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GENDER ATTITUDES: ACCEPTANCE OR CHOICE

Submitted by Statistics Netherlands *

Summary: According to Hakim (2000) researchers on female labour participation should pay more attention to the predictive value of subjective components. Measurement of attitudes has been focused on compliance to general statements instead of explicit personal preferences. In this paper the significance of these different operationalisation strategies of attitudes is studied by comparing both types of measurement concerning the division of paid work, housework and child care.

Keywords: gender, attitude, measurement.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Attitudes and opinions are no common subjects in official statistics, but their relevance for policy development, implementation and evaluation in many domains would justify more investment in this direction. Gender policy is a policy domain (or better a set of policy domains) where statistics on attitudes might be very effective (Keuzenkamp & Oudhof., 2002). Attitudes like stereotypes and traditional beliefs presumably play an important role in attempts to change gender relations, or to resist to changes¹.

2. Although behavioural elements are assumed to be related to attitudes, it is widely accepted that they are not parts of attitudes: attitudes are the evaluative responses that explain behavioural acts to some extent (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). This explanatory role is the most relevant role attitude plays as a concept in social science. Instruments to measure people's attitudes should provide knowledge to improve the prediction of their behaviour. The actual predictability of behaviour through attitudes depends on many substantial and methodological factors.

3. Work-lifestyle patterns can be considered as behaviour that is to some extent caused by subjective components like attitudes or preferences. In her preference theory Hakim (2000) states that preferences are major causes of the patterns of female labour participation. Hakim distinguishes three typical work-lifestyle preferences of women. The home-centred women choose family life and children as their main priorities throughout life, and prefer not to do paid work. The work-centred women give priority and are committed to employment or equivalent activities in public life; this group includes many voluntarily childless women. Most women belong to the adaptive type, which is rather diverse. These women want to work but are they are not totally committed to it: how to combine employment and family work is a central problem for just this group of women. Hakim stresses that the relative weight of these preferences as a causal factor is dependent on economic and social structural factors. In modern societies historical changes have created a new scenario, in which the impeding effects of various structural factors on the causal relevance of work-lifestyle preferences have become much weaker than in the past².

4. Actual predictability depends not only on causal relevance, but also on the independent and valid measurement of causal attitudes or preferences and their resulting behavioural patterns. For social phenomena like lifestyles, independence and validity in the measurement of attitudes and behaviour is only truly possible in very expensive longitudinal research. Very often researchers have to content themselves with cross-sectional designs which severely limit drawing conclusive evidence from many research questions. Also, the validity of the measurement of attitudes and supposedly related behaviour also depends on the measurement tools used. Hakim considers inadequate measurement of attitudes as one of the main reasons why the significance of work-lifestyle preferences as predictive factor is insufficiently recognised in social science research.

5. In this paper I will examine some views of Hakim concerning the measurement of attitudes more closely and put them to a small-scale empirical test. In the next paragraph I will explain which inadequacies of attitude measurement by many researchers Hakim pointed out and how I intend to test the conclusiveness of her observations. In paragraph 3 the data and the measurement

¹ The relevance might be illustrated by the fact that in the EU the priority theme of the Community Action Programme relating to the Community framework strategy on gender equality (2001-2005) will be in 2004/2005 gender roles and stereotypes.

² Hakim mentions five changes: 1) contraceptive revolution; 2) equal opportunities revolution; 3) expansion of white-collar occupations; 4) creation of jobs for secondary earners; 5) increasing importance of subjective elements in life-style choices

tools will be introduced that I used in statistical analyses which will be reported in paragraph 4. In the final paragraph the results will be discussed in relation to elements of Hakim's theoretical framework.

II. PERSONAL PREFERENCES VERSUS PUBLIC SUPPORT

6. Attitude measurement can take many forms. Common practice is the use of Likert-scales: respondents are requested to indicate how strongly they do agree or disagree with a number of object-related statements (using mostly five or seven answering categories). Direct measurement in surveys by just one or two questions takes place rather often. These should be qualified as measuring just one aspect of a more general attitude, or as an opinion on a related but specific issue. Although separate opinion items might provide valuable and useful information on specific issues³, they are generally insufficient as measurement tools for rather general concepts. Measurement instruments of attitudes should have some sustainability: they have to indicate changing attitudes to objects without being too susceptible to accidental circumstances. Another problem is the sensitivity of the results for idiosyncratic characteristics of just one item, or the ambiguity with respect to the multidimensional character of objects (Ajzen, 2002). That's why it is generally preferred to develop measurement scales containing sets of items in order to measure attitudes in surveys.

7. Hakim (2000, 2003) diagnoses, as one of the reasons of the low predictability of behaviour from attitudes and values, that social researchers often oversee the 'important theoretical and methodological distinction between personal goals and preferences (which are causal in relation to individual behaviour) and general social attitudes and views on public morality at the broad level (which are usually non-causal)'. She states that these public morality attitudes, measured by the support people offer for generalised abstract values, can differ fundamentally from personal preferences. Women may approve of mothers with young children having a paid job without necessarily choosing to work themselves while their children are young. Or fathers may approve of working mothers while not wanting their own wives to work while their children are young. According to Hakim (2003) public morality questions and social attitude surveys only measure levels of tolerance towards specific behaviours⁴.

8. It's a generally accepted assumption that support to general moral or political statements is not equivalent to full commitment to them, and it's obvious that these will not have a one-to-one relation with one's own personal behaviour (Van der Pligt & De Vries, 1995). This problem of predictability and the need to improve it has been the major motive of most attitudinal research. But another meaningful question is if explicit measurement of personal preferences would improve the predictive value of the measurement tool. And would the use of more personalised items make corresponding general items redundant? This question was studied by comparing both types of items on three different topics: division of paid work, housework, and child care.

9. The predictive value of the items could not be assessed in a truly longitudinal design, because of the cross-sectional nature of the available data source. As proxies of the behaviours for

³ Hakim (2000) states that in methods textbooks by social statisticians '...researchers are unfortunately discouraged from using their substantive expertise to identify just two or three key diagnostic questions on values and preferences which can work better than big scales.' Of course, weighing the methodological risks against the research budget will generally be inevitable. When researchers have to choose between one or a few direct questions versus nothing at all, they will make the best of it.

⁴ As an illustrative example she points at highly tolerant societies like the Netherlands where '.....public opinion surveys constantly reveal apparently contradictory attitudes, as *all* behaviours are regarded as acceptable.' (Hakim, 2003)

each of the three topics we constructed various types of configurations of ‘today’ and ‘tomorrow’ in the household of respondents using similar elements: the current contributions (= today) of the respondent and partner on each topic (hours of work, share of housework or child care) were combined with the desired contributions (= tomorrow) and aggregated to a plausible classification (table 1). The household configuration is called permanent when the wanted situation corresponds to the existing situation. Every type of part-time work is considered as half-earnership.

Table 1 – Classification of household types according to contribution of respondent and partner

Earners types	Typology of division of housework	Typology of division of child care
Permanent earnerless	Permanently doing everything	Permanently doing everything
Earnersless but change wanted	Permanently doing greater part	Permanently doing greater part
Permanent single earner	Doing everything but wanting less	Doing everything but wanting less
Permanent one and a half earners	Doing greater part but wanting less	Doing greater part but wanting less
Permanent half and half earners	Permanently equally divided	Permanently equally divided
Permanent double earners Single earner but more earners wanted	Permanently doing less Doing less but wanting more	Permanently doing less Doing less but wanting more
One and a half earners but half and half earners wanted	Doing nothing but wanting more	Doing nothing but wanting more
Double earners but less wanted		
Other		

10. I assumed that Hakim’s thesis could be tested by comparing the attitudes of persons in different household types. Some correlation between attitudes and household configuration may be expected, although no causal interpretation can be given to occurring systematic covariation. Following Hakim it is to be expected that the covariation will be stronger for personal-oriented measurement tools than for those reflecting public morality.

11. It is to be expected that the statistical relations between both types of attitudes on the three topics and the household configurations will also be influenced by the situation in the household (e.g. having children) or personal characteristics like age, sex or education and the contribution of those factors should be neutralised in the analysis.

III. DATA SOURCE AND ANALYSIS DESIGN

12. The Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) and Statistics Netherlands (CBS) have been publishing the two-yearly Emancipation monitor since 2000. The publication is mainly an annotated compilation of gender statistics from existing sources. Each time some supplementary data collection is undertaken to provide opinion data on several topics. Data were collected by a

survey (EMOP) among the Dutch CentERpanel⁵. The 2004-questionnaire was submitted to 2878 persons and was completed by 1807 persons (=63%). Some background data on personal and socio-economic characteristics are available for all respondents

13. The survey questionnaire contained mainly five -point Likert-items to measure attitudes on female decision making, violence against women, division of household chores and joint income acquisition. In this article the spotlight will be on items referring to the division of paid labour, household chores or child care. Some attitudinal items were formulated as general, rather abstract statements about which respondents should indicate how much they agreed. Other attitudinal items were formulated as much more concrete statements referring to the respondents' own situation asking them to respond how appropriate these statements were. The items and their distributions among women and men are presented in table 2.

14. Besides these opinion items some specific questions were presented on the actual and desired division of tasks. All respondents were asked to indicate the number of weekly hours they regularly did paid work as well as the number of hours they would like to do paid work if it was up to them (hourly wages being equal). Respondents with a partner were asked to answer the same question about their partner. They were also asked: 'how is the division of tasks between you and your partner for housework, cooking or shopping', followed by 'how would you like the division of tasks...etc. to be'. Both questions had as answering categories: a) I am doing almost everything; b) I am doing more than my partner; c) about equally divided; d) my partner is doing more than I am; e) my partner is doing almost everything. We asked similar questions to respondents with children about taking care of their children. The answers to these questions were used to construct the typologies of household configurations, as mentioned before.

IV. RESULTS

15. Although persons without a partner will of course also have attitudes about the division of tasks between partners, they had to be excluded from the analyses. This followed from the nature of this study, in which attitudinal data were related to data one's actual situation, and the questionnaire itself, in which some questions were only asked persons with a partner. The analyses were restricted to persons of 25-64 years of age. Only a few young under 25 years in the sample were living with a partner. Persons of 65 years of age are generally retired, which makes their earner situation very different from that of most younger households: almost everyone over 65 lives in permanent earnerless households.

16. To compare attitudes of persons in different household configurations, while neutralising the influence of several background variables, statistical analyses have been done by applying multinomial logistic regression. This technique allows us to analyse the statistical relations of multinomial categorical variables (here the household configurations) as a dependent variable with a set of as interval variables as well as categorical variables (translated to dummies). The importance of each of the independent variables themselves, while corrected for the other variables in the analyses, can thus be assessed. The combined effects of variables might be analysed by adding interactions between variables. The relative importance of (combinations of) variables is assessed by inspecting the share of variance explained by the independents. The size effect is

⁵ The CentERpanel is a telepanel consisting of a representative sample of the Dutch population aged over 15. Every week, panel members in the participating households receive and fill out a questionnaire that is sent to them via the Internet, either on their own computer or on one provided by CentERdata. The computers of the panel members are linked to the central computer at CentERdata and their answers are returned through the same channel. Some 400 respondents have participated in the three years, but in this analysis we could not use these longitudinal data.

expressed by estimated odds-ratios, which are the ratio's of relative chances belonging to a category of the dependent variable divided by the relative chances not belonging to it⁶. This relativity is expressed in relation to one of the categories of the dependent variable that serves as a reference category.

17. Assuming many substantial differences between women and men in the distributions of the variables in the analysis as well as the statistical relations would justify various specific elaborations. But these would have made the analysis too complicated and even overloaded by many interaction variables. So it was decided to carry out separate analyses for women and men. One consequence of this analysis strategy is that some household configurations contained too few observations to be treated as separate categories in the analysis. They had to be added with other categories. This was not only caused by the small sample size, but mainly because of the still existing scarcity of some configurations: men doing all the housework or child care are rarities and the same holds for women doing nothing or the lesser part in the household.

18. Other background variables in the analysis were life course, education, socio-economic status (SES) and housing. Instead of separate variables like age and household composition, we created a new life course variable consisting of four categories: 1) pair 25-44 years without children, 2) pair 25-44 years with children, 3) pair 45-64 years without children and 4) pair 45-64 years with children. Education (6 levels) and SES (5 levels) were treated as interval variables, while housing was a binary variable (rent=0, owner-occupied=1). The attitudinal Likert-items are also treated as interval variables.

19. Comparison of the explained variance, as indicated by the Nagelkerke-pseudo-R² shows already the first part of the answers that we were looking for. About 32% of the differences between the earner types among men and even 45% among women is explained by only the background variables. Adding either the public or the personal attitudinal variables⁷ explains 10-15% more variance, while adding both types of attitudinal variables raises the explained variance by almost 25%. The two types of attitudinal variables cause an almost equal rise in explained variance. However, the increase in level of explained variance of the all variables model relative to the background variables variant is less than the sum of the increases resulting from separate addition of the two groups of attitudinal variables. This can be interpreted as the result of common variation in both types of attitudinal variables. It is worth noting that the background variables explain more variance for women than for men. This general pattern is more or less the same for housework and child care, but on a lower level and with some variety in the in-between differences of public and personal attitudinal variables.

20. Thus, the preliminary conclusion is that 1) attitudinal data improve the prediction of household configurations; 2) personal as well as public attitudinal items have predictive value and they have a substantial part in common.

21. The next step is to study the estimated odds ratios for each of the three types of division of tasks between household partners in more detail. In the tables⁸ the odds ratios are only presented

⁶In fact, the odds ratio corresponds to the change of one unit in the independent variable which for a dummy variable is the same as belonging to either of the classes as denominated by the categories.

⁷The attitudinal variables were not put together to scales (e.g. by summing the item values) but were treated as separate variables in the analysis to leave as much room as possible for comparison of public and personal items without cutting the effect of the attitudinal items back to their common variance. The communality of the items will be given attention later.

⁸In the first column of the tables only reduced descriptions of the attitudinal items have been used. The complete wordings of the items can be found in table 2.

for the full model. For the interpretation of the results of each analyses special attention should be paid to the reference category of the dependent variable⁹.

22. **Earner types:** The most traditional household configuration of permanent single earner has been used as reference group here (table 3). Women in the permanent one and a half earner type are more often highly educated (not the men) and both sexes in this configuration agree significantly more often with the public statement that men and women should both contribute to the family income. Higher education raises the probability of some type of division of paid work (half-an-half-earners as well as double earners), but only among women. Those women who are permanent half and half earners (when both partners are working part-time) show most clearly the differences with women in one-earner households, especially in the personal attitudinal items. Among men the one and a half earners wanting half-and-half earners are the most striking type. They constitute a very interesting earner type because one may assume that their expressed wish for change refers to their own desire to work part-time. This category is surprising large: they are rather young, without children, in owner-occupier housing and just as their female counterparts they hold the view that both partners should have paid work. It's rather intriguing that among women in less conventional configurations one of the most important items appeared to be the item referring to the partner who wants the division of paid work and care¹⁰, while among their male counterparts the item on the ongoing discussion on the division of tasks at home appears to be more salient. Last but not least, neither women nor men give evidence that personal items would be better predictors of the earner types than public items.

23. **Housework:** The results for women and men cannot be easily compared because of the use of different reference categories, which was inevitable due to the dissimilarities in the numbers of observations in some less traditional categories (table 4). Background variables appear less important here than for both other topics. Women show clearly more significant odds ratios among public items while the opposite holds true for men. It seems that women who want change in the division of housework are more explicit in their support of corresponding statements than women who have reached an equal division. In almost all configurations women refer more to discussions with their partner on the division of tasks at home than in the reference group. Men do not refer to ongoing discussions but only to the wish of their partner to divide paid work and care. That wish is apparently only a common experience in the configuration of equally divided housework. Considering their odds ratios, the personal items are not more relevant than public items. For women the opposite rather seems to be true.

24. **Child care:** The number of different configurations in the division of child care had to be reduced more than for housework because of the smaller selection of persons with children as well as the greater skewness of the distributions (table 5). Women who experience equal division of child care are more often 45-64 years (presumably with older children) and have higher SES. More than in other configurations their partners want to share paid work and care, but they also say that it's difficult for their partners to share care for the children. Their male counterparts in the equally divided configuration radiate their willingness to fulfil their caring responsibilities as well as their partner's wish to divide them. More than those in the most traditional reference category all other respondents agree that men should contribute more to the care of children, and disagree that women are better fit to raise small children. Apart from the equally divided configurations, the personal items are hardly discriminating. The personal items are only better discriminating

⁹Sometimes the odds ratios of some household configuration could not be given or appeared to have a rather extreme value because of a small number of observations either of the household configuration under consideration or of the reference type. Take as an example the double earners type which is rather frequent among young pairs without children, but infrequent among other life course categories.

¹⁰One might also translate this conclusion to the reference category: in conventional configurations where more often their partner does not want division of paid work and care.

between traditional and less traditional configurations, especially among women. The general impression from these results is that the equal division of the care for children is generally much less controversial than equal division of household tasks or paid work.

25. **Attitudinal items and their meaning:** The interpretation of the effects of the items might become easier to understand by exploring the meaning of the public and personal items that were used in each of the reported analyses. For that purpose HOMALS-analysis was applied to both types of attitudinal items for each of the three topics¹¹. By this scaling technique common variation of the items and their categories can be represented as nearness in a multi-dimensional space. The results are summarised in table 6 by presenting the verbal translation of the resulting quantifications for each item on the most important two dimensions. For each item the meaning of high and low scores on the respective dimensions is based on the item categories. The meaning of each dimension itself is completely derived from the presented meanings of the items in that dimension. The discriminatory value can be interpreted analogously to the loadings in factor-analysis: the higher its value, the more important its contribution to the dimension.

26. The first dimension of the public attitudinal items can be meaningfully interpreted as the contrast between the strong conviction that paid work should be divided between men and women versus the less strongly expressed view that paid work is the task of men. The interpretation of the second dimension is not relevant here¹². The public dimension on housework has also a rather clear-cut meaning referring to the contrast between support to the division of housework versus the opposite. It should be noted that there is considerable overlap with the items on paid work. The first public dimension on child care (based on only two items) shows the rather strong but difficult to interpret contrast between leaning to the traditional position versus rather extreme positions either pro or con, while the second dimension can be interpreted as the degree of support for the traditional standpoint that women are responsible for child care.

27. The first dimension of the personal attitudinal items is not self-evident: it represents the contrast between the rather extreme answer 'applies not all' for all statements versus a rather neutral position including also weak affirmation that there is some discussion about it in the household. The second and independent personal dimension presents the contrast between full applicability of the statements versus rather neutral positions. The same conclusion follows from the personal items on child care, but the discriminatory measures show that this is mainly caused by the items overlapping with division of other tasks. To put it briefly, the applicability of the personal statements on the division of tasks seems to be more complex than the two extreme opposites along one dimension.

28. Just as in factor-analysis, scores can be assigned to respondents along each of the dimensions in the HOMALS-analysis. The relations between the dimensions can be assessed from the correlations between these scores, which are presented in table 7. The highest correlations between various first respectively second dimensions are not surprising from the overlap in constituting items. More interesting are the correlations between the public dimensions and the personal dimensions.

29. The correlations between public and personal dimensions are rather low, even when they refer to the same topic (paid work or child care). In this respect Hakim appears to be right: public

¹¹ HOMALS is a non-linear technique to assess how much variation the items in each group have in common, which might be interpreted as the reflection of some underlying factor. By using HOMALS the common variation of the items can be explored without strong assumptions regarding the item scores (like in factor-analytic techniques).

¹² Typical for HOMALS is that a strong first dimension goes with a second dimension that can be interpreted as the quadratic variant of the first dimension which allows no independent interpretation.

and personal items concern different aspects. But none of the correlations between public items on division of paid work and division of child care deserve to be qualified as very high either. It is probable that the low quality and the related interpretation problems of the small public scale on child care (only two items) can partly be blamed for it. In regression analyses in which the scores of each of the dimensions were regressed on the background variables, the low squared variances show that only a small part of the variation of the attitudinal dimensions can be ascribed to personal characteristics (table 8). Persons with higher education and women are more inclined to support equal division of tasks. Highly educated persons are also under more pressure to come to an equal division of tasks from their social environment. Women are more inclined to express the non-applicability of personal statements than men. Younger persons in households with (presumably young) children are less often than older parents inclined to stress equal division of paid work.

V. CONCLUSIONS

30. Subjective elements like attitudes or preferences are more and more considered as relevant predictors of the female labour behaviour and the arrangements made by partners for housework and child care. According to Hakim (2000, 2003) there are several social changes (to which she refers as the 'new scenario') which entail that this is even more true now than in the past. One reason that it often seems rather difficult to confirm the predictive value of these subjective factors in empirical research is the confusion about their nature, and especially the inadequacy of attitude measurement. In this paper I have tried to test Hakim's thesis that the predictive value of attitudes measured as statements referring to the personal situation of respondents will be much better than when measured as the support to general public statements. This was attempted by comparing the values of persons in different household configurations on the two types of attitudinal measures: those measuring the support to general moral statements and those referring more to the personal situations. It was done for three topics of the division of tasks between partners: paid work, housework and child care.

31. The available data appeared to suffer some shortcomings in the operationalisation, especially the personalised items. Some items come closer to the observations of the respondents' own situation and social environment than to their personal preferences, which was still reinforced by the answering categories referring to the applicability of the observations. The dimension of applicability itself does not appear to be one-dimensional either: the dimension of being not applicable seems to reflect more or less the factual observations, while the dimension of being (fully) applicable can be seen more as reflecting the attitudinal component.

32. Such shortcomings were partly because this analysis was a secondary analysis on existing data without the possibility to use specific attitudinal measurement instruments tailored to the research question. In such a tailored design it would have been possible to formulate items more rigidly as variants of the same attitudinal object. One might imagine a set of items with general statements like 'men should spend more time on child care' versus the personalised replica 'I want my (male) partner to spend more time on taking care of our children'. The content to which public and personalised analysed items in the current analysis referred lacked this correspondence. But the shortcomings partly result from general conceptual issues arising along the way concerning the theoretical framework of attitudes and their consequences for the measurement design. Similar problems could be met also in primary research projects without a solid pilot study. The assumptions on the substance and the structure of the analysed attitudes referring to the three topics were not clear or (implicitly) rather naive. Like many other surveys on paid work of women or on the division of tasks, the items in the questionnaire are phrased in ways that suggest that preferences for paid work and care tasks are mutually exclusive. Or they belong to a set of

questions implicitly showing the same suggestion. This seems to imply that attitudes about paid work and care tasks and how to divide them should be considered as preferences along one dimension, not only for women, but also for men. The typology which Hakim presents as a core issue in her recent publications (2000) is a classification of women's work-lifestyle preferences in three groups: home centred, adaptive, and work-centred women and one that also suggests the existence of one dimension.

33. In behavioural sense, volumes of time spent on either paid work or care tasks might be more or less extremes in one dimension: spending much time on the first leaves less time to spend on the other. But why should this one-dimensional conception of work and home also hold for attitudes? Why should preferences for either work or care be considered as mutually exclusive? I would like to consider attitudes or preferences on work and care as independent dimensions; if not completely independent then at least more or less independent. Then people with a strong preference for care might also have a strong preference for work and turning it round, some persons with a weak preference for care will have a weak preference for work. This does not exclude the assumption that the distribution of the strength of preferences is different for women and men. In the schedule below I have tried to translate (or rather disaggregate) the one-dimensional typology of Hakim into a two-dimensional classification of Career versus Care preferences. The crossing of two dimensions makes the resulting classification somewhat more complex than the one-dimensional version. My suggestion is that it might be useful to focus more on the groups with either strong preferences or weak preferences on both dimensions, apart from the prototypes of Hakim (which are shown in italics). How could we imagine the realisation of the work-lifestyle preferences in public and private life by people in the question mark categories? Developing this notion further might also yield some ideas that contribute to the explanation of horizontal stratification.

Career \ Care	High 35%	Medium 40%	Low 25%
High 25%	????	Mixed (Work-centred/adaptive)	<i>typical work - centered</i>
Medium 40%	Mixed (home-centred/adaptive)	<i>adaptive type</i>	Mixed (Work-centred/adaptive)
Low 35%	<i>typical home - centered</i>	Mixed (home-centred/adaptive)	????

34. The explained shortcomings of the attitudinal items weaken the strength of the findings, resulting from the analysis comparing various household configurations, differing in the degree of real or desired division of tasks in each of the topics. Moreover, it's regrettable that some configurations which would be very interesting in the light of this analysis of attitudes (e.g. where women do nothing or men do most of the housework or child care) are very rare in the population and thus are also rare in the sample. The small numbers of observations substantially lower the reliability of the findings on these specific groups. Sample surveys that focus on such situations like role shifting, will need special sampling designs.

35. The relations between the attitudinal measures and the household configuration as expressed in the explained variation, appear to justify the conclusion that the personal as well the public attitudinal components have indeed predictive value. Definitive conclusions on the relative strength of both should await more and qualitatively better evidence. Rather interesting is the relevance of discussions about tasks at home in less traditional household configurations as well as the strong influence of the wants of the partner. On the one hand, it might be associated to findings of research on the assessment of fairness in the division of household tasks experience of results, which showed that procedural justice was in many cases more important than distributional

justice (Van der Vinne, 1998). On the other hand, it may be interpreted as pointing to the effectiveness of taking the initiative and laying one's wishes to change on the table.

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Table 2 - Percentual distribution of attitudinal items by sex (15-64 year and having a partner)

	FEMALE						MALE				
	strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree		strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
public	%					public	%				
Both man and woman should contribute to the family income	11	30	35	18	7	both income	10	30	36	16	8
Man should earn the money, the woman should take care of household and family	4	7	18	28	43	man earns woman cares	3	8	18	33	37
Men should do a larger part of the household chores than nowadays	8	42	36	12	2	men more household	5	33	41	16	4
Men and women should divide paid work equally	8	22	40	21	8	both equally paid work	7	20	37	25	8
Men should contribute more to the care of children than nowadays	8	47	31	11	2	men more childcare	6	39	37	14	3
Women are better fit to raise small children than men	6	19	25	29	20	women fit to raise child	12	30	20	24	13
Men and women should divide housework equally	14	36	32	15	3	both equally housework	12	31	35	18	3
	agree fully	agree somewhat	neither agree nor disagree	disagree somewhat	disagree fully		agree fully	agree somewhat	neither agree nor disagree	disagree somewhat	disagree fully
It's more important for boys than for girls to be able to earn their own income in the future	3	8	13	14	62	income more important for boys	6	16	15	16	46
Having an own income enlarges one's independency in a relation	35	35	14	7	8	own income independent	28	37	16	9	9
It's better for the balance in the relation that a man and a woman each have their own income	20	27	25	13	13	own income more balance	13	28	26	13	19
If the income of the woman is just sufficient to pay child care, she might as well stay at home to take care for the children herself	20	20	14	24	20	income for child care: woman stay at home	24	19	14	23	18
personal	applies completely to me	applies partly to me	neutral	applies not really to me	applies completely not to me	personal	applies completely to me	applies partly to me	neutral	applies not really to me	applies completely not to me
In my work situation it is common practice that men having small children will reduce their working hours in order to spend more time on caring at home	3	10	16	14	47	in my work men will care child	5	9	16	18	47
Among my acquaintances it is common practice that men having small children will reduce their working hours in order to spend more time on caring at home	4	14	15	25	37	in my circle men will for care for child	4	13	16	23	39
How we should divide our tasks at home has been subject of discussion	17	22	18	16	26	discussion on division of tasks at home	19	23	24	13	19
I prefer to be the one who is working outside the home and will be responsible for the household income	4	7	20	22	45	I prefer working and earning	24	20	26	9	19
It's difficult for my partner to leave the household tasks at home to me	4	2	12	17	62	my partner can not leave tasks	5	14	23	20	35
My partner thinks it's important that we divide paid work and caring tasks equally among ourselves	14	17	27	20	19	my partner wants division paid work and care	16	27	26	16	12
It's difficult for my partner to leave the care for the child(ren) to me	2	2	8	17	71	my partner can not leave child care	4	10	23	19	44
I value highly to be at least one working day at home with my child(ren)	61	12	5	7	13	value one working day with child	25	20	25	9	19

Sample size (including don't know)=100%: n(male)=545 and n(female)=525
 Last two items on child care were only answered by persons having children

Figure 1 - Pseudo R-squared (Nagelkerke) for various groups of variables in analysis

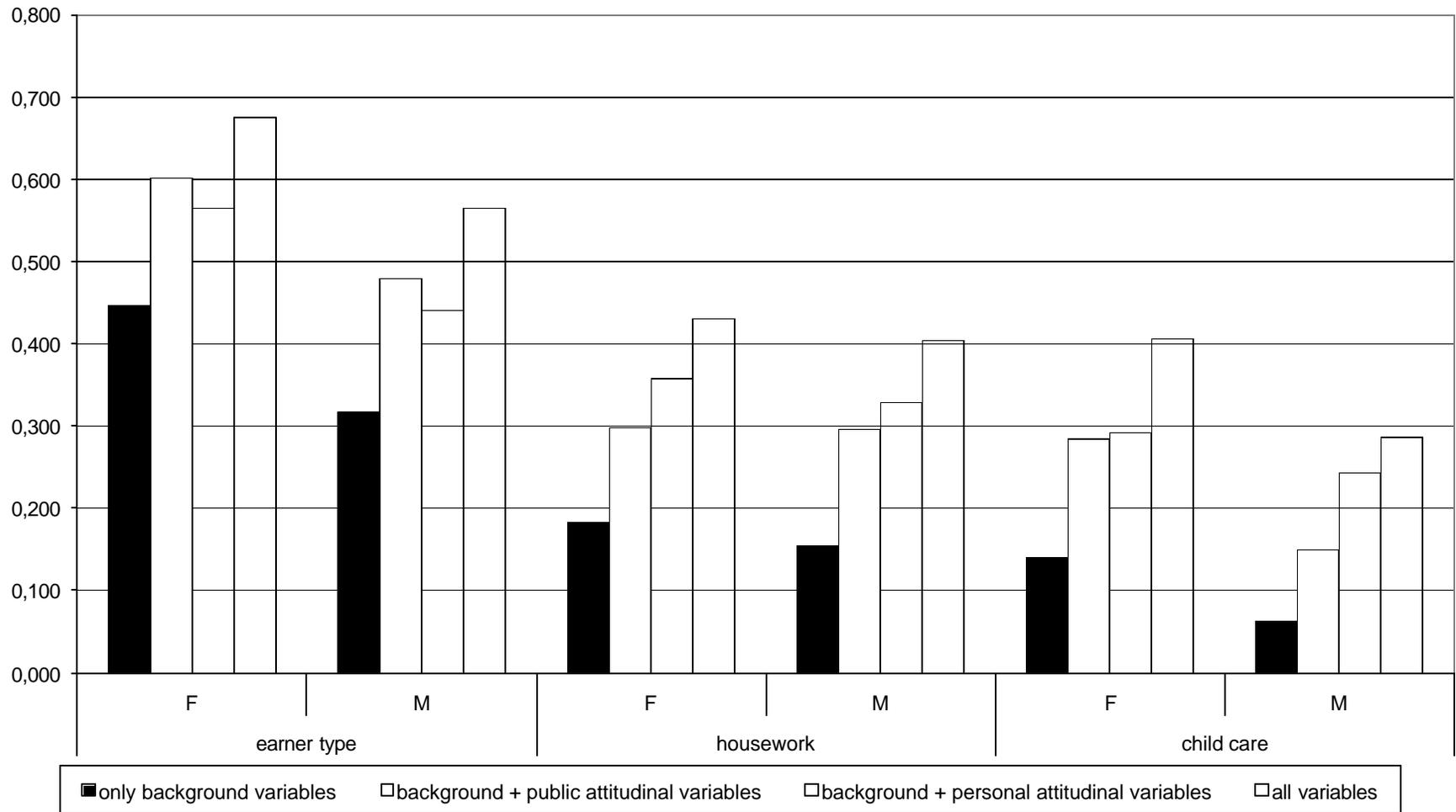


Table 3 - Odds ratios of paid work configurations (reference group is permanent single earner)

	permanent earnerless	earnerless but change wanted	permanent one and a half earners	permanent half and half earners	permanent double earners	single earner but more earners wanted	one and a half earners but half and half earners wanted	double earners but less wanted
FEMALE								
situation								
pair 25-44 without children	2,28	x	4,29	0,97	80,98	3,23	6,15	33,35
pair 25-44 with children	0,08	0,65	1,24	0,70	0,43	0,37	0,83	0,09
pair 45-64 without children	2,72	6,95	0,37	0,25	0,34	0,22	0,23	0,17
pair 45-64 with children	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
educational level	0,78	0,84	1,37	1,48	1,71	0,97	1,30	1,82
social-economic statut	0,97	0,81	1,21	0,86	1,26	0,85	1,00	1,34
housing tenure (rent =reference)	0,64	0,18	1,36	0,83	0,64	0,67	1,92	1,70
public								
both income	1,00	1,22	2,02	2,43	1,78	0,71	1,57	1,02
man earns woman cares	1,05	0,64	0,88	0,79	0,87	0,77	0,79	0,76
men more household	0,94	1,89	1,48	1,03	0,74	1,47	1,51	1,27
both equally paid work	1,05	1,56	0,81	1,26	1,09	1,17	1,01	1,22
income more important for boys	1,10	1,13	0,87	0,84	0,40	0,80	0,81	0,96
own income independent	0,81	1,02	0,97	0,79	2,42	1,04	0,83	1,19
own income more balance	1,33	0,79	0,82	1,33	0,75	1,00	1,29	1,21
income for child care: woman stay at home	0,79	0,99	0,95	0,89	0,80	1,17	0,87	0,75
personal								
in my work men will care child	0,93	1,21	0,90	0,88	0,75	0,83	0,90	0,82
in my circle men will for care for child	1,25	0,90	1,10	1,47	0,88	1,31	1,04	1,25
discussion on division of tasks at home	1,22	0,71	1,19	1,17	1,74	0,97	1,34	1,35
I prefer working and earning	1,20	1,22	1,06	1,10	1,26	1,22	1,01	1,29
my partner can not leave tasks	1,19	1,06	0,95	0,58	0,91	1,00	0,76	0,81
my partner wants division paid work and care	0,95	0,74	1,29	1,77	1,69	1,13	1,36	1,68
number of valid observations (ref.group=77)	40	17	101	43	26	62	113	23
MALE								
situation								
pair 25-44 without children	x	6,23	4,50	3,11	33,19	5,39	6,50	82,45
pair 25-44 with children	x	0,36	2,07	1,00	x	1,19	1,31	2,79
pair 45-64 without children	5,04	4,02	0,48	0,39	0,22	0,46	0,34	1,39
pair 45-64 with children (=ref.group)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
educational level	0,77	0,73	0,92	1,08	1,10	1,10	0,94	0,85
social-economic statut	0,90	0,76	0,96	0,97	1,27	1,00	1,00	0,88
housing tenure (rent =reference)	3,92	0,36	1,86	1,62	3,44	1,47	4,42	2,47
public								
both income	0,87	1,09	1,60	1,36	1,62	1,27	1,56	1,10
man earns woman cares	1,10	0,99	1,06	0,71	0,47	1,05	0,84	0,74
men more household	0,68	0,77	0,96	1,09	0,69	1,09	1,19	0,96
both equally paid work	1,14	1,15	1,07	1,40	0,96	1,45	1,36	1,70
income more important for boys	0,86	0,78	0,70	0,83	1,06	0,76	0,90	0,85
own income independent	0,63	1,34	1,19	0,95	1,41	1,06	1,05	1,30
own income more balance	1,70	0,79	0,96	1,23	1,25	0,98	1,09	0,96
income for child care: woman stay at home	0,76	0,75	0,82	0,72	0,77	0,92	0,79	0,78
personal								
in my work men will care child	1,16	0,82	0,81	0,96	0,76	0,74	0,97	0,91
in my circle men will for care for child	1,17	0,90	0,97	1,04	1,22	1,03	0,93	0,76
discussion on division of tasks at home	0,87	1,46	1,42	1,57	0,89	1,46	1,28	0,92
I prefer working and earning	0,79	0,84	0,99	0,69	0,96	0,88	0,82	0,98
my partner can not leave tasks	1,19	1,44	1,13	1,18	0,93	1,18	1,14	1,07
my partner wants division paid work and care	0,97	0,85	0,99	1,13	1,70	0,88	1,07	1,58
number of valid observations (ref.group=80)	30	19	107	52	17	58	114	37
high score on variable = (strongly) agree/(completely) applying								
p<.01								
p<.05								
<i>p<.10(italics)</i>								
n.a.=not applicable as reference category								

Table 4 - Odds ratios of housework configurations

	permanently doing everything (=ref group)	permanently doing greater part	doing everything but wanting less	doing greater part but wanting less	permanently equally divided	permanently doing less	doing less but wanting more + doing nothing wanting more	
FEMALE (reference group= situation)								
pair 25-44 without children	n.a.	1,565	0,584	2,649	5,391	3,263	6,11	
pair 25-44 with children	n.a.	1,078	0,902	0,982	1,183	0,113	2,34	
pair 45-64 without children	n.a.	1,547	1,136	1,799	3,785	2,334	5,246	
pair 45-64 with children (=ref.group)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	
educational level	n.a.	1,092	0,889	1,143	1,244	1,416	1,396	
social-economic statut	n.a.	1,053	0,756	1,044	1,118	1,296	1,652	
housing tenure (rent =reference)	n.a.	0,913	0,715	0,611	0,392	4,963	0,515	
public								
both income	n.a.	1,39	1,75	1,42	1,47	2,00	1,44	
man earns woman cares	n.a.	0,80	0,77	0,70	0,68	0,64	0,76	
men more household	n.a.	1,23	1,71	1,92	1,42	2,22	1,09	
both equally paid work	n.a.	0,92	0,95	1,29	1,27	0,64	1,31	
personal								
in my work men will care child	n.a.	0,95	0,95	0,95	0,94	0,70	1,17	
in my circle men will for care for child	n.a.	1,01	0,97	1,01	1,14	1,04	0,81	
discussion on division of tasks at home	n.a.	1,45	1,58	1,77	1,30	1,24	1,98	
I prefer working and earning	n.a.	1,14	1,06	1,24	1,33	2,22	1,26	
my partner can not leave tasks	n.a.	0,94	1,16	1,04	0,81	0,83	1,02	
my partner wants division paid work and care	n.a.	1,01	0,64	0,95	1,41	1,08	0,76	
number of valid observations	48	130	99	88	125	17	14	
	permanently doing everything	permanently doing greater part	doing everything but wanting less	doing greater part but wanting less	permanently equally divided	permanently doing less (=ref.group)	doing less but wanting more	doing nothing but wanting more
MALE (reference group= situation)								
pair 25-44 without children	1,03	2,03	x	1,00	2,90	n.a.	0,90	0,17
pair 25-44 with children	x	0,14	x	0,45	0,91	n.a.	0,73	1,10
pair 45-64 without children	0,75	2,03	x	0,72	1,51	n.a.	1,80	1,59
pair 45-64 with children (=ref.group)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
educational level	1,23	0,66	1,43	1,17	0,99	n.a.	1,00	1,04
social-economic statut	2,26	0,91	2,19	0,90	1,25	n.a.	1,14	0,87
housing tenure (rent =reference)	0,22	0,55	1,09	0,67	0,64	n.a.	1,10	1,67
public								
both income	1,07	0,40	0,68	1,32	1,12	n.a.	1,05	1,01
man earns woman cares	0,77	0,45	0,96	0,64	0,94	n.a.	0,95	1,02
men more household	1,73	1,15	1,72	1,14	1,20	n.a.	1,42	1,37
both equally paid work	1,38	1,34	1,11	1,79	1,64	n.a.	1,41	0,84
personal								
in my work men will care child	1,01	1,41	1,45	1,55	1,19	n.a.	1,12	1,04
in my circle men will for care for child	0,62	0,99	0,89	0,73	1,05	n.a.	1,06	1,10
discussion on division of tasks at home	0,90	0,90	1,46	0,99	0,90	n.a.	0,91	0,84
I prefer working and earning	0,54	0,41	0,59	1,00	0,72	n.a.	0,81	1,12
my partner can not leave tasks	0,76	0,72	0,52	0,97	0,94	n.a.	0,98	1,03
my partner wants division paid work and	1,04	2,33	1,11	1,46	1,50	n.a.	1,32	1,06
number of valid observations	7	12	6	10	125	172	136	69

high score on variable = (strongly) agree/(completely) applying

p<.01

p<.05

p<.10(italics)

n.a.=not applicable as reference category

Table 5 - Odds ratios of child care configurations

	permanently doing more or everything (=ref.group)	doing everything but wanting less	doing more but wanting less	permanently equally divided	doing less or nothing
FEMALE					
situation					
pair 25-44 without children	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pair 25-44 with children	n.a.	0,84	0,74	0,39	0,50
pair 45-64 without children	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pair 45-64 with children (=ref.group)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
educational level	n.a.	0,92	1,09	1,26	0,94
socio-economic status	n.a.	1,36	0,81	1,70	1,04
housing tenure (rent =reference)	n.a.	0,37	0,36	0,44	0,57
public					
men should do contribute more to the care for children than nowadays	n.a.	2,34	2,11	1,19	2,11
Women are better fit to raise small children than men	n.a.	0,70	0,65	0,52	0,38
personal					
in my work men will care child	n.a.	0,97	0,90	0,95	0,77
in my circle men will for care for child	n.a.	0,94	1,07	1,02	0,40
discussion on division of tasks at home	n.a.	1,06	1,19	1,10	1,21
I prefer working and earning	n.a.	0,97	0,95	0,92	1,55
my partner wants division paid work and care	n.a.	0,93	1,30	1,78	1,30
It's difficult for my partner to leave the care for the child(ren) to me	n.a.	1,37	1,35	1,48	1,52
I value highly to be at least one working day at home with my child(ren)	n.a.	0,94	1,05	0,89	1,32
number of valid observations	96	33	63	88	10
MALE					
situation					
pair 25-44 without children	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pair 25-44 with children	0,67	0,16	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pair 45-64 without children	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
pair 45-64 with children (=ref.group)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
educational level	0,88	1,06	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
social-economic statut	0,84	1,00	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
housing tenure (rent =reference)	1,33	0,79	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
public					
men should do contribute more to the care for children than nowadays	2,38	1,26	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Women are better fit to raise small children than men	0,90	0,75	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
personal					
in my work men will care child	0,74	1,03	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
in my circle men will for care for child	1,53	0,98	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
<i>discussion on division of tasks at home</i>	0,55	0,87	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
I prefer working and earning	0,94	0,74	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
my partner wants division paid work and care	1,23	1,26	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
It's difficult for my partner to leave the care for the child(ren) to me	0,51	0,78	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
I value highly to be at least one working day at home with my child(ren)	1,63	1,34	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
number of valid observations	7	110	196		
high score on variable = (strongly) agree/(completely) applying					
p<.01					
p<.05					
<i>p<.10(italics)</i>					
n.a.=not applicable as reference category					

Table 6 - Interpreted results of HOMALS-analysis of attitudinal items

LOW		HIGH		LOW		HIGH	
discrimination measure				discrimination measure			
public attitudinal items on the division of paid work - dimension 1 paid work to be divided between women and men				public attitudinal items on the division of paid work - dimension 2 (quadratic first dimension)			
0,516	both income		opposite	0,482			
0,411	strongly opposite	man earns money woman cares + neutral		0,381			
0,374	men more household		opposite	0,225			
0,393	both equally paid work		opposite	0,441	extreme categories		neutral categories
0,291	strongly opposite	income more important for boys		0,155			
0,482	strongly own income independent	neutral and opposite		0,283			
0,559	own income more balance		opposite	0,364			
0,333	opposite	income for child care: woman stay at home		0,109			
personal attitudinal items on the division of paid work - dimension 1				personal attitudinal items on the division of paid work - dimension 2			
division of tasks is more or less an issue in our situation		statements on the division of various tasks apply not at all		experiencing hardly any external pressure on division of paid work		experiencing pressure on division of paid work	
0,469	neutral on in my work men wil care for child	in my work men wil care for child applies not at all		0,379	if in my work men wil care for child applies is hard to decide		in my work men wil care for child applies fully
0,422	neutral on in my circle men wil care for child	in my circle men wil care for child applies not at all		0,406	if in my circle men wil care for child applies is hard to decide		in my circle men wil care for child applies fully
0,416	discussion on division of tasks at home applies more or less	discussion on division of tasks at home applies not at all		0,388	if discussion on division of tasks at home applies is hard to decide		discussion on division of tasks at home applies fully
0,443	if I prefer working and earning applies is hard to decide	I prefer working and earning applies not at all		0,120	xxx		I prefer working and earning applies not really
0,284	if my partner can not leave household tasks applies is hard to say	my partner can not leave household tasks applies not at all		0,347	neutral on applicability of my partner can not leave household tasks		my partner can not leave household tasks applies fully
0,416	my partner wants division paid work and care applies more or less	my partner wants division paid work and care applies not at all		0,381	neutral on applicability of my partner wants division paid work and care		my partner wants division paid work and care applies fully
public attitudinal items on the division of housework - dimension 1				public attitudinal items on the division of housework - dimension 2			
women housework		housework equally divided		(quadratic first dimension)		(quadratic first dimension)	
0,525	opposite		both income	0,515			
0,471	man earns money woman cares + neutral		strongly opposite	0,469			
0,557	opposite	men more household		0,383	neutral categories		extreme categories
0,550	opposite	both equally housework		0,505			
personal attitudinal items on the division of child care - dimension 1				personal attitudinal items on the division of child care - dimension 2			
division of tasks is no clear issue in our situation		statements on the division of various tasks apply not at all		experiencing hardly any pressure on division of tasks		experiencing pressure on division of tasks	
0,500	neutral on in my work men wil care for child	in my work men wil care for child applies not at all		0,414	if my work men wil care for child applies is hard to decide		in my work men wil care for child applies fully
0,446	neutral on in my circle men wil care for child	in my circle men wil care for child applies not at all		0,463	if in my circle men wil care for child applies is hard to decide		in my circle men wil care for child applies fully
0,480	discussion on division of tasks at home applies more or less	discussion on division of tasks at home applies not at all		0,463	if discussion on division of tasks at home applies is hard to decide		discussion on division of tasks at home applies fully
0,477	if I prefer working and earning applies is hard to decide	I prefer working and earning applies not at all		0,161	if I prefer working and earning applies is hard to say		I prefer working and earning applies not really
0,388	my partner wants division paid work and care is hard to say	my partner wants division paid work and care applies not at all		0,342	neutral on applicability of my partner wants division paid work and care		my partner wants division paid work and care applies fully
0,479	if my partner can not leave household tasks applies is hard to say	my partner can not leave household tasks applies not at all		0,437	neutral on applicability of my partner can not leave household tasks		my partner can not leave household tasks applies fully
0,090	if my partner can not leave child care is hard to say	my partner can not leave child care applies not at all		0,065	my partner can not leave child care applies fully		my partner can not leave child care applies somewhat
0,076	if I value one working day with child is hard to decide	value one working day with child applies not at all		0,073	if value one working day with child applies to me is hard to decide		value one working day with child applies somewhat

Table 7 - Correlation between public and personal dimensions

Characterisation of dimension (low versus high)

paid work to be divided versus paid work might be men's task (pub.op.work-dim1)	pw1	X																	
division paid work is more or less an issue versus statements not applicable (pers.op.work-dim.1)	iw1	0,19	X																
experiencing hardly pressure on division paid work versus experiencing pressure (pers.op.work-dim.2)	iw2	-0,20	0,00	X															
women should do housework versus equal division tasks (pub.op.hhwork-dim.1)	ph1	-0,85	-0,18	0,16	X														
few hesitations in opinion versus maybe child care should be women's task (pub.op.child care-dim.1)	pc1	0,35	-0,05	-0,12	-0,34	X													
child care is women's task versus not agreeing (pub.op.child care-dim2)	pc2	-0,28	-0,09	0,01	0,33	0,00	X												
division child care no clear issue versus statements on division child care not applicable (pers.op.child care-dim.1)	ic1	0,13	0,98	0,12	-0,13	-0,08	-0,07	X											
experiencing hardly any pressure on division tasks versus experiencing pressure (pers.op.child care-dim.2)	ic2	-0,23	-0,13	0,97	0,19	-0,13	0,03	0,00	X										
		pw1	iw1	iw2	ph1	pc1	pc2	ic1	ic2										
overlap of majority of items																			
p<.01																			

Table 8 - Regression analysis public and personal attitudinal dimensions

Characterisation of dimension (low versus high)	dummy 25-44 no children		dummy 25-44 with children		dummy 45-64 no children		sex (male =ref)	housing tenure (rent=ref)	education	socio-economic status	R ²
	standarised beta		standarised beta		standarised beta						
paid work to be divided versus paid work might be men's task (pub.op.work-dim1)	-0,04	0,17	0,00	-0,15	0,03	-0,29	-0,01	0,13			
division paid work is more or less an issue versus statements not applicable (pers.op.work-dim.1)	-0,11	0,00	0,10	0,14	0,00	-0,10	0,04	0,07			
experiencing hardly pressure on division paid work versus experiencing pressure (pers.op.work-dim.2)	0,02	0,03	-0,08	0,04	0,04	0,26	-0,02	0,09			
women should do household work versus equal division tasks (pub.op.hhwork-dim.1)	0,02	-0,15	-0,01	0,10	-0,02	0,20	0,03	0,06			
few hesitations in opinion versus maybe child care should be women's task (pub.op.child care-dim.1)	0,03	0,04	-0,15	-0,12	-0,04	-0,07	-0,02	0,02			
child care is women's task versus not agreeing (pub.op.child care-dim2)	0,02	-0,07	-0,01	0,11	-0,02	0,10	0,03	0,02			
division child care no clear issue versus statements on division child care not applicable (pers.op.child care-dim.1)	-0,11	0,01	0,11	0,18	0,01	-0,05	0,04	0,08			
experiencing hardly any pressure on division tasks versus experiencing pressure (pers.op.child care-dim.2)	0,04	0,05	-0,11	0,07	0,04	0,27	-0,03	0,12			
p<.01											
