

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PROFESSIONAL AND  
FAMILY ASPIRATIONS OF FEMALE AND MALE  
UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FROM  
KENYA, SPAIN AND ICELAND**

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De conformidad con la base quinta de la convocatoria del Programa de Estímulo a la Investigación, este trabajo ha sido sometido a evaluación externa anónima de especialistas cualificados a fin de contrastar su nivel técnico.

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**FUNDACIÓN DE LAS CAJAS DE AHORROS  
INVESTIGACIÓN**

# **“Comparative analysis of professional and family aspirations of female and male university students from Kenya, Spain and Iceland” \***

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## **Abstract**

The main objective of this study was to analyze to what extent young people show an inclination to accept some sacrifice in their career progression in the future in order to reach a better work-family balance. In particular it addresses the question of to what degree differences remain (on average) between young females and males in this field. In order to do so we are using data from a survey (“Survey on social values and labor expectations of university students”) conducted among a sample of 2392 university students who attended three universities: University of Nairobi, University of Iceland, and Complutense University of Madrid.

After building a set of indicators (scales) about career and family involvement aspirations of respondents, and after conducting a statistical and regression analysis, this study has managed to provide empirical evidence about the fact that young women (on average) still have a greater predisposition than young men to make sacrifices in the future in their working careers in order to achieve a better work-family balance. Moreover, having a high degree of leadership aspirations and belonging to an egalitarian household tend to reduce the inclination to sacrifice career opportunities, whereas having a high inclination to be involved in childcare in the future and having the perception of a future work-family conflict tend to increase it. Gender attitudes have a differential effect on female and male students: Having traditional gender attitudes tends to increase the inclination to sacrifice career opportunities in the case of female students and reduce it in the case of male students.

**Key words:** Aspirations; young people; gender differences; work-family balance; career; involvement in childcare.

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## 1. Introduction

The significant progress made in the incorporation of women into the labor market should go hand in hand with a parallel progress in the incorporation of men into domestic work and childcare. However, as shown by studies of time use (Gershuny 2000; Hook 2006; Raley *et al.* 2012), these trends do not always occur with the same intensity. The latter seem to occur with less intensity and often in a lagged way from the former. Moreover, as Raley *et al.* (2012) indicate, in the case of child care the situation is more complicated, because such care cannot always be considered as an “unpleasant activity” on which members of the couple negotiate. A sign that there is such a lag is that female workers often experience a greater feeling of conflict associated with their work and care-giving roles than the male workers (Fujimoto *et al.* 2012).

One way to address to what extent this type of lag will tend to disappear in the future is to analyze what the aspirations and expectations of young women and men in family and work spheres are (Brannen *et al.* 2002). Is it possible to detect convergence between the aspirations and ambitions of young females and males to pursue a career in the future? Is it the same in the case of aspirations of being involved in child care when having children in the future? Are there gender differences in the anticipation of some kind of work-family conflict in the future? These are the issues discussed in a series of studies conducted with young people (Sanders *et al.* 1998; Bu and McKeen 1998, 2000; Brannen *et al.* 2002; Cinamon 2006; Danziger and Eden 2007; Kirrane and Monks 2008; Ku 2008)

If young people already anticipate some kind of work-family conflict in the future, a question that arises from this is to what extent they already show some inclination to accept some sacrifice in their career progression in the future in order to reach a better work-family balance. Indeed, in the literature on "motherhood wage penalty" (Raley *et al.* 2012) it is observed that, after having a child, some workers (especially female workers), in order to try to obtain more time for caring the child, drop out of the labor force, cut back to part-time employment, use compensating wage differential mechanisms (accepting a lower wage in exchange for having a less demanding job or having a occupation that is more family-friendly), or pass up promotions.

In the case of young people, most of them in the stage prior to their incorporation into the labor market, it is interesting to inquire to what extent they contemplate carrying out some of these strategies in the future. And above all, it is important to investigate to what extent differences remain (on average) between young females and males in the willingness to sacrifice their careers in the future. To advance in the knowledge of these aspects is the fundamental purpose of this article.

In order to do it we are using data from a survey conducted among a sample of 2392 university students who attended three universities: University of Nairobi, University of Iceland, and Universidad Complutense de Madrid. The advantage of using a sample of

university students is that they are a relatively homogeneous group of young people (most of them studying gender integrated fields of study) that normally are in the previous stage to entering the labor market and starting a family. Moreover, in this case, being a sample of university students in three very different countries (Kenya, Iceland and Spain), the study provides a dimension of cross-cultural comparative study (in line with other studies such as Morinaga *et al.* 1993 and Bu and McKeen 2000; see also Spector *et al.* 2004 and Hill *et al.* 2004). That is, one of our aims is to grasp how cultural differences influence how the work-family relationship is perceived (Aycan 2008).

## **2. Three country contexts**

Kenya is a low income country (Human Development Index of 0.519 in 2012) that has maintained a stable macroeconomic and social environment and that is one of the most dynamic economies of east Africa. The population in 2013 is about 44 million people, over 40% of whom are estimated to live in absolute poverty (World Bank, 2013). 35% of the population is young (15 to 34 years). The agricultural sector is the mainstay of the economy and employs about 65% of the population which is based in rural areas. With the restructuring and rationalization of the public sector and the deregulation of labor markets in the private sector, the informal sector in Kenya has assumed significant proportions: In 2011, informal self employment represented 80.8% of the total recorded employment, while regular wage employment represented 12.9% of the total (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2013).

Kenya's culture is the result of many sources and influences (both modern and traditional) in a pluriethnic society. Compared with Iceland and Spain it is a more traditional society, where religion (Christian, Hindu and Islamic) plays a very important role (the average score in the 0-10 Likert item "Scale of religious belief" that we used in our questionnaire was 6.95 for the Kenyan sample of university students, whereas among the Icelandic and Spanish students these scores were respectively 3.05 and 3.36), divorce and separation in Kenya are quite low (but on the rise), and traditional gender roles are strong (the average score in the 1-5 summed scale "Traditional gender attitudes" that we built for this study was 3.33 for the Kenyan sample of university students, whereas among the Icelandic and Spanish students these scores were respectively 2.29 and 2.62). Moreover, according to Walumbwa *et al.* (2007), Kenya is an inherently collectivist culture (like China or India), emphasizing family and work group goals above individual needs or desires. This may contrast with the more individualist (idiocentric) cultures of Iceland and (somehow) Spain.

Access to higher education by women relative to their men counterparts has remained low. In 2013 the percentage (from the total students) of female students enrolled in university studies was 40% (Kenya National Bureau of Statistic 2014). There are also significant levels of gender segregation in fields of studies (but not higher than in the case of Iceland or Spain). The female employment/population ratio was 55.4% in 2011, whereas the male

employment/population ration was 65.5% (World Bank 2013). There are significant gender inequalities in labor market. For instance, in rural areas the percentage of female workers doing “unpaid family work” is 56.8, while in the case of males this percentage is 25.3. On the contrary, the formal sector (which is the labor destination aimed at by many university students) is dominated by male workers; for instance, in urban areas the percentages of female and male workers working in the private formal sector were respectively 8.2 and 25.6 (Atieno 2010). Empowerment of women in Kenya is enshrined in the new Constitution of Kenya (2010). Article 27, Nº 3 states that “women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres”.

Iceland (Human Development Index of 0.906 in 2012; 13rd in the World ranking) was an agrarian society until the early 20th century and its histories and traditions are rooted in Nordic culture. As of June 2014, the Icelandic population was at 324,988 of which 162,874 are male and 162,114 are female. There are 80,040 children ages 0-17 years (Statistics Iceland, 2014; Statistics Iceland, 2014b). As with other European and western advanced countries, the global bank crisis had a great effect on the Icelandic economy and austerity measures had to be put in place. At the time, the Icelandic government chose to focus on protecting the most vulnerable social groups, such as families with children, in the best way possible (Ólafsson 2011).

Emphasis on women in the political arena has been pioneering. Iceland had the first female president in 1980, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, and a female political party, the Women’s Party, from 1983 until 1998 when it was absorbed into the Social Democratic Party, which later became the Social Democratic Alliance in 2000. Focus in Icelandic family policy has been on gender equality since the 1990s and Iceland has adopted ground-breaking parental leave policies to ensure gender equality in work and care (Eydal and Rostgaard 2011; and Eydal 2012). Icelandic women have also made up a large portion of the labor market over the last decades. According to The Global Gender Gap Index 2013 (World Economic Forum 2013) Iceland is the country with the highest gender equality in the world.

In 2011 12,076 women and 7,258 men were enrolled in higher education (Statistics Iceland, 2012b). But although there are more female than male university students, women are underrepresented overall in the engineering and natural science categories (1251 women v 2324 men), but more than three times as many in education and almost five times as many in health. In spite of the emphasis on gender equality in the labor market found in Icelandic legislation, there is still a significant degree of gender occupational segregation in labor market (probably no less than in Kenya or Spain).

Spain (Human Development Index of 0.885 in 2012; ranking 23rd in the World) is a Mediterranean Latin Country with a population of 46.5 million in January 2014. The Spanish economy, in a similar way to what happened in Iceland, has been experiencing a long

economic crisis (2008-14), whose worst consequence has been to generate a very high unemployment rate (24.4% in the second quarter of 2014, INE 2014), which must be conditioning the career aspirations of young people (among the population aged 20 to 29 the unemployment rate was 37.3%).

Until the seventies in 20th century in Spain there were high levels of gender inequality, with very noticeable levels of traditional-type (patriarchal) sexual division of labor. Nonetheless, gender attitudes have been evolving since then toward more egalitarian attitudes which are increasingly close to those existing in the most advanced societies (Valiente 2008). Furthermore this process of change may even be reaching greater intensity during the last decade (Ruiz and Plaza 2010). A milestone in this regard was the enactment of the Law for Equal Opportunity between Women and Men nº 3/2007.

In Spain, during the academic year 2012-2013, 54.3% of university students were women. Similar to what was observed in Kenya and Iceland, the proportion of men (73.9%) was much higher than that of women in the field of engineering and architecture, while this distribution was reversed in health sciences, branch where women had a much higher presence (70.1%) than men (Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte 2013).

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

#### ***Work-family balance theory***

Work-family border theory (Clark 2000, 2002) tries to explain how individuals manage and negotiate the work and family spheres and the borders between them in order to attain a work-family balance. Central to this theory is the idea that 'work' and 'family' constitute different domains or spheres which influence each other. The construction of work-family boundaries would be the result of a complex interplay between employees' strategies and preferences, the social contexts in which they are embedded, and both the idiosyncratic and cultural meanings attached to work and family (Desrochers and Sargent 2004).

An important concept in this context is that of "spillover" (Brannen *et al.* 2007, Chap. 9; Chen *et al.* 2009; Greenhaus and Powell 2006). These spillovers may be positive (work-family enrichment) or negative (work-family conflict). Moreover, the direction of causality may move from the job to the family or from the family to the job. For example, the work-family conflict (WFC) refers to a situation where the pressures relating to the work-role have an unfavorable impact on the family role, and the family-work conflict (FWC) refers to a situation where the pressures of the family role have an unfavorable impact on the role individuals have at work.



### ***Work-family balance and gender. Gender Roles***

According to the social constructionist perspective regarding gender (Butler 2004; Diamond and Butterworth 2008), gender is a social creation that evolves continuously over time (Haas and Hwang 2008). Indeed, as shown by West and Zimmerman (1987), “gender is not something we are, but something we do. Gender must be continually socially reconstructed in the light of normative conceptions of men and women”.

These gender roles may play an important function in the case of work and family experiences. Even in the most advanced societies the entry of women into the labor market seems to have progressed much more than men’s participation in childcare activities (Hook 2006), and this mismatch suggests that women are more likely to have a greater sense of dual responsibility, thus leading to greater conflicts associated with their work and care giving roles (Fujimoto *et al.* 2012). In this same sense literature on time use clearly shows that women usually experience more time pressure than men (Burda *et al.* 2007; Pocock *et al.* 2010).

However, in addition, males (“new fathers”) who wish to take an active role in the care of their young children (Romero-Balsa *et al.* 2013) may also experience extra conflictive situations if they attempt to combine work and childcare in workplaces where there exists a problem of “female bias in reconciliation”. This bias occurs when the perception held by managers and fellow-workers is that the need for reconciling is a question specifically relating to female staff and not so much with male staff (Levine and Pittinsky 1997; Holter 2007; Escot *et al.* 2012; Burnett *et al.* 2013).

Empirical literature would appear to support the hypothesis that there is a gender difference in perceptions of work-life balance (Sanders *et al.* 1998; Lewis *et al.* 2009; Fujimoto *et al.* 2012), albeit research exists to point out that men and women do not differ in their level of work and family conflict (Voydanoff 2004; Keene and Quadagno 2004).

### ***Anticipation of work-family conflict among young women and men***

How is this work-family interface viewed by young people who have not yet entered the labor market? Are there gender differences in young adults' anticipated work-family conflict?

As indicated by Cinamon 2006, the period of emerging adulthood (ages 18-30 years) in Western societies generally offers a unique combination of more choices and fewer commitments relative to any other period during adulthood. Such is the case of university students, who are normally at the stage immediately prior to their joining the labor market and starting a family. For this reason there is an interest in analyzing their aspirations and expectations regarding the labor market and family life. Also of interest is to see to what

extent there are gender differences in this respect. As far as literature on this topic is concerned, three significant contributions can be mentioned

Brannen *et al.* (2002), using a qualitative approach in several European countries, examined the orientations to employment, training, career and family, and current anticipated needs concerning the reconciliation of family and employment, among young men and women. In the context of life-course process theories and the approach of “Risk society” and “Individualization” (Beck 1992), they considered three models of young people: “the model of deferment”, “the model of adaptability”, and “the model of predictability” (Brannen *et al.* 2002, chap. 4).

Following Brannen *et al.* (2002) and also the previous work of Sanders *et al.* (1998), Kirrane and Monks (2008) analyzed the case of Irish university students. They conducted a survey among 435 final year degree students from five higher education institutions throughout Ireland. The results of their study confirm that gender continues to have a strong role in the development of attitudes towards managing the work-family interface. The results also suggested that a number of social background factors, in particular school experience, parental education and parental occupation, were strong factors in the development of these attitudes.

Cinamon (2006) analyzed the “anticipated” levels of work-family conflict among a sample of 358 students from two universities in Israel (degrees in arts and science). She found evidence that female students anticipated (slightly more than male students) future situations of work-family conflict. Indeed, women anticipated higher levels of work interfering with family and family interfering with work. Exposure to an egalitarian child care model correlated with lower anticipated levels of work interfering with family. Self-efficacy correlated negatively with both types of conflict.

### ***Willingness to sacrifice career opportunities to care***

There is a considerable amount of literature on the “motherhood labor penalty” (and “fatherhood Premium”), in which it is clearly shown (Raley *et al.* 2012) that, for workers already in the labor market, “it is the division of labor surrounding children that seems to differentiate between the activities of men and women and stall movement toward greater gender equality in labor market outcomes”. This literature (Budig and England 2001; Data-Gupta and Smith 2002; Anderson *et al.* 2002; Petersen *et al.* 2006; Correll *et al.* 2007; Molina and Montuenga 2009; Budig and Hodges 2010; Wilde *et al.* 2010) argues that traditional gender norms lead to the costs of childbearing falling disproportionately on women, in the form of a lesser amount of job supply and a loss of human capital amongst them, all of which negatively affect their wage trajectories. Mothers are more likely than fathers to drop out of the labor force, cut back to part-time employment, using compensating wage differential

mechanisms (accepting a lower wage in exchange for having a less demanding job or having a occupation that is more family-friendly), or pass up promotions. Seemingly, once they are part of the labor force, some women, if they are mothers, generally make greater sacrifices in their professional careers than men, when they are fathers, with the intention of being able to reconcile their working and family lives.

Returning to the case of youngsters not yet in the labor market, it is interesting to ascertain to what extent they would be considering to make future professional sacrifices to improve the match between work and family and to what degree gender differences continue to appear.

In this sense, Beauregard (2007), among other matters, reviews the literature about young people's expectations regarding how they will combine work and family in the future and how this combination influences career choice and prospects of career development. She detects a series of situations where young females appear to have on average more expectations of future career sacrifices in order to reach a work-family balance than young men.

Danziger and Eden (2007) analyzed whether gender differences in occupational aspirations appear in a sample of 802 Israeli accounting students. They found that differences between the sexes in occupational aspirations and career style preferences evolved and increased with years of study and especially as students approached the end of their academic studies. Indeed, in their freshmen year, the sexes shared a similar pattern of aspirations and goals. However, during their later academic years, females reduced their occupational aspirations and revealed a stronger preference for a convenient work-family balance.

Moreover, Ku (2008) analyzed the case of law students from several universities in the United States, obtaining evidence that female students tend to be oriented more towards the public sector, while male students tend to be oriented to a greater extent to large U.S. law firms (where workers assume more risk but the returns can be much higher). The aspirations of both tended to converge only in a few centers (business schools) which are very elitist and competitive.

The research of Bu and McKeen (1998, 2000) points in the same direction. They investigate the expectations about the future occupational and family roles of 374 business school students in China and Canada (it is a cross-cultural comparative study). Their data revealed that Chinese of both sexes attached greater value to their occupational role and would commit more time to it than Canadians. They also anticipated less difficulty in balancing work and family. But men and women in both countries expected traditional gender roles in their future marriages with women performing more household tasks, being less well paid and having less prestigious jobs. Canadian women expected a larger decrease in time for

paid work and a larger increase in time for household tasks than Canadian men did during the second five years after graduation.

### ***Hypothesis to test***

Based on this literature review and considering that our main objective is to analyze gender differences in the way of addressing in the future the work-family interface, we formulate the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Female university students have (in average) a higher willingness to sacrifice career opportunities in the future (working part time, accepting a lower compensating wage differential in order to work in a family friendly company, etc.) than male university students in order to have time to care (to reach a work-family balance). We will build an indicator of “Inclination to sacrifice career” in order to test it.

Hypothesis 2a. In spite of general advances in shared responsibility between men and women for childcare, female university students still have (on average) a greater inclination to be highly involved in the future in childcare than male university students.

Hypotheses 2b. The inclination to be involved in childcare in the future is the main (positive) determinant of the willingness of women and men to sacrifice career opportunities in the future.

We will use an indicator of “Involvement in childcare” in order to test these two hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3a. Female university students have (on average) a higher perception of a future work-family conflict than male university students.

Hypothesis 3b. In fact, the perception of a future conflict is one of the (positive) determinants of the willingness of women and men to sacrifice career opportunities in the future.

We will use an indicator of “Perception of work-family conflict” in order to test these two hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4. Having high career aspirations is associated negatively with the inclination to sacrifice career (in order to have time to care).

Hypothesis 5. Having traditional gender attitudes has a differential gender effect on the inclination to sacrifice career: It has a positive effect in the case of female students and a negative or no-effect in the case of male students.

Hypothesis 6. Family background influences the willingness to sacrifice career opportunities in the future, particularly in the case of female students. Students who have been exposed to a more egalitarian model of families (mother working full time, etc.) would show less inclination to sacrifice future career opportunities.

Hypothesis 7. The cultural context also influences the intentions of sacrifice career opportunities in the future in order to care. In a traditional society like Kenya, compared to the cases of Iceland and Spain, it is expected that the variable "Female" have a greater explanatory power (with positive sign) of the willingness to sacrifice career opportunities in the future.

#### 4. Method and data

##### **Data**

Data were collected from 2392 university students (1355 women, 1028 men) who attended three universities: University of Nairobi, Kenya (sample= 564); University of Iceland, Iceland (sample=502); and Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain (sample=1326). Sampling was performed in each institution separately, during the period November 2013-April 2014. In classrooms that were randomly selected the questionnaire was administered during class time and took approximately 15 minutes to complete. 1400 participants completed a paper version of the questionnaire and 992 completed the on line version (using their laptops or smart phones). 2041 students were studying for their bachelor degree (49.1% in the 1st year, 34.2% in the 4th year); 343 were studying for their master's degree. They were distributed in three "gender integrated fields of study", Business Administration (724), Law (651), and Economics (565); and in one feminized field, Social Work (383); 61 students were in "other" fields. Average age of participants was 22.6 years in Kenya, 26.7 in Iceland, and 22.2 in Spain. 10.2% of students had children (31.7% in Iceland). And 27% of students were combining their studies with a full or part time job. We will take into account these variables latter in regression analysis.

- **Survey population:** Students from the Universities of Nairobi, Iceland and Complutense of Madrid who were studying Economics, Business Administration, Law and Social Work.
- **Sampling:** Stratified random sampling of the classrooms (primary sampling unit) in which the questionnaires were distributed. Stratification was carried out according to the university and field of study; in the case of bachelor studies, the questionnaires were distributed among students of first and fourth years. After selecting the classroom and the day, all the students attending classes (secondary sampling unit) completed the questionnaire. Each respondent completed a self-administered questionnaire with closed structure provided by the teacher (in paper or digital format). The anonymity of the respondent was guaranteed by not requesting any personal identification. The teacher in charge of passing the questionnaires encouraged students to respond with sincerity and truthfully, and not trying to be politically correct.
- **Sample size (and sample error):** Kenya: **564** (+/- 4.13%); Iceland **502** (+/- 4.37%); Spain: **1326** (+/- 2.69%)
- **Date of sampling:** Academic year 2013/2014

## **Questionnaire**

Firstly, the questionnaire contains a series of questions concerning demographic aspects, family background and gender attitudes of respondents. However, the nucleus of the questionnaire is to be found in several sets of questions, using in these questions 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1="strongly disagree" to 5="strongly agree". These groups of questions are related to: career aspirations (group of questions 13), based in part on the "Career aspirations scale" of O'Brien (1996) and in the "Work role salience scale" of Greenhaus (1973). Family aspirations (group 14), based in part on the "Career family attitude measure" of Sanders *et al.* (1998). Perception about the work-family interface (group 15), based in part on the "Career family attitude measure" of Sanders *et al.* (1998) and on the "Career barriers inventory" of Swanson *et al.* (1996). Balancing work and family in the future (group 16). And barriers to career advancement (group 17), based in part on the "Career barriers inventory" of Swanson *et al.* (1996). The design of the questionnaire was also influenced by the previous researches of Cinamon (2006), and Kirrane and Monks (2008). In May 2013 a pilot survey was conducted with a sample of 127 students. As a consequence of the results obtained, some of the variables were removed from or added to the questionnaire.

## **Dependent variable**

For the quantitative analysis that we will conduct later we built a set of indicators (scales). The first one is "inclination sacrifice career" (Cronbach's alpha=0.662) (see the table 6 in Appendix), which will be the dependent variable in regression analysis. It includes 5 items: "I would consider the possibility of interrupting my career for some time to devote myself exclusively to the care of my small children"; "If possible in my work, I would change to working part-time"; "If possible in my work, I would reduce my working hours by one or two hours a day during the first months or years of my child's life"; "I would prefer to have a net monthly salary of \$2,000 in a company where it would be possible to easily reconcile work and family life, rather than have a net monthly salary of \$4,000 in a company where it would be very difficult to reconcile work and family life"; and "I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time spent caring for my children (reversed scores)". The score for each respondent is the average score of the five items (summative scale divided by the nº of items). This indicator is intended to measure the extent to which the respondent is willing to make future professional sacrifices in order to have more time to care (to childcare). Indeed, the first three items capture intentions to decrease the dedication to work after having a child; the fourth captures the willingness to accept a (negative) compensating wage differential in exchange for better work-family balance; and the fifth captures the intention to not prioritize the job choice over the time spent on care.

### ***Independent variables***

“Involvement Childcare” is a 3-item indicator (Cronbach's alpha=0.694). It refers to the inclination to be highly involved in childcare in the future. The three items are: “I would find it very important to be able to take several months off work after the birth of my child”; “I would find it very important to have time to devote to the care of my baby”; “It seems to me very important to be fully involved in the care and education of my young children”.

“Leadership Aspirations” (Cronbach's alpha=0.768) involves eight items from group of questions 13 in the questionnaire (see the Appendix). It measures the extent to which the respondent has aspirations of leading organizations and teams. It also serves us as an indicator of career aspirations.

“Self Perception Abilities” (Cronbach's alpha= 0.725) involves two items from the group of questions 17 of the questionnaire: “I don't feel confident about my ability in my job”; “I have a low self-esteem” (these two items are one of the three factors obtained by Varimax factor analysis with questions 17). After reversing the scores, this indicator may serve us to rate the respondent’s self confidence (in the work sphere but also for the family sphere).

“Willingness to Risk” (Cronbach' alpha=0.559) pertains to the respondent risk tolerance, or willingness for risk, in the labor sphere (according to the literature in this field, on average, women appear to be more risk averse than men; see Booth and Nolen 2012). This indicator includes these two items: “I would prefer a less secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of \$4,000, to a secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 2,000\$”; “I would prefer a less secure and stable job with significant career development opportunities, to a secure and stable job with limited opportunities of professional promotion”.

“Mobility” (Cronbach's alpha=0.703), consists of these two items: “I would move to another part of the country if it would help me progress in my career”; and “I would move anywhere in the world if it would help me progress in my career”.

“Perception Work-Family Conflict” (Cronbach's alpha= 0.791) involves eight items (see the Appendix) from the group of questions 15 in the questionnaire (these items are one of the two factors obtained by Varimax factor analysis with questions 15). Assuming that the respondent had a family and children in the future, this indicator measures the extent to which the respondent has the perception that she/he will experience a work-family conflict.

“Perception Work Family Enrichment” (Cronbach's alpha= 0.697) includes the remaining two items from the group of questions 15 in the questionnaire that form the second factor obtained by Varimax factor analysis. These items are: “I think I will be able to succeed in my family role, even working full time”; “I think I will be able to find positive interaction with my time at work and with my time caring for my family”.

“Traditional Gender Attitudes” (Cronbach's alpha=0.773) includes eight items (see the Appendix). It measures the degree to which the respondent has traditional gender attitudes.

“Expected Discrimination” (Cronbach's alpha=0.760) is formed by “I may experience sex discrimination in hiring or in promotions”; and “I will be paid less than the other co-workers of the opposite sex”.

Finally, in the regression analysis we wanted to control for the effect of several variables: One ratio variable, “Age”. Two 0-10 Likert item variables: “Entrepreneurship scale” (0=I consider myself very little entrepreneurial; 10=I consider myself very entrepreneurial); and “Income Scale Parents” (0=very low income; 10=very high income). Five 1-5 Likert item variables (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree): “Prefer public sector”; “Hire someone” (after having or adopting a child); “Help grandparents” (after having or adopting a child); “Partner involved” (“I think my partner will be very involved in the care of my child while I work”); and “Lack role model”. And sixteen variables dummy coded (1=yes; 0=no): “Female”; “No children now”; “Sharing studies with work”; “Kenya”; “Iceland”; “Immigrant”; “Foreign student”; “Business Administration”; “Law”; “Economics”; “Other fields”; “Last year bachelor or master”; “Mother working 40 or more” (“Approximately, how many hours per week did your mother usually work during most of your childhood?”); “Mother university studies”; “Housework total/mainly by women” (during the respondent’s childhood in his/her household the housework was done totally or mainly by women).

#### Career aspirations scales

- Leadership aspirations
- Self perception of abilities
- Willingness risk
- Mobility

#### Work-family balance scales

- Perception work-family conflict
- Perception work-family enrichment
- Expected discrimination

#### Gender attitudes

- Traditional gender attitudes

#### Childcare involvement scales

- Involvement childcare

#### Control variables

- Age, field of study, university, entrepreneurship scale, income scale parents, etc.

Inclination  
to sacrifice  
career



## 5. Results

The analysis of the gender differences in willingness to sacrifice career opportunities in the future was made in two stages. First, Mann-Whitney U test, Kruskal-Wallis test, and Kendall's tau-b correlation were conducted on the data; second, regression analysis was used in order to determine the contribution of the different variables to the willingness to sacrifice the career.

### ***Descriptive Analysis***

In table 1 we show the average scores of the indicators for the female and male students, and for each of the three countries analyzed. In the first place it appears that in many cases there is a statistically significant difference between the average values for female and male students.

The indicators "Inclination sacrifice career" and "Involvement childcare" present lower values for male students than for female ones. For example, in the case of students from Kenya and Iceland, the average values for males are approximately 10 percentage points below those for the females (hypothesis 1 and 2a).

For the bloc of indicators relating to career aspirations the opposite seems to be the case, albeit not in all cases. The indicator "Leadership aspirations" is only slightly higher (and statistically significant) for males rather than for females in the case of Spain. The indicator which does show an important difference in favor of the male is that of the "Entrepreneurship scale" (in line with that obtained in the literature on entrepreneurship; see Malach *et al.* 2010). Also noticeable are the gender differences obtained in "Willingness to take risk" in Iceland and Spain.

There does not appear to be much difference in the way males and females view the work-family relationship. Only in Iceland are female students seen to have a greater perception than male students of the work-family conflict.

In line with other studies, it can be clearly seen that in the three countries male students have more traditional gender attitudes than female students. It is noticeable that the greatest difference is seen in Iceland (male-female ratio=110.7%).

What stands out in the next bloc of indicators is the case of "Partner involved" ("I think my partner will be very involved in the care of my child while I work"). In Kenya the male-female ratio is 110.8%, while, on the contrary, in Iceland and Spain these ratios are respectively 93.1% and 90.8%. This differential may be capturing the fact that Kenya is a more traditional society in which the model of breadwinner husband is more prevalent (this husband, while working, entrusts the care of his children to his wife, who is relatively specialized in family care).

In the final bloc our attention is drawn to the result obtained with the indicator “Expected discrimination”. In Iceland and Spain the male-female ratio is 63.1% and 65.3%, respectively, whereas in Kenya it is 98.8% (it may be that in Iceland and Spain female students are more sensitive to the gender discrimination existing in the labor market than in Kenya).

With regard to the differences between mean scores obtained in the three countries, all the indicators give statistically significant differences (Kruskal-Wallis test). Of particular significance are the indicators of “Leadership aspirations” and “Entrepreneurship scale”, which give much higher values in Kenya; and the indicators “Traditional gender attitudes” and “religious scale”, which also show much higher values in Kenya (this would be consistent with the fact that Kenya is a more traditional society).

Table 1. Differences by gender and country in seventeen variables related to career and family aspirations

	Kenya							Iceland							Spain						
	Female students			Male students			Ratio Male-female	Female students			Male students			Ratio Male-female	Female students			Male students			Ratio Male-female
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
Inclination Sacrifice Career <sup>†††</sup>	226	3.81	0.61	253	3.40	0.58	91.9 ***	312	3.78	0.70	157	3.40	0.67	89.8 ***	723	3.53	0.72	543	3.28	0.72	93.6 ***
Involvement Childcare <sup>†††</sup>	248	4.35	0.77	275	4.00	0.70	89.3 ***	326	4.69	0.47	158	4.21	0.55	89.9 ***	742	4.31	0.65	563	4.03	0.71	93.0 ***
Leadership Aspirations <sup>†††</sup>	224	4.06	0.55	256	4.05	0.57	99.7	330	3.90	0.60	160	3.96	0.53	101.4	719	3.78	0.62	554	3.94	0.60	104.3 ***
Entrepreneurship Scale (1-10) <sup>†††</sup>	246	6.73	2.05	261	7.59	2.14	112.8 ***	317	4.89	2.44	156	5.84	2.21	119.4 ***	737	5.80	2.25	553	6.54	2.20	112.8 ***
Self Perception Abilities <sup>††</sup>	242	4.15	1.03	258	3.99	1.02	96.1 **	320	3.93	0.88	155	4.07	0.88	103.4	738	3.97	0.96	554	4.11	0.94	103.6 ***
Willingness to take Risk <sup>†††</sup>	250	3.09	1.03	278	3.27	0.94	105.9 **	330	3.25	0.80	163	3.61	0.81	111.1 ***	744	2.81	0.94	566	3.24	1.04	115.2 ***
Mobility <sup>†††</sup>	241	3.84	0.97	272	3.91	0.93	101.8	336	2.90	1.01	163	3.26	1.04	112.6 ***	740	3.81	1.05	567	3.84	1.05	100.8
Perception Work-Family Conflict <sup>†††</sup>	224	2.93	0.61	253	2.85	0.67	97.3	317	2.97	0.69	159	2.83	0.58	95.3 **	731	3.12	0.71	542	3.06	0.70	98.3 *
Perception Work-Family Enrichment <sup>†††</sup>	249	4.19	0.82	271	4.14	0.77	98.8	326	4.21	0.70	161	4.11	0.63	97.6	747	4.05	0.76	558	4.00	0.74	98.7
Traditional Gender Attitudes <sup>†††</sup>	228	3.19	0.55	246	3.45	0.57	107.9 ***	310	2.21	0.67	152	2.45	0.61	110.7 ***	721	2.54	0.68	532	2.73	0.70	107.4 ***
Religious Scale (1-10) <sup>†††</sup>	266	7.14	2.01	281	6.77	2.58	94.8	336	3.34	2.63	162	2.48	2.78	74.1 ***	742	3.34	3.08	567	3.35	3.11	100.3
Hire Someone <sup>†††</sup>	240	3.58	1.14	263	3.49	1.08	97.3	323	3.15	1.24	159	3.03	1.25	96.2	742	3.10	1.22	551	3.11	1.15	100.2
Help Grandparents <sup>†††</sup>	239	2.94	1.27	260	3.02	1.23	102.8	322	3.38	1.23	160	3.54	1.02	105.0	741	3.66	1.19	549	3.74	1.07	102.2
Partner Involved <sup>†††</sup>	240	3.37	1.24	262	3.73	1.04	110.8 ***	322	4.06	0.98	159	3.78	0.93	93.1 ***	741	3.83	1.08	551	3.48	1.04	90.8 ***
Expected Discrimination <sup>†††</sup>	237	2.63	0.97	250	2.67	0.97	98.8	320	2.93	1.08	156	1.85	0.94	63.1 ***	734	2.70	1.13	552	1.77	0.90	65.3 ***
Prefer Public Sector <sup>†††</sup>	255	3.14	1.19	282	3.08	1.18	98.1	334	2.72	0.96	163	2.48	1.04	91.5 **	745	3.16	1.12	569	2.78	1.21	88.1 ***
Lack Role Model <sup>†††</sup>	246	2.71	1.08	259	2.75	1.06	101.4	322	2.73	1.06	158	2.70	0.94	98.8	738	3.26	1.09	554	3.16	1.16	96.9

Mann–Whitney *U* test for differences in the distributions of women and men. P-values: \**p*<0.10; \*\**p*<0.05; \*\*\**p*<0.01

Kruskal–Wallis test for differences in the distributions of Kenyan, Icelandic and Spanish students. P-values: †*p*<0.10; ††*p*<0.05; †††*p*<0.01

As for the correlations (Kendall's tau-b correlation) among the different indicators, in tables 2 and 3 a comparison is made of those obtained for the subsamples of female and male students (for reasons of space data, we show the data aggregating the three countries). Many significant relationships between the indicators were the same for both males and females. For example, between "Inclination sacrifice career" and "Involvement childcare" there is a highly positive correlation, both for the girls ( $r=0.40$ ;  $P=0.000$ ) and the boys ( $r=0.38$ ;  $P=0.000$ ). This would appear to confirm hypothesis 2b. Or, as was posited in hypothesis 4, the inclination to sacrifice the career is associated negatively with having high career aspirations. Of similar prominence are the positive correlations obtained between the inclination to sacrifice the career and the fact of having the perception of a future work-family conflict (hypothesis 3b).

However, some interesting differences are also to be found. For example between "Traditional gender attitudes" and "Inclination sacrifice career" there is a positive correlation for the case of female students (as is to be expected if we bear in mind that traditional gender attitudes link women with the role of caregiver), while in the case of the male student that relationship becomes a negative one (traditional gender attitudes link the male to the role of breadwinner, not that of caregiver). This finding, corresponding to the one posited in hypothesis 5, is more significant for the case of the Spanish sample ( $r=0.07$ ;  $P=0.012$  for the female students; and  $r=-0.10$ ;  $P=0.001$  for the male students). Something similar seems to occur between "Partner involved" and the "Inclination sacrifice career".

Table 2. Scale intercorrelations. Females (N =1355). Total sample of the three universities

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
1. Inclination sacrifice career	1.00																
2. Involvement childcare	.40**	1.00															
3. Leadership aspirations	-.07**	.07**	1.00														
4. Entrepreneurship scale	-.03	-.04	.24**	1.00													
5. Self perception abilities	.03	.09**	.25**	.17**	1.00												
6. Willingness risk	-.09**	-.03	.20**	.09**	-.01	1.00											
7. Mobility	-.12**	-.12**	.15**	.16**	.05*	.06**	1.00										
8. Perception work-family conflict	.12**	.04	-.06**	-.02	-.19**	.04	-.01	1.00									
9. Perception work-family enrichment	.03	.14**	.24**	.11**	.25**	.05*	.06**	-.18**	1.00								
10. Traditional gender attitudes	.05*	-.07**	.04	.11**	-.09**	.07**	.03	.07**	-.07**	1.00							
11. Religious scale	.12**	.04*	.11**	.13**	.07**	.02	.00	-.03	.07**	.27**	1.00						
12. Help grand parents	-.05*	-.04	.03	-.03	-.11**	.02	.05*	.09**	.02	.01	-.05*	1.00					
13. Partner involved	.08**	.11**	.11**	.03	.04	.04	.03	.04*	.18**	-.14**	-.05*	.19**	1.00				
14. Hire someone	-.11**	-.07**	.14**	.07**	.01	.10**	.06**	.03	.04	.08**	.10**	.06**	.00	1.00			
15. Expected discrimination	.00	-.01	-.04*	-.06**	-.23**	.04	.00	.28**	-.11**	.01	-.09**	.02	.04	.01	1.00		
16. Prefer public sector	.06**	.00	-.15**	-.05*	-.04	-.18**	.05*	.04	-.03	-.02	.01	.02	.02	.00	-.02	1.00	
17. Lack role model	.00	-.03	-.12**	-.01	-.15**	.00	.05*	.24**	-.13**	.01	-.06*	.02	.03	-.06**	.26*	.05*	1.00

\* Kendall's tau-b correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

\*\* Kendall's tau-b correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Table 3. Scale intercorrelations. Males (N =1028). Total sample of the three universities

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
1. Inclination sacrifice career	1.00																
2. Involvement childcare	.38**	1.00															
3. Leadership aspirations	-.09**	.04	1.00														
4. Entrepreneurship scale	.00	.01	.25**	1.00													
5. Self perception abilities	.01	.10**	.23**	.18**	1.00												
6. Willingness risk	-.15**	-.08**	.17**	.11**	.01	1.00											
7. Mobility	-.04	.06*	.23**	.14**	.07**	.11**	1.00										
8. Perception work-family conflict	.12**	.08**	-.06**	-.04	-.22**	.04	.08**	1.00									
9. Perception work-family enrichment	.09**	.14**	.23**	.12**	.19**	.05*	.09**	-.16**	1.00								
10. Traditional gender attitudes	-.03	-.09**	.05*	.11**	-.10**	.04	.02	.09**	-.01	1.00							
11. Religious scale	.05*	.00	.12**	.18**	.01	-.04	.01	-.09**	.10**	.29**	1.00						
12. Help grand parents	-.02	.02	.02	-.01	-.02	.05*	0.01	.09**	.08**	-.04	-.05	1.00					
13. Partner involved	.01	.05*	.15**	.04	.00	.06*	.02	.07**	.16**	.14**	.09**	.14**	1.00				
14. Hire someone	-.11**	-.07**	.17**	.11**	-.03	.11**	.16**	.07**	.05*	.12**	.07**	.10**	.10**	1.00			
15. Expected discrimination	.01	-.08**	-.09**	.00	-.27**	.00	.03	.13**	-.12**	.24**	.14**	-.09**	.02	.07**	1.00		
16. Prefer public sector	.12**	.07**	-.19**	-.11**	-.12**	-.24**	-.08**	.02	-.05	.03	.01	.01	-.08**	-.06*	.14**	1.00	
17. Lack role model	.05*	.04	-.12**	-.10**	-.13**	-.05	.05	.20**	-.08**	-.04	-.09**	.09**	-.07*	-.04	.15**	.08**	1.00

\* Kendall's tau-b correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed)

\*\* Kendall's tau-b correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

### ***Regression analysis***

To determine the partial effect of each independent variable on the indicator “Inclination to sacrifice the career”, a regression analysis was conducted. The analysis was made for the total sample as well as for the subsamples of Kenya, Iceland and Spain. In the linear regression for the total sample different sample weights (according to sample size) were used for the respondents from Kenya, Iceland and Spain, so the subsample of each country had the same weight in this regression.

For each of these analysis three stages were followed. In the first stage, the regression of the dependent variable was made on the basis of all independent variables except the “Involvement in childcare” (which, as discussed above, is a variable highly correlated with “Inclination to sacrifice career”). In a second stage, a new regression model was obtained as a result of incorporating into the first one the independent variable “Involvement in childcare”, with the aim of evaluating to what degree this variable improved the first adjustment carried out. And in the third stage a series of interaction effects (that were statistically significant), were added, combining some of the indicators with the dummy variable “Female”.

In Tables 4 and 5 the results obtained are collected. The first fact to highlight is that, in all cases, adding the variable "Involvement in childcare" significantly increases the explanatory power of the models. This confirms that the higher inclination to be involved in childcare in the future is the main determinant of the greater willingness of young women and men to sacrifice career opportunities in the future (hypothesis 2b).

With respect to the dummy variable "Female", in the first stage regressions this variable tends to be significant and positive (being a woman contributes positively to the willingness to sacrifice the career). However, this variable loses explanatory power when we add the variable "Involvement in childcare" (whose mean score is greater for the case of females). And then, when a series of interactions between various indicators and "Female" are added, the latter is no longer significant or even changes of sign. This result seems to indicate that it is not so much "being a woman" which influences the "Inclination to sacrifice the career", but the fact that still, on average, the male shows less willingness than females to engage in childcare; and the fact that the variable "Female" acts through its interaction with other variables, such as "Traditional gender attitudes". These results seem to confirm hypothesis 1.

In this regard it is noteworthy that this behavior of the variable "Female" is not given for the case of Kenya. As can be seen in regressions (4), (5) and (6), the dummy variable "Female" in the three cases presented a positive and statistically significant coefficient. This may be pointing to the fact that, in the case of Kenya, the other explanatory variables considered are not sufficient to neutralize the positive effect of the variable "Female". As raised in the hypothesis 7, in a traditional society with more marked gender roles, like Kenya, it is expected that the variable "Female" has greater explanatory power.

Regarding the variable "Perception work-family conflict", in all cases a positive and significant coefficient is obtained, which confirms Hypothesis 3b: those having a greater perception of work-family conflict in the future tend to anticipate greater sacrifice of job opportunities.

Some of the indicators of career aspirations and in particular, the indicator "Leadership aspirations", have a negative relationship with the inclination to sacrifice career, which seems to confirm hypothesis 4, although this association is less clear in the case of Kenyan students.

Hypothesis 5 argued that having traditional gender attitudes has a gender differential effect on the inclination to sacrifice a career: It has a positive effect in the case of female students and a negative or no-effect in the case of male students. This effect was contrasted with data from the scale intercorrelations of table 3. Now this differential effect is located in regressions (3) and (12) corresponding to the total sample and Spanish sample. Indeed, for example, in regression (3) a negative and significant coefficient for the variable "Traditional gender attitudes" is obtained while for the interaction variable "Traditional gender attitudes × women" a positive and significant coefficient is obtained.

Hypothesis 6 held that the students who have been exposed to a more egalitarian model of families would show less inclination to sacrifice future career opportunities. In this sense, the variable "Mother working 40 or more", which is interpreted here as an indicator of belonging to a more egalitarian household, has a negative and significant relationship with "Inclination to sacrifice the career" for the total sample and especially for students in Iceland. Furthermore, in the case of Iceland, after estimating the model (8) for the subsamples of female and male students (tables not provided in the article), a very similar negative coefficient was obtained in both cases, that was only marginally significant in the case of females ( $b=-0.143$ ,  $P=0.086$  for the subsample of Icelandic females, and  $b=-0.149$ ,  $P=0.234$  for the subsample of males). Overall, it appears that some marginal evidence for hypothesis 6 was obtained.

Regarding the other variables (for which effect it has been controlled in the regressions) some results can be mentioned briefly:

In the case of Spain the relationship between the "Partner involved" and "Inclination to sacrifice the career" is of opposite sign between the sexes (see regression 12). Indeed, in the regression for the subsample of females (not offered in the tables) a positive and significant coefficient ( $b=0.061$ ;  $p=0.017$ ) is obtained; while in the regression corresponding to males a negative and significant coefficient ( $b=-0.084$ ;  $p=0.006$ ) is obtained. This divergence is likely to have to do with a more traditional interpretation, between the male students, of the meaning of the statement "I think my partner will be very involved in the care of my child while I work".

As it can be seen in regressions (1)-(3), the dummy variables "Kenya" and "Iceland" have a positive sign and are statistically significant; that is, the students (females and males) of these two countries have a greater willingness to sacrifice their careers than the students of Spain (reference country). Also, in some cases the dummy variables "Bus. Administration", "Law" and "Economics " have a negative sign and are significant, which means that students in these fields seem to have a lower willingness to sacrifice the career than social work students, the reference field (these results were obtained mainly in Iceland, where the sample of social work students was relatively high).



Table 4. Three models of linear regression (weighted least squares). Total sample

Explained Variable: <b>Inclination Sacrifice Career</b>						
	<b>All sample</b>					
	<b>(1)</b>		<b>(2)</b>		<b>(3)</b>	
	<b>B</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Women</b>	<b>.228 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.084 **</b>	<b>.022</b>	<b>-.361</b>	<b>.123</b>
Age	-.012 ***	.002	-.009 **	.017	-.009 **	.020
No children now	-.280 ***	.001	-.233 ***	.001	-.238 ***	.001
Kenya	.184 ***	.001	.211 ***	.001	.224 ***	.001
Iceland	.225 ***	.001	.080 *	.087	.087 **	.044
Religious scale (0-10)	.032 ***	.001	.023 ***	.001	.023 ***	.001
Buss. Administration	-.118 **	.014	-.031	.503	-.039	.411
Law	-.165 ***	.002	-.109 **	.023	-.122 ***	.010
Economics	-.192 ***	.002	-.096 *	.076	-.108 **	.034
Other fields	-.311 ***	.005	-.156 *	.060	-.153 *	.059
Last year bachelor or master	-.068 *	.092	-.078 **	.043	-.088 **	.010
Mother working 40 hours or more	-.072 **	.044	-.073 **	.032	-.075 **	.016
Leadership aspirations	-.114 ***	.004	-.148 ***	.001	-.144 ***	.001
Self perception abilities	.066 ***	.001	.028	.130	.029	.120
Willingness risk	-.111 ***	.001	-.075 ***	.002	-.078 ***	.001
Mobility	-.039 **	.027	-.041 **	.012	-.041 **	.016
Traditional gender attitudes	.017	.549	.011	.676	-.068 *	.078
Perception work-family conflict	.228 ***	.001	.154 ***	.001	.157 ***	.001
Perception work-family enrichment	.080 ***	.003	.017	.476	.062 *	.080
Prefer public sector	.038 **	.030	.022	.139	.022	.144
Hire someone	-.071 ***	.001	-.052 ***	.001	-.049 ***	.002
<b>Involvement child care</b>			<b>.477 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.469 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>
Traditional gender attitudes × women					.147 ***	.002
Perception work-family enrichment × women					-.071 *	.098
Partner involved × women					.091 ***	.006
N	1669		1656		1653	
R2	.237		.397		.410	
S.E. of regression	.6276		.5571		.5510	
F-statistic (Prob)	17.514	(.000)	34.645	(.000)	33.561	(.000)

**Notes:** Due to space constraints, we omit in the table several variables that are included in the models but are not statistically significant (“Sharing studies-work”, “Income scale parents”, “Immigrant”, “Foreign student”, “Mother university studies”, “Housework total/mainly by women”, “Entrepreneurship scale”, “Expected discrimination”, “Help grand parents”, “Partner involved” and “Lack role model”), and the Constant (statistically significant in all cases).

Different weights were used for the subsamples of Kenya, Iceland and Spain, so each of these three subsamples had the same weight (1/3).

Bootstrap robust estimates of standard errors for regression coefficients. P-values: \*p<0.10; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 5. Three models of linear regression for each country

Explained Variable: Inclination Sacrifice Career																				
	Kenya						Iceland						Spain							
	(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)		(10)		(11)		(12)			
	B	p	B	p	B	P	b	P	b	p	B	P	b	p	b	p	b	p		
<b>Women</b>	<b>.345 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.235 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>1.323 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.130</b>	<b>.108</b>	<b>-.036</b>	<b>.630</b>	<b>.325</b>	<b>.144</b>	<b>.130 ***</b>	<b>.009</b>	<b>.045</b>	<b>.339</b>	<b>-1.215 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>		
Age	-.028 *	.055	-.018	.119	-.020	.105	-.009 *	.099	-.006	.208	-.006	.182	-.016 **	.017	-.011 *	.067	-.012 **	.022		
No children now	-.230 *	.081	-.197	.139	-.228 *	.095	-.270 ***	.002	-.253 ***	.001	-.255 ***	.001	.001	.993	.006	.958	-.011	.929		
Religious Scale	.015	.397	.015	.369	.016	.309	.036 ***	.004	.022 **	.049	.023 **	.023	.031 ***	.001	.021 ***	.003	.020 ***	.003		
Income scale parents	.006	.721	.005	.716	.006	.658	-.027	.108	-.028 *	.063	-.029 *	.066	-.003	.850	.001	.947	.000	.977		
Immigrant													-.127 *	.091	-.070	.313	-.074	.313		
Law	-.026	.862	-.012	.931	.005	.973	-.254 ***	.005	-.183 **	.017	-.176 **	.024	-.072	.274	-.043	.472	-.047	.420		
Economics	.029	.825	.071	.585	.105	.415	-.510 ***	.001	-.280 **	.015	-.270 **	.016	-.102	.189	-.054	.418	-.071	.302		
Last year bachelor or master	-.011	.901	.010	.923	.016	.846	-.124	.110	-.183 ***	.007	-.189 ***	.004	-.037	.489	-.035	.491	-.043	.415		
Mother working 40 hours or more	-.003	.975	-.007	.926	-.004	.953	-.158 **	.019	-.149 **	.012	-.153 **	.014	.001	.982	-.012	.807	-.010	.809		
Mother university studies	.015	.894	.011	.911	-.006	.941	.066	.318	.061	.317	.063	.279	.014	.799	.005	.894	.095 *	.096		
Leadership aspirations	.132	.114	.057	.456	.058	.427	-.135 **	.050	-.128 *	.054	-.119 *	.065	-.252 ***	.001	-.244 ***	.001	-.233 ***	.001		
Entrepreneurship scale	-.004	.839	.006	.726	.005	.753	-.017	.234	-.012	.350	-.010	.411	.035 ***	.005	.028 ***	.003	.026 ***	.006		
Self perception abilities	.126 **	.017	.068	.156	.073	.160	.004	.923	.019	.630	.022	.600	.030	.265	.007	.810	.002	.935		
Willingness risk	-.053	.182	-.037	.335	-.034	.320	-.124 ***	.008	-.110 ***	.010	-.112 **	.016	-.100 ***	.001	-.064 ***	.005	-.073 ***	.003		
Mobility	-.036	.367	-.053	.129	-.053	.142	-.106 ***	.003	-.079 **	.028	-.005	.924	-.014	.860	-.014	.458	-.009	.637		
Traditional gender attitudes	.019	.772	-.041	.530	-.041	.535	.006	.910	-.002	.965	-.008	.902	.027	.469	.065 **	.038	-.034	.479		
Perception work-family conflict	.262 ***	.001	.208 ***	.001	.219 ***	.002	.153 ***	.014	.120 **	.031	.114 **	.037	.289 ***	.001	.176 ***	.001	.115 **	.011		
Perception work-family enrichment	.023	.684	.002	.976	.091	.123	.098 *	.069	.011	.835	.005	.903	.090 ***	.006	.034	.229	.027	.313		
Expected discrimination	.031	.546	.049	.276	.040	.352	.013	.696	-.003	.926	.003	.928	-.044 *	.057	-.023	.254	-.028	.174		
Prefer public sector	.037	.329	.007	.843	.058	.226	.008	.818	.011	.753	.016	.637	.078 ***	.001	.052 ***	.010	.047 **	.013		
Hire someone	-.038	.270	-.031	.320	-.021	.501	-.057 **	.046	-.054 **	.047	-.057 **	.027	-.091 ***	.001	-.055 ***	.004	-.057 ***	.001		
Help grand parents	-.095 ***	.008	-.069 **	.028	-.079 ***	.008	.031	.311	.038	.580	.037	.153	-.040 **	.056	-.044 **	.023	-.048 **	.011		
Partner involved	.005	.893	.006	.867	.003	.910	.073 *	.059	.054	.111	.056 *	.095	.011	.658	-.012	.581	-.079 **	.011		
Lack role model	.000	.993	.000	.998	-.001	.990	.001	.978	.024	.440	.025	.467	.053 **	.013	.019	.338	.017	.409		
<b>Involvement child care</b>			<b>.344 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.324 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>			<b>.535 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.538 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>			<b>.473 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>	<b>.452 ***</b>	<b>.001</b>		
Mother university studies × women																		-.159 **	.039	
Mobility × women													-.114 *	.075						
Traditional gender attitudes × women																		.202 ***	.001	
Perception work-family enrichment × women							-.176 **	.037										.104 ***	.064	
Perception work-family conflict × women																				
Prefer public sector × women							-.108 **	.085												
Partner involved × women																			.131 ***	.002
N	259		258		256		366		360		359		989		981		977			
R2	.261		.384		.400		.313		.437		.440		.242		.393		.416			
S.E. of regression	.53616		.48938		.48290		.59859		.54115		.53938		.63760		.56932		.55811			
F-statistic (Prob)	4.611 (.000)		7.167 (.000)		7.176 (.000)		7.396 (.000)		11.393 (.000)		11.197 (.000)		11.815 (.000)		22.118 (.000)		21.636 (.000)			

Notes: Due to space constraints, we omit in the table several variables that are included in the models but are not statistically significant: "Sharing studies-work"; "Foreign student" (this variable was only in the regressions of Spain); "Business Administration"; "Other fields"; "Housework total/mainly by Women"; and the Constant (statistically significant in all cases). Bootstrap robust estimates of standard errors for regression coefficients. P-values: \*p<0.10; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## 6. Discussion

This article has managed to provide empirical evidence about the fact that, on average, young women still have a greater predisposition than young men to make sacrifices in the future in their working careers in order to achieve a better work-family balance. For the whole of the sample (N=2392), the average value for young men in the indicator "Inclination to sacrifice career" is approximately 10 percentage points below that for the young women. Given the characteristics of the sample it can be expected that this estimated figure constitutes the lower threshold of the actual situation among youth (in Kenya, Iceland and Spain). Indeed, our sample is only composed of college students, which are a relatively homogeneous group with a relatively high social and cultural status, and one that (with the exception of social work) have previously chosen gender integrated fields of study. For example, it is conceivable that this figure would have been higher if we had worked with a sample of high school students, who have not yet made the choice of field of study. As shown in the literature on this subject (Morinaga *et al.* 1993; Frome *et al.* 2006; Twenge *et al.* 2010; Migunde *et al.* 2011; Obura and Ajowi 2012; Sáinz *et al.* 2012), this choice is one of the fundamental ways in which the aspirations of young people operate.

Having a higher inclination to be involved in childcare in the future (the indicator "Involvement childcare" has also an average score that is around 10 percentage points higher in the case of female students) is the main determinant of the greater willingness of young women and men to sacrifice career opportunities in the future. The perception of a future work-family conflict, having traditional gender attitudes (in the case of women) and studying social work (a feminized major) tend to increase the inclination to sacrifice career opportunities. Conversely, having a high degree of "Leadership aspirations"; having traditional gender attitudes (in the case of men); or having a mother who used to worked 40 hours or more (marginally and especially in the case of females) tend to reduce the inclination to sacrifice career opportunities.

The results obtained seem to show that the degree of convergence between the aspirations and goals of female and male students may have been greater in the professional field (male-female ratio in "Leadership aspirations"=1.029 for the total sample) than in the caring field (male-female ratio in "involvement childcare"=0.915; in "Inclination to sacrifice career"=0.918). Some authors (Hook 2006; Raley *et al.* 2012) indicate that largely increases in men's housework and child care time are caused by men's lagged adjustments to a woman's increased employment, which could explain that often a greater gender gap is observed in the time devoted to caring than in the time devoted to paid work. The asymmetry observed in our data may be suggesting that this lag will continue in the future.

Although many similarities were found across cultures (across the three countries), cultural differences also accounted for some of the results. For example, in Iceland, in line with other Nordic countries, there is a higher rate of female part-time work, 35.1% in 2014 (Statistics Iceland 2014d), than in a Latin country like Spain, 26.1% in 2014 (INE 2014). This difference is reflected in our results: In Iceland 52.2% of the female students were “agree” or “strongly agree” with the statement “After having a child, if possible in my work, I would change to working part-time”, whereas in Spain this percentage was 40.9. Or for instance, in Kenya the percentage share of informal employment in total employment (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics) is very high (81.2%), and this may be related to the high scores obtained by female Kenyan students in “Leadership aspirations” and “Entrepreneurship scale”, and with the smaller gender gap obtained for them. As noted in the literature on entrepreneurship, the relatively high rates of women entrepreneurship in emerging and developing countries are primarily due to high levels of “necessity entrepreneurship” (OECD 2012). The percent of women entrepreneurs is higher in countries where the general income per capita is small and where women have no other option for making a living (Malach *et al.* 2010).

A related aspect of this last case, which deserves to be further analyzed, is that in a study on aspirations/expectations there may arise at some point some incompatibility between individual goals. For instance, the mean score obtained in “Leadership aspirations” by Kenyan female students was 4.06, whereas in Iceland and Spain these mean scores were respectively 3.90 and 3.78. That could indicate a higher average predisposition to develop an ambitious career in the future among Kenyan female student than among Icelandic and Spanish female students. But, at the same time, according to the answers to a question on the preferred family model (“If money were not a problem for you, your ideal household would be closer to a family where...”), 37.5% of Kenyan female respondents (and 64.2% of Kenyan male respondents) answered the option “Only the man works and the woman takes care of the housework and childcare” or “The two partners work, but the woman works fewer hours than the man and she is responsible to a greater extent for the family”, while in Iceland the respective percentages were 10.7% and 17.4%; and in Spain 8.6% and 19.3%. Apparently female university student from Kenya have (on average) higher career aspirations than those from Iceland and Spain, but, at the same time, the percentage of females that indicate that they prefer a family model that implies a sacrifice of these aspirations is much higher in Kenya than in Iceland or Spain.

Regarding public policy recommendations, gender equality policies that contribute to increase effective gender equality in the labor market and in the family may also affect aspirations of young people. But, as just shown, the difference between young females

and males in the inclination to sacrifice career opportunities in order to care has its origin, to a great extent, in the existing differences in the inclination to be highly involved in childcare in the future. For this reason it would be recommendable to progress in the public policies that aim to promote shared responsibility between mothers and fathers in child care (offering both the father and the mother the same opportunities to take parental leave; fostering fathers to use the reconciliation policies applied by firms; and policies designed to raise social awareness on this subject).

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## Annex 1. Scales and items used in the analysis

Table 6a. Indicators (scales) and items

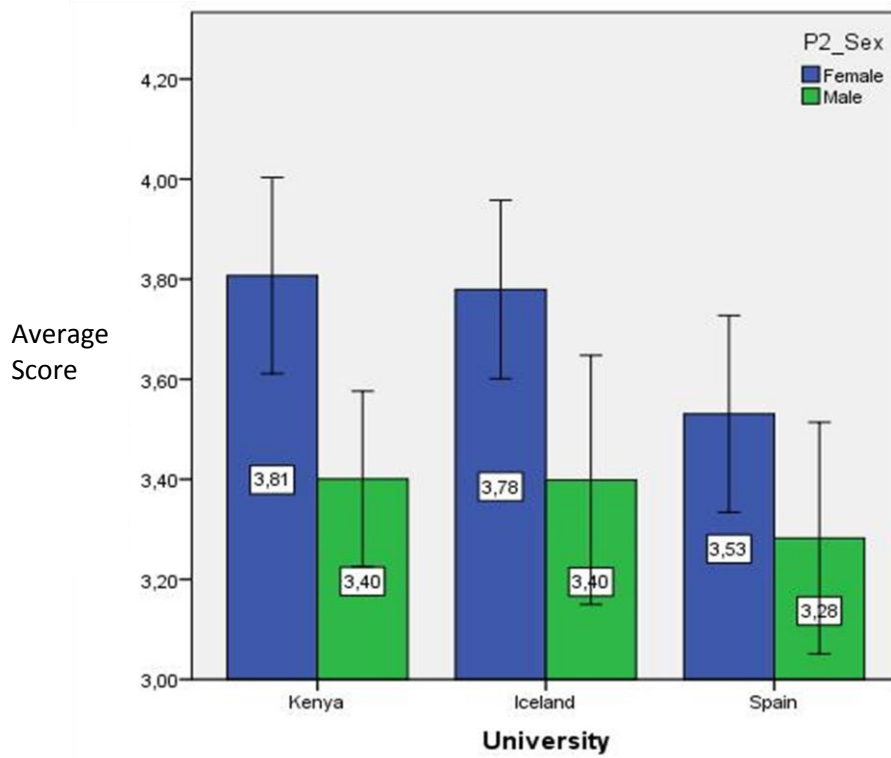
	N	<u>Likert scale (%)</u>					Min	Max	Mean	SD	Cronbach's alpha
		1	2	3	4	5					
<b>Inclination Sacrifice Career</b>	<b>2222</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>3.51</b>	<b>0.71</b>	<b>0.662</b>
16a. I would consider the possibility of interrupting my career for some time to devote myself exclusively to the care of my small children	2295	8.3	20.0	26.5	30.6	14.6	1.00	5.00	3.23	1.17	
16c. If possible in my work, I would change to working part-time	2281	10.3	22.0	27.8	27.7	12.2	1.00	5.00	3.09	1.18	
16d. If possible in my work, I would reduce my working hours by one or two hours a day during the first months or years of my child's life	2281	3.8	8.5	17.5	45.6	24.6	1.00	5.00	3.79	1.03	
14c. I would prefer to have a net monthly salary of \$ 2,000 in a company where it would be possible to easily reconcile work and family life, rather than have a net monthly salary of \$ 4,000 in a company where it would be very difficult to reconcile work and family life	2335	2.6	7.5	21.1	35.1	33.7	1.00	5.00	3.90	1.03	
13h. I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time spent caring for my children [reversed scores]	2349	18.6	35.6	29.6	11.5	4.7	1.00	5.00	2.48	1.06	
<b>Involvement Childcare</b>	<b>2321</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>4.26</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.694</b>
14a. I would find it very important to be able to take several months off work after the birth of my child	2341	2.1	7.6	15.0	31.2	44.0	1.00	5.00	4.07	1.04	
14b. I would find it very important to have time to devote to the care of my baby	2339	.7	2.0	7.6	41.4	48.4	1.00	5.00	4.35	0.76	
14d. It seems to me very important to be fully involved in the care and education of my young children	2331	.7	2.8	9.1	36.4	51.0	1.00	5.00	4.34	0.81	
<b>Leadership Aspirations</b>	<b>2249</b>						<b>1.13</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>3.91</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>0.768</b>
13a. I hope to become a leader in my career field	2374	1.1	3.4	18.1	36.4	40.9	1.00	5.00	4.13	0.90	
13b. I hope to move up through any organization or business I work in	2364	1.0	1.6	7.0	33.3	57.1	1.00	5.00	4.44	0.78	
13c. I would consider myself extremely "career minded"	2354	2.5	7.4	28.9	38.8	22.4	1.00	5.00	3.71	0.98	
13d. I enjoy thinking about and making plans about my future career	2358	1.2	4.7	15.1	40.5	38.4	1.00	5.00	4.10	0.91	
13e. When I am established in my career, I would like to manage other employees	2353	2.4	4.7	24.9	33.4	34.6	1.00	5.00	3.93	1.00	
13f. Attaining leadership status in my career is not so important to me	2340	24.4	29.5	22.7	16.2	7.3	1.00	5.00	2.52	1.22	
13n. I think I have skills and I'll be able to lead teams	2350	.8	2.5	17.9	46.1	32.7	1.00	5.00	4.07	0.82	
13o. To become a leader in my career field, I would be willing to have a workday longer than normal	2359	6.9	15.0	24.5	35.9	17.7	1.00	5.00	3.43	1.14	
<b>Self Perception Abilities</b>	<b>2276</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>4.03</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.725</b>
17f. I don't feel confident about my ability in my job	2288	43.9	30.0	15.4	7.9	2.8	1.00	5.00	1.96	1.08	
17g. I have a low self-esteem	2289	43.0	29.2	16.5	8.6	2.8	1.00	5.00	1.99	1.09	
<b>Willingness to take Risk</b>	<b>2340</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>3.12</b>	<b>0.98</b>	<b>0.559</b>
13k. I would prefer a less secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 4,000\$, to a secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 2,000\$	2358	16.1	25.9	28.2	19.7	10.1	1.00	5.00	2.82	1.21	
13p. I would prefer a less secure and stable job with significant career development opportunities, to a secure and stable job with limited opportunities of professional promotion	2348	6.2	14.8	28.7	31.5	18.8	1.00	5.00	3.42	1.14	

Table 6b. Indicators (scales) and items. Continuation

	N	Likert scale (%)					Min	Max	Mean	SD	Cronbach's alpha
		1	2	3	4	5					
<b>Mobility</b>	<b>2328</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>3.66</b>	<b>1.08</b>	<b>0.703</b>
13g. I would move to another part of the country if it would help me progress in my career	2353	5.9	8.8	18.0	31.2	36.2	1.00	5.00	3.83	1.18	
13m. I would move anywhere in the world if it would help me progress in my career	2345	8.6	15.1	21.7	26.7	27.8	1.00	5.00	3.50	1.28	
<b>Perception Work-Family Conflict</b>	<b>2234</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>3.01</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.791</b>
15a. I may have a feeling of "I have to choose" between my job and my family obligations (care of my young children, etc.)	2327	12.1	20.8	35.7	24.9	6.5	1.00	5.00	2.93	1.09	
15b. I may have to sacrifice some career opportunity to spend more time with my family	2327	3.4	11.0	23.0	48.8	13.9	1.00	5.00	3.59	0.97	
15c. I may have problems to take time off work when my children are sick	2317	9.6	21.9	24.3	32.4	11.8	1.00	5.00	3.15	1.17	
15d. I may be discriminated against by my employer because I have or plan to have children	2320	20.1	22.2	26.6	22.7	8.5	1.00	5.00	2.77	1.24	
15e. The stress at work may affect my life at home	2315	7.4	15.3	23.5	39.7	14.1	1.00	5.00	3.38	1.13	
15f. I might feel guilty about going to work when my children are very young	2316	10.4	23.2	24.3	29.9	12.2	1.00	5.00	3.10	1.19	
15g. My work issues will interfere with my family issues	2311	11.7	25.3	32.0	25.1	5.9	1.00	5.00	2.88	1.09	
15h. I may have difficulty in maintaining the level of career progression at my job after having children	2313	15.9	31.6	28.0	20.0	4.6	1.00	5.00	2.66	1.10	
15i. Family pressure, in general, may be a barrier to the development of my professional career	2312	16.5	29.6	28.5	21.2	4.2	1.00	5.00	2.67	1.11	
<b>Perception Work Family Enrichment</b>	<b>2320</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>4.09</b>	<b>0.75</b>	<b>0.697</b>
15j. I think I will be able to succeed in my family role, even working full time	2324	1.5	5.1	15.1	43.9	34.4	1.00	5.00	4.05	0.91	
15k. I think I will be able to find positive interaction with my time at work and with my time caring for my family	2322	.8	1.9	15.0	47.3	35.0	1.00	5.00	4.14	0.79	
<b>Traditional Gender Attitudes</b>	<b>2198</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>4.88</b>	<b>2.70</b>	<b>0.75</b>	<b>0.773</b>
26a. When running businesses, female managers tend to be better in certain areas such as the organization of teamwork and conflict management, while male managers tend to be better in areas such as negotiation or risk taking	2274	9.1	13.3	36.3	32.1	9.1	1.00	5.00	3.19	1.07	
26b. In childhood, the love and presence of the mother and father are essential, but with the newborn baby the role of the mother is really the most important	2275	7.6	12.2	19.3	39.3	21.6	1.00	5.00	3.55	1.17	
26c. Women on average have more ability for language and verbal expression, while men have more ability for spatial perception and mathematics	2269	15.8	21.0	31.7	24.1	7.4	1.00	5.00	2.86	1.17	
26d. The fact that most nurses are women and most pilots are men has to do partly with different innate abilities of women and men	2272	26.8	23.2	24.6	19.5	6.0	1.00	5.00	2.55	1.24	
26e. I consider it far more unpleasant to hear a woman swears and says offensive words rather than to hear a man doing the same	2265	34.7	19.1	21.3	16.7	8.2	1.00	5.00	2.45	1.33	
26f. It would be good for society if the traditional roles of men and women were maintained largely	2263	39.4	20.0	21.7	13.0	5.9	1.00	5.00	2.26	1.26	
26g. Women are by nature more patient and tolerant than men	2267	21.1	18.0	25.7	22.8	12.4	1.00	5.00	2.88	1.32	
26h. A man may be as qualified as a woman to care for his baby and connect emotionally with him/her	2279	2.8	7.3	13.7	31.9	44.2	1.00	5.00	4.07	1.06	
<b>Expected Discrimination</b>	<b>2258</b>						<b>1.00</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>2.43</b>	<b>1.12</b>	<b>0.760</b>
P17d. I may experience sex discrimination in hiring or in promotions	2287	28.9	24.0	23.9	16.0	7.3	1.00	5.00	2.49	1.26	
P17e. I will be paid less than the other co-workers of the opposite sex	2270	31.9	23.6	24.6	14.2	5.6	1.00	5.00	2.38	1.22	

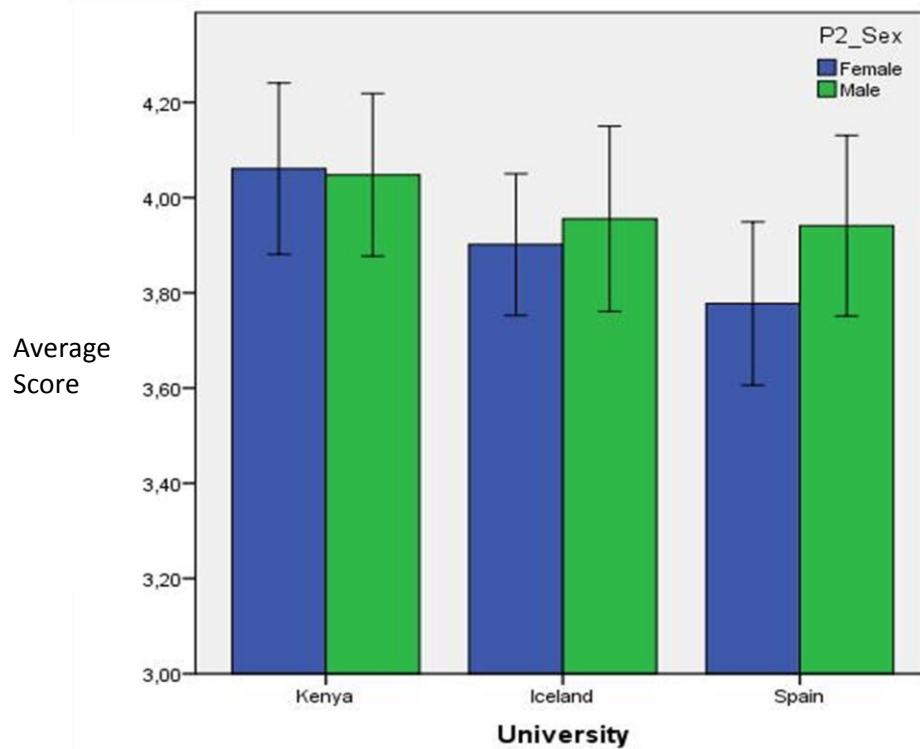
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### Inclination sacrifice career



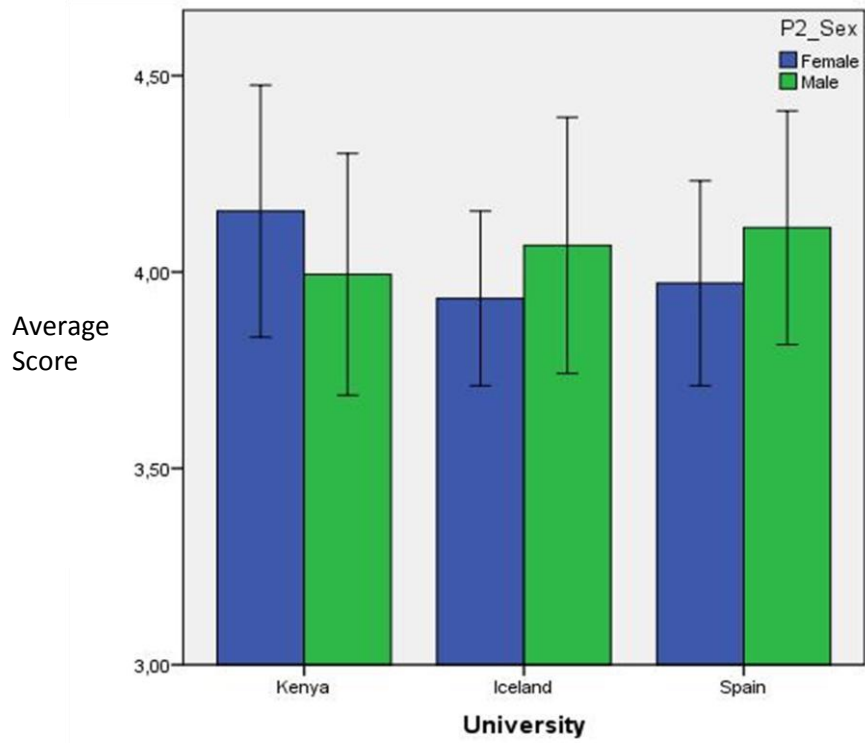
Error bars: 95% CI

### Leadership aspirations



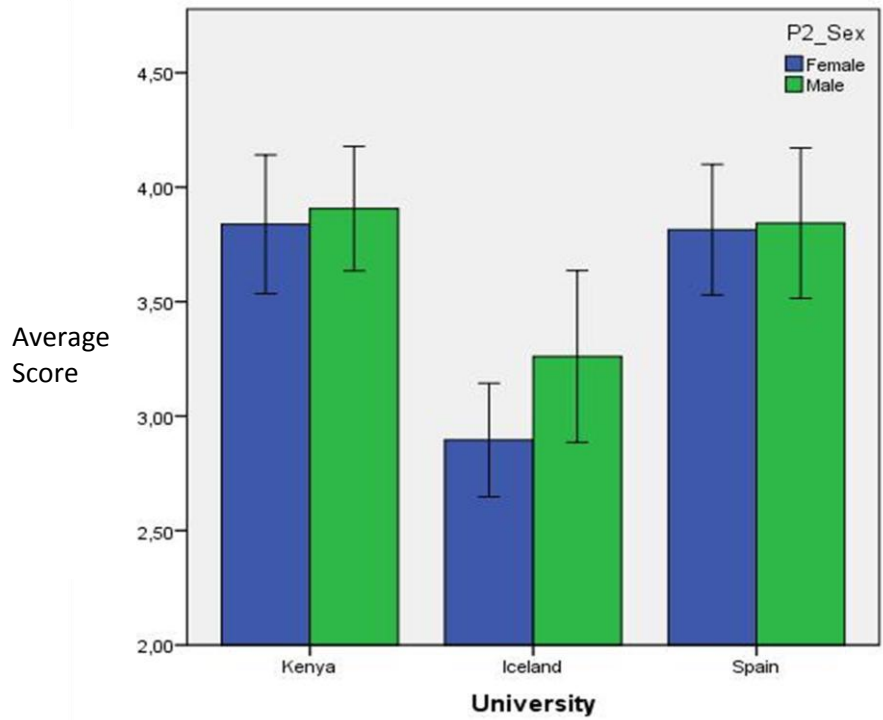
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### Self perception abilities



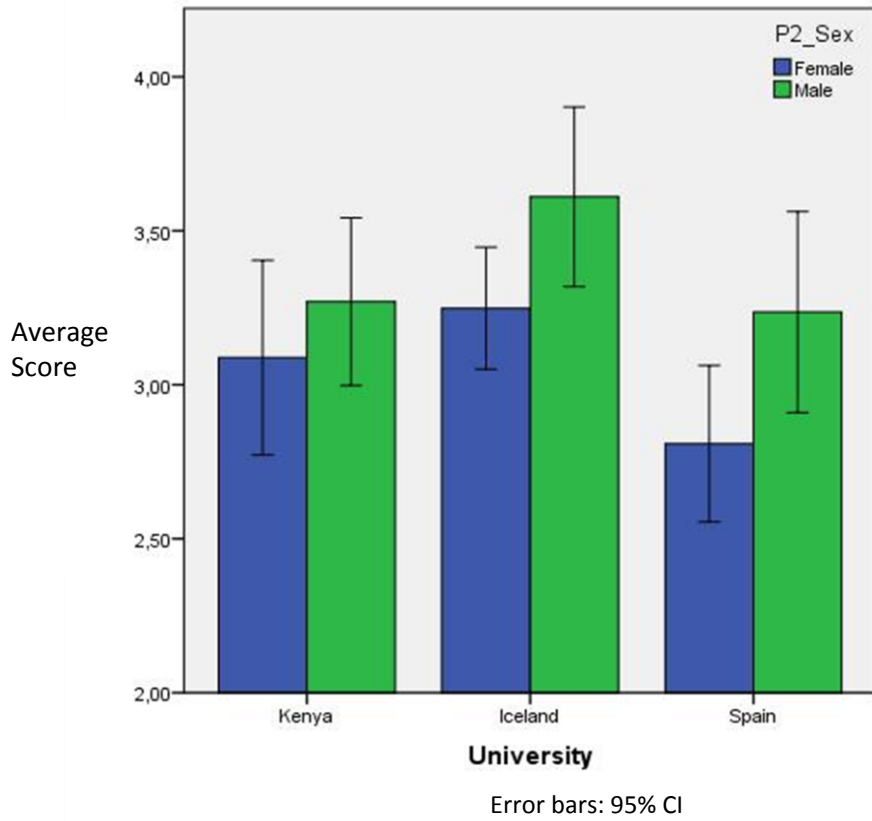
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### Mobility

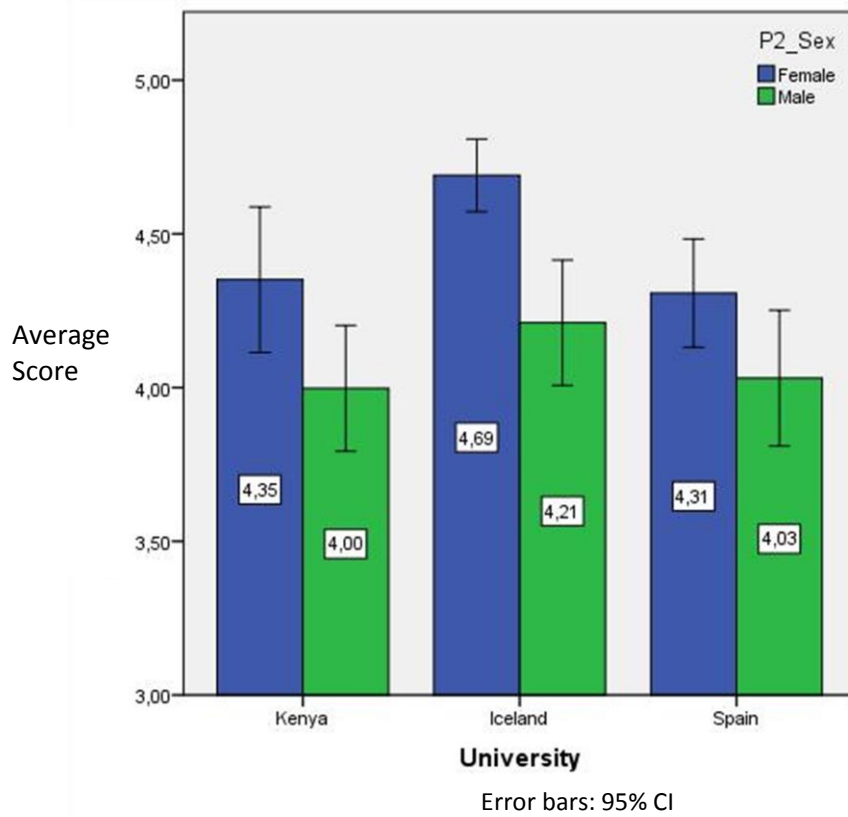


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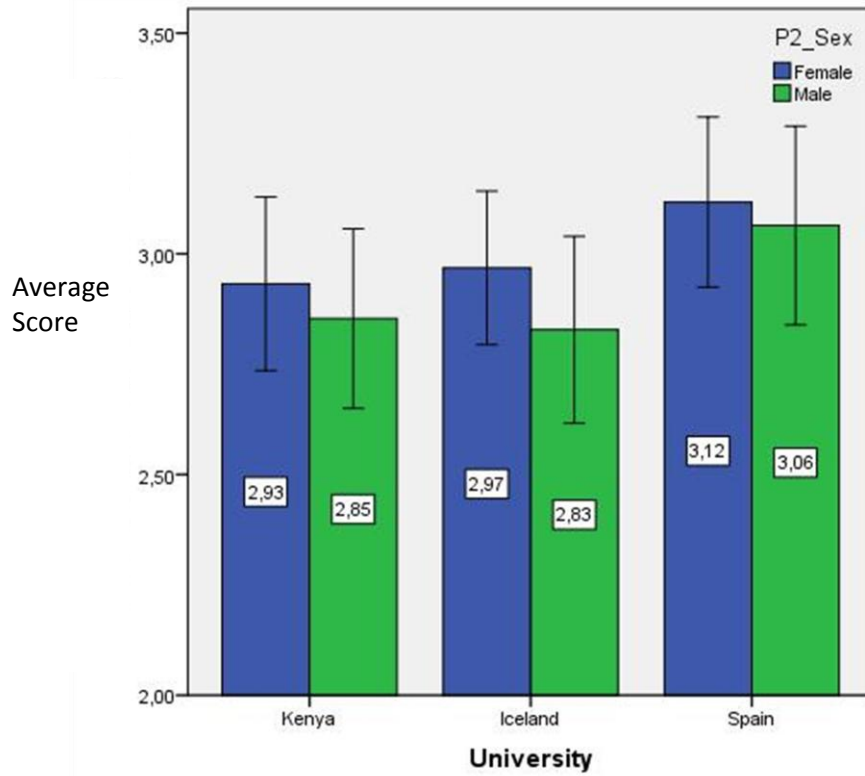
### Willingness to risk



### Involvement childcare

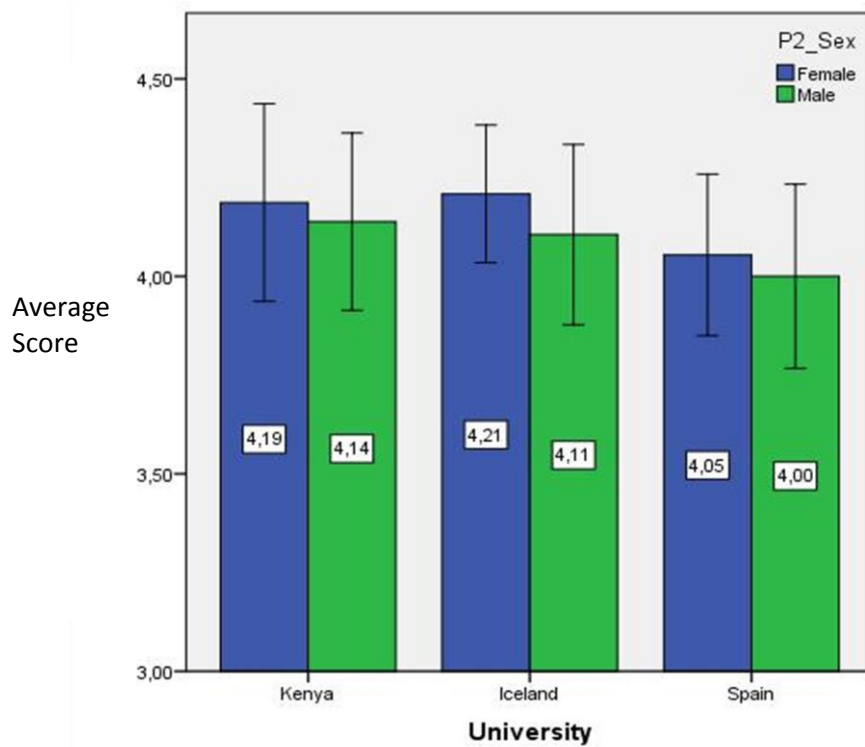


Perception work-family conflict



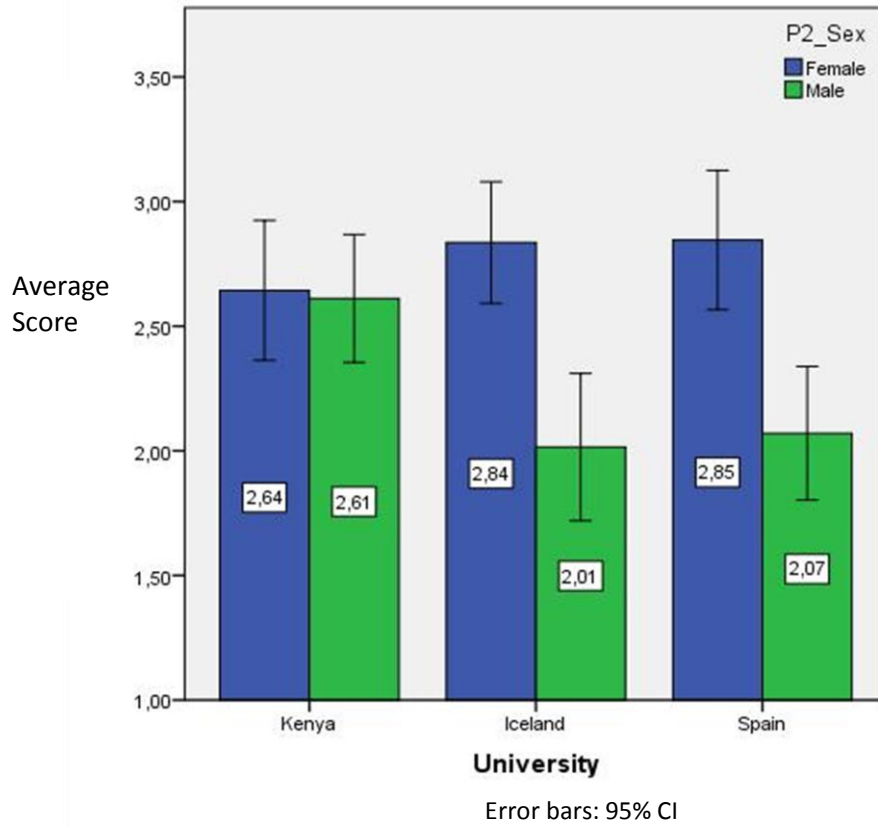
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Perception work family enrichment

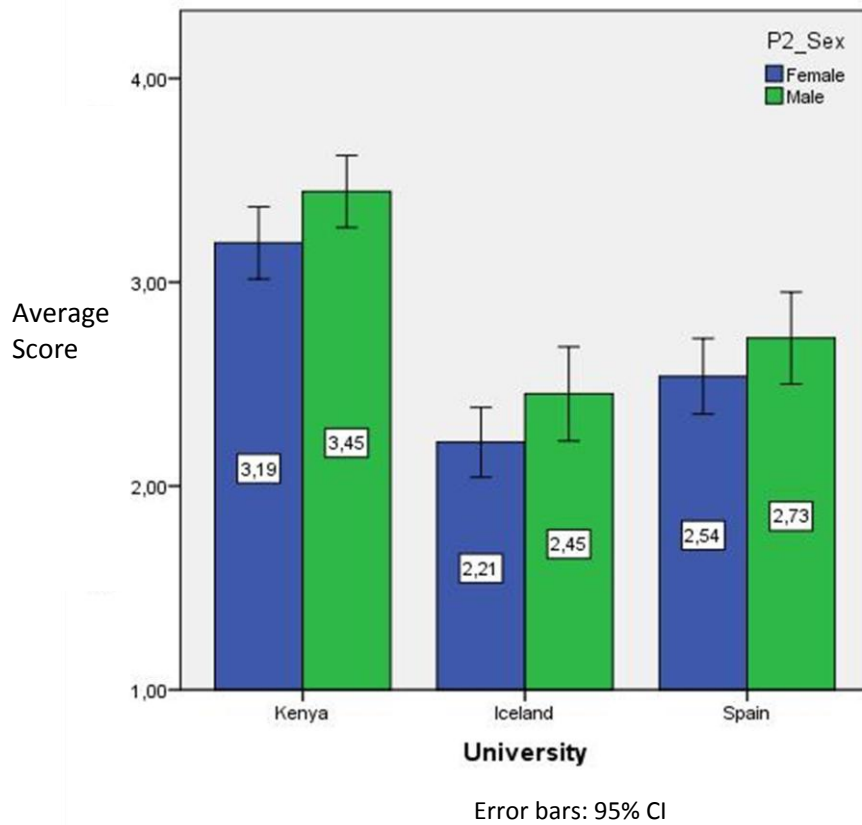


Error bars: 95% CI

### Expected discrimination



### Traditional gender attitudes





## Annex 2. KENYA - Country background and key facts

### 1. Introduction

Kenya lies on the equator with the Indian Ocean to the south-east, Tanzania to the south, Uganda to the west, South Sudan to the north-west, Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the north-east and Indian Ocean to the south-east. It is a low income country, with a Human Development Index of 0.519 and a GDP of about \$44.10 billion. Kenya has maintained a stable macroeconomic environment and the economy is projected to have grown by close to 5% in 2013. The country however remains vulnerable to external and domestic risks, and continues to underperform relative to its potential. World Bank estimates put her population in 2013 at about 44 million people, over 40% of whom are estimated to live in absolute poverty (World Bank, 2013). Thirty five (35) per cent of the population is youthful (15 to 34 years) while about 20% is between 15 to 19 years (Table A1). Agricultural sector is the mainstay of the economy and employs about 65% of the population which is based in rural areas. The sector is also a major foreign exchange earner and a major source of food as well as raw materials for agro-industries. The country covers 581,309 km<sup>2</sup>, or which 571,466 KM<sup>2</sup> is land mass. Although only 20% of the total land mass is arable, Kenya relies on rain-fed agriculture.

### 2. Family and Marriage

#### 2.1. Marriage

The institution of marriage is the basic means of family formation, socialization and economic production (Benjamin, 1968). The Constitution of Kenya (article 45) states that 'The family is the natural and fundamental unit of society and the necessary basis of social order, and shall enjoy the recognition and protection of the State' (Republic of Kenya, 2010). The constitution further provides for enactment of legislation that recognizes types and systems of marriage. This is actualized in the Marriage Act, 2014 (Republic of Kenya, 2014). The Constitution of Kenya further provides for a minimum age of 18 years for marriage, but there are still cases on underage marriages, due to differences in cultural norms among other factors. A look at the distribution of age and sex at marriage reveals that at young ages (<25 years), more women than men are married, but this reverses after age 34, where almost equal proportions of men and women are married. Beyond age 50, the proportion of married women declines, perhaps due to early male mortality (Republic of Kenya, 2013b). While marriage for men is near universal marriage rate (defined as 95% for age 45-49 years), the proportion of women is much lower (Table 1).

Table 1. Level and Trends in Proportion Married by Age and Sex in Kenya, 1989-2009

Age Group	1989		2009	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
15-19	2.1	18.8	3.2	15.4
19-24	20	61.2	19.7	55.7
25-29	60.3	76.7	56.5	74.2
30-34	83.7	84.5	78.7	79.6
35-39	88.8	85.7	76.4	80.2
40-44	89.9	84	88.9	78.6
<b>45-49</b>	<b>90.2</b>	<b>82.9</b>	<b>90.2</b>	<b>77.7</b>
50-59	90.5	78.7	90.7	73

Source: Republic of Kenya (2013b).

In Kenya, three types of marriage are recognized under the Marriage Act, 2014: customary, civil and religious (Christian, Hindu and Islamic). The Act recognizes both monogamous and polygamous marriages and stipulates that a person in a monogamous marriage shall not contract another marriage, while a person in a polygamous marriage shall not contract another monogamous marriage. Christian, Hindu or civil marriages are monogamous, while Islamic and customary marriages are presumed to be polygamous or potentially polygamous.

Religion and culture among other factors strongly influence entry into, types, timing and dissolution of marriage. In Kenya, Christianity dominates other religious affiliations (Table A1) and therefore monogamy dominates polygamy. In terms of culture, polygamy is more common in some ethnic communities than others. For instance three large ethnic groups, Luhya, Luo and Kalenjin (Table A2) endorse polygamy.

Polygamous marriages are more prevalent among the older generation (from 50 years and above) than among the younger population. A higher proportion of women than men are in polygamous marriages except for those above 65 years (Table A3). A higher proportion of women than men are in widowhood, more so above 35 years of age. This is because most men tend to re-marry upon the death of their wives, while others will have been in polygamous marriages. Divorce and separation in Kenya are quite low, but on the rise. The proportion of women in polygynous marriages in Kenya dropped from 19.5 percent in 1993 to 13.3 percent in 2009, the highest decline being in rural areas. Less educated women are more likely to be in polygynous marriages than their more educated counterparts. Women from poorer households are also more likely to be in polygynous marriages than their richer counterparts (Table 2)

Table 2. Distribution (%) of Women in Polygynous Marriages. Kenya 1993-2009.

Year	1993	1998	2003	2009
Kenya	19.5	16.0	16.4	13.3
<b>Residence</b>				
Urban	13.7	11.0	11.7	7.2
Rural	2.5	17.3	17.8	15.2
<b>Education level</b>				
None	33.3	29.3	36.2	33.3
Primary incomplete	20.2	17.9	18.2	16.9
Primary complete	13.0	12.0	10.9	7.8
Secondary and above	11.4	10.5	8.0	7.5
<b>Wealth Quintile</b>				
Lowest			26.0	25.6
Second			18.4	15.0
Middle			14.7	15.1
Fourth			13.6	8.6
Highest			10.6	5.9

Source: Republic of Kenya (2013b)

## 2.2. Family

In the latest housing and population census in Kenya, the country had an estimated 9 million households. About 50% of all households were nuclear families, 28.4 percent were extended families, 15.1% were one person families, 5.3 % were composite families (nuclear or extended family, with at least one non-relative), while 1.5% were non-family households (non-relatives living together). It is also estimated that about 30% of all households in Kenya are female headed. The sex of the household head however differs by age group. For instance, there are more women household heads for the 15-24 age group (10.7%(8.7%) for men(women)), and the 60+ age group (19.8%(13.1) for men(women)); but there is a higher proportion of male household heads for other age groups at 31.1%(25.1%) for men(women) aged 25-34 and 47.2%(44.3%) for men(women) aged 35-59 years. The nature of headship is influenced by factors such as changes in the roles of men and women in society, forms and types of marriage, marriage dissolution, rural-urban migration and the prevailing economic situations (Republic of Kenya, 2013b).

## 3. Welfare and Family Policies

The Employment Acts, 2007 provides for rights and duties in employment that specify welfare and family policies for workers. The rights include hours of work, leave (annual, parental, sickness and compassionate), housing and medical attention among

other provisions. Sections 27 to 34 of the employment act provides for the employee rights as follows:

Section 27- Hours of work: An employee shall be entitled to at least one day rest in every seven days period.

Section 28- Annual leave: An employee shall be entitled, after every twelve consecutive months of service with his employer to not less than twenty-one working days leave with full pay. The leave shall be additional to all public holidays, weekly rest days and any side leave, whether fixed by law or agreement, in respect of which an employee is not required to work.

Section 29- Maternity and paternity leaves: A woman employee shall be entitled to three months' maternity leave with full pay. Such an employee who takes maternity leave shall not forfeit her annual leave in that year. A Male employee shall be entitled to two weeks paternity leave with full pay.

Section 30- Sick leave: After two months of continuous service with an employer, an employee shall be entitled to a sick leave of not less than 7 days with full pay and thereafter a sick leave of seven days with half pay in each period of twelve months' consecutive service, subject to production of a doctor's certificate of incapacity.

Compassionate leave: Under the Regulation of Wages (General) Order, subsidiary to the Regulations of Wages and Conditions of Employment Act, an employee desiring to take leave on compassionate grounds shall by prior arrangement with the employer, be granted such leave up to his earned leave entitlement and the leave taken shall be subsequently set off against his annual leave.

An employee may, in addition to the usual annual leave, be granted five days compassionate leave without pay in any one year.

Section 31- Housing: An employer shall at all times, at his own expense provide reasonable housing accommodation to his employees either at or near the place of employment or shall pay sufficient amount in rent in addition in wages and other allowances to allow employee obtain reasonable accommodation.

Section 34- Medical attention: An employer shall ensure provision of sufficient and proper medicine for his employees during illness and if possible, medical attendance during serious illness.

#### **4. Relative Importance of the Formal and Informal Labor Markets**

The informal sector in Kenya covers all small-scale activities that are normally semi-organized, unregulated and uses low and simple technologies while employing fewer persons. With the restructuring and rationalization of the public sector and the

deregulation of labor markets in the private sector, the informal sector in Kenya has assumed significant proportions. Displaced workers from both the public and private formal sectors are forced to seek employment opportunities in the informal sector (Republic of Kenya, 2011). Most of the informal economy jobs are characterized by higher ratios of casualization, are more precarious, and exhibit lower productivity and wages. There are also high levels of unpaid family employment. Informal sector employees are also often excluded from social security schemes, and labor protection legislation (KIPPRA, 2013).

In Kenya, self-employment in the formal sector has been small compared to self-employment in the informal sector. Over the period 2001-2011, on average, about 1 percent of total recorded employment was self-employed (professionals/individuals who run own businesses) in the formal sector. The share of informal sector employment rose from 73 percent in 2001 to 81 percent in 2011, while share of formal wage self employment fell from 1.02 to 0.66%. Share of regular wage to total employment also declined from 21 to 13%, while share of casual employment rose marginally from 5% to 6% (Table 3). Table A3 presents trends in formal and informal sector employment. The data mimics trends seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Percentage Share of Regular, Casual, Formal and Informal Sector Employment

Year	Regular wage	Casual	Formal self-employment	Informal self-employment
2001	21.37	4.79	1.02	72.82
2002	20.09	4.64	0.95	74.32
2003	18.94	4.59	0.9	75.57
2004	17.72	4.76	0.82	76.7
2005	16.36	4.91	0.79	77.95
2006	16	4.66	0.75	78.59
2007	14.32	5.83	0.71	79.14
2008	13.24	6.29	0.68	79.8
2009	13.5	5.62	0.65	80.23
2010	12.28	6.51	0.64	80.57
2011	12.89	5.65	0.66	80.8

Source: Authors' computations based on Republic of Kenya, various issues.

## 5. Labor Force Participation by Gender and Occupation

In Kenya, women are less likely to participate in the labor force than men. This is observed across all sectors and industry of employment. The proportion of females in wage employment went up from 32% in 2011 to 36% in 2013 (Table 4). Women are concentrated in less prestigious jobs such as activities of the household and human

health and social work, activities. Transport, mining and quarrying; building and construction had the least proportion of females constituting between 11 and 13%. The sectors dominated by women are also sectors of relatively lower wage earnings, suggesting that differences in sector of employment translate into wage differentials between men and women.

Table 4. Wage Employment (%) by Industry and Sex, 2011 – 2013

	2011		2012		2013	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	69	31	62	38	63	37
Mining and quarrying	87	13	81	19	81	19
Manufacturing	77	23	71	29	72	28
Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	81	19	72	28	73	27
Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	70	30	66	34	66	34
Construction	88	12	81	19	82	18
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	79	21	74	26	75	25
Transportation and storage	90	10	83	17	84	16
Accommodation and food service activities	71	29	65	35	65	35
Information and communication	66	34	61	39	62	38
Financial and insurance activities	59	41	55	45	56	44
Real estate activities	58	42	54	46	58	42
Professional, scientific and technical activities	75	25	71	29	72	28
Administrative and support service activities	83	17	76	24	75	25
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	69	31	64	36	65	35
Education	62	38	57	43	58	42
Human health and social work activities	41	59	40	60	40	60
Arts, entertainment and recreation	72	28	64	36	64	36
Other service activities	67	33	61	39	62	38
Activities of households as employers*	40	60	37	63	37	63
Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	70	30	70	30	73	27
<b>TOTAL</b>	68	32	63	37	64	36

\*Includes - undifferentiated goods and services-producing activities of households for own use  
Source: Republic of Kenya, (2013a)

The formal sector is dominated by male workers (Table 5), while women constitute 29% of the entire labor force. Most of the women (about 70%) employed in the formal sector are found in low paying jobs earning between Ksh 8,000 and Ksh 25,000 per month, while an increasing number are seeking jobs as casual laborers (Atieno, 2010).

Table 5. Labor Force Participation by Employment Category and Area of Residence

Employment categories	Total sample		Female		Males	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Public sector	4.2	15.6	1.9	11.2	6.9	20
Private formal sector	3.1	16.9	1.1	8.2	5.5	25.6
Informal sector	12	32.4	7.3	27.4	17.6	37.4
Agriculture	31.9	5.8	26.7	6.2	37.9	5.3
Unpaid family work	42.3	19.5	56.8	34.4	25.3	4.7
Unemployed	6.4	9.8	6.2	12.6	6.8	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Atieno (2010).

Overall labor force participation rates in Kenya remain relatively low. The country does not generate adequate employment to absorb growth in the working-age population (Wambugu and Kabubo-Mariara, 2013). For instance, the employment-to-population ratio, which represents the share of working age population in employment dropped from 64.7 per cent in 1995 to 60 per cent in 2011 (Table 6). The gap between male and female employment-to-population ratios was about 10 per cent over the period.

The different occupations that men and women hold dictate their earnings. Men hold higher positions in the formal sector making them higher income earners compared to their female counterparts. In the informal sector, women have fewer businesses. They continuously fail in these businesses due to lack of sufficient skills. Other women are mostly involved in the casual labor which is low paying. The majority of women mostly participate in domestic jobs that are low paying. This is emphasized by the gender segregated labor markets that make it harder for women to get high earning jobs.

Table 6. Population and Labor Market Participation in Kenya, 1995-2011

Year	Female employment/ Population Ratio (%)	Male employment/ Population Ratio (%)	Total employment / Population Ratio (%)	Labour Force Participation 15+years
1995	59.60	69.80	64.60	71.70
1996	59.00	69.20	64.00	71.00
1997	58.30	68.50	63.40	70.30
1998	57.70	67.80	62.70	69.60
1999	57.10	67.20	62.10	68.90
2000	56.50	66.50	61.50	68.30
2001	56.00	65.90	60.90	67.60
2002	55.40	65.20	60.30	66.90
2003	54.90	64.60	59.70	66.30
2004	54.40	64.10	59.20	65.80
2005	54.00	63.60	58.70	65.30
2006	54.20	63.90	59.00	65.60
2007	54.40	64.20	59.30	65.90
2008	54.70	64.50	59.60	66.20
2009	54.90	64.90	59.90	66.50
2010	55.20	65.20	60.20	66.80
2011	55.40	65.50	60.40	67.10

Source: World Bank (2013)

## 6. Youth Unemployment

Kenya is characterized by high youth unemployment rates, estimated at about 10.4 per cent and 14.2 percent for the 15-35 and 15-24 age groups respectively; high levels of under-employment; and high levels of employment in the informal sector, often dominated by youth and women. The youth, particularly those aged 15 to 24 years, are relatively over-represented in the informal economy (estimated at 87% females and 83% males) - (KIPPRRA, 2010). Unemployment has continued to be higher among the youth than among other age groups in Kenya. Unemployment has also been higher among females than males. This is supported by evidence from the 1998-99 LFS and the 2005-06 KIHBS (Table 7). The statistics suggest that fresh graduates (22-25 year olds) have major difficulties finding jobs upon graduation and many contribute to the pool of the unemployed. As the youths grow older, their unemployment rates fall to a single digit. About 11 percent of the youth aged 15-35 years (excluding full-time students) are estimated to be inactive. This is due to a rapidly growing youth population, and skills mismatch (KIPPRRA, 2013).



Table 7. Distribution of Open Unemployment by Age and Gender in Kenya

Age	1998-99			2005-06		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
15-19	21.8	26.4	24.3	19.2	18.8	19
20-24	19	33.9	27.1	31.1	33.8	32.6
25-29	8.2	21.6	15.5	20.2	21.5	20.9
30-34	4.8	16.8	10.8	8.1	8.5	8.3
35-39	5	11.8	8.4	6.6	6.6	6.6
40-44	7.8	10.6	9.1	5.6	4.5	5
45-49	4.9	12.5	8.2	3.5	3.5	3.5
50-54	6.3	11.1	8.7	2.6	1.7	2.1
55-59	14.2	12.7	13.5	2	0.9	1.4
60-64	7.5	15.7	11.7	1.1	0.2	0.6
Total	9.8	19.3	14.6	11.2	14.3	12.7
Urban			25.1			19.9
Rural			9.4			9.8

Source: Republic of Kenya (2003b) and Republic of Kenya (2008a)

## 7. Participation by Women in Higher Education

Access to higher education by women relative to their men counterparts has remained low. Though the ratio of females to males in Kenya is 51:49, a larger proportion of males find their way into universities (about 60%) compared to women (about 40%). The percentage of women enrolling in universities dropped from 40% to 33% between 2008 and 2009 due to poor performance by girls in high school. The enrollment was however restored to 39% in 2010 and has continued to rise thereafter due to affirmative action in favor of women. The proportion of women enrolling in other tertiary institutions has however dropped significantly over time, suggesting that on average, relatively fewer women than men are enrolling for higher education (Table 8).

Table 8. Student Enrolment (%) by Type of Educational, Training Institution and Sex, 2010-2013

Year	University *		Other tertiary institutions**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
2007	60	40	51	49
2008	60	40	52	48
2009	67	33	50	50
2010	61	39	51	49
2011	59	41	51	49
2012	56	44	58	42
2013	60	40	57	43

\*Includes students in National Universities and Private accredited Universities and unaccredited universities.

\*\*Includes students in Teacher Training Colleges, Polytechnics, Technical Training Institute & Institutions of Science & Technology.

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistic, (2014)

There are also observed differences in enrollment of male and female students into various categories of fields of study. A relatively larger number of women are concentrated in Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, while men dominated fields of medicine and engineering. Women however dominate men in nursing, which is among the lowest fields of study in the medical field (Table 9).

Table 9. Enrollment (%) of University Students into Medical Courses by Sex, 2006-2013

Undergraduate	2006/7		2008/9		2011/12		2012/13*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Medical Degree								
Medicine & Surgery	64	36	57	43	56	44	52	48
BSC (Nursing)	42	58	36	64	33	67	36	64
Dental Surgery	70	30	57	43	54	46	51	49
Environmental Health	54	46	57	43	57	43	38	62
Pharmacy	66	34	58	42	56	44	44	56
BSC (Biochemistry)	64	36	54	46	64	36	49	51
Sub- Total	60	40	52	48	49	51	45	55
Postgraduate	70	30	55	45	42	58	54	46
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>54</b>

Source, Republic of Kenya, (2013)

## 8. Participation of Women in High Ranking Positions

Empowerment of women in Kenya is enshrined in The Constitution of Kenya, 2010. Article 27, No. 3 of the constitution states that “women and men have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres”. This provisions crowns many years of debate on the need for women empowerment. This is due to the recognition of the low participation rates of women in many activities including decision making positions and lucrative employment positions. Women in Kenya however still remain marginalized in many dimensions and continue to dominate the informal sector, unpaid household activities and other low paying sector jobs. Men are still the overwhelming decision makers as members of corporations, officials of the public sector, civil society leaderships, among others. Gender stereotyping in Kenya has prevented women from embracing leadership positions in many sectors of the economy. Differences not only exist between men and women in leadership positions, but also in career progression, promotion and during employee recruitment. A good example is parliamentary representation where women remain a gross minority (Table 10).

Table 10. Female Participation in Parliament - 1st to 10th Parliament.

Parliament	Period	Total no. of constituencies	No. of women elected	Available slots for nomination	No. of women nominated
1 <sup>st</sup>	1963-1969	158	0	12	0
2 <sup>nd</sup>	1969-1974	158	1	12	1
3 <sup>rd</sup>	1974-1979	158	1	12	2
4 <sup>th</sup>	1979-1983	158	5	12	1
5 <sup>th</sup>	1983-1988	158	2	12	1
6 <sup>th</sup>	1988-1992	188	2	12	0
7 <sup>th</sup>	1992-1997	188	6	12	1
8 <sup>th</sup>	1997-2002	210	4	12	5
9 <sup>th</sup>	2002-2007	210	10	12	8
10 <sup>th</sup>	2008-2012	210	16	12	6

Source: KIPPRA (2013)

The data shows that participation of women in high decision making positions has remained relatively low in Kenya, though the trend has changed over time. For instance, the number of women ministers in Cabinet rose from 2 in 2006 to 6 in 2012, while women permanent secretaries increased from 5 to 7 over the same period. Women members of the National assembly increased by 22.2% over the same period (Republic of Kenya, 2013). The implementation of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 has paved way for an increase in the number of women elected and nominated into political and high level decision making positions in 2013. Women however continue to occupy less than 30% of most high level positions as provided for in the constitution (table 11).

Table 11. Participation in Politics, Public Life and Representation of Government, 2008 to 2012.

Category	2008		2012		2013	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Ministers/Cabinet Secretaries	83	17	86	14	67	33
Assistant Ministers	88	12	88	12		
National assembly	91	9	90	10	80	20
Diplomatic Corps	72	28	72	28	73	27
Permanent/Principal Secretary	86	14	84	16	76	24
Senators	0	0	0	0	73	27
Governors	0	0	0	0	100	0
Deputy Governors	0	0	0	0	81	19
Provincial Commissioners	100	0	87	13		0
County Commissioners	100	0	100	0	64	36
Sub-county/district Commissioners	92	8	91	9	90	11
Deputy Provincial Commissioners	100	0	100	0		
Deputy Secretary	74	26	74	26	71	29
Supreme court	100	0	100	0	71	29
Court of Appeals Judges	90	10	91	9	69	31
High Court Judges	73	27	67	33	59	41
Magistrates	70	30	67	33	56	44
Kadhis	100	0	100	0	100	0
Chiefs	97	3	96	4	96	4
Assistant Chiefs	93	7	92	8	92	8
Councillors/MCA	84	16	84	16	94	6
Lawyers	66	34	65	35	62	38

Source: Republic of Kenya, Economic Survey, 2013; 2014

This underrepresentation of women in decision making reflect the disadvantaged position of women in many sectors of the economy. For instance, a report on the status of women scientists at the University of Nairobi (AWSC, 2010) revealed that the proportion of women academic members of staff is relatively low compared to that of their male counterparts. Though University Gender Policy provides for 30% positions for women at all levels, available statistics reveal a rather grim picture. Women occupy lower levels of teaching grades, dominating assistant lecturer positions (at 40%), compared to occupying a mere 9% of the full professor positions (Table 12). An analysis of the academic grades held by the women scientists revealed a similar trend to that depicted by the whole university, with departments such as Electrical and Information Engineering and Mechanical and Manufacturing Engineering having no women academic members of staff.

Table12. Distribution of University of Nairobi Academic Staff by Gender (2010)

Academic Level	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (N)
Full Professor	9	91	110
Associate Professor	15	85	194
Senior Lecturer	21	79	300
Lecturer	26	74	688
Assistant Lecturer	40	60	92
Tutorial Fellow	23	77	52
Graduate Assistant	23	77	13
Total	23	77	1,449

Source: AWSC, African Women's Studies Centre (2010).

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## Annex 3. ICELAND - Country background and key facts

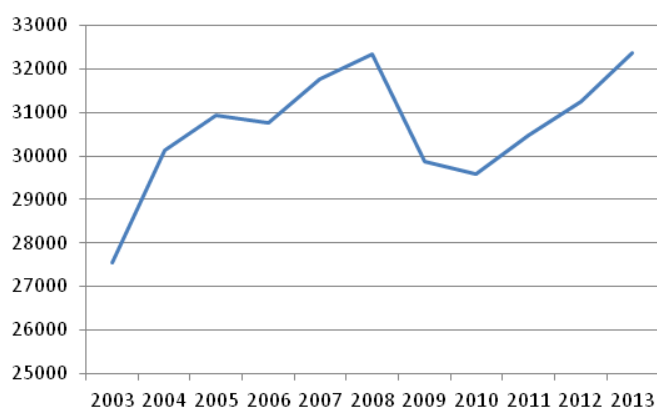
### Economy and society

Iceland is an island nation in the North Atlantic near the Arctic Circle. It was an agrarian society until the early 20th century and its histories and traditions are rooted in Nordic culture. It has always had a small population relative to its Nordic cousins and European neighbors. Newest counts show the Icelandic population to be at 324,988 of which 162,874 are male and 162,114 are female. As of June 2014, there are 80,040 children ages 0-17 years (Statistics Iceland, 2014; Statistics Iceland, 2014b).

### GDP per capita

In 2013, the GDP per capita in Iceland was 32,380€ (with PPPs) (Statistics Iceland, 2014c). As seen in Figure 1 below, the GDP per capita rose in the beginning of the 21st century then fell sharply in 2008 during the global bank crisis until it began to recover in 2011 and is currently at pre-crisis levels.

Figure 1. GDP per capita in Iceland, 2003-2013.



Source: Statistics Iceland, 2014c (shown in Euros with PPPs).

As with other European and western countries, the global bank crisis had a great effect on the Icelandic economy and austerity measures had to be put in place. At the time, the Icelandic government chose to focus on protecting the most vulnerable social groups, such as families with children, as best as possible (Ólafsson, 2011).

### Status of women

The status of women in Iceland was similar to women in other Nordic or breadwinner based societies at the beginning of the 20th century. However, towards the end of the century Iceland began making strides towards gender equality. Iceland signed the

Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1980 and ratified the convention in 1985 (Samningur um afnám allrar mismununar gagnvart konum no. 5/1985).

Emphasis on women in the political arena has been pioneering. Iceland had the first female president in 1980, Vigdís Finnbogadóttir, and a female political party, the Women’s Party, from 1983 until 1998 when it was absorbed into the Social Democratic Party that later became the Social Democratic Alliance in 2000. The Women’s Party focused on women’s issues, gender equality and care issues.

Focus in Icelandic family policy has been on gender equality since the 1990s and, as shown later in the section on policies, Iceland has adopted ground-breaking parental leave policies to ensure gender equality in work and care. Icelandic women have also made up a large portion of the labor market over the last decades, as shown in the next section.

### Labor market

Unemployment rates in Iceland were relatively low (2.1 %) at the turn of the 21st Century up until the bank crisis in 2008, where it rose to 7.2% in 2009 and 7.6% in 2010, by 2013 it had lowered to 5.4% (Statistics Iceland, 2014e).

### Participation rates of women and men

Icelanders work long hours and have one of the highest volumes of work in OECD countries (Stefánsson). In 2012, 88,000 men and 81,300 women were reported working (Statistics Iceland, 2013b). In 2013, of those reported working 86.7% of men and 64.9% of women worked full-time. As seen in Table 1 below, a higher percent of women work part-time than men (35.1% and 13.3% respectively) (Statistics Iceland, 2014d).

Table 1. Percent of labor market participation and hours worked by gender in 2013

	Men	Women
Percent of employed, 16-74 years, %	79.4 %	74.6
Percent of employed full-time (35+ hours per week), %	86.7 %	64.9
Percent of employed part-time (<35 hours per week), %	13.3 %	35.1
Rate of unemployment, %	5.7 %	5.1
Average working hours per week	43.9	35
Average working hours per week, full-time	47.3	41.2
Average working hours per week, part-time	20.9	23.4

Source: Statistics Iceland, 2014d

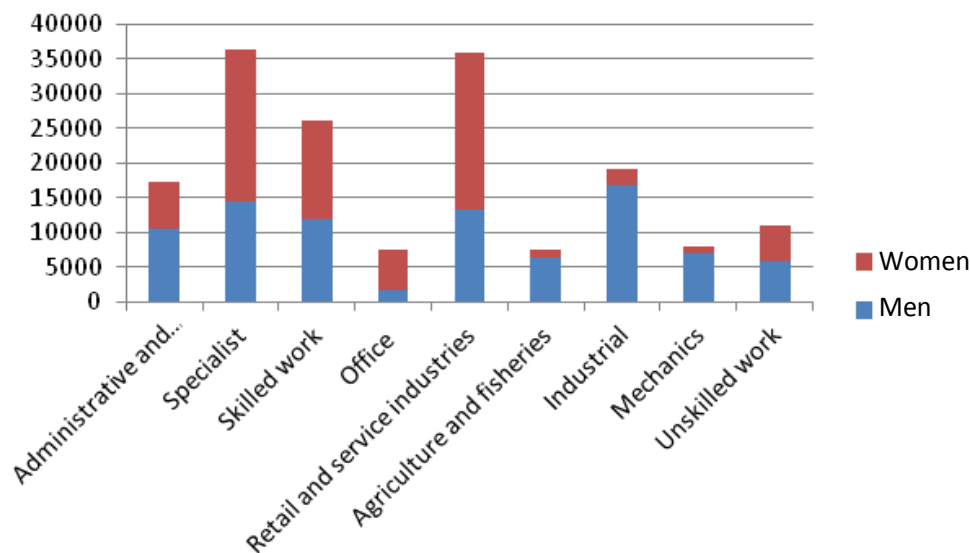


Although there is a difference between genders when it comes to fulltime and part time work, the table shows that when women work fulltime they work on average 41.2 hours per week (Statistics Iceland, 2014d).

### Occupational gender segregations

In spite the emphasis on gender equality in the labor market found in Icelandic legislation, men still tend to be in the majority when it comes to administrative work and government offices, while women are in the majority in both office and the retail and service industries (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Occupational gender segregations in Iceland, 2012



Source: Statistics Iceland, 2013b

However, women are in the majority (22,100 women v. 14,400 men) when it comes to specialist work such as doctors, lawyers etc. and skilled work such as educators (14,300 women v. 11,900 men).

### Employment trends among young people

Unemployment for youths is higher than it is for the general public and was at 10.7% in 2013 (Statistics Iceland, 2014d). This data looks at the employment participation of youths aged 16-24 and shows that 70.4% of this age group is working, but in more part-time work (51.2%) than full-time (48.8%). The data did not offer the opportunity to look at gender differences in this age group.

However, there is information organized by gender for working students. In 2013, there were 24,400 students on record (12,300 men and 12,100 women) between the

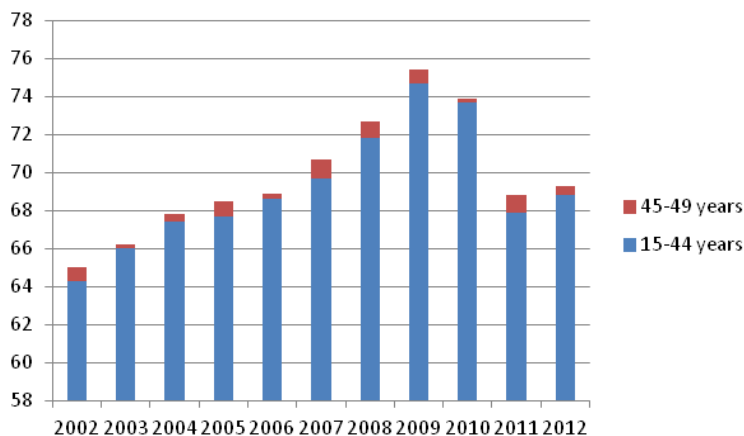
ages of 16-24 (Statistics Iceland, 2014f). Of those students 55.3% men and 71.0% women worked alongside school. On average these men worked 24.2 hours per week with school and the women 20.4 hours.

## Family

Iceland is a young nation in comparison with its European neighbors with a mean age of 37.2 in 2014 (Statistics Iceland, 2014a). Focus has been on the family in policies with the government adopting a resolution to unify family policy (Parliamentary Resolution no. 1230/1997).

In 2012, the fertility rate in Iceland was at 68.8 per 1000 women aged 15-44 and 0.5 for women aged 45-49 (Statistics Iceland, 2013) with a replacement rate of 2.03680 for women aged 15-49 for the same year (Eurostat, 2012). These rates have held steady over the last decade with a slight increase in 2008-2010 (Eurostat, 2012; Statistics Iceland, 2014).

Figure 3. Fertility rates in Iceland, 2002-2012.



Source: Statistics Iceland, 2013. Births per 1000 women aged 15-44 and 45-49.

The mean age of women at the time they gave birth to their firstborn was 24 years and the mean age of men was 29 in 2012 (Statistics Iceland, 2013a). These numbers have also stayed pretty consistent over the last decade.

## Marriage and divorce rates

Divorce rates increased in post war Western states. Table 2 highlights the changing family form from the 1960s onward, shown as the increase in divorce rates in Iceland and the average for the 27 European Union states over a span of forty years.

Table 2. Divorce rates in Iceland and the EU27 by decades

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
<b>Iceland</b>	0.7	1.2	1.9	1.9	1.9
<b>EU27</b>	-	-	1.5	1.6	1.8

*Source: (Eurostat, 2009). Crude divorce rate is calculated by the ratio of the number of divorces during the year to the average population in that year. The value is expressed per 1000 inhabitants. EU27 is calculated with data collected from the Individual Member States of the EU-27. – data not available.*

The most recent data available shows that in Iceland 2,017 couples registered their cohabitation in 2011, while 1,458 couples married (Statistics Iceland, 2012). 1,271 couples divorced in the same year and 675 couples reported they had stopped cohabiting (Statistics Iceland, 2012a)

The number of households headed by lone-mothers over the last ten years has slightly increased from 10,394 in 2003 up to 11,607 households in 2013. Households headed by lone fathers numbered 1,129. During this time, the portion of lone father families increased from 7.5% in 2003 to roughly 9% of the total number of lone-parent families in 2013 (Statistics Iceland, 2014g).

### **Family-work conflict or enrichment**

A study conducted using data from the International Social Survey Programme showed that finding the balance between work and life is difficult (Þórðardóttir, 2012) where work can interfere with family life as much as family life can interfere with work. However, following the bank crisis of 2008 in Iceland work interfering in family life has decreased and family life interfering with work life has increased.

In spite the government's effort to ensure gender equality, women still tend to spend longer hours doing household chores. In one study, women were more likely to report doing 10 hours or more of housework in 1998. However by 2010, although women still reported doing more hours than the men did the number of hours reported by women fell and the number of hours reported by men rose (Þórsdóttir, 2012).

### **Welfare state and family policies**

The Icelandic welfare state can be categorized as a hybrid between Beveridge and Nordic models (Ólafsson, 2012). Iceland's expenditure figures on welfare and health were comparable to those of the other Nordic countries in the 1940s and 1950s.

However, in the 60s and 70s welfare expenditures grew more rapidly in the other Nordic countries than it did in Iceland (Eydal & Ólafsson, 2008; Ólafsson, 2012).

Furthermore, Icelandic family policy was fragmented late until the 1990's. As mentioned earlier, in 1997 the Icelandic parliament Alþingi took action to unify family policy under an organized legislative framework (Parliamentary Resolution 1230/1997). The main focus of the resolution is on the family as a unit and on gender equality. Changes since this resolution included a focus on children's rights and their right to care from both parents especially care from the father which has greatly increased (Eydal G. B., 2012).

### **Reconciliation policies**

Balancing work and life as mentioned earlier is difficult and certain policies help support parents in their roles for instance, working parents are given an extra day per month to care for an ill child. Furthermore, early childhood education and care in Iceland is both state subsidized and regulated. In 2008, 94% of children aged 3-5 were enrolled in a playschool (Eydal G. B., 2012).

### **Leave system**

The parental leave system adopted that was adopted into law in 2000 in Iceland has been pioneering with its focus on gender equality and empowering father's to participate in the care of their children (Eydal G. B., 2012). The parents are each allocated three months leave with three months to divide between each other as they please. However, the gap between parental leave and early childhood education and care is the longest in Iceland of the Nordic countries (Eydal G. B., 2012).

### **Average age of emancipation of young people**

Legally, children attain majority at 18 years with the right to vote and marry, while some legislation allows them to be viewed as both a child and adult until 20 years. For instance, the Act in Respect of Children no. 76/2003 clearly states that young adults in fulltime secondary education may continue to receive child support from the non-resident parent until the age of 20 and that these payments can be paid directly to them after they reach 18 years (62nd art. Act no. 76/2003). Furthermore, legislation on the sale and consumption of alcohol bans young adults to purchase or consume alcohol before the age 20 (Áfengislög [Alcohol Act] no. 75/1998). Therefore, in Iceland an individual legally becomes an adult on their 18th birthday, but remains in a grey area between attaining full adult rights with the continued protection of some children's rights until 20 years of age.

## **University students**

In 2013, there were 40,600 students in secondary and tertiary education (ages 16 -74) which is 17.5% of the working-age population (Statistics Iceland, 2014f). 18,700 students in this group were men and 21,900 were women. In 2012, the employment rate for individuals with a post-graduate degree or higher was 89.2% and the unemployment rate for this group was at 2.9 well below the national average (Statistics Iceland, 2014d).

## **Education system**

In Iceland there are four levels of education; pre-primary (Ice. leikskóli), compulsory (primary and lower secondary are usually in the same school), upper secondary (high schools and colleges) and tertiary (universities) (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture Iceland, nd). Compulsory education is 10 years from ages 6-16 (The Compulsory School Act 91/2008). Education is free with a minimal registration fee at the tertiary level (The Compulsory School Act no. 91/2008; the Upper Secondary School Act no. 92/2008; Higher Education Institutions Act no. 63/2006). However, there are private schools at all levels of education, but these are in the minority.

## **University system**

Each department and faculty has their own framework within each university. However, most undergraduate degrees are 3-4 years. Some departments offer a post-graduate degree usually half the credits of a masters degree and some departments offer a candidate degree (often in the health professions) between a masters and doctoral degree. Not all universities in Iceland offer a doctoral program.

## **Participation of women and men in higher education**

19,334 students were registered in tertiary study in 16 institutes in 2011 (Statistics Iceland, 2012b). Of these, 7,258 were men and 12,076 were women. Although many more women were registered in study, there are still gendered differences between fields of study.

Table 3. Registered students in tertiary education in Iceland in 2011

Level	Under graduate		Post graduate		Masters		Candidate		Doctoral		Sub total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
<b>Art and humanities</b>	1108	2119	30	138	188	372	3	10	31	55	<b>1304</b>	<b>2509</b>	3989
<b>Education</b>	304	1073	19	74	132	792	0	0	16	43	<b>471</b>	<b>1982</b>	2453
<b>Engineering and natural sciences</b>	1862	935	90	18	294	253	0	0	75	67	<b>2324</b>	<b>1251</b>	3575
<b>Health</b>	409	1814	3	73	45	228	26	208	131	47	<b>455</b>	<b>2370</b>	2825
<b>Social sciences</b>	999	1491	57	161	377	730	0	0	16	46	<b>1449</b>	<b>2428</b>	3877
<b>Total</b>	4682	7432	199	464	1036	2375	29	218	269	258	6003	10540	16719

*Calculated from data Statistics Iceland, 2012b.*

As Table 3 shows although there are more women students than men at this time women are underrepresented overall in the engineering and natural science categories (1251 women v 2324 men) but more than three times as many in education and almost five times as many in health. Few studies have been conducted that examine the difference in performance at university between genders.

Table 4 Dropout rate at universities by gender 2002-2003

	1. University degree	Diploma after 1. university degree	Master's degree	Ph.D.
Males	14.7	13.2	21.4	33.3
Females	12.5	16.5	19.5	70.8

*(Statistics Iceland, 2004) The data refer to students at the tertiary level in Iceland in autumn are not studying in autumn 2003 and have not graduated in the meantime. Some of these students may only have taken a temporary leave from studying. When the data are broken down into subcategories there can be large fluctuations in the percentages due to the small number of students. Students in external learning are counted with students in distance learning.*

However, a study was conducted in 2003 that looked at the dropout rate of university students. As Table 4 shows women have a slightly lower dropout rate than men when studying for their first degree and a much higher rate at the doctoral level (Statistics Iceland, 2004).

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### **Legislation and resolutions**

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Compulsory School Act no. 91/2008

Higher Education Institutions no. Act 63/2006

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## Annex 4. SPAIN - Country background and key facts

Spain is a Mediterranean Latin Country with a population of 46.5 million in January 2014. The Spanish economy, in a similar way to what happened in Iceland, has been experiencing a long economic crisis (2008-14), whose worst consequence has been to generate a very high unemployment rate, which must be conditioning the career aspirations of young people.

Until the seventies in 20th century Spain was a very traditional society with a division of household labor largely traditional (the main responsibility of women were the household and childcare whereas men were considered the breadwinner), and with a strong family values. Nonetheless, after the end of dictatorship (1975) values and social norms (including gender norms) have been evolving quite quickly toward those existing in the most advanced societies.

### Three spheres of unequal employment outcomes in Spanish labor market

Three spheres in the Spanish labor market where gender unequal employment outcomes are observed can be highlighted: the gender pay gap, insufficient presence of women in management positions, and lower labor force participation of women.

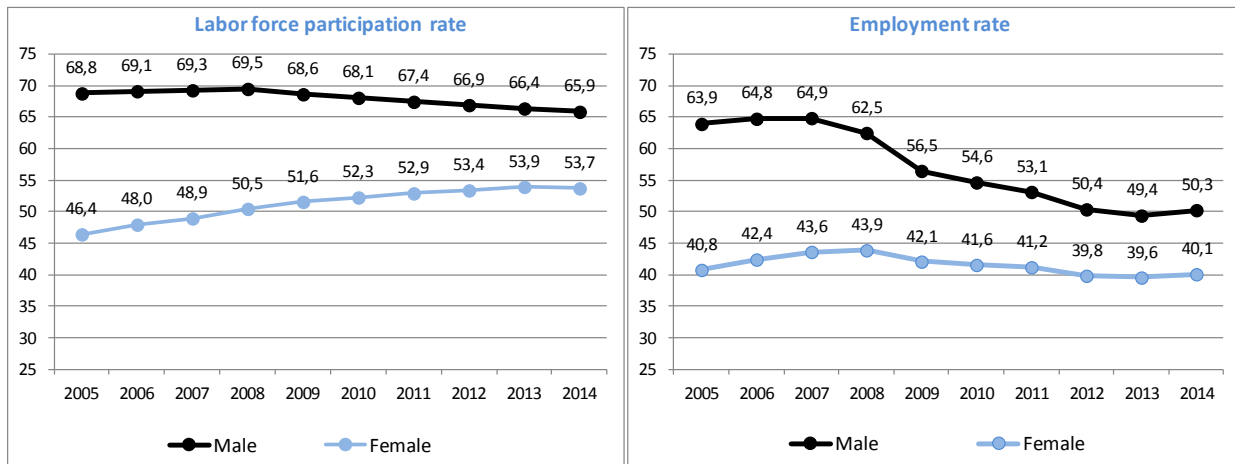
According to the Wage Structure Survey (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, INE), the gross annual average earnings of women was 23.9 percentage points lower than that of men in 2012 (latest available data). This gap is partly explained by the lower average working hours of women; for example, according to the Encuesta de Población Activa, EPA, in 2012 the average number of weekly hours actually worked by males was 36.9, while for females it was 30.8 hours.

Moreover, insufficient presence of women in management and direction of organizations is one of the facts that are precisely behind the wage gap. According to the EPA, female participation in the occupational group "directors and officers" (where managerial occupations at all levels are included) has experienced over the last few years a slightly increasing trend, reaching a level of about 30% in 2013. However, as will be seen later, when disaggregating the data in different levels of management, a marked reduction in the percentage of women is observed as we consider higher levels in the hierarchy of organizations.

With regard to female participation in the labor market, some aspects can be observed in figure 1. First (graph on the left), between 2005 and 2014 the structural trend to increase in female participation in labor force has been maintained (although this increase is slowing in recent years), so the process of convergence between the labor force participation rates of women and men has advanced slightly. However, as shown by the graph on the right, the heavy job losses that occurred during the crisis, which has affected men more than women (especially during the first phase of the economic crisis, which intensely affected the construction, a very masculinized sector), has caused the male employment rate to fall sharply, from 64.9% in 2007 to 49.4 in 2013 (the female employment rate also went down, but less). For this reason in this graph a much more pronounced (and temporary) progress in convergence between male and female employment rates is observed. This evolution of

employment rates has resulted, among other things, in an increase in the number of households where the main breadwinner becomes the woman.

Figure 1. Evolution of labor force participation and employment rates of women and men. (Percentages with respect to working age population, 16 or older)



Notes: Labor force participation rate: Employed and unemployed with respect to working age population (16 or older). Employment rate: Employed with respect to working age population (16 or older). Data for 2006-2013 are annual; the figure for 2014 corresponds to the second quarter.

Source: Encuesta de Población Activa (EPA), INE. [http://www.ine.es/en/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa\\_inicio\\_en.htm](http://www.ine.es/en/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa_inicio_en.htm)

### Horizontal and vertical gender segregation

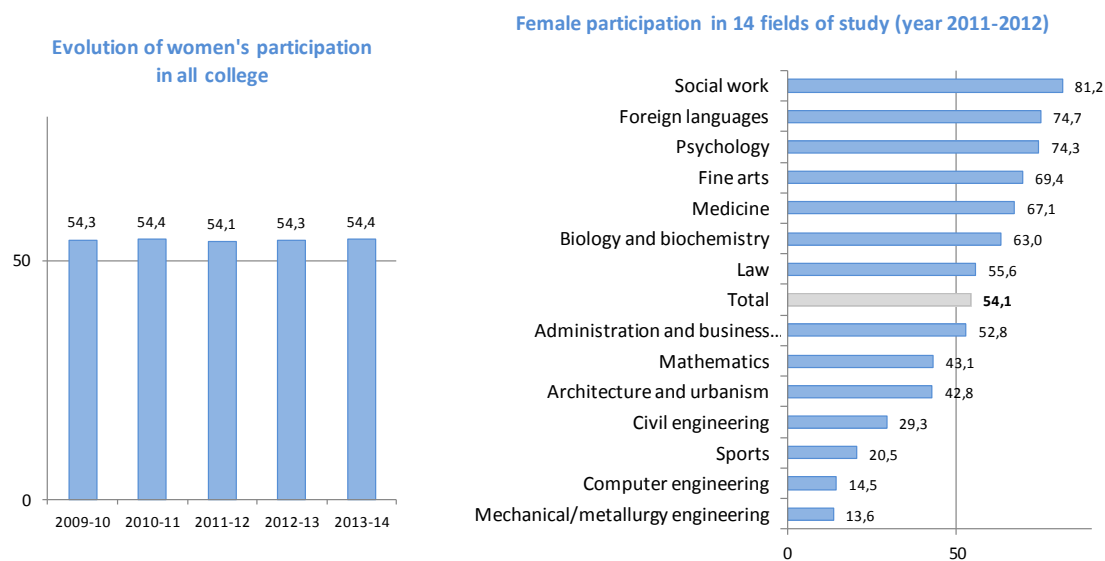
After having mentioned these unequal results, the next step would be to ask why that happens. One explanation is the existence of occupations (and sectors) masculinized and feminized. Occupational segregation has a fairly universal and persistent character, and insofar as it implies that women are relatively concentrated in occupations with lower pay, status and promotion opportunities (many of them related to care), that would be a phenomenon which explains (in part) the wage gap and the low participation of female workers in management positions. For example, at the college level males are overrepresented in occupations where higher incomes are obtained and where there are more opportunities for advancement, such as engineering or computer science, while women are over-represented in occupations with lower incomes (and more possibilities for reconciling family and work), such as teaching.

Are these high levels of occupational segregation to be maintained in the future? To answer this question we must see what young people are studying today. In figure 2 the case of Spanish university students is shown. The presence of women is majority in college (as in many other countries). Over the period 2009-14 (left part of the figure), women represented about 54.5% of all the students enrolled in college (this figure rises to around 59% when we measure the percentage of women in the total of graduates). However, this breakthrough of women joining college contrasts with the high degree of gender segregation in the field of study that still exists. The right part of the figure shows the distribution of females and males enrolled in 14 fields of study in the year 2011-12. In the fields traditionally associated with females there was still a high percentage of women, for example, 81.2% in social work; while in some of the

fields traditionally associated with males the opposite happened, as for example in computer engineering, where the percentage of women enrolled was only 14.5%.

This high degree of gender “educational” segregation seems not to have declined in recent years in Spain, and further it seems that it intensifies as lower academic levels are considered. Indeed, the degree of dissimilarity with which the girls and the boys are distributed among fields of study is higher in the case of intermediate vocational training studies than in the case of high vocational training studies; and it is higher in the latter than in the case of university studies.

Figure 1. Participation of female students in university studies in Spain. Total and 14 fields of studies (% of female students with respect to total students in the group)



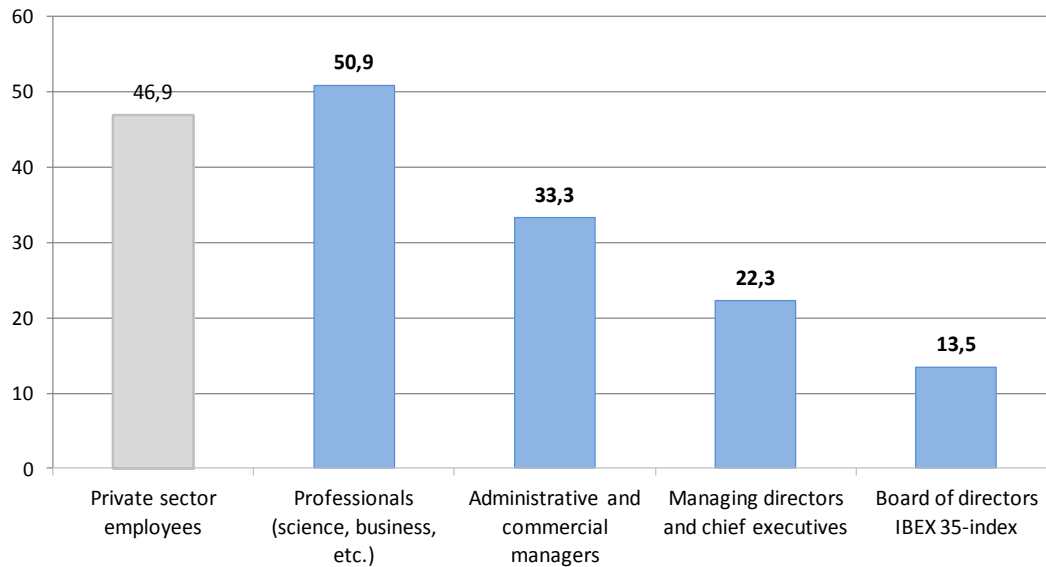
*Note:* The data refer to students enrolled in undergraduate studies and in the old “licenciaturas” and diplomaturas”. That is, the master’s studies are not included.

*Source:* Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte.

The above corresponds to the phenomenon of "horizontal" segregation, but there is also the "vertical" segregation along the hierarchy of organizations. Figure 3 shows how, in the case of private companies and organizations, the presence of women is reduced as higher hierarchical levels are considered: for example, in 2013 women accounted for 33.3% of directors of administrative and commercial departments of companies, but that presence was reduced to a participation on the boards of companies in the IBEX 35 of only 13.5% (still, in this latter case it has been a significant improvement, given that in 2005 the percentage of women on boards of IBEX 35 was 3.5%).

Another noticeable example of vertical segregation takes place in the education sector. As seen in Figure 4, as long as we consider teaching occupations associated with higher academic status, the percentage of women is steadily decreasing.

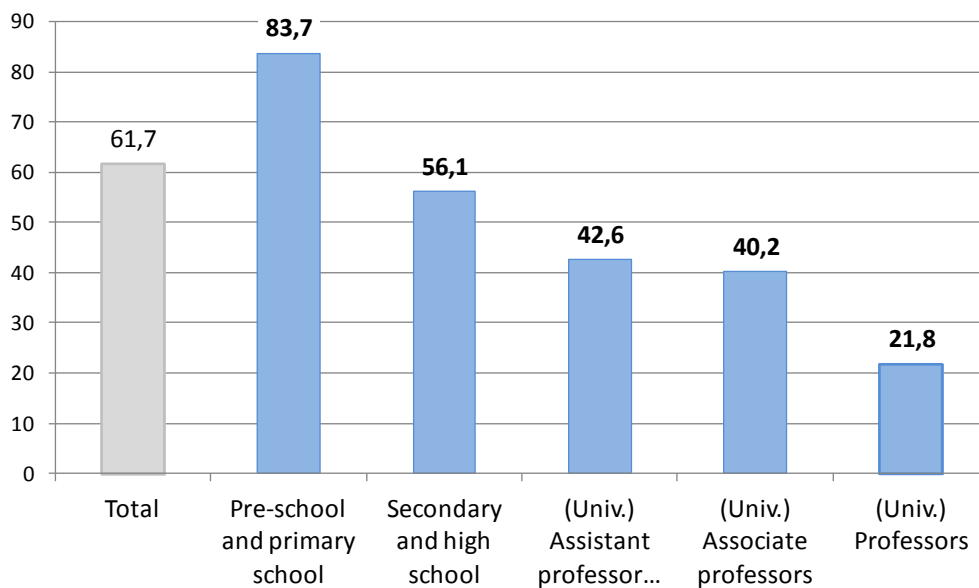
Figure 3. Female presence in several types of occupations of private sector companies. Spain 2013. Percentage of women to total workers in each group.



*Notes:* The figure was constructed with data from “Encuesta de Población Activa” corresponding to the 1st quarter 2013. The reference group is private sector employees. In addition to these data, the percentage of women on boards of the IBEX 35 companies, corresponding to 2012 (Comisión Nacional del Mercado de Valores, CNMV), was added.

*Source:* Encuesta de Población Activa (EPA), INE [http://www.ine.es/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa\\_inicio.htm](http://www.ine.es/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa_inicio.htm) and CNMV <http://www.cnmv.es/portal/home.aspx>

Figure 4. Female faculty presence in Spain, according to level of education imparted. Year 2011-2012. (Percentage of female teachers to total teachers in each level)

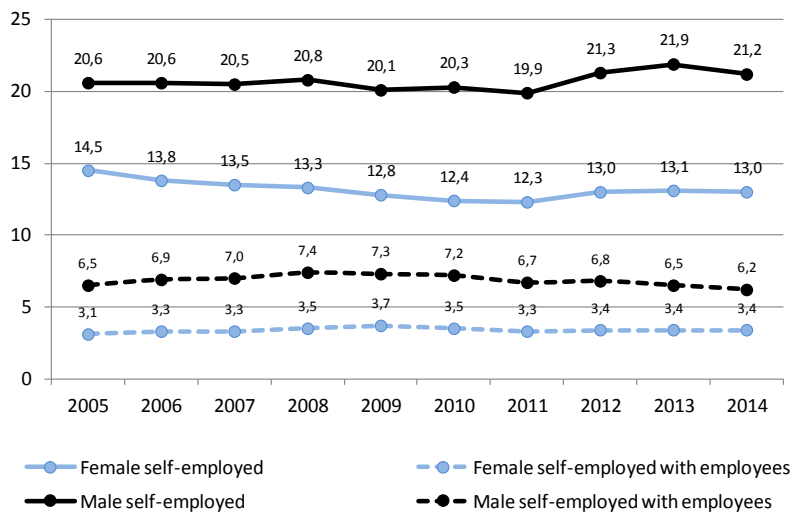


*Notes:* Data on university teachers only includes public universities; pre-school, primary, secondary and high school include public and private schools.

*Source:* Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte <http://www.mecd.gob.es/servicios-al-ciudadano-mecd/estadisticas.html>

A final matter that can be placed in the field of occupational gender segregation is that of entrepreneurship. Indeed, entrepreneurship has been traditionally considered a male activity and this has affected the women entrepreneurship negatively. This is reflected in international studies, such as the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), and so is evidenced for the case of Spain in figure 5. This figure shows that the percentage of men (over the total employed males) who were self-employed was around 21% (with a slight increase in the last years because of economic crisis), while the percentage of women in this same situation was only around 13%. Furthermore, the percentage of men who were self-employed with employees was around 6.3% whereas in the case of women this figure was only around 3.4%.

Figure 5: Evolution of female and male participation in self-employment and entrepreneurship. (% of self-employed women to the total number of employed women; idem for men).



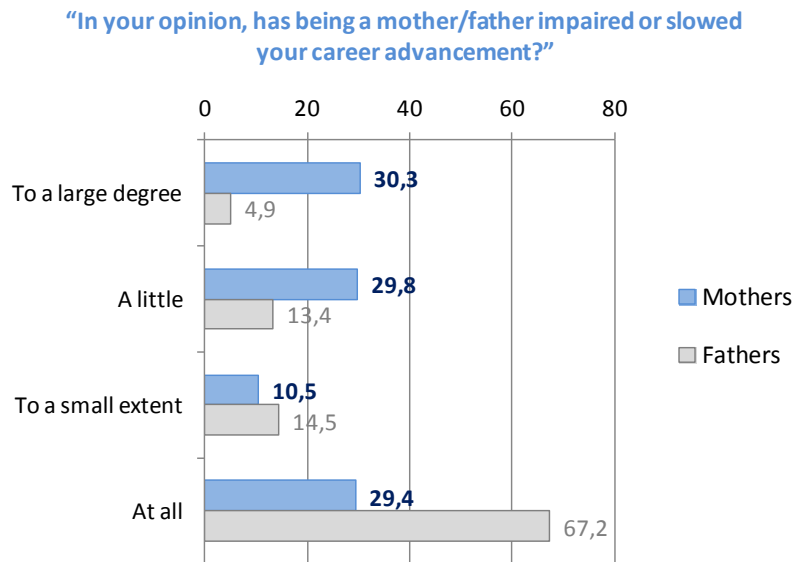
Source: Encuesta de Población Activa (EPA) [http://www.ine.es/en/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa\\_inicio\\_en.htm](http://www.ine.es/en/inebaseDYN/epa30308/epa_inicio_en.htm)

### Insufficient degree of shared responsibility between women and men in the household

But parallel to the problem of occupational gender segregation is the problem of the lack of shared responsibility of women and men at home. The progressive incorporation of women into the labor market is a quite advanced phenomenon; however, its counterpart, the progressive incorporation of men to housework and caring is less advanced in societies like the Spanish one. This mismatch results in many women (which largely assume family responsibilities) facing restricted access or progression in the labor market. This is particularly important when motherhood arrives ("motherhood penalty" often associated with a "paternity premium"). Furthermore, by the "demand side", this kind of situation lays behind the existence of statistical discrimination against women in hiring and promotion ("I hire the male candidate and not the female one because she, when accessing maternity can reduce her dedication to work"). As an example of labor motherhood penalty, Figure 6 shows how in a sample of 1,130 couples with small children in the region of Madrid, 60.1% of mothers felt that

motherhood had impaired or slowed their professional development opportunities, while only 18.3% of fathers considered this same.

Figure 6: Motherhood penalty. Region of Madrid.  
(Percentage of mothers/fathers to total mothers/fathers)



*Note:* These results were obtained from a sample of 1,130 couples with small children in the region of Madrid, in 2012.

*Source:* "Survey on the use of parental leaves and their labour consequences", Institute for Women  
<http://www.inmujer.gob.es/>

Behind the lack of shared responsibility and the gender segregation in studies and occupations are traditional social norms regarding gender (Akerlof and Kranton 2010). These traditional gender attitudes and roles (that change but slowly) are related to the unequal distribution of household and caring tasks between mothers and fathers; or to the traditional view within companies that the reconciliation of work and family life is something that has to do with female employees and not the male employees (Holter 2007; Haas and Hwang 2007; Albert et al. 2010). Moreover, this assumption of traditional gender roles is also detected, for example, at the time (critical) where high school students choose learning paths (boys relatively more oriented towards science and engineering; girls more toward the humanities and caring fields) that ultimately maintained over time the phenomenon of occupational gender segregation (Sainz, 2011).

### Equality policies.

Despite what is stated above, in Spain the target of gender equality has become increasingly important in political and social discourse, and this has been reflected in the public equality policies that have been applied at different levels of government. Also, in recent years, the

equality strategies designed have been giving greater emphasis to the aim of shared responsibility between women and men in the household tasks and in childcare.

In this regard, two laws can be highlighted:

- Law 3/2007 for Equal Opportunity between Women and Men (for instance, a 13-day paternity leave was introduced through this law).
- Law 39/1999 for Reconciliation of Family and Work Life of Working People (in Spain since the mid-90s of the 20th century work-family policies have been gaining increasing importance, similar to what has happened in the European Union).

### A reference to youth unemployment

The worst consequence of economic crisis has been to generate a very high unemployment rate (24.4% in the second quarter of 2014, INE 2014), which must be conditioning the career aspirations of young people. Indeed, according to Eurostat, in Spain, among the population aged 15 to 29 the unemployment rate was 53.3%. See table 1, in which this figure is compared with those corresponding to other European countries.

Table 1. Harmonised unemployment rate, age group 15-24. **2014** (June)

	Unemployment rate (15-24 years)
European Union	21,9%
Denmark	12,7%
Iceland	9,2%
Germany	7,8%
United Kingdom	16,1%
Italy	43,7%
<b>Spain</b>	<b>53,3%</b>
Poland	23,4%

Source: Eurostat <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/youth/data/database>

This high youth unemployment in part explains why in Spain young people leave the parental household latter than in other advanced countries. Table 2 shows that in Spain the estimated average age of young people leaving parental household is 28.9 years, whereas, for example, in Denmark this age is 21.1 years. This kind of fact may also influence family and labor aspirations of young people.

Table 2. Estimated average age of young people leaving the parental household

	Average age
European Union	26,2
Denmark	21,1
Germany	23,8
United Kingdom	23,9
Italy	29,7
<b>Spain</b>	<b>28,9</b>
Poland	28,5

Source: Eurostat <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/youth/data/database>

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## Annex 5. Survey results

### “Survey on social values and labor expectations of university students”.

In this annex the frequencies, percentages and the mean values for all the questions that appear in the survey are offered. The results are disaggregated by each of the three countries (Kenya, Iceland and Spain) and by sex.

Universities (samples)		
	N	%
Kenya	564	<b>23.6</b>
Iceland	502	<b>21.0</b>
Spain	1326	<b>55.4</b>
Total	2392	100.0

Completed the questionnaire on paper or online?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Paper	564	<b>100.0</b>	112	<b>22.3</b>	724	<b>54.6</b>
Online	0	<b>0.0</b>	390	<b>77.7</b>	602	<b>45.4</b>
Total	564	100.0	502	100.0	1326	100.0

Q1. Age			
	Kenya	Iceland	Spain
N	544	498	1323
Mean (years)	<b>22.6</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>22.2</b>
SD	4.3	7.5	4.9
Youngest	<b>18.0</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>17.0</b>
Oldest	<b>53.0</b>	<b>58.0</b>	<b>61.0</b>

Q2. Sex						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Female	269	<b>48.0</b>	338	<b>67.5</b>	748	<b>56.6</b>
Male	292	<b>52.0</b>	163	<b>32.5</b>	573	<b>43.4</b>
Total	561	100.0	501	100.0	1321	100.0
Missing values	3		1		5	
	564		502		1326	

Q3. Country of origin?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Domestic	553	<b>98.6</b>	490	<b>97.6</b>	1065	<b>81.1</b>
Immigrant/family immigrant	4	<b>0.7</b>	9	<b>1.8</b>	151	<b>11.5</b>
Foreign student	4	<b>0.7</b>	3	<b>0.6</b>	98	<b>7.5</b>
Total	561	100.0	502	100.0	1314	100.0
Missing values	3				12	
	564		502		1326	

Q4. Field of study						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Business Administration (BA)</b>	90	<b>16.0</b>	164	<b>32.8</b>	470	<b>35.6</b>
<b>Law</b>	125	<b>22.2</b>	170	<b>34.0</b>	356	<b>26.9</b>
<b>Social Work</b>	37	<b>6.6</b>	110	<b>22.0</b>	236	<b>17.9</b>
<b>Economics</b>	268	<b>47.7</b>	52	<b>10.4</b>	245	<b>18.5</b>
<b>BA &amp; Law</b>	0	<b>0</b>	1	<b>0.2</b>	1	<b>0.1</b>
<b>Other</b>	42	<b>7.5</b>	3	<b>0.6</b>	14	<b>1.1</b>
Total	562	100.0	500	100.0	1322	100.0
Missing values	2		2		4	
	564		502		1326	

Q5. Level of studies						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Undergraduate (bachelor...)</b>	528	<b>93.6</b>	354	<b>70.5</b>	1159	<b>87.9</b>
<b>PostGraduate (master)</b>	36	<b>6.4</b>	148	<b>29.5</b>	159	<b>12.1</b>
Total	564	100.0	502	100.0	1318	100.0
Missing values					8	
	564		502		1326	

Q5a. Undergraduate year						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>1<sup>o</sup> year</b>	180	<b>38.8</b>	204	<b>58.1</b>	584	<b>50.5</b>
<b>2<sup>o</sup> year</b>	20	<b>4.3</b>	17	<b>4.8</b>	51	<b>4.4</b>
<b>3<sup>o</sup> year</b>	10	<b>2.2</b>	127	<b>36.2</b>	104	<b>9.0</b>
<b>4<sup>o</sup> year</b>	254	<b>54.7</b>	3	<b>0.9</b>	417	<b>36.1</b>
Total	464	100.0	351	100.0	1156	100.0
Missing values	64		3		4	
-	36		148		166	
	564		502		1326	

Q6. Do you share your studies with? (Mark the options that apply)						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Other studies</b>	108	<b>19.4</b>	18	<b>3.6</b>	91	<b>7.1</b>
<b>Full time job</b>	21	<b>3.8</b>	42	<b>8.5</b>	71	<b>5.6</b>
<b>Part time job</b>	42	<b>7.6</b>	203	<b>40.9</b>	218	<b>17.0</b>
<b>Sporadic jobs</b>	26	<b>4.7</b>	17	<b>3.4</b>	188	<b>14.7</b>
<b>I do my studies exclusively</b>	355	<b>63.8</b>	206	<b>41.5</b>	668	<b>52.2</b>
Other studies & Full time job	1	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.2
Other studies & Part time job	1	0.2	5	1.0	12	0.9
Other studies & Sporadic jobs	2	0.4	1	0.2	18	1.4
Other studies & I do my studies exclusively			1	0.2	1	0.1
Full time job & Part time job			1	0.2		
Full time job & Part time job & Sporadic jobs					1	0.1
Full time job & Sporadic jobs					1	0.1
Part time job & Sporadic jobs			1	0.2	4	0.3
Part time job & Sporadic jobs & I do my studies exclusively					1	0.1
Sporadic jobs & I do my studies exclusively					2	0.2
Total	556	100.0	496	100.0	1279	100.0
Missing values	8		6		47	
	564		502		1326	

Q7. What is your religion?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Catholic	175	31.2	40	8.1	726	55.3
Other Christians	354	63.1	277	56.1	44	3.4
Muslim	24	4.3	-	-	9	0.7
Other religions	1	0.2	10	2.0	24	1.8
None	7	1.2	167	33.8	510	38.8
Total	561	100.0	494	100.0	1313	100.0
Missing values	3		8		13	
	564		502		1326	

Q8. Mean values of the scale (0-10) of religious belief			
	N	Mean	SD
Kenya	550	6.955	2.320
Iceland	499	3.052	2.711
Spain	1313	3.356	3.089

Scale (0-10) of religious belief	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	9	1.6	127	25.5	404	30.8
1	4	0.7	55	11.0	122	9.3
2	12	2.2	69	13.8	105	8.0
3	16	2.9	54	10.8	87	6.6
4	20	3.6	34	6.8	62	4.7
5	101	18.4	57	11.4	146	11.1
6	51	9.3	25	5.0	113	8.6
7	86	15.6	41	8.2	132	10.1
8	96	17.5	27	5.4	78	5.9
9	62	11.3	6	1.2	31	2.4
10	93	16.9	4	0.8	33	2.5
Total	550	100.0	499	100.0	1313	100.0
Missing values	14		3		13	
	564		502		1326	

Q9. Do you have children? (Including stepchildren)	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	516	91.8	241	90.3	272	93.2	343	68.3	219	64.8	123	75.5	1286	97.1	730	97.6	552	96.5
Yes	46	8.2	26	9.7	20	6.8	159	31.7	119	35.2	40	24.5	38	2.9	18	2.4	20	3.5
Total	562	100.0	267	100.0	292	100.0	502	100.0	338	100.0	163	100.0	1324	100.0	748	100.0	572	100.0
Missing values	2		2										2				1	
	564		269		292		502		338		163		1326		748		573	

Q9a. How many children?	Kenya			Iceland			Spain		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
N	561	267	291	496	334	161	1,316	743	569
Average number of children	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.59</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.47</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.06</b>
SD	0.59	0.61	0.58	1.04	1.06	0.99	0.30	0.15	0.43
Minimum	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Maximum	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	6.00	2.00	6.00

Q9a. How many children?	Kenya			Iceland			Spain												
	Total		Female	Male	Total		Female	Male	Total		Female	Male							
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%							
No children	516	<b>92.0</b>	241	<b>90.3</b>	272	<b>93.5</b>	343	<b>69.2</b>	219	<b>65.6</b>	123	<b>76.4</b>	1286	<b>97.7</b>	730	<b>98.3</b>	552	<b>97.0</b>	
1 child	30	<b>5.3</b>	17	<b>6.4</b>	13	<b>4.5</b>	65	<b>13.1</b>	48	<b>14.4</b>	17	<b>10.6</b>	20	<b>1.5</b>	12	<b>1.6</b>	8	<b>1.4</b>	
2 children	4	<b>0.7</b>	3	<b>1.1</b>	1	<b>0.3</b>	48	<b>9.7</b>	38	<b>11.4</b>	10	<b>6.2</b>	4	<b>0.3</b>	1	<b>0.1</b>	3	<b>0.5</b>	
3 children	6	<b>1.1</b>	4	<b>1.5</b>	2	<b>0.7</b>	28	<b>5.6</b>	22	<b>6.6</b>	6	<b>3.7</b>	4	<b>0.3</b>			4	<b>0.7</b>	
4 children	2	<b>0.4</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	1	<b>0.3</b>	11	<b>2.2</b>	6	<b>1.8</b>	5	<b>3.1</b>	1	<b>0.1</b>			1	<b>0.2</b>	
5 children	3	<b>0.5</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	2	<b>0.7</b>	1	<b>0.2</b>	1	<b>0.3</b>			1	<b>0.1</b>					
6 children																		1	<b>0.2</b>
Total	561	100.0	267	100.0	291	100.0	496	100.0	334	100.0	161	100.0	1316	100.0	743	100.0	569	100.0	
Missing values	3		2		1		6		4		2		10		5		4		
	564		269		292		502		338		163		1326		748		573		

Q9b and Q9c. How old is your oldest/youngest child?	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child	Oldest child	Young est child
N	42	42	24	24	18	18	151	143	114	37	107	36	37	36	13	12	24	24
Average age (in years)	<b>7.45</b>	<b>4.26</b>	<b>7.46</b>	<b>4.54</b>	<b>7.44</b>	<b>3.89</b>	<b>10.12</b>	<b>5.86</b>	<b>10.00</b>	<b>10.49</b>	<b>5.79</b>	<b>6.06</b>	<b>9.46</b>	<b>8.39</b>	<b>10.54</b>	<b>12.00</b>	<b>8.88</b>	<b>6.58</b>
SD	8.69	4.61	8.87	5.42	8.71	3.34	8.71	5.74	8.43	9.63	5.54	6.36	10.95	10.11	9.54	10.66	11.80	9.53
Minimum age	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Maximum age	29.00	18.00	29.00	18.00	29.00	10.00	40.00	30.00	34.00	40.00	30.00	21.00	37.00	35.00	28.00	35.00	37.00	31.00

Q10. If you don't have children now, do you expect to have children someday?																		
	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Yes</b>	497	<b>97.5</b>	234	<b>98.3</b>	261	<b>97.0</b>	324	<b>94.7</b>	210	<b>95.5</b>	113	<b>93.4</b>	1176	<b>92.7</b>	673	<b>93.6</b>	500	<b>91.7</b>
<b>No</b>	13	<b>2.5</b>	4	<b>1.7</b>	8	<b>3.0</b>	18	<b>5.3</b>	10	<b>4.5</b>	8	<b>6.6</b>	92	<b>7.3</b>	46	<b>6.4</b>	45	<b>8.3</b>
Total	510	100.0	238	100.0	269	100.0	342	100.0	220	100.0	121	100.0	1268	100.0	719	100.0	545	100.0
Missing values	9		5		4		160		118		42		11		6		5	
-	45		26		19		502		338		163		47		23		23	
	564		269		292								1326		748		573	

Q10a. If you expect to have children someday, at what age do you expect to have your first child?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
<b>Female</b>	211	<b>28.3</b>	205	<b>27.9</b>	655	<b>29.1</b>
<b>Male</b>	229	<b>29.9</b>	109	<b>28.7</b>	481	<b>30.5</b>

At what age your first child?	Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>21</b>	1	<b>0.5</b>			2	<b>1.0</b>			1	<b>0.2</b>		
<b>22</b>	2	<b>0.9</b>			6	<b>2.9</b>	1	<b>0.9</b>	2	<b>0.3</b>	2	<b>0.4</b>
<b>23</b>	2	<b>0.9</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	3	<b>1.5</b>	4	<b>3.7</b>	4	<b>0.6</b>	7	<b>1.5</b>
<b>24</b>	8	<b>3.8</b>	2	<b>0.9</b>	29	<b>14.1</b>	13	<b>11.9</b>	25	<b>3.8</b>	14	<b>2.9</b>
<b>25</b>	15	<b>7.1</b>	10	<b>4.4</b>	37	<b>18.0</b>	13	<b>11.9</b>	38	<b>5.8</b>	13	<b>2.7</b>
<b>26</b>	36	<b>17.1</b>	18	<b>7.9</b>	28	<b>13.7</b>	8	<b>7.3</b>	87	<b>13.3</b>	27	<b>5.6</b>
<b>27</b>	40	<b>19.0</b>	22	<b>9.6</b>	32	<b>15.6</b>	24	<b>22.0</b>	144	<b>22.0</b>	57	<b>11.9</b>
<b>28</b>	48	<b>22.7</b>	41	<b>17.9</b>	11	<b>5.4</b>	4	<b>3.7</b>	62	<b>9.5</b>	32	<b>6.7</b>
<b>29</b>	16	<b>7.6</b>	18	<b>7.9</b>	5	<b>2.4</b>	1	<b>0.9</b>	39	<b>6.0</b>	38	<b>7.9</b>
<b>30</b>	20	<b>9.5</b>	65	<b>28.4</b>	3	<b>1.5</b>	2	<b>1.8</b>	23	<b>3.5</b>	23	<b>4.8</b>
<b>31</b>	2	<b>0.9</b>	5	<b>2.2</b>	1	<b>0.5</b>	4	<b>3.7</b>	12	<b>1.8</b>	11	<b>2.3</b>
<b>32</b>	1	<b>0.5</b>	11	<b>4.8</b>	5	<b>2.4</b>	3	<b>2.8</b>	39	<b>6.0</b>	38	<b>7.9</b>
<b>33</b>			2	<b>0.9</b>	3	<b>1.5</b>	2	<b>1.8</b>	23	<b>3.5</b>	23	<b>4.8</b>
<b>34</b>					1	<b>0.5</b>	4	<b>3.7</b>	12	<b>1.8</b>	11	<b>2.3</b>
<b>35 or more</b>	20	<b>9.5</b>	34	<b>14.8</b>	7	<b>6.4</b>	29	<b>4.4</b>	67	<b>13.9</b>		
Total	211	100.0	229	100.0	205	100.0	109	100.0	655	100.0	481	100.0
Missing val.	28		36		9		6		24		19	
-	30		27		124		48		69		73	
Total	58		63		133		54		93		92	
	269		292		338		163		748		573	

Q11. If you answered previously that you had or would like to have children in the future, how many children would you like to have?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	Average number of children	N	Average number of children	N	Average number of children
<b>Female</b>	250	<b>3.1</b>	305	<b>2.8</b>	664	<b>2.5</b>
<b>Male</b>	258	<b>3.5</b>	147	<b>2.8</b>	494	<b>2.6</b>

How many children?	Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
	Female		Male		Female		Male		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>1</b>	3	<b>1.2</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	8	<b>2.6</b>	2	<b>1.4</b>	35	<b>5.3</b>	25	<b>5.1</b>
<b>2</b>	85	<b>34.0</b>	74	<b>28.7</b>	104	<b>34.1</b>	59	<b>40.1</b>	353	<b>53.2</b>	256	<b>51.8</b>
<b>3</b>	105	<b>42.0</b>	84	<b>32.6</b>	150	<b>49.2</b>	62	<b>42.2</b>	207	<b>31.2</b>	160	<b>32.4</b>
<b>4</b>	34	<b>13.6</b>	66	<b>25.6</b>	36	<b>11.8</b>	20	<b>13.6</b>	41	<b>6.2</b>	31	<b>6.3</b>
<b>5</b>	10	<b>4.0</b>	16	<b>6.2</b>	7	<b>2.3</b>	2	<b>1.4</b>	18	<b>2.7</b>	13	<b>2.6</b>
<b>6</b>	7	<b>2.8</b>	8	<b>3.1</b>			2	<b>1.4</b>	6	<b>0.9</b>	3	<b>0.6</b>
<b>7</b>	2	<b>0.8</b>	2	<b>0.8</b>					1	<b>0.2</b>	4	<b>0.8</b>
<b>8</b>			1	<b>0.4</b>					1	<b>0.2</b>		
<b>9</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>							1	<b>0.2</b>
<b>10 or more</b>	3	<b>1.2</b>	5	<b>1.9</b>					2	<b>0.3</b>	1	<b>0.2</b>
Total	250	100.0	258	100.0	305	100.0	147	100.0	664	100.0	494	100.0
Missing values	15		26		24		9		38		35	
-	4		8		9		7		46		44	
Total	19		34		33		16		84		79	
	269		292		338		163		748		573	

Q12. There are many ways to distribute the work and family responsibilities between the couple. If money were not a problem for you, **your ideal household would be closer to a family where ...**

	Kenya			Iceland			Spain		
	Total N (%)	Female N (%)	Male N (%)	Total N (%)	Female N (%)	Male N (%)	Total N (%)	Female N (%)	Male N (%)
Only the man works and the woman takes care of the housework and childcare	25 <b>4.6%</b>	5 <b>1.9%</b>	20 <b>7.0%</b>	5 <b>1.0%</b>	3 <b>0.9%</b>	2 <b>1.2%</b>	25 <b>1.9%</b>	3 <b>0.4%</b>	22 <b>3.9%</b>
The two partners work, but the woman works fewer hours than the man and she is responsible to a greater extent for family	258 <b>47.0%</b>	93 <b>35.6%</b>	163 <b>57.2%</b>	59 <b>11.8%</b>	33 <b>9.8%</b>	26 <b>16.1%</b>	149 <b>11.3%</b>	61 <b>8.2%</b>	88 <b>15.4%</b>
<b>The two partners have jobs with similar dedications, and they equally divide the housework and childcare</b>	242 <b>44.1%</b>	150 <b>57.5%</b>	91 <b>31.9%</b>	407 <b>81.7%</b>	283 <b>84.2%</b>	123 <b>76.4%</b>	1052 <b>79.9%</b>	646 <b>87.1%</b>	403 <b>70.7%</b>
The two partners work, but the man works fewer hours than the woman and he is responsible to a greater extent for family	6 <b>1.1%</b>	4 <b>1.5%</b>	2 <b>0.7%</b>	8 <b>1.6%</b>	8 <b>2.4%</b>	- <b>-</b>	18 <b>1.4%</b>	6 <b>0.8%</b>	12 <b>2.1%</b>
Only the woman works and the man takes care of the housework and childcare	3 <b>0.5%</b>	2 <b>0.8%</b>	1 <b>0.4%</b>	6 <b>1.2%</b>	1 <b>0.3%</b>	5 <b>3.1%</b>	9 <b>0.7%</b>	2 <b>0.3%</b>	7 <b>1.2%</b>
None of these types of family	15 <b>2.7%</b>	7 <b>2.7%</b>	8 <b>2.8%</b>	13 <b>2.6%</b>	8 <b>2.4%</b>	5 <b>3.1%</b>	63 <b>4.8%</b>	24 <b>3.2%</b>	38 <b>6.7%</b>
Total	549 100%	261 100%	285 100%	498 100%	336 100%	161 100%	1316 100%	742 100%	570 100%
Missing values	15	8	7	4	2	2	10	6	3
	564	269	292	502	338	163	1326	748	573

Q13. Thinking about your future career, what would be your level of agreement with each of these statements? (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)													
		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
Q13a) I hope to become a leader in my career field	Female	260	<b>4.3538</b>	0.8731	0.126	337	<b>4.1869</b>	0.7928	0.980	747	<b>3.8701</b>	0.9648	0.000
	Male	288	<b>4.4410</b>	0.8574		163	<b>4.1902</b>	0.7900		571	<b>4.1401</b>	0.8571	
Q13b) I hope to move up through any organization or business I work in	Female	261	<b>4.5441</b>	0.7036	0.662	338	<b>4.4793</b>	0.7274	0.220	745	<b>4.3772</b>	0.7785	0.068
	Male	282	<b>4.4716</b>	0.8484		161	<b>4.4161</b>	0.7120		570	<b>4.4316</b>	0.8105	
Q13c) I would consider myself extremely "career minded"	Female	255	<b>3.6588</b>	1.0819	0.538	338	<b>3.7101</b>	0.9269	0.723	736	<b>3.7541</b>	0.9450	0.816
	Male	284	<b>3.6021</b>	1.1216		162	<b>3.7037</b>	0.8257		570	<b>3.7404</b>	0.9407	
Q13d) I enjoy thinking about and making plans about my future career	Female	255	<b>4.3373</b>	0.8671	0.197	338	<b>3.8491</b>	0.9233	0.276	745	<b>4.1530</b>	0.8984	0.117
	Male	283	<b>4.2721</b>	0.8422		163	<b>3.7730</b>	0.8978		565	<b>4.0850</b>	0.9030	
Q13e) When I am established in my career, I would like to manage other employees	Female	251	<b>4.3028</b>	0.8694	0.106	337	<b>3.8902</b>	0.9273	0.785	743	<b>3.7106</b>	1.0178	0.000
	Male	281	<b>4.1744</b>	0.9381		163	<b>3.9141</b>	0.8985		569	<b>3.9543</b>	1.0437	
Q13f) Attaining leadership status in my career is not so important to me	Female	251	<b>2.4303</b>	1.3259	0.874	336	<b>2.5893</b>	1.0808	0.826	738	<b>2.5935</b>	1.2239	0.091
	Male	277	<b>2.4296</b>	1.3803		162	<b>2.5370</b>	1.0101		567	<b>2.4868</b>	1.2237	
Q13g) I would move to another part of the country if it would help me progress in my career	Female	248	<b>3.9355</b>	1.1434	0.479	338	<b>3.1006</b>	1.2476	0.001	745	<b>4.0094</b>	1.0856	0.368
	Male	282	<b>3.8830</b>	1.1305		163	<b>3.4847</b>	1.1933		568	<b>4.0458</b>	1.1101	
Q13h) I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time spent caring for my children	Female	253	<b>2.3004</b>	1.1429	0.020	335	<b>2.1761</b>	0.9674	0.001	740	<b>2.4919</b>	0.9999	0.000
	Male	285	<b>2.5333</b>	1.1911		162	<b>2.4877</b>	0.9731		566	<b>2.6996</b>	1.0665	
Q13i) I would prefer working in the public sector to the private sector	Female	255	<b>3.1373</b>	1.1875	0.605	334	<b>2.7156</b>	0.9617	0.018	745	<b>3.1584</b>	1.1224	0.000
	Male	282	<b>3.0780</b>	1.1845		163	<b>2.4847</b>	1.0444		569	<b>2.7821</b>	1.2066	
Q13j) I would prefer being an entrepreneur or self employed to being an employee (working for a company or organization)	Female	252	<b>3.9444</b>	1.0622	0.595	334	<b>3.0868</b>	1.1102	0.016	747	<b>2.9451</b>	1.1205	0.000
	Male	285	<b>3.9965</b>	1.0363		162	<b>3.3519</b>	1.0542		569	<b>3.3251</b>	1.1512	
Q13k) I would prefer a less secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 4,000\$, to a secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 2,000\$	Female	251	<b>2.6892</b>	1.2771	0.009	334	<b>3.1317</b>	0.9620	0.000	747	<b>2.4244</b>	1.1132	0.000
	Male	284	<b>2.9789</b>	1.2940		163	<b>3.4969</b>	0.9517		570	<b>2.9333</b>	1.2944	
Q13l) The fact of having children will not change my current career plan	Female	249	<b>3.8474</b>	1.1184	0.749	336	<b>3.7917</b>	1.1242	0.041	741	<b>3.3509</b>	1.1406	0.049
	Male	277	<b>3.9097</b>	1.0263		163	<b>3.6564</b>	0.9453		568	<b>3.2218</b>	1.1893	
Q13m) I would move anywhere in the world if it would help me progress in my career	Female	249	<b>3.7590</b>	1.1803	0.083	336	<b>2.6875</b>	1.2437	0.005	742	<b>3.6213</b>	1.2330	0.879
	Male	276	<b>3.9312</b>	1.1244		163	<b>3.0368</b>	1.3000		570	<b>3.6333</b>	1.2167	
Q13n) I think I have skills and I'll be able to lead teams	Female	249	<b>4.3133</b>	0.8461	0.476	334	<b>4.2216</b>	0.7344	0.364	745	<b>3.8295</b>	0.8514	0.000
	Male	281	<b>4.3025</b>	0.7589		163	<b>4.1779</b>	0.6931		569	<b>4.0615</b>	0.7881	
Q13o) To become a leader in my career field, I would be willing to have a workday longer than normal	Female	254	<b>3.2835</b>	1.2053	0.001	335	<b>3.4925</b>	1.0549	0.000	745	<b>3.1289</b>	1.1439	0.000
	Male	282	<b>3.6135</b>	1.2003		163	<b>3.9816</b>	0.8640		571	<b>3.5902</b>	1.0987	
Q13p) I would prefer a less secure and stable job with significant career development opportunities, to a secure and stable job with limited opportunities of professional promotion	Female	253	<b>3.4743</b>	1.2803	0.444	333	<b>3.3874</b>	0.9863	0.000	744	<b>3.1935</b>	1.1176	0.000
	Male	279	<b>3.5771</b>	1.1876		163	<b>3.7239</b>	1.0017		567	<b>3.5362</b>	1.1364	

\* Mann-Whitney U test for differences in the distributions of women and men

**Q14. Thinking about your family aspirations, what would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?**

(1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)

Assuming you had a family and your own children in the future... (if you already have family and children, also respond according to your experience)

		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
Q14a) I would find it very important to be able to take several months off work after the birth of my child	Female	251	<b>4.2550</b>	1.0577	0.000	330	<b>4.8061</b>	0.4918	0.000	746	<b>4.2051</b>	0.8971	0.000
	Male	280	<b>3.5143</b>	1.1882		159	<b>4.0126</b>	0.8858		566	<b>3.6820</b>	1.0944	
Q14b) I would find it very important to have time to devote to the care of my baby	Female	250	<b>4.4360</b>	0.8442	0.000	329	<b>4.6839</b>	0.6026	0.000	746	<b>4.4035</b>	0.6966	0.000
	Male	279	<b>4.1326</b>	0.8568		161	<b>4.3043</b>	0.6426		565	<b>4.1593</b>	0.7828	
Q14c) I would prefer to have a net monthly salary of \$2,000 in a company where it would be possible to easily reconcile work and family life, rather than have a net monthly salary of \$4,000 in a company where it would be very difficult to reconcile work and family life	Female	249	<b>4.1566</b>	0.9977	0.002	329	<b>3.8207</b>	0.9696	0.000	747	<b>4.1205</b>	0.9555	0.000
	Male	275	<b>3.9309</b>	1.0067		160	<b>3.3688</b>	0.9491		567	<b>3.6702</b>	1.1147	
Q14d) It seems to me very important to be fully involved in the care and education of my young children	Female	249	<b>4.3534</b>	0.9000	0.582	329	<b>4.5805</b>	0.6346	0.000	744	<b>4.3091</b>	0.8324	0.133
	Male	275	<b>4.3455</b>	0.8331		160	<b>4.3188</b>	0.6479		565	<b>4.2496</b>	0.8334	
Q14e) I consider myself to be relatively more oriented to the domestic sphere and family care rather than to the professional sphere	Female	251	<b>3.1076</b>	1.0660	0.996	326	<b>3.2577</b>	0.9419	0.309	745	<b>2.1477</b>	0.9712	0.000
	Male	273	<b>3.1136</b>	1.0493		157	<b>3.1783</b>	0.8359		564	<b>2.4787</b>	1.0173	
Q14f) I would give preference to the needs of my family or partner, even if this had negative results for my interests or career	Female	251	<b>3.5339</b>	1.1035	0.897	329	<b>3.7052</b>	0.9079	0.405	742	<b>3.2601</b>	1.1025	0.000
	Male	276	<b>3.5507</b>	1.0203		159	<b>3.6792</b>	0.7901		563	<b>3.5773</b>	1.0396	
Q14g) Honestly, I would feel "more comfortable" if I had a higher earnings than my partner	Female	250	<b>3.2520</b>	1.2880	0.000	329	<b>2.6626</b>	1.1363	0.002	745	<b>2.6040</b>	1.2215	0.000
	Male	276	<b>4.0906</b>	1.1673		160	<b>3.0375</b>	1.3822		565	<b>2.9027</b>	1.3179	

\* Mann-Whitney U test for differences in the distributions of women and men



**Q15. Thinking about your perception of the relationship between work and family. What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements? (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)**

Assuming you had a family and your own children in the future... (if you already have family and children, also respond according to your experience)

		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
Q15a) I may have a feeling of "I have to choose" between my job and my family obligations (care of my young children, etc.)	Female	248	<b>2.9839</b>	1.0982	0.145	328	<b>2.7378</b>	1.1539	0.138	747	<b>2.9116</b>	1.0899	0.325
	Male	272	<b>3.1140</b>	1.1225		161	<b>2.8820</b>	0.9312		562	<b>2.9751</b>	1.0711	
Q15b) I may have to sacrifice some career opportunity to spend more time with my family	Female	250	<b>3.8680</b>	0.8657	0.251	328	<b>3.5091</b>	1.0550	0.007	746	<b>3.5804</b>	0.9295	0.434
	Male	270	<b>3.7370</b>	0.9837		161	<b>3.3043</b>	0.8877		564	<b>3.5319</b>	0.9959	
Q15c) I may have problems to take time off work when my children are sick	Female	245	<b>2.7102</b>	1.2617	0.420	328	<b>2.7774</b>	1.1370	0.220	746	<b>3.4732</b>	1.0618	0.068
	Male	268	<b>2.7948</b>	1.2447		160	<b>2.9063</b>	1.1260		562	<b>3.3737</b>	1.0908	
Q15d) I may be discriminated against by my employer because I have or plan to have children	Female	247	<b>2.6802</b>	1.1577	0.032	327	<b>2.6636</b>	1.2446	0.017	747	<b>3.1191</b>	1.2821	0.000
	Male	269	<b>2.4740</b>	1.0803		161	<b>2.3665</b>	1.0529		560	<b>2.6875</b>	1.2391	
Q15e) The stress at work may affect my life at home	Female	246	<b>3.0854</b>	1.1521	0.156	325	<b>3.4862</b>	0.9282	0.001	746	<b>3.5174</b>	1.1017	0.129
	Male	269	<b>3.2305</b>	1.1617		161	<b>3.1801</b>	0.9930		560	<b>3.3875</b>	1.2279	
Q15f) I might feel guilty about going to work when my children are very young	Female	244	<b>3.3525</b>	1.1031	0.000	326	<b>3.5521</b>	1.0906	0.000	747	<b>3.1339</b>	1.2002	0.030
	Male	267	<b>2.6142</b>	1.1909		161	<b>2.8634</b>	1.0752		562	<b>3.0000</b>	1.1971	
Q15g) My work issues will interfere with my family issues	Female	244	<b>2.5779</b>	1.1102	0.889	326	<b>2.7853</b>	0.9363	0.151	743	<b>3.0148</b>	1.0870	0.185
	Male	270	<b>2.6037</b>	1.1705		161	<b>2.6522</b>	0.8821		558	<b>3.1022</b>	1.1171	
Q15h) I may have difficulty in maintaining the level of career progression at my job after having children	Female	247	<b>2.4575</b>	1.0617	0.949	324	<b>2.6790</b>	1.0178	0.899	742	<b>2.6739</b>	1.1221	0.055
	Male	271	<b>2.4945</b>	1.1702		161	<b>2.6646</b>	0.9283		559	<b>2.7943</b>	1.1401	
Q15i) Family pressure, in general, may be a barrier to the development of my professional career	Female	247	<b>2.6802</b>	1.1436	0.430	322	<b>2.6242</b>	1.0039	0.542	745	<b>2.5973</b>	1.1030	0.031
	Male	272	<b>2.7610</b>	1.1707		160	<b>2.6938</b>	0.9516		557	<b>2.7433</b>	1.1632	
Q15j) I think I will be able to succeed in my family role, even working full time	Female	250	<b>4.0840</b>	0.9964	0.837	327	<b>4.2446</b>	0.7801	0.191	747	<b>3.9505</b>	0.9328	0.638
	Male	271	<b>4.0959</b>	0.9299		161	<b>4.1801</b>	0.7149		559	<b>3.9696</b>	0.9413	
Q15k) I think I will be able to find positive interaction with my time at work and with my time caring for my family	Female	249	<b>4.2932</b>	0.8318	0.054	326	<b>4.1687</b>	0.7559	0.034	747	<b>4.1580</b>	0.7830	0.002
	Male	272	<b>4.1838</b>	0.8258		161	<b>4.0311</b>	0.6930		559	<b>4.0250</b>	0.8050	

\* Mann-Whitney U test for differences in the distributions of women and men

**Q16. After having a child, how could you try to balance family and work? What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements? (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)**

After having or adopting a child...

		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
Q16a) I would consider the possibility of interrupting my career for some time to devote myself exclusively to the care of my small children	Female	245	<b>3.6735</b>	1.0555	0.000	321	<b>3.9844</b>	0.9793	0.000	741	<b>3.0472</b>	1.1597	0.012
	Male	266	<b>3.0301</b>	1.1019		160	<b>3.4563</b>	0.9702		553	<b>2.8843</b>	1.1488	
Q16b) If possible in my work, I would take unpaid leave to care for children during the first months or years of my child's life	Female	243	<b>3.7695</b>	1.0777	0.000	321	<b>3.6698</b>	1.1976	0.000	741	<b>3.7031</b>	1.1393	0.000
	Male	264	<b>3.2500</b>	1.1124		160	<b>3.3000</b>	1.0919		553	<b>3.3942</b>	1.1563	
Q16c) If possible in my work, I would change to working part-time	Female	240	<b>3.4083</b>	1.0900	0.000	322	<b>3.3602</b>	1.1603	0.002	738	<b>3.1125</b>	1.2002	0.000
	Male	262	<b>2.9504</b>	1.1519		160	<b>3.0063</b>	1.2000		550	<b>2.8600</b>	1.1453	
Q16d) If possible in my work, I would reduce my working hours by one or two hours a day during the first months or years of my child's life	Female	240	<b>4.0333</b>	0.9456	0.000	320	<b>3.8906</b>	1.0341	0.004	738	<b>3.8184</b>	1.0285	0.030
	Male	265	<b>3.6038</b>	1.0064		159	<b>3.6541</b>	0.9545		550	<b>3.6964</b>	1.0663	
Q16e) I will hire someone to take care of my child while I work	Female	240	<b>3.5833</b>	1.1395	0.186	323	<b>3.1455</b>	1.2363	0.350	742	<b>3.1038</b>	1.2189	0.894
	Male	263	<b>3.4867</b>	1.0801		159	<b>3.0252</b>	1.2525		551	<b>3.1107</b>	1.1538	
Q16f) I hope I can count on the help of grandparents to care for my child while I work	Female	239	<b>2.9372</b>	1.2703	0.499	322	<b>3.3758</b>	1.2298	0.301	741	<b>3.6559</b>	1.1918	0.497
	Male	260	<b>3.0192</b>	1.2316		160	<b>3.5438</b>	1.0208		549	<b>3.7359</b>	1.0694	
Q16g) I think my partner will be very involved in the care of my child while I work	Female	240	<b>3.3667</b>	1.2404	0.001	322	<b>4.0590</b>	0.9825	0.001	741	<b>3.8259</b>	1.0846	0.000
	Male	262	<b>3.7290</b>	1.0390		159	<b>3.7799</b>	0.9253		551	<b>3.4755</b>	1.0352	

**Q17. What do you think about these barriers to career advancement? What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements? (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)**

		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
Q17a) I may have difficulty in finding a job due to a tight job market	Female	247	<b>3.0769</b>	1.2123	0.673	323	<b>3.4675</b>	1.1399	0.638	745	<b>4.2242</b>	0.9916	0.000
	Male	261	<b>3.1188</b>	1.1657		157	<b>3.3949</b>	1.1533		559	<b>3.9392</b>	1.1421	
Q17b) I may have problems to find a role model or mentor at work	Female	246	<b>2.7073</b>	1.0784	0.683	322	<b>2.7298</b>	1.0553	0.653	738	<b>3.2602</b>	1.0939	0.186
	Male	259	<b>2.7452</b>	1.0623		158	<b>2.6962</b>	0.9355		554	<b>3.1588</b>	1.1645	
Q17c) I may experience ethnic discrimination in hiring or in promotions	Female	242	<b>2.9504</b>	1.1440	0.002	321	<b>1.9813</b>	1.0634	0.067	743	<b>2.0754</b>	1.1996	0.284
	Male	256	<b>3.2813</b>	1.1711		156	<b>1.8077</b>	1.0418		551	<b>1.9964</b>	1.1599	
Q17d) I may experience sex discrimination in hiring or in promotions	Female	244	<b>2.9508</b>	1.1678	0.335	320	<b>2.7906</b>	1.1784	0.000	743	<b>2.7147</b>	1.2479	0.000
	Male	258	<b>2.8682</b>	1.1893		157	<b>1.8981</b>	1.1557		556	<b>1.8022</b>	1.0639	
Q17e) I will be paid less than the other co-workers of the opposite sex	Female	239	<b>2.3096</b>	1.0553	0.085	322	<b>3.0528</b>	1.2280	0.000	736	<b>2.6902</b>	1.2548	0.000
	Male	254	<b>2.4764</b>	1.0731		156	<b>1.8013</b>	0.9994		554	<b>1.7383</b>	0.9799	
Q17f) I don't feel confident about my ability in my job	Female	243	<b>1.8765</b>	1.1250	0.055	321	<b>1.9470</b>	0.9844	0.403	741	<b>1.9906</b>	1.0886	0.358
	Male	260	<b>2.0077</b>	1.0940		156	<b>1.8718</b>	0.9686		558	<b>1.9498</b>	1.1102	
Q17g) I have a low self-esteem	Female	246	<b>1.8252</b>	1.1093	0.048	321	<b>2.1931</b>	1.0368	0.050	742	<b>2.0687</b>	1.1331	0.000
	Male	261	<b>1.9885</b>	1.1485		155	<b>2.0000</b>	0.9869		555	<b>1.8360</b>	1.0215	
Q17h) If I won a major prize in the lottery that allowed me to live off the revenues through my lifetime, I would not work	Female	246	<b>2.3537</b>	1.3343	0.970	322	<b>1.9161</b>	1.0211	0.204	743	<b>2.1925</b>	1.3121	0.000
	Male	258	<b>2.4070</b>	1.4255		156	<b>2.0705</b>	1.1365		555	<b>2.6180</b>	1.4797	

Q18. Currently or in the near future, **are you trying to start up a new business** including some form of self-employment or selling goods or services to others?

	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Yes</b>	432	<b>86.1</b>	200	<b>82.6</b>	230	<b>89.5</b>	123	<b>25.9</b>	63	<b>19.7</b>	60	<b>38.7</b>	399	<b>30.7</b>	172	<b>23.4</b>	227	<b>40.6</b>
<b>No</b>	70	13.9	42	17.4	27	10.5	352	74.1	256	80.3	95	61.3	900	69.3	564	76.6	332	59.4
Total	502	100.0	242	100.0	257	100.0	475	100.0	319	100.0	155	100.0	1299	100.0	736	100.0	559	100.0
Missing values	62		27		35		27		19		8		27		12		14	
	564		269		292		502		338		163		1326		748		573	

Q19. On the following **scale of "entrepreneurship"**, ranging from 0 ("I consider myself very little entrepreneurial") to 10 ("I consider myself very entrepreneurial"), **in which box would you place yourself?** (Entrepreneur: a person with a tendency to start business ventures and innovation, taking financial risks).

Mean values of the entrepreneurship scale									
	Kenya			Iceland			Spain		
	N	Mean	p-val*	N	Mean	p-val*	N	Mean	p-val*
<b>Female</b>	246	<b>6.728</b>	0.000	317	<b>4.890</b>	0.000	737	<b>5.799</b>	0.000
<b>Male</b>	261	<b>7.586</b>		156	<b>5.840</b>		553	<b>6.542</b>	
Total	507	7.170		473	5.203		1290	6.118	

\* Mann-Whitney test for independent samples (significance level: 0,1)

Scale of entrepreneurship	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	3	<b>0.6</b>	2	<b>0.8</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	15	<b>3.2</b>	15	<b>4.7</b>	-	-	31	<b>2.4</b>	21	<b>2.8</b>	9	<b>1.6</b>
1	4	<b>0.8</b>	1	<b>0.4</b>	3	<b>1.1</b>	19	<b>4.0</b>	16	<b>5.0</b>	3	<b>1.9</b>	21	<b>1.6</b>	15	<b>2.0</b>	6	<b>1.1</b>
2	6	<b>1.2</b>	3	<b>1.2</b>	3	<b>1.1</b>	35	<b>7.4</b>	24	<b>7.6</b>	11	<b>7.1</b>	48	<b>3.7</b>	33	<b>4.5</b>	15	<b>2.7</b>
3	14	<b>2.7</b>	9	<b>3.7</b>	5	<b>1.9</b>	59	<b>12.4</b>	45	<b>14.2</b>	14	<b>9.0</b>	69	<b>5.3</b>	39	<b>5.3</b>	29	<b>5.2</b>
4	26	<b>5.1</b>	16	<b>6.5</b>	10	<b>3.8</b>	37	<b>7.8</b>	25	<b>7.9</b>	11	<b>7.1</b>	95	<b>7.3</b>	67	<b>9.1</b>	28	<b>5.1</b>
5	70	<b>13.7</b>	43	<b>17.5</b>	26	<b>10.0</b>	97	<b>20.5</b>	68	<b>21.5</b>	29	<b>18.6</b>	205	<b>15.8</b>	139	<b>18.9</b>	64	<b>11.6</b>
6	48	<b>9.4</b>	27	<b>11.0</b>	21	<b>8.0</b>	54	<b>11.4</b>	32	<b>10.1</b>	22	<b>14.1</b>	184	<b>14.2</b>	107	<b>14.5</b>	77	<b>13.9</b>
7	86	<b>16.9</b>	51	<b>20.7</b>	34	<b>13.0</b>	69	<b>14.6</b>	40	<b>12.6</b>	29	<b>18.6</b>	290	<b>22.4</b>	149	<b>20.2</b>	141	<b>25.5</b>
8	111	<b>21.8</b>	47	<b>19.1</b>	63	<b>24.1</b>	57	<b>12.0</b>	36	<b>11.4</b>	21	<b>13.5</b>	201	<b>15.5</b>	105	<b>14.2</b>	95	<b>17.2</b>
9	55	<b>10.8</b>	23	<b>9.3</b>	32	<b>12.3</b>	17	<b>3.6</b>	9	<b>2.8</b>	8	<b>5.1</b>	68	<b>5.3</b>	32	<b>4.3</b>	36	<b>6.5</b>
10	87	<b>17.1</b>	24	<b>9.8</b>	63	<b>24.1</b>	15	<b>3.2</b>	7	<b>2.2</b>	8	<b>5.1</b>	83	<b>6.4</b>	30	<b>4.1</b>	53	<b>9.6</b>
Total	510	100.0	246	100.0	261	100.0	474	100.0	317	100.0	156	100.0	1295	100.0	737	100.0	553	100.0
Missing Val.	54		23		31		28		21		7		31		11		20	
	564		269		292		502		338		163		1326		748		573	

**Q20. On the following scale of "level of household income", which ranges from 0 (very low income) to 10 (very high income), in which box would you situate the level of income of YOUR PARENTS or legal guardians? (Now or when you were younger)**

Mean values of scales of "level of household income"						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
<b>Female</b>	244	<b>5.742</b>	320	<b>5.763</b>	736	<b>5.808</b>
<b>Male</b>	260	<b>5.404</b>	153	<b>6.288</b>	543	<b>6.179</b>
Total	506	5.571	474	5.932	1284	5.965

Level of household income scale	Kenya						Iceland						Spain					
	Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male		Total		Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	13	2.6	3	1.2	10	3.8	4	0.8	4	1.3	-	-	12	0.9	7	1.0	5	0.9
1	14	2.8	7	2.9	7	2.7	5	1.1	4	1.3	1	0.7	12	0.9	7	1.0	5	0.9
2	24	4.7	10	4.1	14	5.4	17	3.6	11	3.4	6	3.9	27	2.1	19	2.6	8	1.5
3	33	6.5	19	7.8	14	5.4	29	6.1	25	7.8	4	2.6	73	5.7	54	7.3	18	3.3
4	40	7.9	15	6.1	25	9.6	53	11.2	41	12.8	12	7.8	97	7.6	61	8.3	36	6.6
5	141	27.9	62	25.4	78	30.0	75	15.8	50	15.6	25	16.3	230	17.9	130	17.7	100	18.4
6	62	12.3	31	12.7	31	11.9	71	15.0	47	14.7	23	15.0	281	21.9	167	22.7	112	20.6
7	81	16.0	44	18.0	37	14.2	115	24.3	73	22.8	42	27.5	334	26.0	186	25.3	146	26.9
8	56	11.1	34	13.9	21	8.1	85	17.9	54	16.9	31	20.3	169	13.2	82	11.1	87	16.0
9	14	2.8	9	3.7	5	1.9	12	2.5	6	1.9	6	3.9	30	2.3	16	2.2	14	2.6
10	28	5.5	10	4.1	18	6.9	8	1.7	5	1.6	3	2.0	19	1.5	7	1.0	12	2.2
Total	506	100.0	244	100.0	260	100.0	474	100.0	320	100.0	153	100.0	1284	100.0	736	100.0	543	100.0
Missing val.	58		25		32		28		18		10		42		12		30	
	564		269		292		502		338		163		1326		748		573	

Q21a. What is the level of studies attained by your MOTHER?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than primary studies	32	6.3	19	4.0	16	1.2
Primary studies	80	15.7	52	10.9	130	10.1
Secondary studies	110	21.6	39	8.1	189	14.6
Professional training	117	23.0	53	11.1	188	14.5
High school	37	7.3	83	17.3	258	20.0
University studies, bachelor or equivalent	88	17.3	125	26.1	375	29.0
University studies, master or more	45	8.8	108	22.5	137	10.6
Total	509	100.0	479	100.0	1293	100.0
Missing values	55		23		33	
	564		502		1326	

Q21b. What is the level of studies attained by your FATHER?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Less than primary studies	21	4.3	12	2.5	19	1.5
Primary studies	51	10.3	38	8.0	121	9.4
Secondary studies	91	18.5	34	7.2	172	13.4
Professional training	125	25.4	118	24.9	179	13.9
High school	26	5.3	60	12.7	227	17.6
University studies, bachelor or equivalent	106	21.5	98	20.7	346	26.9
University studies, master or more	73	14.8	114	24.1	223	17.3
Total	493	100.0	474	100.0	1287	100.0
Missing values	71		28		39	
	564		502		1326	

Q22a. Approximately, how many hours per week did your MOTHER usually work during most of your childhood?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Full time, 40 hours or more per week	124	24.7	223	46.8	439	34.1
20-40 hours per week	181	36.1	145	30.5	320	24.9
Less than 20 hours per week	63	12.5	39	8.2	105	8.2
She was a homemaker during most of this period	107	21.3	59	12.4	366	28.4
Other situations	27	5.4	10	2.1	57	4.4
Total	502	100.0	476	100.0	1287	100.0
Missing values	62		26		39	
	564		502		1326	

Q22b. Approximately, how many hours per week did your FATHER usually work during most of your childhood?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Full time, 40 hours or more per week	212	44.0	430	90.9	849	67.0
20-40 hours per week	174	36.1	18	3.8	297	23.4
Less than 20 hours per week	54	11.2	1	0.2	34	2.7
He was a homemaker during most of this period	18	3.7	1	0.2	11	0.9
Other situations	24	5.0	23	4.9	77	6.1
Total	482	100.0	473	100.0	1268	100.0
Missing values	82		29		58	
	564		502		1326	

Q23a. Your MOTHER and father were...						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Wage earner</b>	205	<b>40.4</b>	365	<b>77.5</b>	778	<b>60.8</b>
<b>Independent worker or entrepreneur</b>	148	<b>29.1</b>	58	<b>12.3</b>	186	<b>14.5</b>
<b>Peasant/subsistence farmer</b>	107	<b>21.1</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Did not do paid work</b>	42	<b>8.3</b>	48	<b>10.2</b>	313	<b>24.5</b>
Wage earner & Independent worker or entrepreneur	4	0.8			2	0.2
Wage earner & Peasant/subsistence farmer	1	0.2				
Independent worker or entrepreneur & Peasant/subsistence farmer	1	0.2				
Total	508	100.0	471	100.0	1279	100.0
Missing values	56		31		47	
	564		502		1326	

Q23b. Your FATHER and father were...						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Wage earner</b>	260	<b>53.4</b>	315	<b>66.9</b>	845	<b>66.5</b>
<b>Independent worker or entrepreneur</b>	129	<b>26.5</b>	153	<b>32.5</b>	390	<b>30.7</b>
<b>Peasant/subsistence farmer</b>	72	<b>14.8</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Did not do paid work</b>	19	<b>3.9</b>	3	<b>0.6</b>	24	<b>1.9</b>
Wage earner & Independent worker or entrepreneur	3	<b>0.6</b>			11	<b>0.9</b>
Wage earner & Peasant	1	<b>0.2</b>				
Independent worker or entrepreneur & Peasant/sub. Farmer	2	<b>0.4</b>				
Independent worker or entrepreneur & Did not do paid work	1	<b>0.2</b>				
Total	487	100.0	471	100.0	1270	100.0
Missing values	77		31		56	
	564		502		1326	

Q24. During your childhood, would you say that in your household the housework was done?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Totally by women</b>	89	<b>17.4</b>	77	<b>16.1</b>	256	<b>19.8</b>
<b>Mainly by women</b>	304	<b>59.5</b>	239	<b>50.1</b>	682	<b>52.7</b>
<b>By the women and the men equally</b>	113	<b>22.1</b>	154	<b>32.3</b>	337	<b>26.0</b>
<b>Mainly by men</b>	4	<b>0.8</b>	6	<b>1.3</b>	17	<b>1.3</b>
<b>Totally by men</b>	1	<b>0.2</b>	1	<b>0.2</b>	3	<b>0.2</b>
Total	511	100.0	477	100.0	1295	100.0
Missing values	53		25		31	
	564		502		1326	

Q25. Were there domestic workers in your family?						
	Kenya		Iceland		Spain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<b>Yes</b>	310	<b>60.8</b>	101	<b>21.6</b>	496	<b>38.3</b>
<b>No</b>	200	<b>39.2</b>	367	<b>78.4</b>	799	<b>61.7</b>
Total	510	100.0	468	100.0	1295	100.0
Missing values	54		34		31	
	564		502		1326	

Q26. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements? (1=strongly disagree; 5=strongly agree)													
		Kenya				Iceland				Spain			
		N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*	N	Mean	S.D.	p-val*
a) When running businesses, female managers tend to be better in certain areas such as the organization of teamwork and conflict management, while male managers tend to be better in areas such as negotiation or risk taking	Female	249	<b>3.663</b>	1.114	0.021	318	<b>3.088</b>	1.106	0.001	734	<b>3.123</b>	1.036	0.727
	Male	263	<b>3.452</b>	1.086		154	<b>2.766</b>	1.028		547	<b>3.110</b>	0.987	
b) In childhood, the love and presence of the mother and father are essential, but with the newborn baby the role of the mother is really the most important	Female	250	<b>4.116</b>	0.981	0.063	317	<b>3.199</b>	1.256	0.722	736	<b>3.459</b>	1.180	0.530
	Male	260	<b>3.996</b>	0.948		155	<b>3.155</b>	1.207		548	<b>3.515</b>	1.134	
c) Women on average have more ability for language and verbal expression, while men have more ability for spatial perception and mathematics	Female	246	<b>3.276</b>	1.134	0.000	317	<b>2.281</b>	1.031	0.005	733	<b>2.795</b>	1.154	0.741
	Male	260	<b>3.754</b>	0.910		156	<b>2.577</b>	1.107		548	<b>2.765</b>	1.099	
d) The fact that most nurses are women and most pilots are men has to do partly with different innate abilities of women and men	Female	245	<b>2.849</b>	1.227	0.000	318	<b>2.019</b>	1.039	0.000	735	<b>2.318</b>	1.159	0.000
	Male	262	<b>3.351</b>	1.158		156	<b>2.513</b>	1.226		547	<b>2.644</b>	1.255	
e) I consider it far more unpleasant to hear a woman swears and says offensive words rather than to hear a man doing the same	Female	246	<b>2.886</b>	1.210	0.000	318	<b>1.670</b>	0.923	0.000	732	<b>2.163</b>	1.254	0.000
	Male	261	<b>3.330</b>	1.246		156	<b>2.199</b>	1.098		543	<b>2.746</b>	1.402	
f) It would be good for society if the traditional roles of men and women were maintained largely	Female	244	<b>2.783</b>	1.317	0.000	317	<b>1.899</b>	1.126	0.000	732	<b>1.825</b>	1.054	0.000
	Male	256	<b>3.613</b>	1.107		154	<b>2.305</b>	1.122		551	<b>2.174</b>	1.150	
g) Women are by nature more patient and tolerant than men	Female	241	<b>3.826</b>	1.134	0.000	319	<b>2.041</b>	1.050	0.650	732	<b>2.903</b>	1.291	0.458
	Male	261	<b>3.391</b>	1.222		156	<b>2.218</b>	1.037		549	<b>2.852</b>	1.284	
h) A man may be as qualified as a woman to care for his baby and connect emotionally with him/her	Female	249	<b>3.884</b>	1.135	0.000	319	<b>4.455</b>	0.852	0.000	734	<b>4.289</b>	0.859	0.000
	Male	263	<b>3.357</b>	1.202		156	<b>4.135</b>	1.042		549	<b>3.984</b>	1.103	

\* Mann–Whitney U test for differences in the distributions of women and men

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## **Annex 6. Questionnaire**

Questionnaires distributed at the Universities of Nairobi and at the Háskóli Íslands (University of Iceland) were in English. Questionnaires distributed at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid were in Spanish. Here it is offered the paper version of the questionnaire (in English). There was also an on line version of the questionnaire (Google Drive form).





- The purpose of this survey is to know the job prospects of university students.
- This is an **anonymous questionnaire** to be filled in about **10 minutes**.
- Please, read each question carefully and **mark with a cross in the box chosen**, or fill in the information required.

Remember there are no right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your personal opinion. **Try to answer honestly and do not necessarily look for political correctness.**

**1. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ years**

**2. Sex:**  Female  1  Male  2

**3. Country of origin?**

Iceland	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	
Immigrant/family immigrant	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	→ Which country? _____
Foreign student	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	→ Which country? _____

**4. To which of the following areas does the course you are studying belong?**

Business Administration	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Law	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Social Work	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Economics	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	→ Which one? _____					

**5. What level of studies are you following?**

Undergraduate (bachelor...)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	→ Which year? <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <sup>o</sup> <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <sup>o</sup> <input type="checkbox"/> 3 <sup>o</sup> <input type="checkbox"/> 4 <sup>o</sup>
Graduate (master)	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	→ Which year? <input type="checkbox"/> 1 <sup>o</sup> <input type="checkbox"/> 2 <sup>o</sup>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	→ Which one? _____

**6. Do you share your studies with? (Mark the options that apply)**

Other studies	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Full time job	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Part time job	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Sporadic jobs	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
I do my studies exclusively	<input type="checkbox"/> 5						

**7. What is your religion?**

Catholic	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	Protestant	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	Muslim	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	Judaism	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Hindu	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	None	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	Other religion	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	→ Which one? _____	

**8. On the following scale of religious belief, which ranges from 0 (not religious at all) to 10 (very religious), in which box would you place yourself?**

Not religious at all →	<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	← Very religious
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**9. Do you have children? (Including stepchildren)**

No	<input type="checkbox"/> 1		
Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	→ How many children? _____ children	→ How old is your oldest child? _____ years How old is your youngest child? _____ years

**10. If you don't have children now, do you expect to have children someday?**

Yes	1	→ At what age do you expect to have your first child? ___ years
No	2	

**11. If you answered "yes" in any of the two previous questions, how many children would you like to have? \_\_\_\_\_ children**

**12. There are many ways to distribute the work and family responsibilities between the couple. If money were not a problem for you, your ideal household would be closer to a family where ... (Mark only one answer):**

Only the man works and the woman takes care of the housework and childcare	1
The two partners work, but the woman works fewer hours than the man and she is responsible to a greater extent for family responsibilities and childcare	2
The two partners have jobs with similar dedications, and they equally divide the housework and childcare	3
The two partners work, but the man works fewer hours than the woman and he is responsible to a greater extent for family responsibilities and childcare	4
Only the woman works and the man takes care of the housework and childcare	5
None of these types of family	6

**13. Thinking about your future career, what would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?**

Thinking about my future career... (if you're already working, also answer according to your experience)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) I hope to become a leader in my career field	1	2	3	4	5
b) I hope to move up through any organization or business I work in	1	2	3	4	5
c) I would consider myself extremely "career minded"	1	2	3	4	5
d) I enjoy thinking about and making plans about my future career	1	2	3	4	5
e) When I am established in my career, I would like to manage other employees	1	2	3	4	5
f) Attaining leadership status in my career is not so important to me	1	2	3	4	5
g) I would move to another part of the country if it would help me progress in my career	1	2	3	4	5
h) I intend to pursue the job of my choice even if it cuts deeply into the time spent caring for my children	1	2	3	4	5
i) I would prefer working in the public sector to the private sector	1	2	3	4	5
j) I would prefer being an entrepreneur or self employed to being an employee (working for a company or organization)	1	2	3	4	5
k) I would prefer a less secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 4,000\$, to a secure and stable job with a net monthly salary of 2,000\$	1	2	3	4	5
l) The fact of having children will not change my current career plan	1	2	3	4	5
m) I would move anywhere in the world if it would help me progress in my career	1	2	3	4	5
n) I think I have skills and I'll be able to lead teams	1	2	3	4	5
o) To become a leader in my career field, I would be willing to have a workday longer than normal	1	2	3	4	5
p) I would prefer a less secure and stable job with significant career development opportunities, to a secure and stable job with limited opportunities of professional promotion	1	2	3	4	5

**14. Thinking about your family aspirations, what would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?**

Assuming you had a family and your own children in the future... (if you already have family and children, also respond according to your experience)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) I would find it very important to be able to take several months off work after the birth of my child	1	2	3	4	5
b) I would find it very important to have time to devote to the care of my baby	1	2	3	4	5
c) I would prefer to have a net monthly salary of \$ 2,000 in a company where it would be possible to easily reconcile work and family life, rather than have a net monthly salary of \$ 4,000 in a company where it would be very difficult to reconcile work and family life	1	2	3	4	5
d) It seems to me very important to be fully involved in the care and education of my young children	1	2	3	4	5
e) I consider myself to be relatively more oriented to the domestic sphere and family care rather than to the professional sphere	1	2	3	4	5
f) I would give preference to the needs of my family or partner, even if this had negative results for my interests or career	1	2	3	4	5
g) Honestly, I would feel "more comfortable" if I had a higher earnings than my partner	1	2	3	4	5

**15. Thinking about your perception of the relationship between work and family. What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?**

Assuming you had a family and your own children in the future... (if you already have family and children, also respond according to your experience)	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) I may have a feeling of "I have to choose" between my job and my family obligations (care of my young children, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
b) I may have to sacrifice some career opportunity to spend more time with my family	1	2	3	4	5
c) I may have problems to take time off work when my children are sick	1	2	3	4	5
d) I may be discriminated against by my employer because I have or plan to have children	1	2	3	4	5
e) The stress at work may affect my life at home	1	2	3	4	5
f) I might feel guilty about going to work when my children are very young	1	2	3	4	5
g) My work issues will interfere with my family issues	1	2	3	4	5
h) I may have difficulty in maintaining the level of career progression at my job after having children	1	2	3	4	5
i) Family pressure, in general, may be a barrier to the development of my professional career	1	2	3	4	5
j) I think I will be able to succeed in my family role, even working full time	1	2	3	4	5
k) I think I will be able to find positive interaction with my time at work and with my time caring for my family	1	2	3	4	5

**16. After having a child, how could you try to balance family and work?** What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?

After having or adopting a child...	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) I would consider the possibility of interrupting my career for some time to devote myself exclusively to the care of my small children	1	2	3	4	5
b) If possible in my work, I would take unpaid leave to care for children during the first months or years of my child's life	1	2	3	4	5
c) If possible in my work, I would change to working part-time	1	2	3	4	5
d) If possible in my work, I would reduce my working hours by one or two hours a day during the first months or years of my child's life	1	2	3	4	5
e) I will hire someone to take care of my child while I work	1	2	3	4	5
f) I hope I can count on the help of grandparents to care for my child while I work	1	2	3	4	5
g) I think my partner will be very involved in the care of my child while I work	1	2	3	4	5

**17. What do you think about these barriers to career advancement?** What would be your level of agreement with each of these statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) I may have difficulty in finding a job due to a tight job market	1	2	3	4	5
b) I may have problems to find a role model or mentor at work	1	2	3	4	5
c) I may experience ethnic discrimination in hiring or in promotions	1	2	3	4	5
d) I may experience sex discrimination in hiring or in promotions	1	2	3	4	5
e) I will be paid less than the other co-workers of the opposite sex	1	2	3	4	5
f) I don't feel confident about my ability in my job	1	2	3	4	5
g) I have a low self-esteem	1	2	3	4	5
h) If I won a major prize in the lottery that allowed me to live off the revenues through my lifetime, I would not work	1	2	3	4	5

**18. Currently or in the near future, are you trying to start up a new business** including some form of self-employment or selling goods or services to others?

Yes  1

No  2

**19. On the following scale of "entrepreneurship",** ranging from 0 ("I consider myself very little entrepreneurial") to 10 ("I consider myself very entrepreneurial"), **in which box would you place yourself?** (Entrepreneur: a person with a tendency to start business ventures and innovation, taking financial risks).

I consider myself <b>very little entrepreneurial</b> →	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	← I consider myself <b>very entrepreneurial</b>
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**20. On the following scale of "level of household income", which ranges from 0 (very low income) to 10 (very high income), in which box would you situate the level of income of YOUR PARENTS or legal guardians? (Now or when you were younger)**

Very low income →	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	← Very high income
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**21. What is the level of studies attained by your mother and your father?**

	Mother	Father
Less than primary studies	1	1
Primary studies	2	2
Secondary studies	3	3
Professional training	4	4
High school	5	5
University studies, bachelor or equivalent	6	6
University studies, master or more	7	7

**22. Approximately, how many hours per week did your mother and father usually work during most of your childhood?**

	Mother	Father
Full time, 40 hours or more per week	1	1
20-40 hours per week	2	2
Less than 20 hours per week	3	3
She/he was a homemaker during most of this period	4	4
Other situations	5	5

**23. Your mother and father were...**

	Mother	Father
Wage earner	1	1
Independent worker or entrepreneur	2	2
Did not do paid work	3	3

**24. During your childhood, would you say that in your household the housework was done?**

Totally by women	1
Mainly by women	2
By the women and the men equally	3
Mainly by men	4
Totally by men	5

**25. Were there domestic workers in your family?**

Yes	1
No	2

**26. Finally, to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?**

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a) When running businesses, female managers tend to be better in certain areas such as the organization of teamwork and conflict management, while male managers tend to be better in areas such as negotiation or risk taking	1	2	3	4	5
b) In childhood, the love and presence of the mother and father are essential, but with the newborn baby the role of the mother is really the most important	1	2	3	4	5
c) Women on average have more ability for language and verbal expression, while men have more ability for spatial perception and mathematics	1	2	3	4	5
d) The fact that most nurses are women and most pilots are men has to do partly with different innate abilities of women and men	1	2	3	4	5
e) I consider it far more unpleasant to hear a woman swears and says offensive words rather than to hear a man doing the same	1	2	3	4	5
f) It would be good for society if the traditional roles of men and women were maintained largely	1	2	3	4	5
g) Women are by nature more patient and tolerant than men	1	2	3	4	5
h) A man may be as qualified as a woman to care for his baby and connect emotionally with him/her	1	2	3	4	5

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND COOPERATION**