forste and Fox 2012), recent studies examining both female and male samples find gender differences in the influence of country-level gender equality. Jansen and colleagues' (2016) results show that country-level gender role attitudes significantly affect perceived fairness of the division of housework only for women. In the study examining individual- and national-level factors that affect spouses' absolute and relative housework, Knudsen and Wærness (2008) find that wives' absolute amount of housework are primarily affected by GEM, while husbands' are affected more by GDP. On the other hand, Ruppanner's (2010a) research on conflict over the divisions of housework shows that national contexts, like societal gender equality and full-time female labor force participation, affect women's and men's housework conflict in the same way. These mixed results with respect to the role of country-level gender equality on family processes might be partly due to differences in main variables of interest, methods, as well as data. Examining these gaps can contribute to extending our knowledge in the cross-national research on work-family conflict and the division of household labor as well. This suggests that cross-national research examining work-family conflict should consider the possible gender differences in the influence of national contexts.

Although important, comparative studies of work-family conflict are relatively scant compared to other family-related research, such as the division of household labor, perceptions of fairness of that division, and individuals' well-being in family life. Examining work-family conflict with respect to unequal gender relations from a comparative perspective has received insufficient attention from family scholars. In the area of the gender division of household labor, housework has been more often addressed as an outcome (Kluwer et al. 1996, 1997) or mainly discussed as a predictor in a context of perceptions of fairness or subjective well-being. In the area of work-family conflict, more attention has been paid to consequences associated with work-family conflict (Allen et al. 2000). To my knowledge, the relationship between individual-level work-family conflict and country-level gender equality in a context of the gender division of household labor has not been explicitly addressed. There is a notable exception examining housework conflict with an emphasis on both individual-level housework and national-level gender equality from a comparative perspective (Ruppner 2010a). However, strictly speaking, this research focuses on conflict over the division of housework (i.e., the extent to which individuals have conflict with their partner about how to divide the housework), not work-family conflict (i.e., interrole conflict that occurs due to the competing roles of the work and family domains). This study also includes only European countries, so we cannot observe cross-national differences from a broader international perspective. This suggests the need for further comparative research on the association between work-family conflict, country-level gender equality, and the division of housework using the dataset with a wider set of countries. I seek to address this void in Chapter 4.2 of my dissertation.

2.4. What Makes People Satisfied with Family Life? The Role of Division of Household Labor, Perceptions of Fairness, and Work-Family Conflict in Family Life Satisfaction

As stated, despite considerable improvements in women's educational attainment and labor force participation, women still take primary responsibility for housework and childcare in most societies, regardless of the individual- and national-level characteristics (Hook 2006; Geist and Cohen 2011). Given disproportionate domestic responsibilities between women and men, a number of studies have examined how the gendered division of household labor affects individuals' subjective well-being, such as marital satisfaction, life happiness, and psychological distress (Baxter 2000; Baxter and Western 1998; Bird 1999; Erickson 1993; Greenstein 1996; Hawkins et al 1995; Kluwer et al. 2002; Lye and Biblarz 1993; MacDonald et al. 2005; Major 1993; Piña and Bengston 1993; Roxburgh 2002, 2004; Sanchez 1994; Voydanoff and Donnelly 1999; Yogev and Brett 1985). Overall, prior studies demonstrate that the unequal division of housework has a significant negative effect on subjective well-being, particularly for women.

Among a set of well-being indicators, family life satisfaction has received continued interest. Satisfaction with family life is not only a good indicator of assessing a level of one's well-being within the family processes but also a significant factor to be linked to mental and behavioral health problems, such as depression, anxiety disorder, suicidality, and substance dependence (Headey et al. 1993, Fergusson et al 2015). Given the persistence of the gender division of household labor, growing attention has been paid to individuals'—largely women's—satisfaction with family life as the outcome of gender inequality at home. Because men do substantially less housework than women in most societies, women's disadvantage of family life satisfaction with respect to the unequal divisions of household labor is reasonably expected. In this regard, previous literature has focused much more on women's satisfaction than men's (Kornrich and Eger 2016) and considered a mediating or intervening factor on such a negative

association between the unequal division of household labor and family life satisfaction (Coltrane 2000).

Notably, most studies find that individuals' gender role ideology is extremely important to the relationship between the housework divisions and family life satisfaction (Baxter 2000; Baxter and Western 1998; Greenstein 1996; Kluwer et al. 2002; Major 1993; Roxburgh 2004; Sanchez 1994; Voydanoff and Donnelly 1999). Gender ideology matters because people's life-quality assessment largely depends on how they judge their division of labor as fair or unfair, and such a judgement is closely linked to gender role expectations that they hold. Even though women do the lion's share of housework, they may perceive current unbalanced housework arrangements as fair if they strongly agree with the traditional division of labor based on stereotypical gender role expectations (Benin and Agostinelli 1988; Berk 1985; Greenstein 1996; Pleck 1985; Yogevev 1981). Accordingly, the negative effect of unequal division of housework on their satisfaction will decrease, compared to their egalitarian counterparts (Greenstein 1996). This suggests that the association between the housework divisions and family life satisfaction is not straightforward, rather an interaction involving gender ideology and housework division should be taken into account as a key mechanism of this assessment process regarding family life satisfaction. This notion is well supported by an extensive body of literature showing that the antecedents, consequences, and interpretations of family processes are conditional upon individuals' gender role ideology (Benin and Agostinelli 1988; Berk 1985; Lavee and Katz 2002; Mikula 1998; Pleck 1985).

While previous household labor research before the 1990s focused more on the actual division of household labor (i.e., one's weekly hours spent on housework or one's share of housework), growing attention has been paid to perceptions of fairness of that division (Blair and

Johnson 1992; Greenstein 1996; Hawkins, Marshall, and Meiners 1995; Sanchez and Kane 1996; see also Coltrane 2000). It is typically expected that individuals—mostly women—who do a larger share of housework are more likely to perceive their share of housework as unfair.

However, despite unbalanced distribution of household labor between women and men, many women and men feel such unequal distributions of housework as fair (Mikula 1998; Lennon and Rosenfeld 1994; Greenstein 1996). This suggests that the actual division of household labor does not directly determine perceptions of fairness of that division, and other factors may play a role in shaping perceptions of fairness with respect to the actual division of housework.

Understanding such a discordance between actual and perceived inequality in the division of housework is important and perceptions of fairness play a significant role in the link between the actual division of household labor and subjective satisfaction with family life (Braun et al. 2008; Greenstein 1996, 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018; Lavee and Katz 2002; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994). In this regard, researchers attempted to find factors affecting fairness evaluations about housework. Specifically, findings show that women who are less educated, who are not employed in the labor market, and who hold more traditional gender role ideology perceive the current unequal housework divisions to be fair (Blair and Johnson 1992; DeMaris and Longmore 1996; Greenstein 1996; Lennon and Rosenfield 1994; Robinson and Spitze 1992; Sanchez and Kane 1996). Among these factors, gender ideology appears to play a crucial role, as expected given the gendered nature of the division of household labor. Gender ideology significantly moderates not only the effect of housework on perceived fairness, but also the effect of perceived fairness on women's marital quality (Greenstein 1996). These findings underline the importance of perceived fairness of the housework division to life-quality assessment on the one hand and the role of gender ideology as a key moderator in that process on the other.

Another key factor affecting family life satisfaction is work-family conflict. During the past decades, there have been substantial changes in gender roles, particularly in paid work. Women's continuing integration into the labor market has led to a considerable increase in dual-earner couples who need to cope with their dual roles as both economic and care providers of the household, which results in growing work-family tensions and/or incompatibilities for both women and men. Therefore, examining antecedents and consequences of work-family conflict has become an important issues for social science scholars and policy makers (Allen et al. 2000). Examining the role of work-family conflict in the association between the divisions of housework and family life satisfaction is especially important in light of the consistently adverse effects of work-family conflict. Evidence shows that work-family conflict has significant, deleterious impacts on individuals' lives in general (for a review, see Eby et al. 2005; Frone 2003; Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1999). Work-family conflict is associated with a number of negative consequences, including psychological distress, reduced job satisfaction, less occupational commitment, increased marital tensions, and poorer performance of parenting roles. Likewise, work-family conflict negatively affects individuals' satisfaction with family life, regardless of gender as well as the type of work-family conflict (e.g., work interfering with family or family interfering with work). Given existing findings of significant, adverse effects of work-family conflict, it is reasonably expected that work-family conflict may have a negative influence on women's and men's family life satisfaction, along with the unequal division of housework and perceptions of unfairness.

In addition to individual-level factors, national contexts also play a significant role in the process of shaping women's and men's satisfaction. Recent comparative studies reveal that the division of household labor and its relationship with family life are situated in cultural,

institutional, and economic aspects of country-level characteristics (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Baxter 1997; Baxter and Tai 2016; Braun et al. 2008; Davis and Greenstein 2004; Fuwa 2004, 2014; Fuwa and Cohen 2007; Geist 2005; Greenstein 2009; Hori and Kamo 2014; Hook 2006, 2010; Jansen et al., 2016; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Öun 2013; Ruppanner 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Stier et al. 2001; Yodanis 2005). In particular, country-level gender equality—which is typically measured by GEM scores, gender wage gap, or aggregate gender role ideology—is consistently observed as an important factor affecting the division of household labor as well as housework-related family life (Batalova and Cohen 2002; Braun et al. 2008; Fuwa 2004; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Kornrich and Eger 2016; Greenstein 2009; Geist and Cohen 2011; Hori and Kamo 2014; Hu and Yucel 2018; Öun 2013; Ruppanner 2010a, 2010b; Jansen et al., 2016; Treas and Tai 2016). The division of household labor is embedded in social norms and role expectations of the time. Thus, gender equal atmosphere in a given society may function as a key contextual variable influencing the division of housework, as well as its relationship with family processes. Economic development is often regarded as one of the key national contexts that have a major influence on changes in traditional gender roles and in the way that people organize their work and family lives due to social changes caused by economic development (Fuwa 2004; Jansen et al., 2016; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018). Researchers also find that cross-national differences in state regimes have implications for the division of household labor in terms of gender inequality (Davis and Greenstein 2004; Geist 2005; Kornrich and Eger 2016).

Comparative studies examining the relationship between the gender division of housework and family life satisfaction is still scant, but recent cross-national studies shed light on the importance of country-level gender equality on that association. (Greenstein 2009;

Kornrich and Eger 2016; Hu and Yucel 2019). Building on relative deprivation theory, Greenstein (2009) finds that country-level gender equality moderates not only the association between the actual division of housework and perceptions of fairness but also the association between perceptions of fairness and family life satisfaction, for women. Kornrich and Eger (2016) extend the scope of comparative research on family life satisfaction by considering men's family life satisfaction and perceptions of fairness, which is determined by different processes from women's. Conducting separate multilevel models for women and men, they find that relative deprivation theory does not explain men's family life satisfaction, while women's satisfaction is well explained by relative deprivation framework. Hu and Yucel (2018) underscore distinct dimensions of women's fairness comparison. They distinguish two major dimensions of women's fairness comparison (i.e., inter-gender relational comparison between partners and intra-gender referential comparison within country) and conclude that not only do two dimensions of fairness comparison operate independently of each other, but also country-level gender equality plays out differently for each dimension. These studies provide valuable insights for cross-national research on family life satisfaction, with respect to the division of household labor and perceptions of fairness. Yet, the role of work-family conflict, which has been consistently found as a significant factor affecting individuals' family life satisfaction, has received insufficient attention in this context. Given prior findings of the strong negative effect of work-family conflict on individuals' satisfaction, it is reasonably expected that work-family conflict is negatively associated with family life satisfaction for both women and men. Moreover, in light of the different nature between work-family conflict and gender division of housework, it is expected that the possible negative effect of work-family conflict on family life

satisfaction would be largely independent of the negative effects of unequal housework division as well as unfairness perceptions of that division.

Although there are few studies examining the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction cross-nationally, the recent meta-analytic research on work-family conflict offer insights into the important role of country-level gender equality in that association. Allen and colleagues (2015) investigate cultural, institutional, and economic aspects of national contexts in explaining mean-differences in work-family conflict across countries and find that the country's gender gap index is the most powerful differentiator. Work-family conflict appears to be higher in countries with a higher gender gap. In other words, individuals in lower gender gap countries (i.e., countries with a higher level of gender equality) report less work-family conflict than their counterparts living in higher gender gap countries (i.e., countries with a lower level of gender equality). The negative association between work-family conflict and greater gender equality at the county-level might be because that individuals in more egalitarian countries divide household labor more equally with their partner. On the other hand, more egalitarian countries may likely have more developed social policies and infrastructure systems to mitigate individuals' work-family incompatibilities, which might help reduce the average levels of work-family conflict in those countries. The link between work-family conflict and country-level gender equality has an important implication for the moderating role of country-level gender equality in family life satisfaction. According to relative deprivation theory, individuals judge outcomes based on a comparative referent, and the choice of such a referent is situated by national contexts (Crosby 1976). From this framework, the possible negative association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction would be stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality, since individuals who experience higher levels

of work-family conflict in more egalitarian countries would be more relatively deprived. Further, there might be gender differences in the moderating effect of country-level gender equality, as the recent empirical research finds that relative deprivation framework does not fit well in explaining men's satisfaction (Kornrich and Eger 2016). Taken together, this suggests that the effect of work-family conflict on family life satisfaction may vary by country-level gender equality, with the possible differential effect of country-level gender equality on women's and men's satisfaction.

Researchers have examined the relationship between the unequal division of housework, perceptions of unfairness of that division, and family life satisfaction across countries. To my knowledge, however, the role of work-family conflict in the association between the division of housework, perceived fairness, and family life satisfaction in a cross-national setting has not ever been addressed, even though there is solid evidence of the strong adverse effect of work-family conflict on the family processes. In Chapter 4.3, I expand on previous cross-national research on family life satisfaction by disentangling the potential, negative effect of work-family conflict. I also test the possible moderating role of country-level gender equality by investigating whether and how the effect of work-family conflict varies by country-level gender equality, as well as whether the moderating effect of country-level gender equality varies by gender.

2.5. Research Objectives and Hypotheses

In light of the literature I have reviewed so far, I examine three major topics of comparative family scholarship with the following hypotheses in the rest of my dissertation.

In Chapter 4.1, I examine the relationship between individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement and the actual division of household labor from a comparative perspective. In a context of the growing individualization of family and personal lives in modern, affluent

societies, the actual division of housework is likely to be affected by individuals' preferences on how they want to organize their work and family life with their partner. Thus, I expect that personal preferences on work-family arrangement are associated with the actual division of household labor for both women and men. Further, a growing number of comparative research shows that national contexts play a significant role in explaining the division of housework across countries. Building on previous findings, I expect that cross-national variations in the division of housework in terms of preferences on work-family arrangement can be explained by the macro-level differences in cultural, structural, and economic aspects of context, which are measured by country's egalitarian gender ideology, welfare state regimes, female labor force participation, and GDP. Finally, in light of the nature of the division of housework as the highly gendered process, I expect that there are gender differences in the effects of individual- and country-level variables. As a result, I test the following three hypotheses in Chapter 4.1:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement are associated with the actual division of household labor for both women and men.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals' share of household labor is conditional upon national contexts, which are measured by egalitarian gender ideology, female labor force participation, GDP, and welfare state regimes.

Hypothesis 3: There are gender differences in the effects of individual- and country-level variables on the division of household labor.

In Chapter 4.2, I address the association between country-level gender equality and individual-level work-family conflict in a context of the gender division of household labor. With the considerable improvement of women's labor force participation, the dominant family model has been largely shifted to dual-earner families in which couples struggle to balance their

work and family lives. Yet, women are still expected to be more devoted than men to housework and child care in most societies. In this regard, I expect that women experience more work-family conflict than men, and the effect of household labor on work-family conflict are stronger for women than for men. Moreover, consistent with previous research that find strong associations between national contexts and the family processes, I expect that country-level gender equality plays a significant role in explaining work-family conflict. Specifically, in light of recent meta-analytic research showing the negative link between work-family conflict and greater gender equality at the country-level (Allen et al. 2015), I expect that individuals living in countries with a higher level of gender equality may experience less work-family conflict. Finally, given inconsistent findings about gender differences in the effects of national contexts on the family processes, I explore whether and how the effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict differs for men and women, by testing two competing hypotheses. To sum up, I posit the following hypotheses in Chapter 4.2:

Hypothesis 4: Women experience more work-family conflict than men.

Hypothesis 5: The effect of household labor on work-family conflict are stronger for women than for men.

Hypothesis 6: individuals may experience less work-family conflict in countries with a higher level of gender equality.

Hypothesis 7a: The effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict varies by gender.

Hypothesis 7b: The effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict does not vary by gender.

In Chapter 4.3, I investigate the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction across countries. Recent cross-national research has revealed that the unequal division of household labor and unfairness perceptions of that division are negatively associated with family life satisfaction. However, the influence of work-family conflict on that association has received insufficient attention. Given existing evidence showing the salient adverse effect of work-family conflict on the family processes, I expect that work-family conflict is negatively associated with family life satisfaction for both women and men, net of the housework division, perceptions of fairness, and other individual controls. Moreover, based on the link between work-family conflict and country-level gender equality, as well as building on the relative deprivation framework, I expect that the possible negative association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction is stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality. Finally, in light of recent empirical finding showing that relative deprivation framework does not fit well in explaining men's satisfaction (Kornrich and Eger 2016), I expect that the moderating effect of country-level gender equality on the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction differs by gender. As a result, I test the following hypotheses in Chapter 4.3:

Hypothesis 8: Work-family conflict is negatively associated with family life satisfaction for both women and men, net of individual controls.

Hypothesis 9: The negative association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction is stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality.

Hypothesis 10: The moderating effect of country-level gender equality on the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction differs by gender.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Data

I utilize data from the 2012 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), a continuing annual program of cross-national collaboration over 40 countries (ISSP Research Group 2016). Given the purpose of this study aiming to analyze the cross-national variations in the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction, cross-national data sets composed of a large number of countries are necessary. The ISSP is one of the few international data sets that provide a broad array of cross-sectional surveys of nationally representative samples of adults (Haller et al. 2009). Moreover, the 2012 ISSP is the most recent module on family and changing gender roles, which provides a wealth of information about housework and related aspects of family life across countries. In particular, the 2012 module contains measures about the division of household labor, perceptions of fairness of housework division, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction, along with a variety of measures about individuals' socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. The 2012 ISSP module also includes a new question about preferences on work-family arrangement, which is one of the key measures of this study. As of 2014, the ISSP has 49 members, and the following 41 countries participated in the 2012 module: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Iceland, India, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Korea (South), Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, the Netherland, Norway, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, the United States, and Venezuela.

Among the countries participating in the 2012 ISSP module, I have excluded some from the analyses. Turkey was excluded because of the lack of data on the number of children, which

is one of the key predictors affecting the amount of housework and related aspects of family life. China and India were excluded due to a shortage on information on the number of hours spent on paid work by the partner. China also has an unreliable measure for the education variable, which is measured every three years until twelve years of education, and capped at 16 years. Finally, I consider only persons who are at least 18 years old throughout the study.

3.2. Measures

3.2.1. Individual-Level Measures

Hours spent on household labor. The amount of time respondents spend on housework is measured by the question, “On average, how many hours a week do you personally spend on household work, not including childcare and leisure time activities?” Respondents are also asked about the weekly housework hours performed by their spouse/partner, which measured by the question “And what about your spouse/partner? On average, how many hours a week does she/he personally spend on household work, not including childcare and leisure time activities?” As such, this variable indicates the exact hours of household labor a respondent or their spouse/partner performed, respectively, and both measures are only based on the respondent’s report, not their actual spouse/partner’s report.

Respondents’ perceived share of household labor. Based on the above two measures, the relative measure of household labor is calculated by dividing respondents’ hours spent on housework by the sum of both respondents’ and their spouse/partner’s housework hours. Although some households may outsource domestic labor by purchasing services or may receive support from other family members (e.g., their parents), such information is not available in the 2012 ISSP data. Thus, this measure reflects the respondent’s relative share of the couple’s housework time, without considering housework done by a third person. I express the

respondent's relative share of housework as a percentage by multiplying by 100. As a result, the measure ranges between 0 and 100, with 0 indicating that the respondent performs none of the housework and 100 indicating that the respondent performs all of the housework.

Perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor. Perceptions of fairness of the division of household labor are measured by the question, "Which of the following best applies to the sharing of household work between you and your spouse/partner?" The response categories are (a) "I do much more than my fair share of the household work," (b) "I do a bit more than my fair share of the household work," (c) "I do roughly my fair share of the household work," (d) "I do a bit less than my fair share of the household work," and (e) "I do much less than my fair share of the household work." Although perceived fairness of the division of housework has been increasingly used in comparative housework research, this measure was operationalized inconsistently. For example, Greenstein (2009) measured it as a continuous variable, coded 1 = "I do much more than my fair share of the household work" through 5 = "I do much less than my fair share of the household work," so that "higher scores indicate higher levels of perceived fairness of the division of household labor" (p. 1043). On the other hand, Öun (2013) recoded this variable with three levels of categories, "where the highest level means that the respondent sees the division of household work as fair. The middle level indicates that the respondent or partner perceives that he or she does a bit less than his or her fair share of the household work, and the lowest level means that the respondent or partner perceives that he or she does much less than his or her fair share" (p.407). Finally, Jansen et al. (2016) measured this as a multinomial variable by collapsing the original variable into three categories indicating doing one's fair share, doing more than one's fair share, and doing less than one's fair share (p.58). Following Jansen and colleagues' work (2016), I measured perceived fairness as a set of

two binary variables indicating that a respondent perceives it as “doing more than one’s fair share of housework” or “doing less than one’s fair share of housework.” The reference category is doing roughly one’s fair share of housework. As an additional robustness check, I estimated the same regression models including four dummy variables and found almost identical estimates.

Preferences on work-family arrangement. Preferences on work-family arrangement are measured by the question, “Consider a family with a child under school age. What, in your opinion, is the best way for them to organize their family and work life?” Response categories are “The mother stays at home and the father works full-time,” “The mother works part-time and the father works full-time,” “Both the mother and the father work full-time,” “Both the mother and the father work part-time,” “The father works part-time and the mother works full-time,” and “The father stays at home and the mother works full-time.” Because a small proportion of responses often causes reliability issues, I excluded the last two responses from analyses (e.g., less than 1% for both responses). Then, I created a set of three binary variables, indicating whether a respondent prefers (a) male full-time/female part-time, (b) both full-time workers, or (c) both part-time workers model. The reference category is the male breadwinner/female homemaker model.

Work-family conflict. Work-family conflict is measured by the responses to four statements, which respectively indicate four different types of incompatibility of work and family demands: “I have come home from work too tired to do the chores which need to be done,” “It has been difficult for me to fulfil my family responsibilities because of the amount of time I spent on my job,” “I have arrived at work too tired to function well because of the household work I had done,” and “I have found it difficult to concentrate at work because of my

family responsibilities.” With regard to these four statements, respondents are asked “How often has each of the following happened to you during the past three months?” The response categories are, “Several times a week,” “Several times a month,” “Once or twice,” or “Never.” For analytic purposes, responses were coded from “1 = Never” to “4 = Several times a week.” Meanwhile, note that the first two questions are related to WIF (i.e., work interference with family), while the last two are linked to FIW (i.e. family interference with work). In light of the literature on the different nature between WIF and FIW, I conducted a factor analysis for these four statements. The results showed that all four statements retain one factor with a high level of reliability ($\alpha = .74$). This is also consistent with the previous study that used the same work-family conflict items but in the different wave of 2002 ISSP data (Stier et al. 2012). Therefore, I use the single factor structure of work-family conflict regardless of the direction of work-family conflict, while keeping the different nature of WIF and FIW in mind.

Family life satisfaction. Respondents are asked, “All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life?” The response categories are “Completely satisfied,” “Very satisfied,” “Fairly satisfied,” “Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied,” “Fairly dissatisfied,” “Very dissatisfied,” and “Completely dissatisfied.” For analytic purposes, and consistent with previous studies (Greenstein 2009; Kornrich and Eger 2016), I coded these responses ranging from “1 = Completely dissatisfied” to “7 = Completely satisfied.” As a results, higher scores indicate higher levels of family life satisfaction.

Egalitarian gender ideology. Individual-level egalitarian gender ideology is constructed from the responses to seven statements about attitudes toward family and gender roles: (a) A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work, (b) A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works,

(c) All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job, (d) A job is all right, but what most women really want is a home and children, (e) Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay, (f) Both the man and woman should contribute to the household income, and (g) A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family. The response categories range from "1 = Strongly agree" through "5 = Strongly disagree." The first and sixth items were reversed, so that higher scores reflect more egalitarian gender role attitudes. I then conducted a factor analysis, and the results showed that all seven statements retain one factor. I thus produced the egalitarian gender ideology index by summing those items and dividing them by the number of completed responses, resulting in a relative high level of reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .75). This measure has been widely used in a number of comparative studies (Braun et al. 2008; Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018; Jansen et al. 2016).

Hours spent on paid work. The surveys include questions about the number of weekly hours of paid work for both respondents and their spouses/partners. Both measures are used when the analyses build on the time availability perspective.

Respondents' share of paid work. Based on the above two measures, the relative measure of respondents' share of paid work is calculated by dividing respondents' working hours by the sum of working hours for both a respondent and his/her partner.

Relative income. Guided by the relative resources theory, respondent's relative income is considered. Respondents are asked the following question, "Considering all sources of income, between you and your spouse/partner, who has the higher income?" The seven response categories are "My spouse/partner has no income," "I have a much higher income," "I have a higher income," "We have about the same income," "My spouse/partner has a higher income,"

“My spouse/partner has a much higher income,” and “I have no income.” This measure is coded from 1 = “I have no income” to 7 = “My spouse/partner has no income.”

Age. Consistent with prior research (Greenstein 2009), age is measured in years and modeled as a quadratic function to account for a commonly-observed non-linear relationship between age and household labor.

Marital status. Marital status is measured as a dummy variable indicating a respondent is married or in civic relationship.

Educational attainment. Due to considerable variations in education system across countries, years of education are standardized by country using its mean and standard deviation for each country.

Presence of children. Previous literature has shown that children in the household affect not only the total amount of housework but also its relationship with family life (Bianchi et al. 2000; Jansen et al. 2016; South and Spitze 1994; Stier et al. 2012). The children variable is measured by two dummy variables indicating whether a respondent has one child or two or more children under 18 years of age in the household. The reference category is having no child.

3.2.1. Country-Level Measures

Country-level gender equality. Two different measures of country-level gender equality are used in the analyses. The first is the Gender Inequality Index (GII) by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The GII is an inequality index, which measures gender inequalities in three important aspects of human development—reproductive health, measured by maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates; empowerment, measured with proportions of parliamentary seats occupied by females and males and proportions of females and males aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education; and economic status, expressed as

labor market participation and calculated from labor force participation rates of female and male populations aged 15 years and older (UNDP 2018). Although the UNDP introduced the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in 1995, both measures had faced a lot of criticism because those measures largely depend on country's income level calculated from per capital GDP. As a result, in order to replace the GDI and GEM, the UNDP has created the GII in 2010, which reflects gender-based disadvantage in three dimensions—reproductive health, empowerment, and the labor market—for as many countries as data of reasonable quality allow. The GII ranges from 0, where women and men fare equally, to 1, where one gender fares as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions (UNDP 2018), indicating that the higher the GII value the more disparities between females and males and the more loss to human development. The second measure of country-level gender equality is aggregated egalitarian gender ideology, which is constructed by aggregating individuals' gender ideology for each country. To capture the overall atmosphere toward gender ideology, this aggregated measure was calculated before sampling restrictions as well as listwise deletion so that this measure included all the responses available in a given country.

Although the GII would be one of the most relevant measures reflecting country-level gender inequality nowadays, given its definition and methodology, the GII already encompasses country's labor force participation of women. Thus, when I include the GII and female labor force participation together in the analysis, I am not free from multicollinearity. Given this, depending on the analytical strategy and hypothesis, I use the aggregated measure of egalitarian gender ideology as an indicator of country-level gender equality, instead of the GII, along with female labor force participation. Specifically, both aggregate egalitarian gender ideology and female labor force participation are used in Chapter 4.1, because I expect that those two country

level measures may play a different role in explaining the association between preferences on work-family arrangement and the division of housework. On the other hand, I focus more on the effect of country-level gender equality as a key national context on individuals' work-family conflict (in Chapter 4.2) and on the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction (in Chapter 4.3), given a lack of comparable cross-national research. Thus, I include only the GII in Chapters 4.2 and 4.3.

Female labor force participation. This variable reflects the percentage of females among the economically active population in a given country. The 2012 female labor force participation data were drawn from the World Bank (2017).

GDP. Consistent with previous housework research (Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Kornrich and Eger 2015; Hu and Yucel 2018), I include GDP per capita as an indicator of country-level economic development. The 2012 country's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was drawn from UNDP data (UNDP 2014) and expressed in thousands of U.S. dollars.

Welfare regimes. Building on the two main classical categorizations of welfare regimes (Blossfeld and Hakim 1997; Esping-Anderson 1999), I classified countries into five regimes with four dummy variables—familialist (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Israel, Japan, Korea, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland), liberal (Australia, Canada, Iceland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States), former socialist (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Slovakia, and Slovenia), social democratic (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), and developing countries (Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Philippines, South Africa, and Venezuela). The reference category is familialist.

3.3. Analytical Strategy

There is no weight usable for international comparison on the ISSP across countries (GESIS 2016). Even though the 2012 ISSP data sets contain a weight variable for some countries, “the weights in this variable do not incorporate a common weighting scheme that can be applied to all countries of the same ISSP module (GESIS 2016, p.XV).” As there is neither an international weighting factor nor a national weighting factor which would be comparable for all participating countries, all descriptive and multilevel analyses are based on the unweighted data of the ISSP 2012 module throughout this dissertation.

3.3.1. Chapter 4.1

In Chapter 4.1, I focus on the cross-national variations in the division of household labor, in terms of preferences on work-family arrangement. Given the multilevel nature of data sets and hypotheses, I utilize a series of multilevel regression models using the *mixed* command in STATA 13. The dependent variable is respondents’ share of household labor. The main independent variable is preferences on work-family arrangement.

Based on previous theoretical approaches to the gender division of household labor, I include several individual-level measures. In light of time availability perspective, respondents’ and their spouse/partner’s paid work hours are included. Consistent with relative resources perspective, I control for respondent’s relative income in the analysis. Finally, based on the doing-gender perspective, individual-level egalitarian gender ideology is included. I also take account of several individual-level variables that affect household labor by controlling for age, marital status, the presence of children, education, and spouse/partner’s housework hours.

With regard to country-level variables, I include aggregated egalitarian gender ideology, female labor force participation, GDP, and welfare regimes. All individual- and country-level

variables are centered to their grand means, so that the intercept of each model can be interpreted as the predicted probability of outcome measure for a respondent with average characteristics in a country with average characteristics in the sample.

The analyses in Chapter 4.1 proceed as follows. I begin by summarizing descriptive statistics of individual- and country-level variables. Then, I conduct multilevel regression models predicting women's and men's share of household labor. I estimate the models separately for women and men because the division of household labor is the highly gendered process. I first estimate an unconditional random intercept model containing no independent- and country-level variables in order to find the degree of variation in women's share of housework across countries. Next, I add individual- and country-level variables separately to the unconditional model. Finally, I estimate the full model including variables at both levels. By comparing the results for women and men, I examine whether and how the effects of individual- and country-level variables on respondents' share of housework differ by gender.

3.3.2. Chapter 4.2

In Chapter 4.2, I address the cross-national variations in work-family conflict, in terms of the division of household labor and perceived fairness of that division. Building upon the prior comparative studies of work-family conflict (Edlund 2007; Ruppanner 2010; Stier et al. 2012), I further restrict the samples to men and women who currently participate in paid work and who responded to the statements of work-family conflict. The dependent variable is work-family conflict, which is created based on respondents' answers to four statements measuring the degrees of incompatibility between work and family. As discussed earlier, the preliminary results show that all four statements retain one factor with a high level of reliability ($\alpha = .74$).

Therefore, I use the single factor structure of work-family conflict. The main predictor variable is respondents' share of household labor.

A relative measure of time spent on paid work is included since this is the key characteristic of work domain, which makes it difficult to fulfill the family demands, in terms of work-family conflict. Moreover, I consider perceptions of fairness in the analyses, consistent with prior housework research showing the important role of perceived fairness of the division of housework in family life (Davis 2010; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018). Given the fact that gender role ideology is known to play a significant role in explaining work-family conflict (Minnotte et al. 2010; Somech and Drach-Zahavy 2007), I also include an indicator of individual-level egalitarian gender ideology. Finally, I take account of several individual-level measures by controlling for age, marital status, education, relative income, and the presence of children. For country-level variables, the Gender Inequality Index (GII), GDP, and welfare regimes are included. All individual- and country-level variables are grand mean-centered.

The analyses in Chapter 4.2 proceed as follows. After summarizing the main variables of interest, I conduct a series of multilevel regression models to predict the respondent's work-family conflict for men and women separately, using the *mixed* command in STATA 13. I first estimate an unconditional model containing no independent- and country-level variables to find the degree of variation in work-family conflict across countries. Then, I add level-1 and level-2 variables in that order. By comparing the gender separate models, I explore whether and how the direction or magnitude of the effects of level-1 and level-2 variables vary by gender.

3.3.3. Chapter 4.3

In Chapter 4.3, I investigate relationship between the division of housework, work-family conflict, and women's and men's family life satisfaction, focusing on the possible moderating

effect of country-level gender equality. The dependent variable is women's and men's satisfaction with family life. Based on my hypotheses, three key individual-level variables are included: a respondent's share of household labor, perceived fairness of the housework division, and work-family conflict. I also control for a set of individual variables including age, marital status, education, relative income, respondent's share of paid work, presence of children, and egalitarian gender ideology. With respect to country-level variables, the Gender Inequality Index (GII), GDP, and welfare regimes are included. Similar to Chapter 4.2, I restrict the samples to men and women who currently participate in paid work and report all of key variables. All individual- and country-level variables are grand mean-centered.

I utilize a multilevel model using the *mixed* command in STATA 13. First, I describe the patterns of women's and men's family life satisfaction and other key individual- and country-level variables across countries. Next, I proceed the multilevel analyses for women and men in order to examine how work-family conflict is associated with women's and men's satisfaction, while considering the influences of the division of housework and perceptions of fairness on that association. I expect that the possible negative association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction may be stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality. To demonstrate this hypothesis, I add the cross-level interaction between country-level gender inequality (i.e., GII) with work-family conflict. Finally, by comparing the cross-level interaction effects for women and men, I examine whether the moderating role of country-level gender inequality in the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction differs by gender.

Chapter 4. Results

Based upon previous literature and hypotheses, I conduct three sets of multilevel analyses in the current chapter, each focusing on the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction. The first subchapter examines cross-national variations in the division of household labor, with a particular emphasis on the role of individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement (Chapter 4.1). The second subchapter explores the extent to which and how the unequal division of household labor and perceived unfairness of that division are associated with individual-level work-family conflict from a comparative perspective (Chapter 4.2). The final subchapter investigates the relationship between the division of housework, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction across countries (Chapter 4.3).

4.1. Exploring the Relationship between Preferences on Work-Family Arrangement and the Division of Household Labor

4.1.1. Descriptive Analysis

Individual-Level Measures

I begin with a descriptive overview of the dependent and individual-level variables (Table 1). Building on previous research on the division of household labor (Greenstein 2009; Ruppanner 2010b), the sample is restricted to respondents who are 18 or older and report data on key variables. The original sample size of respondents who are 18 or older are 52,301. I eliminated 15,760 individuals who do not live with a spouse or partner and 5,750 individuals who do not have valid values of the dependent variable, resulting in 30,791 cases. After listwise deletion, the effective sample size is 22,309 (10,874 for women; 11,435 for men). I lost 8,482 cases (27.5%), and the key sources of missing data are relative income, preferences of work-family arrangement, and spouses' paid work hours (7,161 cases total – 23.3%).

The dependent variable is a respondent's share of household labor. Consistent with previous literature on the gender division of household labor (Bianchi et al. 2000; Coltrane 2000), the results show that there is a substantial gender difference in the proportion of housework in our analytic sample. On average, women report their share of housework as 67.45%, while men report their share of housework as 32.88%, indicating that women report spending far more time than their male partner on household labor. Although it was reported that men tend to overestimate their own contribution to housework (Kamo 2000), there seems to be no substantial discrepancy between women's and men's self-reported contribution to household labor for the entire sample (i.e., 67.45% for women's self-reported housework proportion; 67.12% for female partner's housework proportion reported by men). In terms of preferences on work-family arrangement, women prefer male full-time/female part-time model to the greatest extent (43.06%), followed by male breadwinner/female homemaker (32.03%), both part-time workers (12.88%), and both full-time workers model (12.03%). For men, male breadwinner/female homemaker model (40.01%) is most preferred as the way to organize their family and work life, followed by male full-time/female part-time (37.12%), both full-time workers (13.17%), and both part-time workers model (9.70%).

Table 1. Individual-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=22,309)

Variable	Women (N=10,874)				Men (N=11,435)			
	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max
Respondent's share of household labor (%)	67.45	17.35	0	100	32.88	19.43	0	100
Preferences on work-family arrangement (%)								
Male breadwinner/female homemaker	32.03				40.01			
Male full-time/female part-time workers	43.06				37.12			
Both full-time workers	12.03				13.17			
Both part-time workers	12.88				9.70			
Respondent's paid work hours	22.45	20.57	0	96	31.40	23.29	0	96
Spouse's paid work hours	31.09	23.18	0	96	19.75	20.75	0	96
Relative income (high = having higher income)	3.35	1.52	1	7	5.00	1.36	1	7
Egalitarian ideology (high = more egalitarian)	3.48	.78	1	5	3.24	.75	1	5
Age (in years)	46.49	14.25	18	92	51.31	15.02	18	95
Married (%)	87.17				88.92			
Presence of children (%)								
No child	51.31				57.52			
One child	19.31				17.36			
Two or more children	29.38				25.12			
Education (in years, standardized by country)	.10	.97	-4.42	6.04	.05	.99	-4.42	5.44
Spouse's housework hours	9.77	10.75	0	95	21.43	16.04	0	95

Source: ISSP (2016)

Gender differences are also found in the work-related measures—a respondent’s and spouse’s paid work hours and relative income. On average, women report that they spend 22.45 hours per week on paid work, while their male partner spend 31.09 hours. Men also report that they do more paid work compared to their female partner (31.40 hours for men, 19.75 hours for women). The average score of relative income is 3.35 for women and 5.00 for men, indicating that on average men report having a higher income than their female partner, while women report having a lower income compared to their male partner (where 4=“My partner and I have about the same income”). Moreover, women appear to have more egalitarian gender ideology than men (3.48 for women, 3.24 for men), which is consistent with prior findings (Davis and Greenstein 2009). To sum up, these results indicate that gendered practices still persist in our analytic sample, in terms of the division of labor.

The average age of women and men is about 46 and 51 years, respectively. As for the children variable, women tend to have more children than men. This may be attributable to the fact that women are more likely to get custody of their children when it comes to separation or divorce. Spouse’s housework hours are controlled given the prior literature showing the negative association between respondent’s and spouse’s contribution to household labor (Coltrane 2000; Greenstein 2009; Ruppanner 2010a). Women report that their spouse spend only 9.77 hours a week on household labor, while men report their spouse’s weekly housework hours as much as 21.43 hours. As for education and marital status, no significant gender differences are found. The majority of respondents are married or in civic relationship (87.17% for women, 88.92% for men).

Country-Level Measures

Table 2 presents the mean values of women's and men's self-reported housework proportions and country-level variables for each country. Among 38 countries, Japanese women report performing the largest share of housework (81.13%), whereas Venezuelan women perform the least (58.31%). As for men's self-reported housework proportions, Swedish men report the highest proportion of domestic labor (40.99%) and Japanese men the lowest (16.60%). In terms of gender role ideology, Danish people hold the most egalitarian gender role ideology (4.1), while people living in the Philippines have the most traditional gender ideology (2.8). Iceland has the highest female labor force participation rate (70.6%), while South Africa has the lowest (44.2%). The country with the highest GDP is Norway (101.6 in thousands of U.S. dollars), and the Philippines has the lowest (2.6 in thousands of U.S. dollars). Overall, these results show that there are substantial cross-national variations in the divisions of housework as well as national characteristics, although the majority of household labor is still performed by women in all countries.

Table 2. Country-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=38)

Country	N	Mean Housework Proportion for Women	Mean Housework Proportion for Men	Mean Difference Between Women and Men	Egalitarian Gender Ideology	FLFP	GDP per capita (US\$/1000)	Welfare Regime
Argentina	371	66.16	31.10	35.05 ***	2.97	47.30	13.04	Developing
Australia	656	63.55	35.96	27.59 ***	3.33	58.80	67.65	Liberal
Austria	497	70.06	30.09	39.97 ***	3.22	54.60	48.33	Familialist
Belgium	986	67.70	35.21	32.49 ***	3.47	46.90	44.74	Familialist
Bulgaria	401	68.16	28.82	39.34 ***	3.08	47.80	7.38	Former socialist
Canada	413	66.44	38.88	27.56 ***	3.49	61.60	52.50	Liberal
Chile	463	72.43	25.15	47.29 ***	2.92	49.00	15.25	Developing
Croatia	534	76.44	30.32	46.12 ***	3.44	44.80	13.24	Former socialist
Czech Republic	893	68.83	32.62	36.20 ***	3.29	50.10	19.73	Former socialist
Denmark	784	62.39	40.54	21.85 ***	4.06	59.10	58.13	Social Democratic
Finland	597	66.75	39.60	27.15 ***	3.73	56.00	47.42	Social Democratic
France	850	69.59	35.43	34.16 ***	3.66	50.90	40.84	Familialist
Germany	864	70.35	31.32	39.02 ***	3.72	53.50	44.07	Familialist
Hungary	434	70.21	30.81	39.40 ***	2.98	44.70	12.83	Former socialist
Iceland	556	63.30	35.98	27.32 ***	3.76	70.60	44.26	Liberal
Ireland	514	70.66	38.76	31.90 ***	3.47	52.70	49.23	Liberal
Israel	500	67.98	30.56	37.42 ***	3.31	58.10	32.57	Familialist
Japan	440	81.13	16.60	64.53 ***	3.28	48.10	48.63	Familialist
South Korea	619	69.48	24.01	45.47 ***	2.86	49.90	24.45	Familialist
Latvia	449	64.69	37.46	27.22 ***	2.96	54.50	13.80	Former socialist
Lithuania	400	64.04	32.72	31.31 ***	3.09	55.80	14.34	Former socialist
Mexico	417	64.72	30.38	34.34 ***	2.84	45.00	9.72	Developing
Netherlands	694	69.16	37.02	32.14 ***	3.50	58.70	49.47	Familialist
Norway	721	67.79	40.06	27.72 ***	3.80	61.50	101.56	Social Democratic
Philippines	765	63.25	35.51	27.74 ***	2.81	51.00	2.60	Developing

(table cont'd.)

Country	N	Mean Housework Proportion for Women	Mean Housework Proportion for Men	Mean Difference Between Women and Men	Egalitarian Gender Ideology	FLFP	GDP per capita (US\$/1000)	Welfare Regime
Poland	517	63.57	34.34	29.23 ***	3.14	48.90	13.15	Former socialist
Portugal	290	72.04	26.45	45.59 ***	3.35	55.40	20.58	Familialist
Russia	483	63.09	33.57	29.52 ***	2.93	57.00	15.04	Former socialist
Slovakia	612	65.72	35.92	29.80 ***	3.18	51.00	17.27	Former socialist
Slovenia	484	68.83	24.34	44.49 ***	3.51	52.30	22.49	Former socialist
South Africa	707	64.47	37.65	26.81 ***	3.18	44.20	7.57	Developing
Spain	1129	66.38	26.70	39.68 ***	3.43	52.60	28.65	Familialist
Sweden	510	62.70	40.99	21.71 ***	3.89	60.20	57.13	Social Democratic
Switzerland	667	70.72	28.63	42.09 ***	3.23	61.20	83.16	Familialist
Taiwan	842	66.22	25.48	40.74 ***	3.12	50.20	21.31	Familialist
United Kingdom	395	72.13	38.84	33.30 ***	3.40	55.70	41.54	Liberal
United States	497	66.24	35.66	30.58 ***	3.29	56.80	51.43	Liberal
Venezuela	358	58.31	38.14	20.17 ***	3.03	50.90	12.77	Developing

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018)

Cross-National Variations in the Division of Household Labor

Table 2 also provides comparisons between women's and men's mean share of household labor by country. The results show that there are considerable variations in the division of household labor across countries, even though women perform the lion's share of housework in all countries. Overall, Japanese people are most traditional in their division of household labor among the sampled countries. Japanese women report performing the largest share of housework (81.13%), while Japanese men report performing the smallest share of housework (16.60%), which results in the largest difference in women's and men's self-reported housework proportion (Figure 1). On the other hand, people in social democratic countries (i.e., Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) as well as in Venezuela seem to be relatively egalitarian in their division of housework. In terms of men's self-reported housework proportions, Swedish men report performing the largest share of housework (40.99%), followed by Danish (40.54%), Norwegian (40.06%), and Finnish men (39.60%). Women in those four countries also report performing the relatively small share of housework compared to women in other countries. As a result, there are relatively small gender gaps in a respondent's share of housework in social democratic countries. Meanwhile, Venezuelan women report performing the smallest share of domestic labor (58.31%). The gender gap in a respondent's share of housework in Venezuela also appears to be the least (20.17%) among 38 countries. This indicates that Venezuelans are relatively more egalitarian in their division of household labor, along with people in social democratic countries.

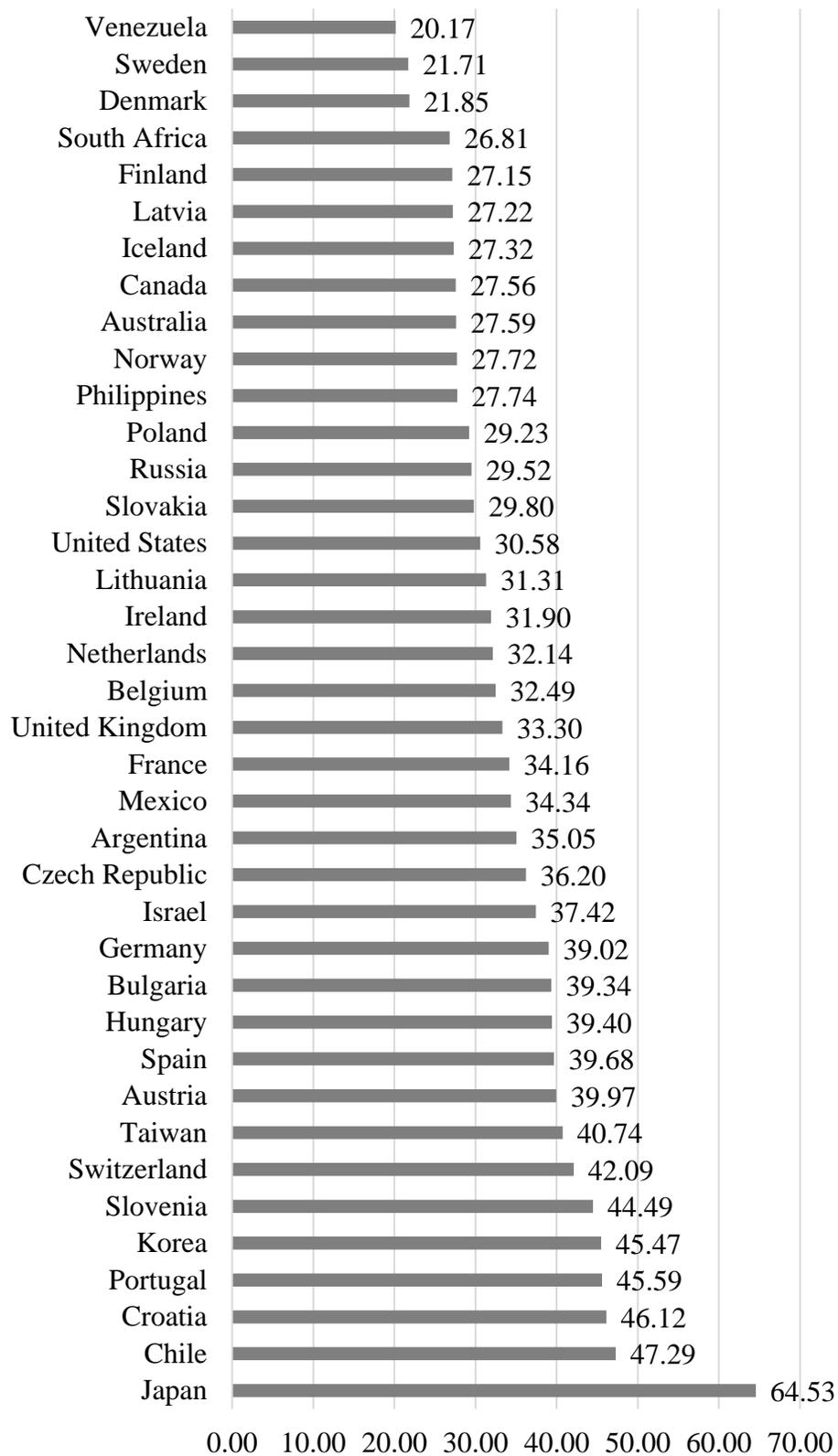


Figure 1. Differences between Women's and Men's Share of Household Labor by Country

4.1.2. Multilevel Analysis

Tables 3 and 4 provide the results of multilevel regression models predicting women's and men's share of household labor, respectively. I estimate gender separate models because the division of household labor is a highly gendered process (Ruppanner 2010a). Each set of models introduces level-1 and level-2 variables. The full models for women and men are provided in Model 4 of each Table.

Models 1-4 of Table 3 show the results for women's share of household labor. First of all, I conduct an unconditional model containing no independent- and country-level variables in order to find the degree of variation in women's share of housework across countries (Model 1 of Table 3). Note that all of the continuous variables at both levels are centered on their grand means. Thus, the intercept in each model indicates the predicted share of housework for a woman (or a man) with average characteristics in a country with average characteristics in the sample. The intercept of Model 1 is 67.512 ($p < .001$), indicating that on average women perform about two third of housework across countries. The between-country variance on the intercept is 15.9 ($p < .001$) and the within-country variance is 287.2 ($p < .001$). The intraclass correlation is .053, indicating 5.3% of the overall variance in women's share of housework is attributable to between-country variance. These results show that women's share of housework varies significantly both between and within countries, although the more variation occurred at the individual-level.

Table 3. Multilevel Analysis of Women's Share of Household Labor (N=10,874)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	67.512***	60.127***	69.11***	59.595***
Level 1: Individual-level variables				
Preferences on work-family arrangement (ref. = male breadwinner/ female homemaker)				
Male full-time/female part-time workers		-.663*		-.599
Both full-time workers		-2.097***		-2.054***
Both part-time workers		-2.587***		-2.465***
<i>Time availability</i>				
Respondent's paid work hours		-.125***		-.125***
Spouse's paid work hours		.091***		.092***
<i>Relative resources</i>				
Relative income (high = higher income)		-.719***		-.723***
<i>Doing-gender</i>				
Egalitarian ideology (high = egalitarian)		-1.787***		-1.761***
<i>Individual controls</i>				
Age		.418***		.413***
Age squared		-.003***		-.003***
Married (ref. = not married)		.804		.784
Presence of children (ref. = no child)				
One child		1.666***		1.672***
Two or more children		2.173***		2.198***
Education (standardized by country)		-.781***		-.785***
Spouse's housework hours		-.919***		-.920***
Level 2: Country-level variables				
Egalitarian ideology (high = egalitarian)			1.587	1.317
Female labor force participation			-.458***	-.234*
GDP per capita (US\$/1000)			.087*	.058
Welfare regimes (ref. = familialist)				
Liberal			-1.286	-.657
Former socialist			-1.287	3.272*
Social democratic			-5.408*	-3.644*
Developing			-4.273	.558
Variance components				
Between-country	15.9***	8.2***	8.5***	4.7***
Within-country	287.2***	179***	287.2***	179.0***
ICC (%)	5.3%	4.4%	2.9%	2.5%
BIC	92541.3	87525.1	92584.5	87571.4
Wald chi-square (df)	-	6582.2 (14)	29.4 (7)	6629.0 (21)
Log-likelihood	-46256.7	-43683.6	-46245.8	-43674.2

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018)

Model 2 adds individual-level variables to Model 1. In Model 2, the between-country (i.e., level-2) variance decreases by 48.3% (from 15.9 to 8.2) and the within-country (i.e., level-1) variation by 37.7% (from 287.2 to 179.0). In contrast, Model 3 includes only country-level variables. In Model 3, the level-2 variance reduces by 46.7% (from 15.9 to 8.5), but no change is found in the level-1 variance. Finally, Model 4 is the full model, including all of the level-1 and level-2 variables together. In Model 4, total 70.7% of reductions in the level-2 variance (from 15.9 to 4.7) and total 37.7% of reductions in the level-1 variance (from 287.2 to 179.0) are achieved. The intraclass correlation decreases from .053 in the unconditional model to .025 in the full model. Overall, the results indicate that there are substantial variations in women's share of domestic labor that can be explained by between- and within-country variations in our analytic sample.

In the full model for women (Model 4), most level-1 and level-2 variables remain significant and in the same direction as earlier models. Preferences on work-family arrangement are significantly associated with women's share of housework. Women who prefer either both full-time workers ($b=-2.054$, $p<.001$) or both part-time workers model ($b=-2.465$, $p<.001$) tend to perform a smaller share of housework, compared to the reference group of women who prefer a traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model. However, there is no statistically significant difference in women's share of housework between women who prefer a full-time male/part-time female model and a reference group of women.

The results also show that individual-level measures reflecting time availability, relative resources, and doing-gender perspectives are significantly related to women's share of household labor in the theoretically expected direction. Consistent with the time availability predictions, respondent's paid work hours are associated with a smaller share of housework ($b=-.125$,

$p < .001$), while spouse's paid work hours are associated with a larger share of housework ($b = .092$, $p < .001$). In light of relative resources perspective, earning higher income is expected to be associated with doing less housework, which is consistent with our result. Women who have higher income relative to their partner tend to report performing a smaller share of housework ($b = -.723$, $p < .001$). As expected by the doing-gender perspective, women who hold more egalitarian gender ideology tend to perform a smaller share of household labor ($b = -1.761$, $p < .001$).

With respect to other individual controls, all but marital status are significantly associated with women's share of household labor. The coefficient of age squared is negative and significant ($b = -.003$, $p < .001$), indicating that the women's share of housework reaches the highest point when they are about 69 years old ($= .413 / (2 * .003) = 68.8$), then decrease. Considering the age range of women in our sample, the pattern of women's share of housework seems to be a monotonous increase. The child variable is also a significant predictor of women's share of household labor. Compared to women with no child, women with one child are more likely to perform a larger share of housework ($b = 1.672$, $p < .001$), and the degree of unequal division of household labor appears to be higher for women who have two or more children ($b = 2.198$, $p < .001$). Finally, both respondent's educational attainment ($b = -.785$, $p < .001$) and spouse's housework hours ($b = -.920$, $p < .001$) are negatively associated with a share of housework for women.

At the country-level, the results show that women's share of household labor could be accounted for by country's female labor force participation and welfare regimes. The coefficient of female labor force participation is negative and statistically significant ($b = -.234$, $p < .05$), indicating that women in countries with higher rates of female labor force participation report

performing a smaller share of housework. Further, women in former socialist countries report a larger share of housework ($b=3.272$, $p<.05$), while women in social democratic countries report a smaller share of housework ($b=-3.644$, $p<.05$), compared to a reference group of women in familialist countries. Contrary to expectations, however, neither country-level gender ideology nor GDP are statistically significant.

Now I turn to multilevel analyses of men's share of household labor. Models 1-4 of Table 4 present the results for men's share of household labor. Model 1 is an unconditional model containing no level-1 and level-2 variables. The intercept of the unconditional model for men is 32.941 ($p<.001$), indicating that only about 33% of housework is done by men. The between-country variance on the intercept is 29.1 ($p<.001$) and the within-country variance is 349.0 ($p<.001$). The intraclass correlation is .077, indicating 7.7% of the overall variance in men's share of housework is attributable to between-country variance. These results suggest that like women's share of housework, men's share of housework varies significantly both between and within countries, but the more variation occurred at the individual-level.

Table 4. Multilevel Analysis of Men's Share of Household Labor (N=11,435)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	32.941***	40.009***	28.861***	35.865***
Level 1: Individual-level variables				
Preferences on work-family arrangement (ref. = male breadwinner/ female homemaker)				
Male full-time/female part-time workers		.556		.570
Both full-time workers		1.921***		1.905***
Both part-time workers		2.463***		2.535***
<i>Time availability</i>				
Respondent's paid work hours		-.119***		-.121***
Spouse's paid work hours		.088***		.088***
<i>Relative resources</i>				
Relative income (high = higher income)		-1.384***		-1.373***
<i>Doing-gender</i>				
Egalitarian ideology (high = egalitarian)		1.350***		1.375***
<i>Individual controls</i>				
Age		-.102		-.099
Age squared		.001		.001
Married (ref. = not married)		-2.901***		-2.848***
Presence of children (ref. = no child)				
One child		-.750		-.788
Two or more children		.521		.480
Education (standardized by country)		.337*		.332*
Spouse's housework hours		-.447***		-.448***
Level 2: Country-level variables				
Egalitarian ideology (high = egalitarian)			4.887	-1.737
Female labor force participation			.164	.190
GDP per capita (US\$/1000)			-.005	-.006
Welfare regimes (ref. = familialist)				
Liberal			6.845**	6.012***
Former socialist			4.291*	5.168**
Social democratic			7.892*	4.804*
Developing			6.635*	8.364***
Variance components				
Between-country	29.1***	17.5***	13.8***	7.3***
Within-country	349.0***	272.2***	349.0***	272.2***
ICC (%)	7.7%	6.0%	3.8%	2.6%
BIC	99554.5	96832.2	99593.3	96867.1
Wald chi-square (df)	-	3242.1 (14)	38.5 (7)	3318.7 (21)
Log-likelihood	-49763.2	-48336.7	-49749.9	-48321.4

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018)

When individual-level variables are included (Model 2), the between-country (i.e., level-2) variance decreases by 39.7% (from 29.1 to 17.5) and the within-country (i.e., level-1) variation by 22.0% (from 349.0 to 272.2). When country-level variables are included (Model 3), the between-country variance decreases by 52.6% (from 29.1 to 13.8), and almost no change is found in within-country variance. Finally, in the full model for men (Model 4), total 74.8% of reductions in the between-country variance (from 29.1 to 7.3) and total 22.0% of reductions in the within-country variance (from 349.0 to 272.2) are achieved. The intraclass correlation changes from .077 in the unconditional model to .026 in the full model. Like women, these results suggest that there are considerable variations in men's share of housework, which can be accounted for by the between- and within-country differences.

Consistent with expectations, preferences on work-family arrangement also appears to be a significant factor of predicting men's housework proportions. Men who prefer either both full-time workers model ($b=1.905$, $p<.001$) or both part-time workers model ($b=2.535$, $p<.001$) are more likely to perform a larger share of housework, compared to a reference group of men who prefer a traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model. These results, taken together with previous findings for women, suggest that individuals' preferences for the equal contribution for women's and men's housework play a significant role in their divisions of household labor for both men and women.

Individual-level measures reflecting time availability, relative resources, and doing-gender perspectives are also significantly associated to men's share of household labor. Consistent with previous findings, the results show that men who spend less hours on paid work ($b=-.121$, $p<.001$), who have a spouse/partner spending more hours on paid work ($b=.088$, $p<.001$), and who have lower income relative to their spouse/partner ($b=-1.373$, $p<.001$) report

performing a larger share of household labor. On the other hand, men who hold more egalitarian gender ideology ($b=1.375$, $p<.001$) tend to perform a larger share of housework, indicating that egalitarian men are more likely to share household labor more equally with their partner, which is consistent with predictions of doing-gender perspective.

With respect to individual controls, however, some gender differences are found. For women, age and the presence of children are significant factors relating to the housework distribution with their partner, but neither variable is statistically significant for men. In contrast, marital status is not statistically significant for women, while being married is negatively associated with men's share of household labor. Such gender differences have important implications for the mechanism of the gender division of household labor. First, as calculated earlier, women's share of housework continues to rise from the age of 18, reaches the peak at around 70 years old, and then decreases while there is no age effect for men. Next, the result of the positive association between the presence of children and women's share of household labor indicates that increased housework burden related to having children is likely to be put on women, not on men. Finally, the negative association between being married and men's share of housework demonstrates that the benefits of marriage might be unequally distributed between men and women in terms of domestic labor (Coontz 2006; Waite and Gallagher 2002), particularly in light of the fact that marriage has historically been organized to men's advantage (Nock 1998).

As for country-level variables, cross-national differences in welfare regimes are only significantly associated with men's share of housework. All of four categories of welfare regimes have a significant effect on men's share of housework. Compared to a reference group of men living in familialist countries, men who live in liberal ($b=6.012$, $p<.001$), former socialist

($b=5.168$, $p<.01$), social democratic ($b=4.804$, $p<.05$), and developing ($b=8.364$, $p<.001$) countries report performing a larger share of housework, when other individual- and country-level variables are controlled. The results suggest that men living in familialist countries are most traditional in their division of household labor.

4.1.3. Conclusion and Discussion

In Chapter 4.1, I examine the cross-national variations in the division of household labor by focusing on the role of individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement. In the context of growing individualization of family and personal lives in modern societies, it is expected that individuals' preferences on how they want to organize their work and family life may play a role in the actual division of household labor. However, the empirical investigation for this question has not been provided. Using the ISSP 2012 data, I explore the relationship between individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement and women's and men's share of household labor from a comparative perspective. In light of preference theory (Hakim 2000, 2003) as well as the expanding roles of personal choice to family life in modern societies (Cherlin 2004), I expect that individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement are associated with the actual division of household labor for both women and men (Hypothesis 1). Consistent with previous comparative research on the division of household labor, I also expect that individuals' share of household labor is conditional upon national contexts, which are measured by country-level differences in egalitarian gender ideology, female labor force participation, GDP, and welfare state regimes (Hypothesis 2). Finally, given the gendered nature of domestic work, I expect that there are gender differences in the effects of individual- and country-level variables on the division of household labor (Hypothesis 3).

The findings provide support for Hypothesis 1. Women who prefer either both full-time workers or both part-time workers model tend to report performing a smaller share of housework, while men who prefer those models tend to report performing a larger share of housework, compared to their counterparts who prefer the traditional male breadwinner/female homemaker model. In other words, individuals' preferences for the equal contribution in terms of work-family arrangement are significantly associated with relatively equal distribution of household labor between partners. These results indicate that women's and men's preferences on work-family arrangement play a significant role in explaining the actual division of household labor, even though women still perform the lion's share of housework when they prefer gender equal arrangement of their work and family life.

With respect to the effects of country-level characteristics, the findings provide partial support for Hypotheses 2 and 3. Female labor force participation appears to be a significant factor influencing women's share of household labor, but it does not show a significant result for men. Specifically, women in countries with higher rates of female labor force participation report performing a smaller share of household labor. These results suggest that national contexts that allow women to actively participate in the labor market may have contributed to a decrease of women's share of household labor by reducing women's housework hours, but it may not lead to men's greater involvement in domestic labor. Given this, the context of stalled revolution in terms of domestic labor (Hochschild 1989) still seems to persist in our analytic sample. The findings also show that country's welfare regimes play a role in women's and men's share of housework but have more significant effects for men. With a reference group of women who live in familialist countries, women in social democratic countries report performing a smaller share of housework, while women in former socialist countries report doing a larger share of

housework. For men, all of four categories of welfare regimes are positive and statistically significant, indicating that on average men in familialist countries are most traditional in their division of household labor.

Contrary to expectations, however, egalitarian gender ideology at the macro-level has no significant effect on women's or men's share of household labor. There are some possible explanations for these results. First, the division of housework in terms of personal preferences on work-family arrangement may be more directly influenced by a structural condition—like female labor force participation—because higher rates of women's economic participation likely lead to the necessity to reduce women's housework load, and in turn, such a structural condition may also affect individuals' preference construction with respect to work-family arrangement. Given this, country's female labor force participation may have a stronger effect than aggregate egalitarian gender ideology on the division of household labor, particularly for women who need to directly reduce their housework burden in order to participate in paid labor. Our results showing a significant effect of female labor force participation for women's share of housework but not for men's share also support this explanation. Furthermore, the influence of personal choice on their work and family life is likely to be stronger in modern, affluent societies where the power of social norms and institutions that regulated personal life has weakened (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995, 2002; Giddens 1991, 1992). That is, individual-level gender ideology may be a more influential factor explaining the division of household labor, as shown in our finding that egalitarian gender ideology at the individual-level is strongly associated with the relatively equal distribution of housework between partners for both women and men.

I acknowledge some limitations that need to be mentioned. As for national contexts, I consider four country-level variables (i.e., aggregate egalitarian gender ideology, female labor

force participation, GDP, and welfare regimes), but I cannot exclude the possibility that there are other national contexts, such as social policies, that affect the cross-national variations in the division of household labor in terms of personal preferences on work-family arrangement. Moreover, although I do not find any significant cross-level interaction effects in the current analyses, it is possible that interactions between level-1 and level-2 variables can be found when other national contexts are included. Future research could expand on the findings of this study by elaborating the effects of various national contexts on the division of household labor, while considering the role of personal preferences on work-family arrangement. Finally, it is important to note that the current multilevel analyses cannot establish causality. Therefore, we need to be careful when interpreting the results of this study. Nonetheless, our findings provide robust evidence of the association between personal preferences on work-family arrangement and their actual division of household labor across countries.

Overall, this study sheds new light on the role of personal preferences on work-family arrangement in explaining the cross-national variations in the division of household labor. Despite the increasing number of cross-national research on housework, empirical investigations of the role of personal preferences on work-family arrangement have received insufficient attention, partly because of the lack of available dataset. Using the most recent ISSP module on family and changing gender roles, I seek to address this void. As a result, this study contributes to comparative housework research by providing empirical evidence of the role of personal preferences in terms of work-family arrangement as a significant factor influencing the division of household labor in contemporary societies.

4.2. Exploring the Relationship between the Division of Household Labor and Work-Family Conflict

4.2.1. Descriptive Analysis

Individual-Level Measures

The descriptive statistics for the dependent and individual-level variables are presented in Table 5. The sample includes respondents who are 18 or older, are living with a spouse or partner, and report currently working in paid labor. The original sample size of respondents who are 18 or older are 52,301. I eliminated 15,760 individuals who do not live with a spouse or partner and 14,288 individuals who do not currently employed in the labor market, resulting in 22,253 cases. I have 21,461 cases with valid values of the dependent variable. After listwise deletion, the effective sample size is 15,322 (6,904 for women, 8,418 for men). I lost 6,139 cases (28.6%), and the key sources of missing data are relative income, perceived fairness of the division of housework, and the respondent's perceived share of household labor (4,601 cases total – 21.4%).

The dependent variable of this chapter is work-family conflict. The mean score of work-family conflict is 1.93 (SD=.71) for women and 1.83 (SD=.70) for men. Note that the higher values of work-family conflict indicate that respondents experience work-family conflict more often. The results show that on average women report more work-family conflict than men, which is consistent with existing evidence of women's disadvantage of work-family conflict.

Table 5. Individual-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=15,322)

Variable	Female (N=6,904)				Male (N=8,418)			
	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max
Work-family conflict (high = more conflict)	1.93	.71	1	4	1.83	.70	1	4
Respondent's share of household labor	65.56	16.76	0	100	32.46	18.49	0	100
Perceived fairness (%)								
Do more than my fair share	54.08					10.76		
Do roughly my fair share	40.32					47.33		
Do less than my fair share	5.59					41.91		
Age (in years)	42.90	10.82	18	93	45.49	11.65	18	90
Married (%)	85.66				86.72			
Education (in years, standardized by country)	.33	.91	-3.90	6.04	.21	.93	-4.42	5.44
Relative income (high = having higher income)	3.73	1.35	1	7	5.18	1.20	1	7
Respondent's share of paid work	54.46	22.43	2.33	100	69.68	22.67	6.25	100
Presence of children (%)								
No child	46.47				46.14			
One child	21.70				21.39			
Two or more children	31.84				32.47			
Egalitarian ideology (high = more egalitarian)	3.62	.74	1	5	3.35	.75	1	5

Source: ISSP (2016)

As expected, considerable gender differences are found in housework-related measures. On average, women report that they perform 65.56% of household labor relative to their partner, while men report only 32.46% of household labor are done by themselves. There are also substantial differences in men's and women's reports on the perceived fairness of the division of household labor. More than half of female respondents (54.08%) respond that they do more than their fair share of the household labor, while only 10.76% of male respondents report that they do more than their fair share. In contrast, only 5.59% of women report that they do less than their fair share of the housework, whereas about 42% of men report they do less than their fair share.

As for the perception of doing one's fair share of the housework, a gender gap is quite attenuated, but more men perceive that they do roughly their fair share of the household labor compared to women (40.32% for women; 47.33% for men). Gender differences are also found in the work-related measures—a respondent's share of paid work and relative income. On average, men report their share of paid work as about 70%, while women report about 54% as their share of paid work. The average score of relative income is 3.73 for women and 5.18 for men, indicating that on average men report having a higher income than their female partner, while women report having a lower income compared to their male partner (where 4="My partner and I have about the same income").

With respect to age, marital status, educational attainment, and number of children, no significant gender differences are found. The average ages of women and men are about 43 and 45 years, respectively. The majority of respondents are married or in civic relationship (85.66% for women; 86.72% for men) and have no children (46.47% for women; 46.14% for men). After listwise deletion of missing cases, the standardized measure of education is approximately normally distributed for both women and men, with a mean of .33 for women and .21 for men, as

well as a standard deviation of .91 for women and .93 for men. Finally, women hold more egalitarian ideology than men (3.62 for women; 3.35 for men).

Country Level Measures

Table 6 presents the mean values of women's and men's self-reported work-family conflict and country-level variables for each country. Among 38 countries, Taiwanese women (1.59) and men (1.42) report the lowest work-family conflict, while Venezuelan women (2.71) and men (3.20) report the highest work-family conflict. In terms of the Gender Inequality Index (GII), Denmark has the lowest score (.045) and Venezuela the highest (3.02). As for GDP and welfare regimes for each country, please refer to Table 2. The descriptive statistics show a wide range in the dependent variable and country-level measures.

To find if there are systematic gender differences in work-family conflict, I then conduct a series of t-tests for each country. Overall, women report more work-family conflict than men in the most countries (i.e., 32 out of 38 countries), and about half of the results (i.e., 15 countries) are statistically significant. Among 32 countries where women report more work-family conflict than men, Korean appears to have the highest gender disparities in work-family conflict (difference=.38; $p < .001$). Among 6 countries in where men report more work-family conflict than women, Venezuelan report the highest (difference=-.49; $p < .001$).

To sum up, the results indicate that women experience more work-family conflict in general than men, although such a gender difference in work-family conflict is less systematic and less significant than a gender difference in the division of household labor in the previous chapter. In the next chapter, I conduct a series of multilevel regression models predicting women's and men's work-family conflict, by focusing on the effects of the division of household labor, perceptions of fairness of that division, and country-level gender equality.

Table 6. Country-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=38)

Country	N	Mean Work-Family Conflict for Women	Mean Work-Family Conflict for Men	Mean Difference Between Women and Men	Gender Inequality Index
Argentina	243	1.91	1.61	.30 **	.37
Australia	557	1.98	1.83	.15 **	.13
Austria	349	1.76	1.74	.02	.10
Belgium	677	1.93	1.75	.19 ***	.07
Bulgaria	238	2.27	2.26	.01	.22
Canada	291	1.94	1.72	.21 **	.11
Chile	243	2.47	2.12	.35 **	.35
Croatia	290	2.30	2.06	.24 *	.13
Czech Republic	608	1.70	1.67	.04	.13
Denmark	616	1.78	1.72	.05	.05
Finland	466	1.77	1.69	.08	.07
France	700	1.94	1.89	.05	.11
Germany	604	1.78	1.84	-.07	.09
Hungary	253	1.88	1.82	.06	.26
Iceland	465	1.84	1.80	.04	.08
Ireland	392	1.91	1.72	.19 ***	.14
Israel	380	2.27	1.93	.34 ***	.13
Japan	309	1.70	1.77	-.07	.13
South Korea	408	2.13	1.75	.38 ***	.08
Latvia	329	2.08	1.86	.22 **	.19
Lithuania	269	1.86	1.90	-.04	.14
Mexico	304	2.12	2.03	.09	.37
Netherlands	435	1.66	1.59	.07	.05
Norway	611	1.82	1.70	.12 **	.06
Philippines	436	2.06	2.09	-.03	.45
Poland	313	2.13	2.02	.11	.15
Portugal	195	1.87	1.73	.14	.12
Russia	285	2.17	2.10	.08	.29
Slovakia	361	2.08	2.21	-.14	.19
Slovenia	279	1.87	1.68	.19 *	.07
South Africa	315	1.82	1.82	.00	.41
Spain	698	2.19	1.91	.28 ***	.10
Sweden	404	1.83	1.65	.18 ***	.05
Switzerland	469	1.61	1.58	.03	.05
Taiwan	622	1.59	1.42	.17 **	.05
United Kingdom	283	1.92	1.81	.11	.16
United States	405	1.98	1.87	.11	.23
Venezuela	220	2.71	3.20	-.49 ***	.47

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

4.2.2. Multilevel Analysis

Tables 7 and 8 provide results of multilevel regression models predicting women's and men's work-family conflict, respectively. Each set of models introduces level-1 and level-2 variables. The full models for women and men are provided in Model 4 of each Table.

Models 1-4 of Table 7 show the results for women's work-family conflict. First of all, I conduct an unconditional model containing no individual- and country-level variables in order to find the degree of variation in women's work-family conflict across countries (Model 1 of Table 7). Again, all of continuous variables at both levels are centered on their grand means. Thus, the intercept in each model indicates predicted work-family conflict for a woman (or a man) with average characteristics in a country with average characteristics in the sample. The intercept of Model 1 of Table 7 is 1.961 ($p < .001$), indicating women's average self-reported work-family conflict across countries. The between-country variance on the intercept is .050 ($p < .001$) and the within-country variance is .457 ($p < .001$). The intraclass correlation is .099, indicating 9.9% of the overall variance in women's work-family conflict is attributable to between-country variance. These results indicate that women's work-family conflict varies significantly both between and within countries, while the more variation occurred at the individual-level.

Table 7. Multilevel Analysis of Women's Work-Family Conflict (N=6,904)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	1.961***	1.899***	1.993***	1.928***
Level 1: Individual-level variables				
Respondent's share of household labor		-.002***		-.002***
Respondent's share of paid work		.001**		.001**
Perceived fairness (ref. = do roughly my fair share)				
Do more than my fair share		.151***		.150***
Do less than my fair share		.133***		.133***
Age		.017**		.017**
Age squared		.000***		.000***
Marital status (ref. = not married)		-.013		-.012
Education		.039***		.038***
Relative income		.021**		.021**
Presence of children (ref. = no child)				
One child		.068**		.067**
Two or more children		.071**		.070**
Egalitarian ideology		-.127***		-.124***
Level 2: Country-level variables				
Gender inequality index (GII)			1.340	.969
GDP per capita (US\$/1000)			-.003	-.002
Welfare regimes (ref. = familialist)				
Liberal			.013	.013
Former socialist			-.020	-.032
Social democratic			.041	.085
Developing			-.192	-.197
Variance components				
Between-country	.05***	.037***	.031***	.031***
Within-country	.457***	.438***	.457***	.438***
ICC (%)	9.9%	7.8%	6.3%	6.5%
BIC	14327	14122.2	14363.1	14168.5
Wald chi-square (df)	-	319.2 (12)	21.3 (6)	328.9 (18)
Log-likelihood	-7150.2	-6994.8	-7141.8	-6991.4

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

Model 2 of Table 7 adds individual-level variables to Model 1, while Model 3 of Table 7 includes country-level variables only. Overall, the results indicate that individual-level variables are significantly associated with women's work-family conflict, whereas none of country-level variable is statistically significant. Both measures of paid and unpaid labor are significantly associated with work-family conflict. Women who perform a small share of housework ($b = -.002$, $p < .001$) or who perform a large share of paid work ($b = .001$, $p < .01$) report more work-family conflict. Note that the direction of women's share of housework is somewhat opposite. The coefficient is negative and significant, which indicates that women who do a larger share of household labor relative to their partner report less work-family conflict than their female counterparts who do a smaller share of housework, after controlling for other individual-level variables. It might be because that women who do a higher share of housework are less sensitive to work-family conflict caused from the unequal division of household labor. Fairness perception of the division of household labor is also significantly related to women's work-family conflict. Women who perceive doing more or less than their fair share of housework report more work-family conflict than the reference group who perceives doing their fair share of household labor ($b = .151$, $p < .001$ for doing more than one's fair share; $b = .133$, $p < .001$ for doing less than one's fair share). Being older ($b = .017$, $p < .01$), having a higher educational attainment ($b = .039$, $p < .001$), earning higher income than one's partner ($b = .021$, $p < .01$) and having more children ($b = .068$, $p < .01$ for one child; $b = .071$, $p < .01$ for more than two children) are all associated with a higher level of work-family conflict for women. Egalitarian gender ideology is negatively associated with women's work-family conflict, indicating that women who hold more egalitarian gender ideology tend to report less work-family conflict ($b = -.127$, $p < .001$) than their traditional counterparts.

Model 4 of Table 7 is the full model including both individual- and country-level variables. The final model is consistent with previous models (Models 2 and 3). Including all of variables at both levels reduces the between-country variance by 39.0% (from .050 to .031) and the within-country variance by 4.3% (from .457 to .438). The intraclass correlation changes .099 in the unconditional model to .065 in the full model. Overall, the results indicate that both level-1 and level-2 variables included in the model play an important role in explaining women's work-family conflict in our analytic sample.

Models 1-4 of Table 8 present the results for men's work-family conflict. Each set of models introduces level-1 and level-2 variables. Compared to the results for women's work-family conflict, several findings should be noted. First, the effect of respondents' share of housework on work-family conflict significantly varies by gender. While Table 7 shows that respondent's share of housework plays a significant role in explaining women's work-family conflict, this variable is not statistically significant for men (Table 8). This suggests that women are more influenced by household labor in terms of work-family conflict than men. More notable gender differences are found in the association between the GII and work-family conflict. Unlike women, the GII is significantly related to men's work-family conflict ($b=2.412$, $p<.01$ in Model 4 of Table 8), indicating that men who live in high GII countries (i.e., countries with a lower level of gender equality) tend to report more work-family conflict compared to their male counterparts who live in low GII countries (i.e., countries with a high level of gender equality). These results suggest that men are particularly influenced by country-level gender equality in terms of work-family conflict, compared to women.

Table 8. Multilevel Analysis of Men's Work-Family Conflict (N=8,418)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Intercept	1.864***	1.739***	1.949***	1.807***
Level 1: Individual-level variables				
Respondent's share of household labor		.000		.000
Respondent's share of paid work		.001*		.001*
Perceived fairness (ref. = do roughly my fair share)				
Do more than my fair share		.140***		.140***
Do less than my fair share		.109***		.109***
Age		.006		.007
Age squared		.000**		.000**
Marital status (ref. = not married)		.022		.022
Education		.008		.008
Relative income		-.002		-.002
Presence of children (ref. = no child)				
One child		.062**		.062**
Two or more children		.080***		.080***
Egalitarian ideology		-.062***		-.059***
Level 2: Country-level variables				
Gender inequality index (GII)			2.585***	2.412**
GDP per capita (US\$/1000)			.000	.001
Welfare regimes (ref. = familialist)				
Liberal			-.092	-.070
Former socialist			-.001	-.001
Social democratic			.026	.068
Developing			-.396	-.403
Variance components				
Between-country	.077***	.067***	.041***	.041***
Within-country	.426***	.411***	.426***	.411***
ICC (%)	15.4%	14.1%	8.8%	9.1%
BIC	16874.6	16679.5	16905.7	16716.0
Wald chi-square (df)		309.3 (12)	31.8 (6)	335.1 (18)
Log-likelihood	-8423.7	-8271.9	-8412.2	-8263.1

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

Among other individual-level variables, the share of paid work, perceived fairness of the division of housework, presence of children, and egalitarian gender ideology appear to play a significant role in explaining men's work-family conflict. Similar to women, performing a large share of paid work, perceiving doing more or less than their fair share of housework, having more children, or have more traditional gender ideology are significantly associated with higher levels of work-family conflict for men. However, age, education, or relative income is not statistically significant for men's work-family conflict.

The variance components show that adding the level-1 and level-2 variables to an unconditional model reduces the between-country variance by 46.8% (from .077 to .041) and the within-country variance by 3.5% (from .426 to .411) for men. The intraclass correlation is .154 in an unconditional model (Model 1 of Table 8) and .091 in the full model (Model 4 of Table 8). Overall, the results show that the level-1 and level-2 measures included in full models explain the substantial amount of total variation in men's work-family conflict, like women.

4.2.3. Conclusion and Discussion

In Chapter 4.2, I examine the cross-national variation in work-family conflict in 38 countries. Comparative studies of the effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict are scant compared to other family-related research, such as the division of household labor, perceived fairness of that division, and family life satisfaction. Using the ISSP 2012 data, I investigate women's and men's work-family conflict, with a particular emphasis on the role of country-level gender equality. Building on the previous literature on work-family conflict and the division of household labor, I posit that women experience more work-family conflict than men (Hypothesis 4) and that the effect of household labor on work-family conflict is stronger for women than men (Hypothesis 5). Consistent with the prior meta-analytic result examining mean

differences in work-family conflict across countries (Allen et al. 2015), I also expect that individuals in countries with greater gender equality experience less work-family conflict (Hypothesis 6). Finally, I explore whether and how the effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict differs for men and women, by testing two competing hypotheses (Hypotheses 7a and 7b).

The results provide support for Hypothesis 4. The results for the descriptive statistics (Table 6) show that women report more work-family conflict than men in most countries (i.e., 32 out of 38 countries), and about half of these differences (i.e., 15 countries) are statistically significant. The results for multilevel analysis also show the same tendency. The intercepts, which indicate the predicted work-family conflict for a respondent with average characteristics in a country with average characteristics in the sample, are greater for women than men throughout the models (Tables 7 and 8). The gender difference in intercepts is about .097 (1.961 for women; 1.864 for men) in the unconditional models and about .121 (1.928 for women; 1.807 for men) in the full models. Although such differences in intercepts do not tell us the significance level, these results indicate that on average women report higher levels of work-family conflict than men. The findings also support Hypothesis 5. I expect that work-family conflict is more susceptible to the housework distribution among women than men, in light of the gendered nature of domestic labor. The results provide empirical support for this, by showing that respondent's share of housework remains significant throughout the models for women, but this variable is not statistically significant for men. It is important to note that perceived fairness of the division of housework also plays a significant role in explaining work-family conflict for both women and men throughout the analyses. Specifically, the results show that respondents who perceive doing roughly their fair share of housework report significantly less work-family conflict than people

who perceive doing more or less than their fair share of housework. These results suggest that along with the actual degree of equality in the division of household labor, the perceived fairness of this division also needs to be considered for cross-national research on work-family conflict.

Furthermore, the results provide partial support for Hypothesis 6. Even though the influence of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict in terms of the gender division of housework has not been explicitly addressed cross-nationally, previous comparative studies have shown that family-related behaviors and perceptions are significantly influenced by macro-level contextual factors, and among those factors country-level gender equality plays a significant role in family processes (Bataloa and Cohen 2002; Braun et al. 2008; Davis 2010; Forste and Fox 2012; Fuwa 2004; Geist and Cohen 2011; Greenstein 2009; Hu and Yucel 2018; Jansen et al. 2016; Kornrich and Eger 2016; Knudsen and Wærness 2008; Öun 2013; Ruppanner 2010a, 2010b; Treas and Tai 2016). Consistent with these findings, our results show that country-level gender equality plays a significant role in explaining work-family conflict, but there is a gender difference. For men, the effect of Gender Inequality Index (GII) is positive and significant, indicating that men in countries with greater gender equality report significantly less work-family conflict than others in more traditional countries. However, the GII is not statistically significant in explaining women's work-family conflict, which provides support for Hypothesis 7a (i.e., The effect of country-level gender equality on work-family conflict varies by gender). These findings suggest that work-family conflict might be more susceptible to country's gender equality climate among men than women.

Another important point this study found is the strong, negative association between individuals' egalitarian gender ideology and work-family conflict for both men and women. Given the gendered nature of work-family conflict, individuals' gender ideology is expected to

play a significant role in work-family conflict, and this is largely confirmed by the results of this study. Egalitarian gender ideology at the individual-level is significantly associated with lower levels of work-family conflict in all models, indicating that women and men with more egalitarian gender ideology report significantly less work-family conflict than their traditional counterparts. This is an interesting finding, particularly in light of the opposite impact of individuals' gender ideology on conflict over the division of household labor. In a prior comparative study that examined housework conflict in national contexts, Ruppner (2010a) found that women and men with more egalitarian gender ideology report more conflict with their partner over housework. These findings imply that although people with more egalitarian gender ideology experience more conflict with their partner about how to divide the housework, they may have less work-family conflict caused by the competing roles of the work and family domains. Future research should investigate this nuanced mechanism for a deeper understanding of gender equality and its consequences in work-family conflict.

I acknowledge some limitations that need to be mentioned. First, I cannot rule out the possibility of other national contexts that may affect work-family conflict and its association with country-level gender equality. Given the lack of prior cross-national studies that address the role of country-level gender equality in women's and men's work-family conflict with respect to the gender division of household labor, this study focuses on providing empirical evidence of that, by controlling for two fundamental national contexts of GDP per capita and welfare state regimes. Future research should continue to investigate the role of other national contexts in configuring the relationship between country-level gender equality and work-family conflict for women and men. Second, I measure work-family conflict without distinction between WIF (i.e., work interference with family) and FIW (i.e. family interference with work), because it is

expected that the influences of the division of household labor and country-level gender equality may be manifested regardless of the forms of work-family conflict. As mentioned in the methodology section, the factor analysis results also indicate that all four items—which consist of the work-family conflict measure—retain one factor with a high level of reliability. I also conduct comparable multilevel models using two separate outcome variables of WIF and FIW as a preliminary analyses and do not find any significant differences compared to the current conclusions. Future research could expand on the findings of this study by elaborating whether a different form of work-family conflict matters in explaining cross-national variations in work-family conflict. Finally, the current multilevel analyses cannot establish causality, and thus, we need to be careful when interpreting the results of this study. Nonetheless, our findings still provide evidence that work-family conflict is lower in countries with high levels of gender equality.

Despite these limitations, this study provides robust evidence of the gendered process of work-family conflict from a comparative perspective. On the one hand, the results show that men and women who have more egalitarian gender ideology—and men who live in more egalitarian countries—report significantly less work-family conflict than those living in more traditional countries, suggesting that national and individual development toward more gender equality may be conducive to reducing work-family conflict. On the other hand, the findings demonstrate that the effects of country-level gender equality and the housework division on work-family conflict vary by gender, suggesting that future research should consider such gender differences in work-family conflict. Work-family conflict has become an important issue for both researchers and policy makers since the dominant family model largely shifted to the dual-earner family in most industrial countries. Although important, cross-national studies of work-family conflict are

relatively scant compared to other family-related research. To my knowledge, there is no comparable research examining the relationship between the division of household labor, gender equality, and work-family conflict in a cross-national setting. Building on our findings, future research should continue to explore the link between gender equality and men's and women's work-family conflict, with a particular attention paid to factors to help reduce work-family conflict in general and women's disadvantage in work-family conflict.

4.3. Exploring the Relationship between the Divisions of Household Labor, Work-Family Conflict, and Family Life Satisfaction

4.3.1. Descriptive Analysis

Individual-Level Measures

The descriptive statistics for the dependent and individual-level variables are presented in Table 9. The sample includes respondents who are 18 or older, living with a spouse or partner, and currently employed in the labor market. The original sample size of respondents who are 18 or older are 52,301. I eliminated 15,760 individuals who do not live with a spouse or partner and 14,288 individuals who do not currently employed in the labor market, resulting in 22,253 cases. I have 22,006 cases with valid values of the dependent variable. After listwise deletion, the effective sample size is 15,274 (6,888 for women, 8,386 for men). I lost 6,732 cases (30.6%), and the key sources of missing data are relative income, perceived fairness of the division of housework, and respondent's perceived share of household labor (4,777 cases total – 21.7%).

Table 9. Individual-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=15,274)

Variable	Female (N=6,888)				Male (N=8,386)			
	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max	Mean or %	SD	Min	Max
Satisfaction with family life (high = satisfied)	5.72	.94	1	7	5.82	.89	1	7
Work-family conflict (high = more conflict)	1.93	.71	1	4	1.83	.70	1	4
Respondent's share of household labor	65.56	16.77	0	100	32.47	18.50	0	100
Perceived fairness (%)								
Do more than my fair share	54.07				10.77			
Do roughly my fair share	40.33				47.32			
Do less than my fair share	5.60				41.92			
Age (in years)	42.90	10.82	18	93	45.48	11.65	18	90
Married (%)	85.70				86.74	86.74		
Education (in years, standardized by country)	.33	.91	-3.90	6.04	.21	.93	-4.42	5.44
Relative income (high = having higher income)	3.73	1.35	1	7	5.18	1.20	1	7
Respondent's share of paid work	54.45	22.42	2.33	100	69.68	22.67	6.25	100
Presence of children (%)								
No child	46.43				46.09			
One child	21.70				21.38			
Two or more children	31.87				32.53			
Egalitarian ideology (high = egalitarian)	3.62	.74	1	5	3.35	.74	1	5

Source: ISSP (2016)

The dependent variable of this chapter is satisfaction with family life. The mean score of family life satisfaction is 5.72 (SD=.94) for women and 5.82 (SD=.89) for men, indicating on average women are less satisfied with family life than men. The *t*-test result for an overall comparison by gender shows that there is a statistically significant difference between women's and men's family life satisfaction at the .001 level (difference=-.10, $t = -6.67$). Women also appear to have more work-family conflict than men (1.93 for women, 1.83 for men), consistent with the findings in Chapter 4.2. More substantial gender differences are found in housework-related measures. As expected, women do the majority of household labor in our analytic sample. Women report that they perform 65.56% of housework relative to their partner, while men report only 32.47% of housework done by themselves. As for perceived fairness of the housework division, both men and women perceive unfairness, but in different directions. More than half of female respondents (54.07%) perceive that they do more than their fair share of housework, while only 10.77% of male respondents perceive that they do more than their fair share. In contrast, only 5.60% of women report doing less than their fair share, whereas 41.92% of men report doing less than their fair share.

Gender differences are also found in the work-related measures—a respondent's share of paid work and relative income. Women report their relative share of paid work as 54.45%, while men as 69.68%. Note that the mean value of respondent's share of paid work reported by employed women is over 50%. Even though we should consider response bias and retired men, this result is somewhat greater than anticipated. This would be because that our sample is restricted to respondents who are currently employed in the labor market, regardless of their spouses' employment status. Another possibility would be that this result itself indicates a slow change in the division of household labor, but a relatively fast change in the division of paid

work, particularly in light of the conventional result for women's and men's share of housework. The average score of relative income is 5.18 for men and 3.73 for women, indicating that on average men report having a higher income than their partner, while women report having a lower income than their partner (where 4="My partner and I have about the same income"). Finally, women appear to hold more egalitarian gender ideology than men (3.62 for women, 3.35 for men). These results indicate that gendered practices still persist in our analytic sample, in terms of work and family life.

For age, marital status, educational attainment, and number of children, no significant gender differences are found. The average age of women and men is about 43 and 45 years, respectively. The majority of respondents are married or in civic relationship (85.70% for women, 86.74% for men), and about half of them have no children (46.43% for women, and 46.09% for men).

Country Level Measures

Table 10 presents the mean values of women's and men's family life satisfaction and country-level variables for each country. Among 38 countries, Korean women (4.89) and Lithuanian men (5.23) report the lowest family life satisfaction, while Argentine women (6.20) and Venezuelan men (6.20) report the highest. The level of gender equality in each country is measured by the Gender Inequality Index (GII) by the UNDP. The GII ranges from 0 to 1, with higher values representing a lower level of gender equality in a given country. The country with the highest level of gender equality is Denmark with the lowest GII score (.045), while Venezuela appears to be a country with the lowest level of gender equality with the highest GII score (3.02). As for GDP and welfare regimes for each country, please refer to Table 2. The descriptive statistics show a wide range of the dependent variable and country-level measures.

Table 10. Country-Level Descriptive Statistics (N=38)

Country	N	Mean Family Life Satisfaction for Women	Mean Family Life Satisfaction for Men	Mean Difference Between Women and Men	Gender Inequality Index
Argentina	243	6.20	6.17	.03	.37
Australia	552	5.77	5.84	-.07	.13
Austria	349	5.76	5.83	-.06	.10
Belgium	674	5.83	5.77	.06	.07
Bulgaria	238	5.64	5.94	-.30 *	.22
Canada	290	5.61	5.79	-.18	.11
Chile	243	5.87	6.07	-.20	.35
Croatia	290	5.96	6.11	-.14	.13
Czech Republic	601	5.39	5.45	-.06	.13
Denmark	615	5.82	5.84	-.02	.05
Finland	464	5.76	5.69	.08	.07
France	697	5.68	5.70	-.02	.11
Germany	600	5.65	5.77	-.12	.09
Hungary	253	5.76	5.79	-.03	.26
Iceland	464	6.02	5.95	.07	.08
Ireland	390	5.71	5.85	-.14	.14
Israel	379	5.94	6.04	-.10	.13
Japan	307	5.25	5.48	-.23	.13
South Korea	408	4.89	5.34	-.45 ***	.08
Latvia	329	5.34	5.59	-.25 *	.19
Lithuania	267	5.04	5.23	-.19	.14
Mexico	303	5.93	6.09	-.16	.37
Netherlands	435	5.80	5.94	-.14	.05
Norway	606	5.67	5.78	-.11	.06
Philippines	436	5.94	6.01	-.06	.45
Poland	313	6.00	6.13	-.13	.15
Portugal	195	5.91	6.02	-.10	.12
Russia	284	5.39	5.66	-.27 *	.29
Slovakia	361	5.66	5.67	-.01	.19
Slovenia	279	5.78	5.78	.00	.07
South Africa	315	5.85	5.97	-.12	.41
Spain	695	5.79	5.91	-.12	.10
Sweden	403	5.69	5.74	-.05	.05
Switzerland	468	5.97	5.95	.02	.05
Taiwan	622	5.53	5.64	-.11	.05
United Kingdom	281	5.83	5.89	-.05	.16
United States	405	5.97	6.03	-.06	.23
Venezuela	220	6.19	6.20	-.01	.47

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.

To find if there are any systematic gender differences in family life satisfaction for each country, I conduct a series of *t*-tests for each country (Table 10). As discussed earlier, there is a statistically significant difference between women's and men's family life satisfaction for an overall comparison. However, the *t*-test results for each country do not show many significant results. Only four countries (i.e., Bulgaria, South Korea, Latvia, and Russia) show statistically significant differences in family life satisfaction between women and men. Otherwise, a difference is not significant, even though women tend to report less family life satisfaction than men in most of the sampled countries.

To sum up, the results indicate that on the average women are less satisfied with family life than men, but almost no systematic gender difference in family life satisfaction is found in each country. Yet, there are still significant gender disparities in work-family conflict and household characteristics, such as the housework division and perceived fairness of that division, along with cross-national variations in other country-level measures. Recent comparative research has found that cross-national variation in men's and women's family life satisfaction are determined by different processes at the individual-level (Kornrich and Eger 2016). Given this, even though there are less systematic gender gaps in family life satisfaction across countries, the effects of individual- and country-level variables on family life satisfaction might vary by gender.

Furthermore, previous cross-national research shows that different national contexts play a significant role in shaping individuals' satisfaction with family life, by creating different environments within countries (Greenstein 2009, Hu and Yucel 2018). This suggests that national contexts may moderate the relationship between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction, and the moderating effect of national contexts may also vary by gender. In the next

chapter, I attempt to answer these questions by conducting a multilevel model of women's and men's family life satisfaction.

4.3.2. Multilevel Analysis

Multilevel Models of Women's Satisfaction with Family Life

Table 11 presents the results of multilevel regression models predicting women's family life satisfaction. Model 1 includes two housework-related measures (i.e., the division of household labor and perceived fairness of that division), net of individual controls. Consistent with prior research, the results indicate that the division of housework and perceptions of fairness are significantly associated with women's family life satisfaction. Specifically, women who do a smaller share of household labor and who perceive their share of housework to be fair tend to report greater satisfaction with family life. Among other individual variables, being younger, being married, doing a smaller share of paid work, and holding more egalitarian gender role ideology are positively associated with women's satisfaction with family life.

Model 2 includes the work-family conflict measure, net of individual controls. Building on previous work-family conflict research, it is expected that work-family conflict is negatively associated with family life satisfaction. Our results provide support for this hypothesis. The coefficient of work-family conflict is significant and negative ($b = -.263, p < .001$), indicating that women who experience more work-family conflict are significantly less satisfied with their family life. In Model 2, most of individual-level controls remain significant and in the same direction, except for the standardized measure of education. Education becomes significant in Model 2, but it is insignificant in other models.

Table 11. Multilevel Analysis of Women's Satisfaction with Family Life (N=6,888)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	5.695***	5.555***	5.700***	5.637***	5.635***	5.645***	5.645***
Level 1: Individual-level variables							
Age	-.034***	-.030***	-.030***	-.029***	-.030***	-.029***	-.031***
Age squared	.000***	.000**	.000**	.000**	.000**	.000**	.000**
Married ¹	.200***	.204***	.198***	.201***	.201***	.202***	.204***
Education	.010	.026*	.020	.020	.020	.020	.023
Relative income ²	-.014	-.004	-.009	-.009	-.009	-.010	-.008
R's share of paid work	-.003***	-.002***	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***
Presence of children ³							
One child	-.035	-.033	-.019	-.021	-.019	-.021	-.015
Two or more children	-.017	-.023	.000	-.004	-.002	-.004	-.003
Egalitarian ideology ⁴	.076***	.057***	.044**	.048**	.046**	.048**	.044**
R's share of household labor	-.003***		-.003***	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***	-.003***
Perceived fairness ⁵							
Do more than a fair share	-.215***		-.177***	-.181***	-.176***	-.183***	-.178***
Do less than a fair share	-.149**		-.114*	-.119*	-.115*	-.112*	-.113*
Work-family conflict ⁶		-.263***	-.252***	-.252***	-.253***	-.252***	-.250***
Level 2: Country-level variables							
GII ⁷				.684	.461	.605	.614
GDP				.002	.002	.002	.002
Welfare regime ⁸							
Liberal				.156	.156	.158	.172
Former socialist				-.018	-.028	-.055	-.017
Social democratic				.018	.017	.008	.023
Developing				.270	.270	.301	.261
Cross-level interaction							
R's share of household labor X GII					.016**		
Do more than my fair share X GII						-.061	
Do less than my fair share X GII						-.254	
Work-family conflict X GII							.425*

(table cont'd.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Variance components							
Between-country	.066***	.076***	.075***	.050***	.052***	.051***	.048***
Within-country	.790***	.773***	.762***	.762***	.761***	.760***	.757***
R's share of household labor slope					.000		
Perceived fairness slope						.006	
Work-family conflict slope							.007*
ICC (%)	7.7%	8.9%	9.0%	6.1%	6.3%	6.3%	6.0%
BIC	18160.5	17998.0	17922.6	17961.2	17980.8	17993.3	17969.2
Wald chi-square (df)	284.9 (12)	437.7 (10)	546.9 (13)	563.2 (19)	570.5 (20)	539.1 (21)	438.9 (20)
Log-likelihood	-9014.0	-8941.6	-8890.6	-8883.4	-8879.9	-8881.8	-8874.1

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

1. Reference is not married. 2. A high score indicates that a respondent has a high income than their partner, where 4 represents a respondent and his/her partner have about the same income. 3. Reference is no child. 4. A high score indicates more egalitarian gender role ideology. 5. Reference is doing roughly a fair share. 6. A high score indicates more work-family conflict. 7. GII is Gender Inequality Index, where 0 indicates the most egalitarian country. 8. Reference is familialist.

Model 3 is the final level-1 model that includes both housework-related and work-family conflict measures, net of individual controls. The net coefficient of work-family conflict is almost unaffected by the inclusion of the housework division and perceptions of fairness (decreased from $-.263$ to $-.252$) indicating that such housework-related variables hardly mediate the association between work-family conflict and women's family life satisfaction. The net coefficients of perceived fairness of the housework division are somewhat mediated by the inclusion of work-family conflict, decreasing from $-.215$ to $-.177$ for the perception of doing more than a fair share, and decreases from $.146$ to $.114$ for the perception of doing less than a fair share. However, they remain significant in the same direction. This suggests that work-family conflict, the division of housework, and perceptions of fairness are all significantly associated with women's family life satisfaction, and their net influences on women's satisfaction are largely independent of one another.

Model 4 adds the country-level variables to Model 3: Gender Inequality Index (GII), country's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, and welfare regimes. No significant changes are found with respect to individual-level variables, but the model fit significantly improves. Compared with Model 3, adding country-level variables reduces the between-country variance of country-level intercept by 33.5% (from $.075$ to $.050$). In other words, three country-level variables explain 33.5% of the total country-variance in women's satisfaction with family life. Inclusion of these country-level variables also reduces the intraclass correlations from $.090$ (in Model 3) to $.061$ (in Model 4). Nonetheless, none of the main effects of country-level variables are statistically significant. This suggests that the level-1 variations may have a stronger and more straightforward influence on women's family life satisfaction than the level-2 variations in the model.

I then examine the cross-level interaction with GII to test whether the effects of work-family conflict, along with the division of housework and perceived fairness of that division, on women's family life satisfaction vary by country-level gender equality. To avoid multicollinearity due to a relatively small number of level-2 variables, a piecewise block of interaction terms is added to Models 5, 6, and 7, respectively. The results show that there are significant interaction effects between GII and work-family conflict (Model 7), as well as between GII and the division of household labor (Model 5).

To facilitate interpretation, Figure 2 depicts predicted values of women's family life satisfaction by work-family conflict in low and high GII countries, holding all other variables at their means. Here, I operationalize low GII (i.e., a higher level of gender equality) as 2 standard deviations below the mean and high as 2 standard deviations above the mean. Likewise, low work-family conflict is operationalized as 2 standard deviations below the mean and high as 2 standard deviations above the mean. In Figure 2, it is clear that despite the overall negative effect of work-family conflict on women's satisfaction with family life, such a negative effect is stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality (i.e., low GII countries). As a result, when work-family conflict is low, there is almost no difference in women's satisfaction with family life by country-level gender equality, but the difference is widening as work-family conflict increases. These results indicate that women who live in countries with a higher level of gender equality are more susceptible to the adverse effect of work-family conflict on family life satisfaction.

The effect of the division of household labor also significantly varies by country-level gender equality. Figure 3 presents predicted values of women's family life satisfaction by their share of housework in low and high GII countries, holding all other covariates at their means. As

before, low GII and a small share of housework are operationalized as 2 standard deviations below the means and high GII and a large share of housework as 2 standard deviations above the means. In countries with a lower level of gender equality (i.e., high GII countries), the slope is nearly flat, indicating that women's satisfaction with family life is almost unaffected by changing their share of housework, when work-family conflict and other covariates are controlled. However, the negative association between doing a larger share of housework and women's family life satisfaction is substantially stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality (i.e., low GII countries), indicating that women who perform a large share of housework in countries with great gender equality have substantially lower family life satisfaction than their counterparts in countries with a lower level of gender equality.

Overall, the findings suggest the moderating role of country-level gender equality in the associations of women's family life satisfaction with work-family conflict, as well as the division of household labor.

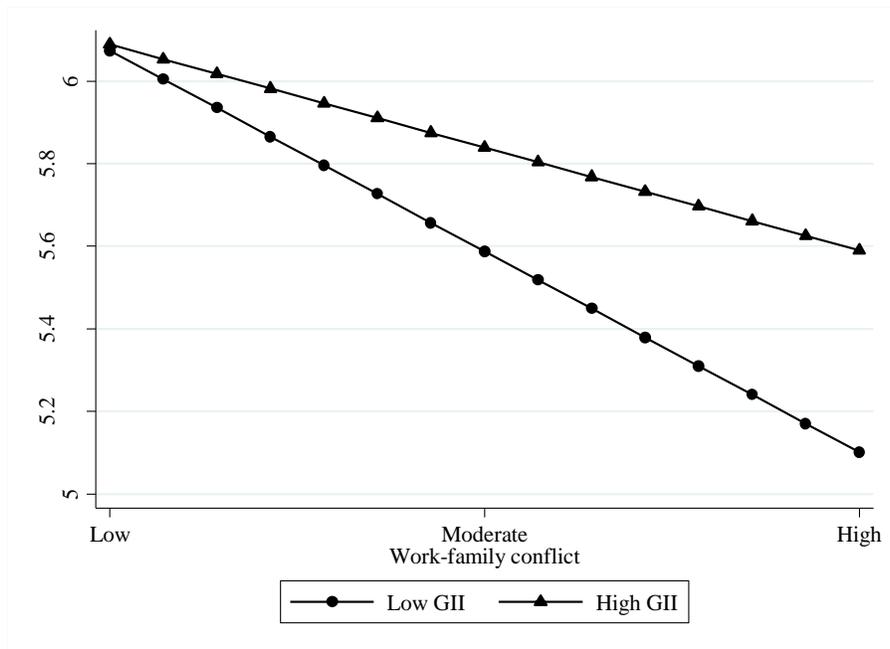


Figure 2. Women's Satisfaction with Family Life, by Work-Family Conflict and Gender Inequality Index (GII)

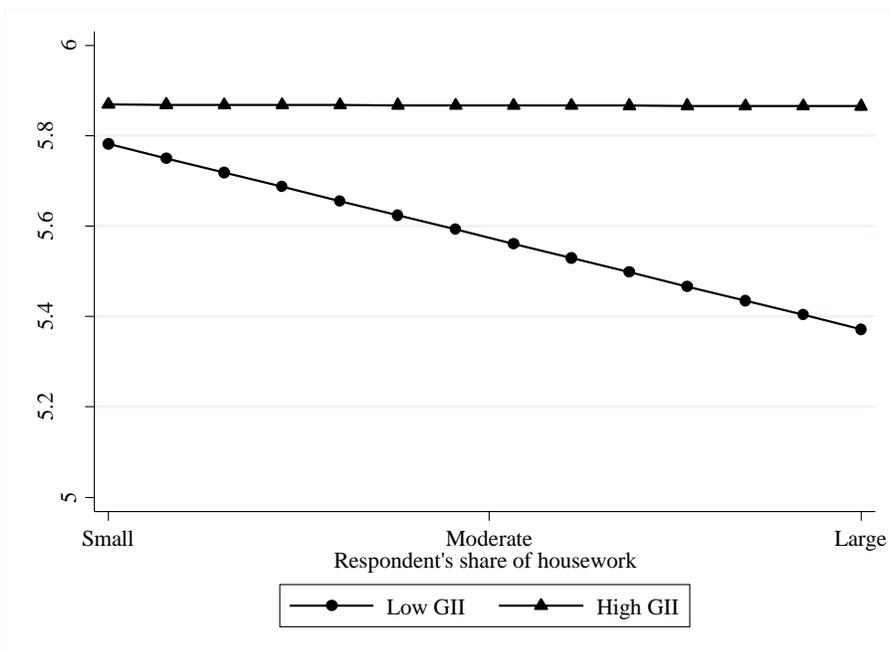


Figure 3. Women's Satisfaction with Family Life, by a Respondent's Share of Household Labor and Gender Inequality Index (GII)

Multilevel Models of Men's Satisfaction with Family Life

I now turn to results of men's satisfaction with family life. Table 12 provides the results of multilevel regression models predicting men's family life satisfaction. Model 1 includes two housework-related measures (i.e., the division of housework and perceived fairness of that division), net of individual controls. The results of Model 1 are mostly consistent with those for women, even though the strengths of housework-related measures somewhat decrease. Like women, men who do a smaller share of household labor and who perceive their share of housework to be fair tend to report greater satisfaction with family life. The distinctive gender difference is found in the measure of egalitarian gender role ideology. For women, egalitarian gender ideology is significantly associated with greater satisfaction with family life. However, it does not seem to be a significant factor in explaining men's family life satisfaction. Men's egalitarian gender ideology is only significant in Model 1 and loses significance in other models.

Model 2 includes work-family conflict, net of individual controls. The coefficient of work-family conflict for men is significant and negative ($b = -.197, p < .001$), indicating that men who have more work-family conflict are significantly less satisfied with their family life. This result shows that work-family conflict plays an important role in shaping family life satisfaction for men, like for women.

Table 12. Multilevel Analysis of Men's Satisfaction with Family Life (N=8,386)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Intercept	5.662***	5.627***	5.635***	5.598***	5.594***	5.595***	5.581***
Level 1: Individual-level variables							
Age	-.037***	-.035***	-.036***	-.035***	-.035***	-.035***	-.035***
Age squared	.000***	.000***	.000***	.000***	.000***	.000***	.000***
Married ¹	.209***	.221***	.213***	.217***	.217***	.217***	.216***
Education	.015	.015	.017	.017	.017	.017	.016
Relative income ²	.006	.011	.006	.005	.005	.005	.006
R's share of paid work	-.001	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Presence of children ³							
One child	-.031	-.015	-.020	-.021	-.022	-.020	-.021
Two or more children	.033	.051*	.047	.044	.043	.044	.045
Egalitarian ideology ⁴	.036*	.019	.023	.027	.028	.027	.026
R's share of household labor	-.002***		-.002***	-.002***	-.002***	-.002***	-.002***
Perceived fairness ⁵							
Do more than a fair share	-.116***		-.089**	-.094**	-.095**	-.114**	-.092**
Do less than a fair share	-.065**		-.044*	-.045*	-.047*	-.046	-.043*
Work-family conflict ⁶		-.197***	-.194***	-.194***	-.195***	-.194***	-.198***
Level 2: Country-level variables							
GII ⁷				.871	.972	.659	.912
GDP				.002	.002	.002	.002
Welfare regime ⁸							
Liberal				.100	.135	.110	.126
Former socialist				-.038	-.041	-.033	-.010
Social democratic				-.002	.019	-.004	.017
Developing				.196	.190	.193	.188
Cross-level interaction							
R's share of household labor X GII					.006		
Do more than my fair share X GII						.920***	
Do less than my fair share X GII						.042	
Work-family conflict X GII							.121

(table cont'd.)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7
Variance components							
Between-country	.047***	.056***	.058***	.034***	.037***	.055***	.033***
Within-country	.738***	.724***	.722***	.722***	.722***	.719***	.719***
R's share of household labor slope					.000		
Perceived fairness slope						.004	
Work-family conflict slope							.006*
ICC (%)	6.0%	7.2%	7.5%	4.4%	4.9%	7.1%	4.4%
BIC	21490.0	21320.6	21321.9	21357.1	21381.6	21372.6	21373.0
Wald chi-square (df)	154.0 (12)	310.6 (10)	337.7 (13)	356.9 (19)	358.5 (20)	371.1 (21)	284.3 (20)
Log-likelihood	-10677.2	-10601.6	-10588.7	-10579.2	-10577.9	-10568.9	-10573.5

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Total number of countries for the analysis is 38.

Source: ISSP (2016), UNDP (2014), World Bank (2018), Taiwan National Statistics (2018)

1. Reference is not married. 2. A high score indicates that a respondent has a high income than their partner, where 4 represents a respondent and his/her partner have about the same income. 3. Reference is no child. 4. A high score indicates more egalitarian gender role ideology. 5. Reference is doing roughly a fair share. 6. A high score indicates more work-family conflict. 7. GII is Gender Inequality Index, where 0 indicates the most egalitarian country. 8. Reference is familialist.

Model 3 is the final level-1 model that includes both the housework-related measures and work-family conflict, net of individual controls. The net coefficient of work-family conflict remains almost the same, after controlling for the division of housework and perceptions of fairness. This indicates that work-family conflict plays a significant and independent role in explaining men's family life satisfaction, net of the division of housework and perceptions of fairness. On the other hand, the influences of perceived fairness on men's satisfaction are somewhat mediated by the inclusion of work-family conflict (from $-.116$ to $-.089$ for perception of doing more than a fair share; from $-.065$ to $-.044$ for perception of doing less than a fair share), but they still substantially explain men's family life satisfaction in the model. This indicates that two housework-related measures have significant net influences on men's family life satisfaction, largely independent of work-family conflict. These results are generally consistent with those for women.

Model 4 adds the country-level variables to Model 3: Gender Inequality Index (GII), country's gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, and welfare regimes. Similar to women, including the level-2 variables does not yield distinguishable differences in the association between the level-1 variables and men's family life satisfaction, but the model fit significantly improves. Compared with Model 3, adding country-level variables reduces the between-country variance of country-level intercept by 42.3% (from $.058$ to $.034$). In other words, three country-level variables explain 42.3% of the total country-variance in men's satisfaction with family life. Inclusion of country-level variables also reduces the intraclass correlations by 40.4% (from $.075$ in Model 3 to $.044$ in Model 4), indicating that the proportion of the between-country variance in men's family life satisfaction decreases by 40.4% after introducing country's GII, GDP, and

welfare regimes. However, none of the main effects of country-level variables provides significance.

Models 5, 6, and 7 include a piecewise block of cross-level interaction terms, to test whether the effects of work-family conflict and housework-related measures on men's family life satisfaction differ by country-level gender equality. As for women, significant interaction effects are found between GII and work-family conflict (Model 7 of Table 11), as well as between GII and housework division (Model 5 of Table 11). In contrast, the significant cross-level interaction effect for men is only found between GII and perceived fairness of the housework division (Model 6 of Table 12), indicating that the association between perceived fairness and men's family life satisfaction is moderated by country-level gender equality. Specifically, in countries with a high level of gender equality, men who have the perception of doing more than their fair share are substantially less satisfied with their family life, compared to a reference group who perceive their share of housework to be fair. On the contrary, in countries with a low level of gender equality, men's satisfaction with family life varies little by how they perceive their share of housework.

4.3.3. Conclusion and Discussion

In Chapter 4.3, I examine the cross-national variations in women's and men's satisfaction with family life among 38 countries. Recent cross-national research has documented that the unequal division of household labor and perceived housework unfairness have negative association with satisfactory family life, but the influence of work-family conflict on that association has received insufficient attention. Using the ISSP 2012 data, I investigate the relationship between work-family conflict and women's and men's family life satisfaction, focusing on the possible moderating effect of country-level gender equality. Building on the

previous literature on work-family conflict, I expect that work-family conflict is negatively associated with family life satisfaction for both women and men, net of the division of housework, perceived fairness of this division, and other individual controls (Hypothesis 8). Building on the relative deprivation framework and the recent cross-national literature, I also hypothesize that the effect of work-family conflict on family life satisfaction may vary by country-level gender equality (Hypothesis 9), with a possible differential effect of country-level gender equality on women's and men's satisfaction (Hypothesis 10).

The results provide strong support for Hypothesis 8. A higher level of work-family conflict is significantly associated with a lower level of family life satisfaction in all models, for both women and men. The negative association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction is almost unchanged after controlling for the division of housework and perceptions of fairness. In other words, the negative effect of work-family conflict is not mediated by the inclusion of such housework-related variables. The net influences of the division of housework and perceptions of fairness also remain significant in the same direction when work-family conflict is taken into account, even though the association between perceptions of fairness and family life satisfaction is somewhat mediated. This suggests that the adverse effect of work-family conflict on family life satisfaction is largely independent of the well-documented negative influences of the unequal division of household labor and perceived unfairness, and vice versa.

The results also find that the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction varies by countries, and the moderating effect of country-level gender equality on that association differs by gender. For women, country-level gender equality moderates the association of women's satisfaction with work-family conflict and the division of household labor. Specifically, the negative effects of work-family conflict and unequal divisions of

housework on women's satisfaction are significantly stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality. This suggests that country-level gender equality is a significant moderator in explaining women's family life satisfaction, in terms of work-family conflict and the division of household labor. For men, however, country-level gender equality only moderates the association between perceptions of fairness and men's satisfaction, indicating that the moderating role of country-level gender equality differs by gender. Taken together, the findings provide support for Hypotheses 9 and 10. Yet, it is important to note that the main effect of country-level gender equality is not statistically significant either for women or men. Given this, further examination is needed to elaborate the moderating role of national contexts in the association between work-family conflict and women's and men's satisfaction.

This study has some limitations. First, I do not distinguish WIF (i.e., work interference with family) from FIW (i.e. family interference with work), because it is expected that work-family conflict has the negative influence on family life satisfaction, regardless of the type of work-family conflict. As mentioned earlier in the methodology section, the factor analysis results also indicate that all four items—which consist of the work-family conflict measure—retain one factor with a high level of reliability. Thus, given the lack of cross-national research on the role of work-family conflict in the association between the gender division of housework and family life satisfaction, this study focuses more on providing empirical evidence of the negative contribution of work-family conflict to women's and men's satisfaction in general, without distinction between WIF and FIW. Future research could expand on the findings of this study by exploring whether and how the different types of work-family conflict matter. Second, there are likely other national contexts not captured in this study that may affect the association between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction. For instance, social policies play a significant

role not only in shaping women's and men's work-family conflict (Stier et al. 2012) but also in distributing housework between partners. (Fuwa and Cohen 2007). This suggests that policies in ameliorating work-family incompatibilities at the national-level may play a role in the mechanism over family life satisfaction in relation to work-family conflict and housework divisions. Future research should continue to investigate the influence of other national contexts—such as family friendly policies—in configuring the relationship between work-family conflict and family life satisfaction. Finally, the current multilevel analyses cannot establish casual order. For instance, although the findings demonstrate that the negative association between work-family conflict and women's satisfaction is stronger in countries with greater gender equality, it can also be interpreted that a level of gender equality is greater in countries with the stronger association between work-family conflict and women's satisfaction. Thus, we should be careful of interpreting the results.

Despite these limitations, this study provides robust evidence of the negative association between work-family conflict and satisfactory family life for both men and women. The findings also reveal that the moderating role of country-level gender equality in that association varies by gender. These results have a straightforward policy implication: Social policies that reduce individuals' work-family conflict have the potential to increase family life satisfaction for both women and men, and the effects of such policies may be stronger for women than men, in countries with a higher level of gender equality. Even though a growing number of comparative research has examined the relationship between the division of household labor, perceptions of housework fairness, and family life satisfaction, to my knowledge, there is no comparable research examining the role of work-family conflict on the association between the gender division of housework and family life satisfaction in a cross-national setting. Building on the

findings of this study, future comparative research should continue to examine the important and independent role of work-family conflict as the key mechanism underlying women's and men's family life satisfaction, in terms of the gender division of household labor.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide contextual understanding of the persistence of gender inequality at home from a comparative perspective. Contemporary societies have experienced substantial developments leading to more gender equality in the past several decades. Although equality between men and women has been considered desirable in the domain of paid labor in most industrial societies, unpaid labor in the domestic sphere is one of the most obstinate realms of gender inequality. In particular, women still perform the majority of household labor in most societies regardless of the individual- and country-level characteristics, which may result in women's disadvantage in family life. Given this, I seek to address how gendered relations are (re)produced and legitimated in the family, and whether and how national contexts play a role in explaining the cross-national variations in the division of household labor and related-family life. To achieve this goal, I analyze cross-national variations in the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction by conducting a series of multi-level analyses using data from the 2012 International Social Survey Programme.

In order to examine the cross-national variations in the division of household labor, I focus on the role of personal preferences on work-family arrangement, in light of preference theory (Hakim 2000, 2003) as well as the expanding roles of personal choice to family life in modern societies (Cherlin 2004). The results demonstrate that individuals' preferences on work-family arrangement play a significant role in explaining the division of housework across countries. Specifically, personal preferences for the equal contribution in terms of work-family arrangement are significantly associated with the relatively equal distribution of household labor between partners. At the macro-level, female labor force participation and welfare state regimes are significantly related to the division of housework. This findings sheds new light on the role

of personal preferences on work-family arrangement in explaining the cross-national variations in the division of household labor.

Next, I investigate the cross-national variations in work-family conflict in terms of the gender division of household labor. Despite growing interest in work-family conflict across the globe, examining work-family conflict with respect to unequal gender relations from a comparative perspective has received insufficient attention. The results show that men and women who have more egalitarian gender ideology—and men who live in more egalitarian countries—have significantly less work-family conflict than their traditional counterparts. This suggests that national and individual development toward more gender equality may be conducive to reducing work-family conflict. On the other hand, the findings demonstrate that the effects of country-level gender equality and the housework division on work-family conflict vary by gender, suggesting that future research should consider such gender differences in work-family conflict.

Finally, I explore the relationship between the division of household labor, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction from a comparative perspective. Recent cross-national research has documented that the unequal division of housework and perceived unfairness of that division have the adverse effects on family life satisfaction, but studies examining the influence of work-family conflict on that association have been scarce. Building on relative deprivation theory (Crosby 1976) and previous literature (Allen et al. 2015; Greenstein 2009; Kornrich and Eger 2016), I investigate the relationship between work-family conflict and women's and men's family life satisfaction, focusing on the possible moderating effect of country-level gender equality. The results show that work-family conflict is negatively related to satisfactory family life for both men and women. Moreover, I find that the moderating role of country-level gender

equality in that association varies by gender. The negative effects of work-family conflict and the unequal divisions of housework on family life satisfaction are significantly stronger in countries with a higher level of gender equality for women, but not for men. This suggests that social policies that reduce individuals' work-family conflict may have the potential to increase family life satisfaction for both women and men, but such policies may be effective for women than men, in countries with a higher level of gender equality.

In sum, this dissertation provides robust evidence that gender inequality at home is an important factor in configuring individuals' work-family conflict and family life satisfaction, as well as that national contexts play a significant role in explaining the cross-national variations in housework, work-family conflict, and family life satisfaction. Given the findings, I argue that the shift toward gender equality at both individual- and country-levels is the key in reducing work-family conflict and achieving satisfactory family life. By shedding light on the cross-national variations in the relationship between housework, family life, and gender inequality, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of the mechanism underlying the gender division of household labor and its consequences in family life.

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