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Topic (iv) Balancing work and family responsibilities

**MORE FULL-TIME WORK FOR MOTHERS -
LESS LONG HOURS FOR FATHERS**
A Labour Force Survey analysis of Norwegian parents 1991-2000

Submitted by Statistics Norway¹

Contributed paper

Introduction

During the last three decades, a variety of work-family policies have been introduced in Norway, aiming at a more equal division of paid and unpaid work among mothers and fathers through flexible solutions for parents in combining family responsibilities and income producing work. During the 1970s and 1980s the concern was to make it easier for mothers to reconcile paid work and family care. During the 1990s the main issue was to increase fathers' participation in family work.

Whereas mothers' employment patterns are continually monitored through the national Labour Force Surveys (LFS) and various analyses of these (for instance Statistics Norway 2001, Jensen 2000, Ellingsæter and Wiers-Jensen 1997, Kjeldstad 1993 and 1991), fathers' working hours have been less systematically studied in Norway. Hence, in spite of much focus on the so called "new father's role" during recent decades, information on possible changes in fathers' employment patterns is sparse. One reason for this is that it is more complicated to identify fathers than mothers in the LFS because complete information on the participants' household members is not registered. By linking data on biological and adopted children from the Population register on the Survey data, it is possible to identify fathers with children at different ages. In this paper we discuss the development during the 1990s of employment patterns and working hours among married/cohabiting fathers and mothers with children 0-6 years of age and examine whether gender differences were diminishing or remained fairly stable throughout this decade.² We look at contractual/usual working hours as well as actual working hours. As many of the family policy reforms during the 1990s were directed particularly at parents with very small children, we study parents with children 0-2 years of age, and those with youngest child 3-6 years of age, separately. All the tables are gathered at the end of the paper.

On an international scale, Norway has a quite high employment rate and a fairly low unemployment rate. In the population 16-74 year of age, employment rates are still somewhat higher among men than among women, but the gender gap is narrowing (Bø and Molden 2000). Historically, Norwegian women were recruited to the labour market somewhat later than women in the other Nordic countries, but by the end of the 1990s they had surpassed Sweden and Denmark (Kjeldstad 2001, Ellingsæter 1999). During the 1970s Norwegian women entered the labour market in large numbers, but it was first and foremost those without small children who took up paid employment in this decade. In the 1980s employment rates

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² An analysis of employment patterns and working hours among single mothers and fathers, based on LFS during the same period, is published in Kjeldstad and Rønsen 2001.

increased also among those with small children (Kjeldstad 1991). In the 1990s mothers' employment continued to increase, and we also witnessed a shift towards more full-time work and less part-time (Jensen 2000).

In spite of increasing full-time work, Norwegian mothers still have substantial higher part-time rates than fathers. Accordingly, Ellingsæter (1999) states that we see a two-tier model of parenthood in Norwegian working life in that the shared work family practice remains largely a female model. As far as fathers' working hours has been the issue in Norway, the focus has been more on long hours than on part-time work. In the 1980s analyses of the Level of living surveys showed that a significant number of fathers had weekly working hours far exceeding normal hours, and that such arrangements were increasing (Ellingsæter 1991). More recent surveys indicate that such arrangements became slightly less common in the 1990s (Kitterød and Roalsø 1996). As these analyses were based on relatively small samples and a less detailed registration of working hours than what is done in the LFS, the conclusions are somewhat uncertain. Hence, analyses of fathers' working hours based on the LFS are needed in order to enhance our knowledge of changes in fathers' labour market behaviour.

The years 1987-1993 were characterised by economic recession in Norway and unemployment rates were fairly high on a Norwegian scale. As men more often than women work in the private sector, they were more severely affected by the economic downturn. Consequently they had higher unemployment rates than women. During the recovery in the subsequent years the economic activity rates increased for both men and women.

Family policy reforms in Norway in the 1990s

There have been only few and insignificant changes in the general working time and vacation regulations in Norway during the 1990s. However, in the field of family and gender policies, many important reforms that might affect parents' time use were implemented in this decade. It is not our intention to assess effects of single reforms in this paper, but some knowledge of the most important reforms might serve as useful backdrop for the empirical analyses. The parental leave schemes were substantially increased, and the total length of the parental leave now adds up to 52 weeks with 80 percent wage compensation, or 42 weeks with 100 per cent compensation. In connection with the extension of the parental leave in 1993, a fathers' quota was introduced, meaning that four of the compensated weeks were reserved for the fathers. The intention was to promote fathers' participation at home, both during the four weeks of leave, and in the longer run. Whereas fathers' leave entitlements had previously partly been dependent on the mother's employment and earnings prior to delivery, fathers have recently acquired more independent rights. Furthermore, a time account scheme was introduced in 1994 in order to make possible more flexible uses of the parental leave. In 1998/99 a "cash for care" reform was launched, implying that parents with small children (1-2 years of age) who do not use public childcare, will get paid in cash an amount equivalent to the state subsidy to a place in the services. The aim of the reform was threefold, namely that parents should be given the opportunity to spend more time with their children, more fairness concerning public economic transfers to users and non-users of public childcare, and increased freedom in choice of childcare arrangements. The "cash for care reform" was very contested. Those opposing it feared, among other things, that it would result in a more unequal division of labour among parents, as a likely outcome might be that many mothers, but few fathers, would reduce their working hours.

In Norway, family policies and gender equality policies have been closely intertwined, and the family policy reforms implemented during the 1990s were meant to serve a mixture of purposes. Important objectives have been to facilitate more flexible adjustments between work and family for both mothers and fathers, to ensure more freedom of choice between various child care arrangements, to enable parents to spend more time with their own children, and to encourage a more equal sharing of income producing and family work among mothers and fathers. As far as gender equality is concerned, it has been maintained that some of the reforms might work in opposite direction. Whereas the fathers' quota encourages fathers to increase their contribution in family work, the "cash for care" reform is more likely to cement a traditional gender division of work (Leira 1998).

Several analyses have been undertaken in order to evaluate the possible effects of the reforms. By and large, the father's quota is seen as a success, in that the great majority of the eligible fathers utilise the "mandatory" weeks (Brandth and Kvande 2001, Brandth and Øverli 1998). However, rather few take more than four weeks of leave (The National Insurance Association 2002). Hence, in most couples mothers take the bulk of the parental leave. The "cash for care" reform has been thoroughly assessed regarding outcomes in various areas (Baklien et. al 2001). Special attention has been paid to possible changes in parents' employment patterns, but alterations have been more carefully analysed for mothers than for fathers (for instance Schøne 2002, Håkonsen et. al. 2001, Knudsen 2001, Rønsen 2001, Hellevik 2000, Langset et. al. 2000). Various data sources and methods give somewhat different results, but it seems safe to conclude that at least in the short run, the reform resulted in a significant, but fairly modest, reduction in mothers' employment, whereas fathers' employment was hardly affected.

Concepts and definitions

Concepts and definitions in the Norwegian LFS are in accordance with recommendations given by the ILO. Data are collected by telephone interviewing, and the sample comprises 24000 respondents each quarter. People are asked about their relations to the labour market in one specific week. The reference period is one week each month.

Employed persons are those who perform work for pay or profit for at least one hour in the survey week, or who were temporarily absent from work because of illness, vacation, permission leave etc. Conscripts are classified as employed persons. Persons engaged by government measures to promote employment are also included if they receive wages. In table 1 in this paper we look at employed parents and differentiate between those being *temporarily absent*, and those *at work*, which means that they actually performed some income producing work during the reference week.

Contractual/usual working hours refer to the weekly number of working hours according to the work contract. Absence from work because of illness, holidays, parental leave etc. is not subtracted, and overtime is not included. Employees, whose contractual working hours vary from week to week, give information on the actual survey week as well as the average of their contractual working hours per week. In this paper the average numbers are used. For employees without an agreement on working hours, for self-employed and for unpaid family workers, data on their usual weekly working hours are used (average during the last 4 weeks). For those having more than one job, working hours in all jobs are included in the figures in this paper.

We differentiate between parents with contractual/usual part-time work (1-36 hours), normal full-time work (32-40 hours), and long working hours (41 hours +). The general rule is that contractual/usual working hours below 37 hours per week is counted as part-time. However, if the contractual working hours in the profession are less than 37 hours, employees are classified as full-time workers even if they work less than 37 hours. The category capturing normal full-time work is labelled "32-40 hours" in this paper.

In Norway, the Work Environment Act regulates the daily and weekly working hours. Maximum working time is 40 hours weekly or 9 hours daily. However, according to collective agreements in all industries and sectors 37.5 hours per week is standard working time. Overtime is regulated to be maximum 10 hours a week, 25 hours during 4 successive weeks, and 200 hours a year. The Work Environment Act gives several exceptions from the principal rule of maximum 40 hours. Some special occupations have more liberal rules, and work at particular hours is regulated by more strict rules. Moreover, the Work Environment Act states an individual right to reduced working hours due to medical, social and other important welfare reasons.

Actual working hours refer to the number of hours actually worked during the reference week. Overtime and other extra work are included, and absence because of illness, vacation, parental leave etc. is excluded. In this paper we differentiate between four categories: temporarily absent the whole reference week, working 1-36 hours, working 37-40 hours, and working 41 hours or more.

The various measures for employment and working time in the LFS serve different purposes and may also give somewhat dissimilar pictures regarding the degree of equality between mothers and fathers. As entitlements and rights are often based on the contractual working hours, knowledge about mother's and fathers' contractual arrangements is important in order to assess the level of gender equality among parents in the labour market. However, actual working hours give a better description of how parents really spend their time.

In order to be able to define groups of married/cohabiting fathers and mothers in the data, information on biological and adopted children from the Population register is linked on the Survey data. We do not have information on other children in the household. Hence, persons without own biological or adopted children in the household, but living together with a partner's children, are not included in the analyses in this paper. In this project, information on whether people are married or cohabitation or not, is fetched both from the survey and the register. In some cases (about 5 per cent of all parents interviewed in the LFS) there is inconsistency between these sources. These persons are excluded from the analyses in the following.³

The figures presented in this paper are based on large samples. The sub-samples of married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children respectively 0-2 and 3-6 years of age vary between 3000 and 4000 in the years under study.

Diminishing gender difference in employment rates

Mothers with children 0-6 years of age increased their employment rates significantly during the 1990s in Norway (table 1). The rate for mothers with children below three years of age rose from 66 percent in 1991 to 74 per cent in 2000, whereas the rate for those with somewhat older children rose from 73 to 82 percent during the same period. However, for those with the youngest children the entire growth was a result of more temporarily absence from work, and the proportion actually at work was stable. While 25 percent of all mothers with children 0-2 years were temporarily absent from work in the beginning of the 1990s, the proportion was 33 percent at the turn of the century. This development reflects the improved opportunities for permission leave for parents in Norway, which implies enhanced possibilities to maintain the ties to the labour market during periods with small children. For mothers with youngest child 3-6 years of age, we see a somewhat different pattern. The proportion actually being at work is far higher in this group than among those with younger children, and it increased significantly during the 1990s. There was a certain increase in temporal absence from work in this group, too, but the change was quite modest.

As could be expected, there was less change in fathers' than in mothers' employment patterns during the 1990s. In consistence with the economic recovery in the second half of the 1990s, the employment rate among fathers with children below 3 years of age increased with about 3 percentage points during the last part of the decade, and hence was somewhat higher in 2000 than in 1991. However, the proportion of fathers actually performing income-producing work in the reference week was rather stable during the 1990s, while temporary absence from work became somewhat more common. For fathers with youngest child 3-6 years of age there were only minor changes in the employment rate during the 1990s. Also the proportions actually at work and temporary absent from work remained fairly stable.

Due to the increase in mothers' employment, the gender gap in employment rates was slightly reduced throughout the 1990s. However, both for parents with very young children and for those with somewhat older children we still find considerably lower employment rates among mothers than among fathers. For parents with children below three years of age the gender gap in the proportion actually being at work in the reference week is far more pronounced than the gap in employment rates. Whereas mothers' employment rate is now approximately 21 percentage points below that of fathers', the gap in the proportion actually at work amounts to about 41 percentage points. This reflects the fact that most mothers continue to take the bulk of the parental leave. Hence, measured by formal employment,

³ This differs from what is being done in the regular reports from the LFS, where the classification of people as married/cohabiting is based solely on information given in the interview.

Norwegian mothers with young children strengthened their ties to the labour market during the 1990s and approached the level of fathers. Measured by actual presence at work, however, there seems to be huge and persistent gender differences among this group of parents. Looking at parents with somewhat older children we find diminishing gender gaps in employment rates as well as in the proportion actually at work, and these two measures give quite similar pictures of the magnitude of the gender difference.

Contractual/usual working hours: More full-time for mothers, less long hours for fathers

Information on contractual/usual working hours supports the notion of a diminishing gender gap in labour market behaviour among parents in Norway in the 1990s. This goes for those with very young children as well as those with somewhat older children, and is due to changes in both mothers' and fathers' working hours. Table 2, which shows the distribution of various working time arrangements among employed parents, demonstrates that part-time work decreased substantially among mothers during the 1990s, whereas normal full-time work became more common. More detailed analyses have shown that it was first and foremost short part-time arrangements that declined (Kitterød and Kjeldstad 2002). Fairly few mothers work long hours, and this trend was rather stable throughout the 1990s.

In spite of more full-time work, part-time arrangements are still rather common options for mothers in Norway. 46 percent of the employed mothers with children below 3 years of age, and 53 percent of those with children 3-6 years of age, had a part-time arrangement in 2000. Hence, the full-time rate is somewhat higher among mothers with very young children, than among those with older children. Presumably, this reflects the fact that many of the mothers with young children are actually on parental leave, and that their contractual/usual working hours refer to the situation before they had a baby. When returning to work, some of them will most probably reduce their working hours somewhat.

Part-time arrangements are still quite rare among fathers in Norway. Only some 5 percent of those with children 0-6 years of age have contractual part-time work. For those with children aged 3-6 years part-time was somewhat more common in 2000 than in 1991, but the increase was small and unsteady. The vast majority of fathers have normal full-time work (32-40 hours a week), and such arrangements became somewhat more common in the course of the 1990s, with an increase of approximately 5 percentage points. Long working hours are far more widespread among fathers than among mothers. However, during the 1990s contractual long hours decreased somewhat for fathers. More detailed analyses show that it was first and foremost very long hours (50 hours +) that became less common (Kitterød and Kjeldstad 2002).

More full-time work among mothers and less long hours among fathers resulted in more equal contractual working hours for parents in Norway during the 1990s. The categorisation presented in table 2 may mask important changes within each category. Hence, we have also calculated the average number of contractual/usual working hours (table 3). We see a significant and fairly linear increase in the averages for mothers and a slightly declining trend among fathers. Mothers' working hours in percentage of father's hours can be used as measurement of the degree of gender equality in this area. The calculations in table 3 are not based on information from real couples, but from independent representative samples of married/cohabiting mothers and fathers. We see that both for parents with very young children, and for those with somewhat older children, mothers' working hours in percentage of fathers' grew substantially during the 1990s. In 2000 it amounted to 78 percent for those with children below 3 years of age and to 75 percent for those with children 3-6 years of age.

Actual working hours: Persistent gender differences among parents with small children

People's actual working hours may differ from their contractual hours either because they work less than what is agreed upon, or because of extra work or overtime. Table 4 shows that the development of mothers' actual working hours during the 1990s contrasts to the changes in their contractual/usual working hours. This is particularly the case for those with children below 3 years of age. In this group, a substantial increase in the percentage of employed persons temporarily absent from work constituted the most pronounced alteration during the decade. Approximately 46 per cent of all employed mothers were in fact absent from work in 2000. Both the percentages working less than full time, normal full-time, and

long hours declined somewhat throughout the 1990s. Also among mothers with somewhat older children there was a certain growth in temporary absence during the decade, but the change was rather moderate. Part-time work decreased, while full-time work increased somewhat.

Among fathers with young children, too, temporary absence from work became somewhat more common during the 1990s. However, considering the intense focus on the new fathers' role during the period, and also the improved leave schemes for fathers, the changes are fairly modest. Both for fathers with very young children, and those with somewhat older children, there was a development towards more fathers working less than weekly full-time and fewer fathers working long hours. Whereas fairly few fathers have contractual part-time work, quite many actually work reduced hours during the reference week. The decrease in long hours actually worked is in accordance with the trends in contractual/usual working hours, and is also consistent with results from the Level of Living Studies. More detailed analyses have shown that it is first and foremost really long hours (50 hours +) that became less common (ibid). In spite of this decrease, long hours are still quite widespread among fathers. Approximately 30 percent of all employed fathers worked more than 40 hours a week in 2000. This is far above the level among mothers, and also a great deal higher than the proportion of fathers formally holding such arrangements.

In order to get a better overview over the aggregate changes in mothers' and fathers' actual working hours, and also a more concise measurement of gender differences in this respect, we have calculated the averages throughout the 1990s (table 5). Employed mothers with children below 3 years of age worked on the average 15.3 hours per week in 2000. This was two hours less than in 1991, and is also far below the average contractual/usual working hours in this group. Among mothers with somewhat older children the average actual weekly working hours increased with 1.1 hours in the course of the 1990s and amounted to 24.9 hours in 2000.

Both fathers with very young children, and those with somewhat older children, reduced their actual working hours throughout the 1990s. The decline was 3.2 hours and 2.2 hours for the two groups respectively. In 2000, fathers with children below 3 years of age worked on the average 34.1 hours per week, and those with children 3-6 years of age worked on the average 36 hours per week. Hence, whereas small children still means drastically reduced working hours for mothers, there are only minor differences between fathers with children in various age groups. Consequently, the gender difference in working hours is far more pronounced among parents with very young children compared to those with older children. For parents with children 0-2 years of age, mothers' actual working hours amount to about 45 per cent of fathers' working hours, and this level was fairly persistent throughout the 1990s. Among parents with children 3-6 years of age, mothers' actual working hours constituted 69 percent of fathers' working hours in 2000, and this was almost 7 percentage points more in the beginning of the decade. Hence, whereas the gender gap diminished remarkably among employed parents with somewhat older children in the 1990s, there was no reduction to be seen among those with very young children.

Mothers with children 0-2 years of age work only 11 hours per week on average

Changes in parents' employment and gender differences in time spent on paid work can also be assessed by calculating the average working hours for all parents, both employed and non-employed. Such measurements capture the effects of employment rates as well as actual working hours among the employed. Working hours among the non-employed are set to zero.

Table 6 shows that mothers with children below three years of age worked only 11.3 hours per week on the average in 2000. This level remained fairly stable during the 1990s. Thus, the increased employment rate in this group was outweighed by a reduction in actual working hours. Fathers with very young children worked on the average 32.3 hours per week in 2000, and this represented a slight decrease compared with 1991. Looking at all married/ cohabiting parents with children 0-2 years of age we find that mothers' working hours amounted to 35 per cent of fathers' working hours in 2000. This level stayed rather steady throughout the 1990s.

Married/cohabiting mothers with children 3-6 years of age worked on average 20.5 hours per week in 2000. This was 3.1 hours more than in 1991. The growth was due to increased employment rates as well

as longer actual working hours among the employed. Fathers with children 3-6 years of age worked on the average 34.2 hours per week in 2000, and this was 1.4 hours less than in 1991. The reduction is due to shorter actual working hours among employed fathers. Thus, for parents with children 3-6 years of age the gender gap in average working hours was dramatically reduced in the course of the 1990s. However, mothers with children 3-6 years of age still spend far less time in the labour market than fathers do. In 2000, mothers' average working hours constituted about 60 per cent of fathers' working hours.

Summary and conclusion

During the past decades, the Norwegian authorities have developed work-family policies with the aim of promoting a more equal division of paid and unpaid work among mothers and fathers. Mothers' employment patterns and working hours are constantly monitored through the national Labour Force Surveys, while fathers' working hours have hereto been less carefully studied. In this paper we utilise the LFS, linked with data from the Norwegian Population register, to assess gender differences in parents' employment patterns and working hours during the 1990s. We look at both employment rates, contractual/usual working hours and actual working hours. These measures serve different purposes and also give somewhat diverging pictures of gender differences among parents.

Due to increased employment rates among mothers the gender gap in this respect decreased somewhat during the 1990s. Both mothers with children 0-2 years of age and mothers with children 3-6 years of age enhanced their employment significantly. However, among those with very young children there was no increase in the proportion actually at work, only in the proportion being temporary absent from work. This reflects the improved parental leave schemes in the period and also the fact that most mothers continue to take the bulk of the leave. Hence, measured by formal employment, Norwegian mothers with very young children strengthened their ties to the labour market during the 1990s and approached the level of fathers. Measured by actual presence at work, however, there are huge and persistent gender differences in this group of parents. Among parents with somewhat older children we see diminishing gender gaps in both employment rates and in the proportion actually at work.

Information on contractual/usual working hours supports the notion of a diminishing gender gap in labour market behaviour among parents in Norway. This applies for those with the youngest children as well as for those with somewhat older children, and is due to changes in both mothers' and fathers' working hours. Part-time arrangements, especially short part-time, decreased substantially among mothers, whereas normal full-time arrangements became more common. Nevertheless, part time is still rather widespread among mothers. Among fathers there has been an increase in normal full-time arrangements at the expense of long working hours. Yet, contractual long hours are still far more common among fathers than among mothers, whereas part-time is still rare among fathers.

Parents' actual working hours show a more pronounced gender division than what their contractual hours do. This is particularly the case for those with very young children and is mainly due to the more extensive use of parental leave schemes among mothers than among fathers. For parents with children below 3 years of age the gender gap in actual working hours was only modestly reduced in the 1990s in spite of more temporary absence, more part-time work and less long hours among the fathers. For those with somewhat older children, less part-time work and more full-time among mothers, combined with a decline in long hours and more part-time work among fathers, entailed diminishing gender differences throughout the 1990s.

By and large it seems safe to conclude that the gender gap in parents' labour market behaviour is somewhat less pronounced today than at the beginning of the 1990s. The gender difference is more marked concerning parents' actual time spent on income-producing work, than regarding their formal arrangements, and this divergence is even more prominent today than in the beginning of the 1990s. The so-called two-tier model of parenthood characterised by periods of part-time work and extensive use of parental leave schemes still seems to be mainly a female model. The improved leave schemes have been important in strengthening the continuity in mothers' employment practices after giving birth. The reduction in fathers' long hours and the slight increase in temporary absence from work among fathers indicate that having children has a slight but increasing impact also on men's labour market behaviour.

However, adjustments are mostly done within the full-time contract and only rarely result in formal part-time arrangements. Whereas most eligible fathers make use of the fathers' quota, so far few take more than the "compulsory" four weeks.

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Table 1: Percentage of persons employed, temporarily absent and actually at work among married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children at various ages. 1991-2000. Percent

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
MOTHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
Employed persons	66.1	68.0	69.3	68.3	68.9	70.5	72.0	72.7	72.9	74.4	+8.3
Temporarily absent	25.0	26.6	29.1	27.6	29.5	30.3	30.3	31.8	34.6	33.3	+8.3
At work	41.1	41.4	40.2	40.7	39.4	40.2	41.7	40.9	38.3	41.1	0.0
Children 3-6 years											
Employed persons	72.6	72.9	73.4	75.0	77.1	76.7	81.1	81.6	81.0	82.4	+9.8
Temporarily absent	10.4	11.2	10.1	9.5	11.0	10.8	13.1	12.8	14.0	12.6	+2.2
At work	62.2	61.7	63.3	65.5	66.1	65.9	68.0	68.8	67.0	69.8	+7.6
FATHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
Employed persons	92.1	91.5	90.6	90.3	91.8	93.7	93.8	93.8	93.9	95.3	+3.2
Temporarily absent	10.2	9.2	8.7	11.3	11.5	12.6	11.6	12.3	12.9	13.3	+3.1
At work	81.9	82.3	81.9	79.0	80.3	81.1	82.2	81.5	81.0	82.0	+0.1
Children 3-6 years											
Employed persons	93.6	91.1	92.0	93.2	94.9	93.4	94.3	95.3	95.1	94.4	+0.8
Temporarily absent	11.0	8.9	8.0	9.3	9.3	9.8	9.8	11.6	10.6	11.3	+0.3
At work	82.6	82.2	84.0	83.9	85.6	83.6	84.5	83.7	84.5	83.1	+0.5
DIFFERENCE (% of fathers - % of mothers)											
Children 0-2 years											
Employed persons	26.0	23.5	21.3	22.0	22.9	23.2	21.8	21.1	21.0	20.9	-5.1
At work	40.8	40.9	41.7	38.3	40.9	40.9	40.5	40.6	42.7	40.9	+0.1
Children 3-6 years											
Employed persons	21.0	18.2	18.6	18.2	17.8	16.7	13.2	13.7	14.1	12.0	-9.0
At work	20.4	20.5	20.7	18.4	19.5	17.7	16.5	14.9	17.5	13.3	-7.1

Table 2: Contractual/usual working hours among employed married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children at various ages. 1991-2000. Percent

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
MOTHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
1-36 hours (part time)	51.7	47.9	49.4	47.4	47.0	44.8	49.5	48.7	46.1	45.6	-6.1
32-40 hours (full time)	46.1	49.6	47.7	50.0	50.4	51.8	47.3	48.2	50.8	50.7	+4.6
41 hours +	2.2	2.6	3.0	2.6	2.5	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.7	+1.5
Children 3-6 years											
1-36 hours (part time)	63.7	60.1	58.3	58.7	57.3	56.9	57.2	56.0	56.7	53.4	-10.3
32-40 hours (full time)	31.7	36.3	37.3	37.8	37.7	39.0	38.2	40.1	39.5	42.3	+10.6
41 hours +	4.5	3.6	4.4	3.6	4.1	4.1	4.6	3.9	3.8	4.2	-0.3
FATHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
1-36 hours (part time)	3.8	5.0	3.8	4.4	4.2	4.9	5.2	4.8	4.9	4.6	+0.8
32-40 hours (full time)	75.3	76.1	78.1	78.7	77.7	74.7	76.5	78.1	77.4	80.0	+4.7
41 hours +	20.8	18.9	18.1	16.8	18.1	20.4	18.4	17.2	17.6	15.4	-5.4
Children 3-6 years											
1-36 hours (part time)	3.8	2.9	3.2	3.2	3.6	4.2	3.9	3.6	4.3	5.0	+1.2
32-40 hours (full time)	72.1	74.9	74.9	76.7	77.3	74.2	74.2	76.1	77.1	76.8	+4.7
41 hours +	24.1	22.2	22.0	20.1	19.2	21.5	22.0	20.3	18.6	18.2	-5.9

Table 3: Average number of contractual/usual working hours among employed married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children at various ages. 1991-2000

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
Mothers											
Children 0-2 years	28.5	29.4	29.4	29.9	30.0	30.2	29.3	29.4	30.4	30.4	+1.9
Children 3-6 years	26.8	27.2	28.1	27.9	28.5	28.4	28.7	28.8	29.1	29.8	+3.0
Fathers											
Children 0-2 years	39.9	39.6	39.5	39.3	39.5	39.9	39.5	39.3	39.4	38.8	-1.1
Children 3-6 years	40.7	40.6	40.2	39.9	39.7	40.3	40.5	39.9	40.0	39.8	-0.9
Difference (mothers' hours in % of fathers' hours)											
Children 0-2 years	71.4	74.2	74.4	76.1	75.9	75.7	74.2	74.8	77.2	78.4	+7.0
Children 3-6 years	65.8	67.0	69.9	69.9	71.8	70.5	70.9	72.2	72.8	74.9	+9.1

Table 4: Actual working hours among employed married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children at various ages. 1991-2000. Percent

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
MOTHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
Temporarily absent	37.8	40.2	42.0	41.7	44.0	43.0	42.1	44.8	48.5	45.8	+8.0
1-36 hours	41.5	39.0	39.7	38.1	36.9	37.7	40.0	37.5	35.1	37.5	-4.0
37-40 hours	15.9	16.1	14.8	15.5	15.5	15.1	13.7	13.5	12.4	13.5	-2.4
41 hours +	4.9	4.5	4.5	4.8	3.6	4.3	4.3	4.1	4.1	3.1	-1.8
Children 3-6 years											
Temporarily absent	13.0	14.1	12.5	12.6	15.4	14.1	15.2	14.7	17.3	15.3	+2.3
1-36 hours	59.8	56.4	57.6	56.3	55.0	57.7	57.6	56.9	54.1	54.1	-5.7
37-40 hours	19.5	20.5	21.3	23.0	22.0	19.6	18.2	19.6	21.4	22.4	+2.9
41 hours +	7.8	9.0	8.8	8.0	7.7	8.7	9.1	8.8	7.1	8.2	+0.4
FATHERS											
Children 0-2 years											
Temporarily absent	11.1	9.2	9.6	12.5	11.6	13.4	13.2	12.3	14.5	13.1	+2.0
1-36 hours	15.4	17.7	17.4	17.0	17.9	18.5	21.5	18.8	19.3	20.5	+5.1
37-40 hours	39.3	40.3	40.0	38.4	40.2	36.1	34.7	37.7	34.7	38.5	-0.8
41 hours +	34.2	32.8	33.0	32.2	30.4	31.9	30.6	31.2	31.4	27.8	-6.4
Children 3-6 years											
Temporarily absent	12.7	8.8	7.8	9.1	8.9	9.6	9.5	13.0	12.0	12.0	-0.7
1-36 hours	14.7	14.7	16.5	14.5	17.0	18.4	19.0	17.1	17.9	19.6	+4.9
37-40 hours	36.3	39.2	38.8	40.9	40.2	35.1	35.3	35.8	37.6	37.6	+1.3
41 hours +	36.3	37.2	36.9	35.5	34.0	36.8	36.2	34.2	32.4	30.8	-5.5

Table 5: Average number of actual working hours among employed married/cohabiting mothers and fathers with children at various ages. 1991-2000

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
Mothers											
Children 0-2 years	17.3	16.9	16.2	16.9	16.0	16.2	15.9	15.8	14.5	15.3	-2.0
Children 3-6 years	23.8	23.6	25.0	24.8	24.9	24.4	23.9	24.2	24.0	24.9	+1.1
Fathers											
Children 0-2 years	37.3	37.1	37.4	36.3	36.1	35.5	35.0	35.1	34.9	34.1	-3.2
Children 3-6 years	38.2	38.5	38.6	37.9	37.7	37.2	37.1	36.2	36.6	36.0	-2.2
Difference (mothers' hours in % of fathers' hours)											
Children 0-2 years	46.3	45.6	43.3	46.6	44.3	45.6	45.4	45.0	41.5	44.9	-1.4
Children 3-6 years	62.3	61.3	64.8	65.4	66.0	65.6	64.4	66.9	65.6	69.2	+6.9

Table 6: Average number of actual working hours among all married/cohabiting mothers and fathers (employed and non-employed) with children at various ages. 1991-2000

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Change 1991-2000
Mothers											
Children 0-2 years	11.5	11.5	11.2	11.5	11.1	11.4	11.5	11.5	10.5	11.3	-0.2
Children 3-6 years	17.4	17.2	18.3	18.7	19.1	18.8	19.3	19.9	19.2	20.5	+3.1
Fathers											
Children 0-2 years	34.2	33.9	34.1	33.0	33.2	33.1	33.0	32.9	32.6	32.3	-1.9
Children 3-6 years	35.6	35.3	35.6	35.4	35.6	35.0	35.0	34.3	34.7	34.2	-1.4
Difference (mothers' hours in % of fathers' hours)											
Children 0-2 years	33.6	33.9	32.8	34.8	33.4	34.4	34.8	35.0	32.2	35.0	+1.4
Children 3-6 years	48.9	48.7	51.4	52.8	53.7	53.7	55.1	58.0	55.3	59.9	+11.0