

QUESTIONING POLICY-MAKING AS PROBLEM-SOLVING. A BACCHIAN EXAMINATION OF
HOW PAID PARENTAL LEAVE WAS PROBLEMATIZED IN NEW ZEALAND AND NORWAY.

BY

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PhD Abstract

Questioning policy-making as problem-solving. A Bacchian examination of how paid parental leave was problematized in New Zealand and Norway.

This thesis adopts Carol Bacchi's Foucault-influenced poststructuralist perspective to investigate how the concept of gender equality was conceptualized in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway. Poststructuralism is concerned with how we 'know' things, and with language, and the Foucauldian influence brings a focus on discourse as knowledge. Poststructuralism is also concerned with subjectification, how subject positions are created by the discourse, and the way in which some people are excluded from certain subject positions. The research investigates changes to the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway and how gender equality was conceptualized in each country.

This research is conducted using two closely-related poststructuralist methodologies for two different types of data. The first data consist of historical documents from prior to and including the time that the PPL policies were changed and Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' or 'WPR' framework is used to analyse them. The second data consist of interviews with people involved in the PPL policies and Bacchi and Bonham's Poststructural Interview Analysis or 'PIA' framework is used to analyse them. For both data sets, the analysis consists of thematic coding, followed by answering the series of WPR questions or the PIA processes. Three common themes of payment rate, eligibility, and rights were identified in the analysis of the historical data and they provided a focus for the interview data analysis. Different conceptions of gender equality were identified in each country.

The research makes a number of contributions. It provides an original insight into the design of PPL policy from a critical perspective and brings a gender lens to policy analysis. It offers a unique comparison between New Zealand and Norway, and provides a further methodological example of the established WPR framework, as well as an early application of the new PIA approach. The research also challenges policy-makers to adopt and maintain a critical perspective in their work, and to recognise that people are subjects, and that policies are problems constituted by the discourse.

Why paid parental leave?

'If men gave birth to babies, paid parental leave would have been introduced into New Zealand decades ago'

Sue Kedgley, Green Party MP (Hansard, 13902)

Why gender equality?

'What is separate is rarely, if ever, equal'

(Ann Jennings, 1993)

These are the questions people ask me about my research and these are my answers. I had wanted to undertake PhD research for many years and the way in which gender roles are assigned continues to fascinate me. Hence the research question that I have answered here. A number of people have been critical in my ability to undertake this study.

First, a debt of thanks is owed to my primary supervisor, Professor John Creedy. He has been patient and kind whilst helping me achieving a difficult goal. Thank you. Thanks also to my secondary supervisor, Professor Judy Brown, for her insights and to all those at VUW who provided support throughout my PhD.

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Friends and colleagues have been indulgent and understanding over these years. Thank you.

Most of all. Nick. Aroha nui.

List of acronyms

ACC	Accident Compensation Corporation
BLD	Barne-, likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Norway
CEDAW	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
DoL	Department of Labour (NZ)
EU	European Union
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRD	Inland Revenue Department, New Zealand
ICESCR	United Nations International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment
MLEPA	Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act 1980
MSD	Ministry of Social Development (NZ)
NACEW	National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women (NZ)
NOU	Norges Offentlige Utredninger (Official Norwegian Reports / White Papers)
NPF	National Provident Fund
NZ	New Zealand
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIA	Official Information Act 1982
PIA	Poststructural Interview Analysis
PLEPA	Parental Leave and Employment Protection Act 1987
PPL	Paid Parental Leave
PTC	Parental Tax Credit
W&I	Work and Income (NZ)
WHO	World Health Organization
WPR	What's the problem represented to be?
WPR1	The first WPR question
WPR2	The second WPR question
WPR3	The third WPR question
WPR4	The fourth WPR question
WPR5	The fifth WPR question
WPR6	The sixth WPR question

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1. Introduction

This thesis investigates how the concept of gender equality was conceptualized in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway. Gender equality is analysed as a contested concept that has different meanings for different groups.

This thesis adopts Carol Bacchi's Foucault-influenced poststructuralist perspective¹. The research is conducted using two closely-related poststructuralist methodologies reflecting two different types of data used. The relevant data for such research are those enabling identification of language and its meaning.

The first methodology is Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' or 'WPR' (2009:1) framework. It is a series of questions that I have applied to each PPL policy as a methodology that uncovers how subjects are constituted within the policies (2009:265). The data examined using this approach are historical documents, such as records of parliamentary debate, public submissions on the PPL bill, reports by various Ministries, documentation from women's groups, and media articles. The selection reflects Bacchi's premise that 'what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change' (2009:xi).

Policy can develop over time going through any number of changes of design. The WPR approach can be applied to investigate any particular policy change, but it only examines one change at a time, using data from prior to and including the time of the chosen policy change. However, this research also includes the collection and examination of a new set of primary data, from interviews with people who were either actively involved in the introduction of the PPL policy (such as politicians, public servants, and unions) or who work on family and women's issues (such as women's rights advocates and family policy academics). The interview data reflect on the policy change I am researching, but are contemporary data, so the WPR framework is not applied to them.

Therefore, these data are instead examined using the second methodology, recently developed by Bacchi (and Bonham, in Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016: 113), which is Poststructural Interview Analysis or 'PIA'. PIA is a series of seven processes that I have applied to the interview transcripts. Bacchi and Bonham suggest (2016:114) that the way in which interview subjects are generally considered to have a privileged access to a kind of 'truth' about their experiences, as a 'founding subject' in Foucault's terminology, is not consistent with a poststructuralist approach. Accordingly, the PIA was developed, to enable the same theoretical approach of WPR to be applied to interview data. However, it was

¹ Described in subsection 1.2

already possible to subject interview data to critical analysis using other methodologies, for example, narrative inquiry looks for context and construction (Hickson, 2016:381), and the Listening Guide is a feminist approach that allows those who have been silenced to be heard (Woodcock, 2016:1).

The use of both WPR and PIA methodologies, incorporating both historical and contemporary data, is one of the unique contributions of this research and provides a richer examination of the PPL policy changes than could otherwise be achieved.

The data in this research relate to New Zealand and Norway. New Zealand was chosen as it is my home country, and Norway was chosen as one of the Nordic model welfare states, offering a contrast to New Zealand's liberal model. This research examines whether a different PPL policy has different assumptions underlying it.

Both PPL policies have undergone a number of changes since their introduction. In New Zealand, both the duration and eligibility have been extended. In Norway, the duration has been extended and the father's quota introduced. Any of these changes could have been chosen for this research. The WPR approach examines a single policy change, so a number of changes would require separate applications of the WPR framework to each policy change, hence the selection of just one policy change for this research (in each country).

The particular policy change chosen for investigation in New Zealand is the change that first introduced a statutory payment for leave upon birth or adoption. Accordingly the New Zealand data relate to during and preceding that time. The introduction of a policy for the first time is obviously the biggest change that can occur. Subsequent changes to the New Zealand PPL policy are not examined in this research but they could be the subject of further research. The particular policy change in Norway is when the father's quota was introduced and the data from Norway relate to prior to and including that time. This policy change is of interest because it is at that point that the Norwegian government specifically identified PPL as a policy that could be used to improve gender equality. To identify it as such a tool indicates that the Norwegian policy-makers felt the PPL policy had influence in society, and as such, researching that particular change is expected to reveal assumptions about gender equality.

These assumptions are revealed through this research by identification of the implicit values within the problem representation. Examination of the data using the WPR framework analyses the language used, the meaning within it, and how it influenced the design of the policy. It is the unique contribution of this research to raise awareness of these assumptions through examination of the data and question policy-making as 'problem-solving'.

The choice of research methodology determines how a question is investigated. The WPR framework and PIA approach are the methodologies chosen here on the basis of their poststructuralist approach.

The choice of literature applied also influences the research and the literature on gender equality has been selected here. It is used to determine how a difference in understanding of gender equality may have influenced the design of the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway. From a policy perspective, it considers how a policy will impact men and women differently, based on their different situations in society. The view is premised on these different situations currently being unequal.

This research does not investigate the rationale behind later changes to the policy in New Zealand, because it is concerned with how the original PPL policy came into place, when the change was made to introduce paid statutory leave. Accordingly, only data from during and preceding the change are investigated, and other research could investigate the background to later changes. Nor does this research evaluate the PPL policy against the originally stated rationale because it is not intended to review its effectiveness. Instead this research takes a critical approach, and considers the original PPL policy that was first introduced into New Zealand, and the father's quota that was introduced into the PPL policy in Norway. The thesis answers the research question 'How was gender equality conceptualized in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway?'

This chapter begins by discussing poststructuralism in Section 1.2 and is followed by consideration of the concept of gender equality in Section 1.3. The research problem is outlined in Section 1.4. The background to the PPL policies is provided in Section 1.5 and details of why Norway was chosen as the comparison country is given in Section 1.6. The methodology is described in Section 1.7. It includes the concept of policy as discourse, details of the WPR and PIA approaches, and discussion of ontology and epistemology. Section 1.8 provides an introduction to the gender equality literature that is drawn upon in this research. The structure of the thesis is outlined in Section 1.9 and the chapter concludes in Section 1.10 with a description of the contribution made by this research.

1.2. Poststructuralism

As Bacchi has a Foucault-influenced poststructuralist perspective, it is necessary to briefly outline poststructuralism, in order to engage with her methodologies used in this research. It includes the identification of some other poststructuralists, but only in passing, as the focus is the Foucauldian thinking that is reflected in Bacchi's methodologies.

Foucault was a French philosopher and historian who lectured and published from the 1960s until his death in 1984 (Gutting, 2013). A poststructuralist, although that term was not used in France, Foucault

is considered to draw from Marx, Freud, and Nietzsche (Schrift, 2018:177). Foucault was concerned with politics, power, and practises (Olssen, 2003:194).

Poststructuralism is suggested to have its roots in Classics (Miller, 1998:204) and to have arisen as a response to structuralism (Ryan, 2020). Structuralism was led by Levi-Strauss, and sought to be scientific, and separate from the arts (Lundy, 2013:70,72). Derrida and Foucault contested aspects of structuralism, with Foucault bringing a strong focus on history, which Derrida then attacked (Lundy, 2013:76-77,79). Together with Deleuze, the work of these three philosophers led to poststructuralism (Schrift, 2018:177), with Lacan chronically the first to have the label (Miller, 1998:206). Lacan's work reflected his profession as a psychiatrist. He introduced the Imaginary, the Symbolic, and the Real as the three fundamental dimensions of psychic subjectivity and held that they could only be understood in relation to one another (Johnston, 2018). Meanwhile other key poststructuralists brought different perspectives. Lyotard brought a focus on emotion and feelings to poststructuralist work (Williams, 2005:79) and Baudrillard was concerned with culture (Macintosh & Shearer, 2000:611) and how meaning was self-referential (Wolny, 2017:76).

Poststructuralism is concerned with how we 'know' things. We understand ourselves as knowing various things. We know things we have been taught and we know things we have learnt. We also know things about ourselves, such as preferences and characteristics. These things we know are generally helpful to us and have no negative impact on anyone else. However sometimes we consider ourselves to know things about others, reflected in comments such as 'that's how they are' or 'that's what they do'. In this way we are accepting some 'knowledge' as taken for granted. When this knowledge pertains to other people, either individuals or a group, it shapes our perceptions of them, and influences our actions towards them. It 'frames our seeing' (Lather, 1993:675). The way we know things is through language, we assign words to people (to ourselves and to others) and to things, and that is how they have meaning to us. Language both reflects and creates our understanding of reality and for this reason poststructuralism places great importance on language. However, this discursive practice is of interest not only because of what it can achieve, but also how it can be changed.

While language is important because of the meaning it ascribes, such meaning is neither universal, nor permanent. It is possible for two people to have different experiences of the same spoken word or different readings of the same text. Crucially, it is also possible for words to change their meaning over time, which occurs through a change in 'knowledge'.

Within Foucault-influenced poststructuralism, the way individuals are led to think about themselves is referred to as 'subjectivity', which is produced by techniques of power-knowledge (Bacchi, 2019a).

The individual is a 'subject' whom Foucault (1977 in Bacchi, 2019b) describes as 'in process' to reflect the potential for change.

As subjects we have a dual role being both subjected to, and being the subject of, a particular action. In this way a subject is 'doubled' (Hughes, 2002:99). Meaning is not necessarily permanent, it can change over time, making it both fluid and contestable. The importance of the contestability of meaning can be appreciated by thinking about subject positions.

Subject positions can be thought of as roles within society. Individuals each have one or more subject positions such as working mother, good citizen, or natural carer. Subject positions are important because we are not free to adopt any subject position we choose, only those available to us, and the way subject positions are made available is through discourse (Davies, 1991:63).

Discourse is not simply the words we use, instead language is a starting point for our analysis. Discourse refers to the knowledge and power that created that language - how it became possible for that to be said. Foucault described this as 'techniques of knowledge' and 'strategies of power' being 'joined together' in discourse (Foucault, 1990:98). Researchers undertake an analysis of discourse to reveal what influenced and shaped language, to understand the factors that influenced what we know. This analysis of discourse is described by Bacchi as the production of 'particular understandings of issues and events' (2005:199). An example is the term 'gender', which is often read as 'women', with the result that 'gender equality' often becomes 'women's equality' (Meier et al, 2001:121 see also Poulsen, 2006:96). This matter is considered further in Section 1.8.

Most challenging about the creation and allocation of subject positions is that some positions will be more often made available to some people than to others, for example to men instead of women, to those in the majority instead of minorities. Some people, due to their race, class, or gender, will be excluded from certain subject positions (such as positions of formal power and influence) and other people will be subject to a discourse that positions them in a particular existence or performing a particular role (such as a welfare beneficiary). We can now see how the meaning within language is powerful, because as knowledge, it determines the reality of people's lives. It constructs discourse (what we say and how we are able to say it) and shapes how subject positions are made available.

Poststructuralism can be contrasted with positivism, which assumes we can 'know' in a value free or objective sense, as external observers (Dillet, 2017:518). Positivism holds that there is one knowledge that is available in the same way to all. From a poststructuralist perspective, however, there is no ability to be external to reality as it holds that we participate in reality, as subjects, not as observers.

It is for this reason Bacchi critiques positivist approaches as viewing 'problems' as 'independent phenomena' (Bacchi, 2016:2).

Poststructuralism has been suggested to be less a position and more a methodology (Hughes, 2002:66). Its focus on knowledge and language suggests application to questions of understanding meaning and the consequences of particular subject positions.

A number of poststructuralists have specifically considered the concepts of motherhood and woman, subjects that Foucault is criticised for ignoring (King, 2004:29), as well as failing to support feminist perspectives (Phelan, 1990:421). Kristeva's work on the family draws on Freud, as do many of her fellow poststructuralists, and she uses the language of castration to describe the child's break from the mother (Williams, 2005:142). There is an echo of this in Fineman's (1995) claim that the mother is neutered from her child through the classic economic focus on the sexual relationship (in Section 2.6.1). As a poststructuralist, Irigaray held the view that there could be another mode of subjectivity for woman, rather than as man's other (Colebrook, 2007). From an equality perspective, Berg (1991:50) refers to her as an essentialist, although McAfee and Howard (2018) suggest her essentialism is metaphorical.² By way of contrast, Cixous rejected essentialism and binary logic, and also brought a strong focus on language (Mambrol, 2016).

1.3. Gender Equality

PPL is understood to play a role in gender equality by providing income replacement and security of employment (Baird, 2004; OECD, 2013). This constitutes gender equality in terms of financial income and labour market participation; but gender equality has been introduced here as a contested concept that has different meanings for different groups. The term was recognised as often being used to mean women's equality instead of gender equality and generally used without definition. Therefore, a definition must be assumed or taken for granted, which can lead to the aims or objectives of 'gender equality' being unclear. This research reveals how gender equality was constituted in New Zealand and Norway in respect of the changes made to the PPL policies in each country.

The 'knowledge' that leads to different understanding of a concept like gender equality arises from different political perspectives and a difference in ontological and epistemological assumptions. These are not necessarily conscious assumptions. Rather, they reflect what people believe, and how they have come to believe it. Examination of contested concepts can reveal these beliefs. Cornwall's analysis of women's empowerment in the literature on developing countries (2015) revealed a

² The view that biological differences between the sexes make women natural care givers.

commonly-held understanding of empowerment as individual and consumerist, reflecting a belief of the importance of the market. Such views may be described as a neoliberal perspective. These views may be considered dangerous for women, and for gender equality, because they ignore the impact of structure (i.e. institutions) and culture (social norms and values) on inequality. In the case of developing countries, Cornwall suggests it leaves men and boys out of the narrative of women's empowerment such that they become 'rendered useless by their invisibility', and fails to highlight any changes required from them, such as sharing the burden of unpaid work.

With respect to gender equality, the difference in ontology and epistemology (or what people believe and how they have come to believe it) results either in the view that the sexes are equal, or that they are different. One of the ways in which the sexes can be viewed as different is the belief that men are in some way superior to women. This view is generally described as misogynist. An alternative view of difference is positive, where men and women are believed to be inherently different, but nevertheless equal to one another. On the other hand, some believe that the sexes are the same, and therefore equal. The gender equality literature contains a number of approaches to classifying policy in terms of its method of addressing inequality and is considered further in Section 1.7 and Chapter 2.

Gender equality was part of the discourse at the time that PPL was introduced in New Zealand, and at the introduction of the father's quota in Norway, but in a different way. The Norwegian debate centered on improving gender equality through a change in the family, by encouraging fathers to play a greater care role, which would allow mothers to increase their labour market participation after childbirth. PPL in Norway had previously included a period immediately after the birth that was reserved for mothers, and parents had always been able to share the balance of the leave as they wished, but it had resulted in parental leave being used almost exclusively by mothers.

By contrast, the gender equality debate in New Zealand focused on workplace equality. Proponents of PPL referred to the equality of opportunity enshrined in international conventions on non-discrimination, to which New Zealand was a signatory, as well as to other international labour conventions that New Zealand had not ratified. They also positioned PPL as an employment right for women, as a legitimate absence from work, for which women should be paid and not penalised through lack of payment for leave. A related example is the discussion of inequality between women, which took two forms. First there was the inequality between those who were employed in the public sector, and already had entitlement to some maternity payments, and those in the private sector who did not. As the proposed design of the PPL policy became known, there was a second debate on the inequality between women with different employment status, i.e. between employees and the self-employed, which in New Zealand referred in large part to women farmers. There was little discussion

of equality between employed women and women who were not in paid employment, because a Parental Tax Credit was already available to those women, having been introduced in 1999. Similarly, there was little discussion about equality issues regarding PPL for men, as the whole period of leave was proposed to be shareable between the parents (although there were some submissions on the bill that argued for specific entitlement for men).

1.4. Research problem

The PPL policy in New Zealand has a number of interesting features, in respect of its timing, and its policy design. New Zealand was late introducing PPL compared with OECD counterparts, with only Australia and the United States still without PPL at that time (although Australia has subsequently introduced it, the USA continues to be an outlier). Guidance on PPL policy design elements such as duration, payment rate, and eligibility, had been issued by international organisations such as the World Health Organisation [WHO] and the International Labour Organization [ILO] and had been largely followed by countries around the world. It is common for policy-makers to consider the design elements of policies that are already in place in other jurisdictions when considering introducing a similar policy in their country. Countries may also ratify international conventions, which specify certain actions, but New Zealand had placed a 'reservation' against PPL in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW]. When New Zealand did introduce PPL, it chose a design that was not in keeping with international general practise or with the design requirements in the formal conventions, and it is interesting to consider why that occurred.

This research investigates how the understanding of the concept of gender equality in New Zealand could have contributed to that outcome. To do so, it analyses the discourse and its subjectification effects, through application of the WPR framework and the PIA approach to the data. It also compares the impact of an alternative understanding of gender equality in Norway on the PPL policy there, in particular, the introduction of the father's quota.

1.5. Background

PPL was introduced in New Zealand in 2002³. It was tax-funded but not means-tested. There were work-related eligibility criteria, meaning that casual or seasonal workers were ineligible, as were the self-employed. Mothers had primary eligibility but they could transfer some or all of the entitlement

³ Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Act 2002

to their spouse. They received 12 weeks PPL, paid at wage replacement, subject to a maximum payment of approximately minimum wage⁴. Future changes that expanded the eligibility criteria and duration of leave are out of scope of this research.

The father's quota was introduced in to Norway's PPL policy in 1993. For the first time a dedicated period of four weeks leave was provided for the father. Mothers always had a dedicated period of their own, straight after the birth, with the balance of the leave shareable with the father. The duration of PPL was also extended at the same time, from 35 weeks to 52 weeks.

Norway's PPL was part of the National Insurance Scheme. The scheme was funded by social security contributions from employees, self-employed persons and other members, employers' contributions and contributions from the state. PPL (and other benefits under the scheme) was available to all those living or working in Norway. All Norwegian residents and anyone who was working in Norway was insured under the Scheme, and they were entitled to PPL if they had been in paid employment for six out of the ten previous months. PPL is paid at wage replacement, subject to a maximum of six times the 'basic amount', which is used as a starting point for calculations of all benefits provided under the scheme⁵. The change that originally introduced PPL, and any other changes to its design other than the introduction of the father's quota and the extension to 52 weeks, are outside the scope of this research.

1.6. Comparison Country

In order to provide contrast I sought a comparison country that had a very different PPL policy and welfare state to New Zealand. The Nordic countries are exemplars of family policy, introducing and refining them over many years, and including generous design features. In the case of PPL, these include payment rate and duration. The model of the welfare state in the Nordic countries, universal and generous, is very different from the liberal or neoliberal model in New Zealand.

Of the Nordic countries, Sweden and Norway appear most frequently in the literature, and Finland does not feature highly. Denmark had removed its father's quota in 2002, and so was discounted,

⁴ At introduction on 1 July 2002, PPL was capped at NZD \$325 per week, and the minimum wage was NZD \$8.00 (Employment New Zealand, 2018). Therefore the maximum payable as PPL was equivalent to approximately 40 hours at minimum wage. In contrast, average hourly earnings were NZD \$18.37 (Stats NZ info request). In current dollars (as at 1 July 2019) the PPL cap is NZD \$585.80 per week and the minimum wage is NZD \$17.70 (both Employment New Zealand). Therefore the maximum payable as PPL is equivalent to approximately 33 hours at minimum wage. However, in contrast, the median hourly earnings are NZD \$25.10 (NZ.Stat, 2019).

⁵ The basic amount (or 'G') is currently NOK 8,322 per month from 1 May 2019 (NTA, 2019), and the maximum PPL payment is 6xG (Brandth & Kvande, 2018), or NOK 49,932. This exceeds the latest average monthly earnings figures, from 2019, which are NOK 47,290 (Statistics Norway, 2020).

along with Finland. In choosing between Sweden and Norway, the size of the population was considered, and Sweden was rejected as its population of approximately 10 million is twice the size of New Zealand's. Norway's population of 5.29 million (Statistics Norway, 2019) is comparable with New Zealand's of 4.92 million (Stats NZ, 2019a). However, population is only one factor. The selection of Norway in this manner resulted in a comparison country that is expected to provide contrast to the New Zealand research findings.

The political regimes in both countries are stable with democratically elected national and local governments. Historically, Norway has elected socialist governments, while the centre-right National Party in New Zealand has held office longer than the centre-left Labour Party. When PPL was introduced in New Zealand, a centre-left Labour-Alliance coalition government was in place, and the Prime Minister was the Rt Hon Helen Clark (NZ History, 2017). When the father's quota was introduced in Norway, Dr Gro Harlem Brundtland was Prime Minister for the third time, leading a Labour government (Regjeringen, 2011). Ms Clark was New Zealand's second female Prime Minister but the first to be elected to that position. Dr Brundtland had been Norway's first female Prime Minister.

1.7. Methodology

There are a number of potential ways to research PPL. A common research aim is to determine a policy's effectiveness. It can be achieved by way of an evaluation, investigating the stated aims and their current situation (for New Zealand PPL, see Department of Labour, 2007). Another common area of research, especially in tax policy, is to determine optimal policy design (for example Apps & Rees, 2017; Blundell and Shephard, 2008). These approaches are both critical in nature, and may provide insights regarding the design, but with a view to how it might be changed rather than to understand how it came about in the first place.

Other research options exist. If the research intention had been to consider the history of a policy, then I could have researched the historical development of PPL in New Zealand, from early public sector maternity leave entitlements, to private sector parental leave benefits, including those in collective agreements. Another alternative would have been to investigate the historical development of PPL in other countries, perhaps including the guidance offered by various international bodies on design features. Neither of these options were considered suitable as the desired focus was the formulation of the policy.

Alternatively, the research interest could be to investigate the impact of the policy. It is similar to an evaluation but differs because it provides an opportunity to investigate any impacts, rather than just those related to the policy's stated aims. To consider such impacts, any of the following empirical research ideas could be investigated: levels of female labour market participation before and after the policy was introduced; the birth rate before and after the policy was introduced; maternal and child health before and after the policy was introduced; changes to private sector employment agreements after the policy was introduced; claimant details by income, if interested to see the extent of the support PPL provides to those on low incomes; or details on claimants who transferred some or all of their entitlements, if interested to determine whether any fathers or partners also took PPL. However, the intention behind this research was to understand the assumptions that contributed to the design of the policy, rather than investigate what the policy achieved. Accordingly, a methodology that focuses on the formulation of a policy was sought.

In order to provide context for the WPR approach, the concept of policy as discourse is discussed next, followed by details of both the WPR and PIA approaches. The concepts of ontology and epistemology are then introduced and considered as they apply to this research.

1.7.1. Policy as discourse

Policy-making as a process has many participants. Alongside those understood to be part of the formal process, such as politicians and public servants, others also play a role, for example, Bjørnholt (2012:59-62) identifies social movements and government commissions as present in Norway. All these participants may be referred to as subjects and we can consider them to be 'located subjects' within policy-making. The way these subjects talk about policies and policy-making both reflects and reinforces dominant discourse, although it does not have to be the case, as where subversive discourses exist, they too could be enacted by policy-makers (Gill, 2012:80). Accordingly, policy must be recognised as a cultural product, which is context specific (Goodwin, 2012:29) and reflects the involvement of those located subjects in the policy-making process. This focus on subjects and discourse reveals policy as discourse to be a poststructuralist approach.

Policies, or the 'solutions' to 'problems' as we have considered them, are not created independently of the environment. They are a product of the environment and policy-making is a productive site. Thinking of policy-making in this way recognises that practises (such as policy-making) are socially meaningful and create 'facts' and 'truths' (Goodwin, 2012:29). These have power as they reflect the way in which individuals are governed in society (Bletsas and Beasley, 2012:2). Governing in this context means the impact that such facts and truths have on the way individuals live their lives. For

example, when policies are introduced that restrict access to items, say alcohol to under 18s, a truth has been created about alcohol as dangerous to certain people, and requiring enforcement practises to maintain the restriction. Drawing on poststructuralism it can be seen that subject positions such as 'underage drinker' and 'illegal vendor' are created. In this way, ID cards, verification, consumer rules, policing and punishment, all work to govern the way in which people buy and sell items and are subject to legal and judicial forces. In terms of PPL, the way in which discourse forms the category 'woman' and what is understood by 'good mother', has been investigated using WPR (Hattam, 2013:37). WPR enables consideration of any harmful impact of the discourse (Bacchi, 2009:44), and has been used to understand how Aboriginal people in Australia were impacted by policy intervention by Partridge (2014), and how female nurses were impacted in organisational restructures by Saulnier (2003).

1.7.2.WPR approach

Bacchi's 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' (WPR) approach is used in this research because WPR was specifically designed to provide a way of critically analysing policy and takes the view of policy as discourse. WPR is used here to investigate how the PPL policy was introduced in New Zealand as the 'solution' to a particular policy 'problem' and thereby to identify the assumptions about gender equality that contributed to the design of the PPL policy in New Zealand and how the problem was constituted. The WPR approach consists of a set of six questions that are applied to the data. Since 2016 a seventh 'step' has been added (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:20), directing the researcher to apply the six questions to their own problem representations. This direction had previously been listed alongside the WPR questions in 2009, but Bacchi subsequently sought to formalise the step, as 'researchers have tended to miss this important point because it was not designated a number' (Bacchi, n.d.).

It can be seen from these questions that the WPR approach does not produce a chronological history of a policy. Instead it produces a genealogy. The WPR approach first identifies what change the policy makes, 'because what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change' (Bacchi, 2009:xi). Next it focuses on how the problem was represented in the particular way, so that particular change makes sense, and then on the genealogy. It then considers the implications of the particular problem representation, which includes what is left out or what is not addressed, and what it means for people to have this particular conceptualisation of the problem.

The WPR approach has been explained to be a set of six questions, which is how Bacchi presents them, although they are actually a series of questions, as question four consists of three questions, and

question six is composed of two questions. Each of the questions are applied to the data and a brief description of each follows.

The first question is 'What is the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). It uncovers the implied problem representation in a specific policy by highlighting what was changed by the policy (Bacchi, 2009:4). Here I am uncovering the problem representation for the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway by looking at what changes the policies introduced. As noted previously, the data from New Zealand relate to the time that PPL was introduced, and the data from Norway relate to the time that the father's quota was introduced.

The second question is 'What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). Bacchi refers to these presuppositions or assumptions as 'conceptual logics' (Bacchi, 2009:5), by which she refers to the meanings that must be in place in order for a particular problem representation to make sense. If the two countries have different problem representations for their PPL policies we can expect to see different conceptual logics or assumptions in place. These conceptual logics are the basis of the assumptions about gender equality that this research identifies.

The third question is 'How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). It refers to the conditions that allowed the problem representation to assume dominance (Bacchi, 2009:11), and while it necessarily includes a historical perspective, it does not accept a 'natural' order of events. Instead it analyses the power relations that led to the dominance of one problematization and identifies points at which different decisions could have been made. This reflects a Foucauldian focus on discontinuity and the practises involved in producing knowledge (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:46).

The fourth question is in fact three questions presented together. 'What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). These questions continue the critical analysis, but leave behind the discussion of how the policy was formed, to start thinking about what else might have been possible. They consider what was not problematized (after the first three questions examined what was problematized) and refer to these as silences (Bacchi, 2009:13).

The fifth question is 'What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). Bacchi is referring to three types of effects: discursive; subjectification; and lived effects. Discursive effects refer to limits that become imposed on what can be thought and said. Subjectification effects are the ways in which subjects are constituted in discourse. These concepts

will now be recognised as poststructural as they were considered in the opening paragraphs of the chapter. Recall that from this perspective, individuals are subjects, and subject positions are roles within society that are made available to certain individuals through discourse. Lived effects are the impacts on life and death (Bacchi, 2009:15). By identifying the effects produced by this representation of the problem it enables consideration of how they can be harmful to certain social groups (Bacchi, 2009:15). This question is critical in nature and returns the research focus to the dominant problem representation after consideration of alternative problem representations in the previous question.

The sixth question is two questions, also presented together, as in question four. The questions are 'How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? and How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?' (Bacchi, 2009:xii). These questions link back to question three, which identifies how the problem representation came about, and now examine how it could be resisted. It considers how the dominant problematization could be contested.

Step seven is included as a final instruction to those who have applied the six WPR questions to apply the list to one's own problem representations. Bacchi suggests this self-analysis or reflexivity is required because we are immersed in the conceptual logics of our era and because who we are is, at least in part, shaped through the problem representations we are trying to analyse (Bacchi, 2009:19). To follow the instruction, I asked myself the six questions, in contrast to the previous approach of analysing the data to find the answers to the six questions. In Section 1.7.4 I reflect on my ontology and epistemology and provide the result of my self-reflection as part of the conclusions in Chapter 8.

The WPR questions are presented in this thesis separately and in order but Bacchi acknowledged (2009:233) that when performing an integrated analysis, it is common to only apply specific questions to the analysis, as appropriate to the research. Accordingly the chapters do not always consider all parts of each WPR question, only some parts of each question, to avoid repetition.

Another methodological note is that the WPR questions can be applied more than once to the data. Once the problem representation has been identified by a first application of the WPR questions to the data, the WPR questions can be reapplied, to problem representations within the initial problem representation. Bacchi suggests (2009:21) this repeated application of the WPR analysis to key terms or topics within the problem representation may reveal problem representations which are nested, or embedded, within one another. This nesting analysis is undertaken in Sections 4.6 and 4.7 and two nested problematizations are revealed for each country.

As noted in Section 1.1 the WPR approach applies the six questions to data from during and preceding the policy change chosen for investigation. For New Zealand, the change was the introduction of PPL

in 2002, and for Norway, it was the introduction of the father's quota in 1993. I have previously noted that I did not examine the period when PPL was first implemented in Norway because it was this later change that marked the point when the Norwegian government explicitly linked its PPL father's quota policy to gender equality. I thought that data from this time could provide insights into the assumptions that contributed to the policy design and provide a contrast to the assumptions identified in the New Zealand data. However I also acknowledge the practical difficulties that would have arisen in trying to access information from 1977, such as lack of electronic documents, and documents that have been translated into English. The Norwegian historical documents examined are legislation and government papers and reports.

1.7.3. Interviews and PIA approach

Bacchi and Bonham's new PIA approach is used in this research because it enables the same theoretical approach of WPR to be applied to interview data. It supports policy-makers to provide challenge by considering the subjects produced in interview settings and how they may be questioned and disrupted (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:114-115). PIA is a series of seven processes that are applied to the data.

The data are a new primary data source, the transcripts of interviews I conducted with a variety of groups, in both countries: politicians; public servants; trade union officials; women's groups; and family policy academics. The interview transcript data were examined for key words and themes, in the same way as the historical documentation data, and they were then analysed using the PIA approach. The first three of the processes examine 'what is said', produce genealogies of 'what is said', and highlight key discursive practises. The next process is to analyse 'what is said' and to interrogate the production of 'subjects'. The last two processes are to explore transformative potential and question the politics of distribution (2016:115-120).

The interviews consisted of six open-ended questions, and the same questions were asked of all participants, in New Zealand and Norway. Two of the questions were related to the WPR questions and the other four were intended to illustrate what the interview subjects understood of the policy change. Full details of the interview process, as well as more information on the methodology used in this research, is provided in the following chapter.

1.7.4. Ontology and epistemology

It has been previously stated that this research adopts Bacchi's Foucault-influenced poststructuralist perspective, which is concerned with how we know things, and with subjectification. It is therefore appropriate to identify the philosophical positions on reality and knowledge of the researcher, my ontology and epistemology, as part of the discussion of methodology for this research (Yanow, 2014).

Daly (2008:57) suggests that poststructuralism does not include the same degree of separation between ontology and epistemology as other traditions, due to the basic reflexivity that exists between existence and knowledge, leading to an epistemological focus on how the sources of knowledge are constituted. This focus on how knowledge becomes 'taken for granted' is evinced in discussion of the WPR approach above. Crotty (1998:10) also considers the close proximity of ontology and epistemology and suggests they both contribute to informing a theoretical perspective.

Ontology has been described as the philosophy of what exists or has being (Robinson, 2014). However, a poststructuralist view of ontology considers the ontology of becoming, rather than of being (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017:692). The concept of 'ontological politics' arises (Mol, 1999:76), where change is possible, through practices that shape our reality. Poststructuralism as an ontology has been considered, with Dillet (2017:518) arguing that it is another way to conceive the order of thought rather than an ontology, and Rekasi (2010:1) approaching it as an epistemology. The role of gender has been identified as relevant within ontology so I recognise that my observations and role in this research are made as a gendered individual who identifies as female.

Epistemology is concerned with the origins of knowledge, the relationship between the knower and the known, and the role of values in understanding (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:3). I propose that my own epistemology is constructionist. Constructionism can be explained as a view that, rather than there being any independent meaning in the world, meaning is constructed by those interpreting it (Crotty, 1998:43). It sees reality and knowledges as socially constituted (Khoja-Moolji, 2014). This understanding of reality lends itself to adopting a poststructuralist theoretical perspective when conducting research, because that allows examination of meaning, and of people as subjects constituted by the discourse.

The methodologies applied in this research have been identified as the WPR and PIA approaches, both of which draw heavily on Foucault, and the gender equality literature is utilised. Therefore the research may be suggested to apply a critical epistemology, of the kind described by Ettliger (2014:596), where a critical epistemology arises from feminist theories that have converged with Foucauldian thought.

This research may also be considered to provide an example of critical enquiry. Critical theory is considered to have a broad sphere and to include both feminism and poststructuralism (Scott, 1988:34; Guba & Lincoln, 1994:109), and each is evident here. Within critical theory is a particular strand known as critical tax theory. Founded by Grace Blumberg (Infanti and Crawford, 2009:1), critical tax theory focuses on the tax law, and considers the impact it can have on groups without power. Such a view of power, as a 'thing', is not a Foucauldian or Bacchian perspective. Critical tax theory is recognised by Joan Williams (2002:414, 421) as an important analytical tool but one that needs to be matched with a focus on the distribution of government benefits. This research continues the tradition of critical tax theory as it applies to women, as it investigates PPL as a selected redistributive government policy, but does so applying Bacchi's Foucault-influenced conceptualization of power. This research is not intersectional, which considers what happens where a number of factors apply, i.e. gender and race. Instead this research investigates how women as a group are impacted. Nevertheless, as women are not a homogeneous group, differences are revealed through the WPR analysis in Chapter 6 and the PIA analysis in Chapter 7.

I draw upon a wide range of gender equality literature in my research. Peirce (1995:569) observed that 'theory (implicitly or explicitly) informs the questions researchers ask; the assumptions we make; and the procedures, methods, and approaches we use to carry out research projects'. Informed as it is by gender equality theory, my research seeks to identify how gender equality was conceptualized in the design of the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway, and how it underpins the problematization.

Although there is no such thing as a feminist method (Letherby, 2003:4 and Kitzinger, 2004:119), there is recognition of feminist research practice as identifiably different from other forms of research, based on differences in the questions asked, the researcher's position, and the purpose of the research (Letherby, 2003:5). Such feminist research practice can include a focus on both the researcher and the institution in which they work (Peirce, 1995:570) and the purpose can include social change (Reinharz, 1992:240).

1.8. Literature

The findings produced through application of the questions in the WPR framework and the processes in the PIA approach are considered using the gender equality literature. The authors come from a variety of disciplines (tax, welfare, development, law, and economics) but all premise their work on the basis that the situation for men and women is currently unequal.

Within tax policy, relevant aspects of men and women's different situations may include their labour market participation (the extent of their participation, and what they are paid). Based on optimal tax theory, and recognising that tax is not gender neutral, McCaffery (1997:277) recommends that married women be taxed less and married men be taxed more. With Alvarez, McCaffery (1998:3) outlines a number of factors that cause high marginal and effective tax rates for women in the USA, such as mandatory joint filing of income tax returns, limited tax relief for childcare costs, and the absence of a secondary-earner exemption under the social security system. That childcare costs are only considered in respect of women's labour market participation, and not men's, reflects an important difference in the subject position of 'man' and 'woman'. Firstly, where family life involves two parents or adults, there is generally an unequal distribution between men and women of unpaid work, with women performing the majority of the care and domestic work (known as the 'double burden' of paid and unpaid work). Secondly, in the event of a relationship break-up, women almost always take the primary care responsibility for the children. While these situations are observed within most mainstream analysis, the gender equality literature generally questions why these inequalities may have arisen, and may propose actions to address the inequality. This is the literature referenced in this research.

In the example above it is possible that a mother may give greater importance to being at home with her child than participating in the labour market. One literature that supports that position is essentialist, the view that women are natural carer givers, and it suggests that women's biological role in reproduction naturally lends them to continuing to care for the child as it grows up. Essentialist writers are sometimes called 'maternalist' and assert the 'moral primacy' of the family (Dietz, 1987:10).

Some writers go beyond simply embracing women's role as carer, and argue for economic redistribution, so that women would be financially recognised for their contribution in the home. Key writers in this literature include Fineman (1998, 2001), Williams (2002), and McClain (2001). Detailed discussion is provided in this thesis, in Chapters 4 and 6, which consider eligibility and children.

The 'double burden' of paid and unpaid work was also discussed above. The literature that addresses that issue often comes from a liberal perspective and it seeks to change the roles undertaken by men and women in the family. Key authors who started the modern discussion of women's role in the family (in the West) include Friedan (1964) and Okin (1989). Friedan was the first to address the question of whether women could expect to be more than housewives. She identified the frustration experienced by educated women who, upon marriage or motherhood, suddenly lost connection with the world outside the family and felt bored and underutilised. That external world is often referred

to as the public sphere and the family as the private sphere (Pateman, 1988). The concept has its roots in ancient Greece but it became more prevalent after the industrial revolution in the Western world in the nineteenth century. At that time, a large-scale and clear delineation was created, between the man's world of paid employment and the women's world in the home. Previously men and women had both worked in the home, and perhaps also on some land, making goods for consumption and for sale (for example, by cooking, sewing, spinning, or woodwork). Both were contributing to the economic and financial aspects of family life. While the industrial revolution created jobs in factories for both men and women, men were paid more, and women found themselves undertaking various types of domestic service (Burnette, 2008). Men's lives started to be outside the home, in the public sphere, but women remained within the private sphere of the home. The concept of public and private spheres is so important in understanding the difference in experience between men and women, and the inequality that it causes, that Pateman commented that 'it is, ultimately, what the feminist movement is about' (1989:118).

Okin (1989:17-18) continued this examination of the role of the family in women's inequality and argued for specific changes. She suggested that in order to produce a just society, important lessons need to be learned in the family, and that this could only occur in a 'just' family. The sharing of roles by men and women, rather than a division of roles between them, was required. Over time, many others have studied the double burden faced by women (see for example Ruth, 1980; Alstott, 1996; Jackson and Jones, 1998; Leira, 2002; Mandel and Semyonov, 2006). Although authors on this topic often have a liberal perspective, as noted, the roles undertaken by men and women in the family has also been the subject of analysis by Marxist writers, including Holmstrom (1981) and Gimenez (1999). The present thesis draws on such literature, in Chapters 4 and 7, which consider eligibility and payment rate.

It has previously been observed that gender and gender equality are generally taken to refer to women and women's equality. However, discussion of men's rights, including men's right to care for their children, has developed as a stream within the gender equality literature, which can be seen in the emergence of bodies such as the Fatherhood Institute, a think tank in the UK, and Global Fatherhood, mainly USA-based researchers who run the 'Man Care' campaign, and produce the 'State of the world's fathers' report (MenCare - SOWF). Discussion of how men appear in feminism and gender equality has been provided by Holmgren and Hearn (2009).

Different world views (a selection of which were outlined above) have diverse impacts on policy-making. An essentialist view would lead to policies that support a traditional family structure, such as through a direct transfer to the primary carer, a 'cash-for-care' payment. (This example

illustrates how different world views can lead to the same policy goals but for different reasons. People may seek to recognise and compensate carers of any gender, because they view caring as an important role, but not necessarily one that is naturally female). Such policies often use gender-neutral language, such as primary carer, but in a situation where care responsibilities are already gendered, the language actually serves to reinforce the gendered division of labour. By contrast, a liberal view would lead to policies that support a change in gender roles, by directly promoting or rewarding a change. An example is the dedicated father's quota in Norway.

Within the broader gender equality literature, there is a body of literature that classifies how different policies impact gender equality, which is briefly introduced here and discussed more fully in the next chapter. Squires (1999:3) outlines three types of gender equality strategies: inclusion; reversal; and displacement. She has considered how they apply to gender mainstreaming (2005), as have Andersson et al (2018), within a WPR approach. Brighouse and Wright (2008) provide three alternative classifications: equality-impeding; equality-enabling; and equality-promoting. Scholars such as Baird (2004) have introduced classifications for PPL policies. The Squires classification is used in this research to identify the impact of the policies under analysis.

This section has provided a brief introduction to the literature which is referred to in the analysis chapters of this thesis. The common themes are a belief that there is currently inequality between the genders, the recognition that inequality means a difference in circumstances, and that the genders will be affected differently by any policy intervention.

1.9. Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 outlines the analytical and conceptual frameworks. It starts by outlining this research as comparative, through its analysis of Norway and its application to New Zealand, and as qualitative. The qualitative methods used are the analysis of historical documents, in-depth interviewing, and the analysis of discourse. It next considers the implications of being an insider-researcher, as throughout this research I was employed full-time in policy roles at two New Zealand Government Ministries. It then explains the WPR framework, including its key concepts of problematization and governmentality, as well as describing the data and the WPR questions. Next the chapter explains the PIA approach in greater detail, including how this research makes use of interview transcript data, as well as historical document data. It also outlines the seven processes that constitute the PIA approach. Chapter 2 also provides further discussion of gender equality as a contested concept, including how it is considered in the literature with respect to the family and policy, which is drawn upon in this research. It also discusses Esping-Andersen's (1990) classification of welfare systems.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the design elements of PPL policies. The first design feature considered is whether it is maternity leave, paternity leave, or (shareable) parental leave. The next topic is duration, the length of each type leave available to parents, and is followed by payment rate. The rate of payment for PPL may be a fixed amount, or it may be paid at wage replacement, in which case a cap (or maximum amount) may apply. Next to consider is funding mechanisms, such as social security as in Norway, or general taxation as in New Zealand. The chapter then considers issues relating to obligations that are associated with receipt of transfers such as PPL, and the related concept of eligibility, primarily whether it is provided on a universal or targeted basis.

Chapters 4 to 7 provide the WPR analysis. Chapter 4 outlines the problem representations in each country and the assumptions that underlie them. It answers the first and second WPR questions. Based on the changes made by policy, the analysis in the first WPR question reveals the problem of PPL in New Zealand is represented to be the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave. The payment for leave was the major change and the fact that it was taxpayer funded indicates the public responsibility. The leave is described as maternity because the mother has primary eligibility, and the father has no independent eligibility to any paid leave, unless she transfers some of 'her' leave to him.

The second WPR question examined the assumptions or conceptual logics behind the problem representation. The analysis of the New Zealand data suggests that the low maximum payment rate reflects a view of PPL as welfare and of welfare as dependency. Rather than be positively viewed as making a contribution, the care role has been devalued, and assumed to be performed by women. The literature regarding economic models and the assumptions on which they are based is drawn upon in this part of the chapter. The analysis also suggests that the eligibility criteria is based on a traditional pattern of male employment history (i.e. for a single employer over a continuous and ongoing period) and it is discussed with reference to the literature on equality. It was noted previously that conceptual logics refer to the meanings that must be in place for a particular problem representation to make sense and that PPL had been positioned as an employment right by some advocates. This chapter highlights the tension between the dominant problem representation (of PPL as welfare) and alternative representations (of PPL as an employment right).

With respect to Norway the WPR analysis reveals the problem representation of PPL to be the shared responsibility for the unequal use of parental leave. The assumptions or conceptual logics behind it are identified as fathers as unwilling carers, the involvement of the state in family decisions, and the appropriateness of dual-earner family model. Although a similar element was found between the countries, that of the primary care role for women in New Zealand and the reluctance of Norwegian

fathers to be carers, there was a clear difference in the concept of citizenship and universal access in Norway compared to the view of welfare as dependency in New Zealand.

Chapter 5 presents the genealogy of each problem representation, that is, how they came about. It answers the third WPR question. The analysis highlights the specific developments and decisions that led to the problem representation, with a recognition that things could have developed differently, and brings a focus on process (Bacchi, 2009:10-11). As a new colony, and then a dominion of the UK, in the early 20th century New Zealand followed the 'mother country' in introducing a National Provident (or Insurance) Fund [NPF]. Amongst other things, the NPF provided an early maternity benefit by way of a cash payment on the birth of a child. However the NPF differed from the UK's National Insurance Scheme because it was voluntary, and as few people joined and many left, it was unsuccessful. The NPF ceased to be promoted, and New Zealand began to fund its limited welfare through general taxation, an approach which it continues today. The relationship between the perception of transfers (or welfare or benefit payments) and their source of funding has been noted in the literature, which helps explain how welfare is viewed as dependency in New Zealand, as transfers are funded through general taxation. Other relevant decisions were taken much later in the 20th century, when New Zealand placed reservations against two international maternity agreements and failed to ratify a third, all of which could have benefited New Zealand women had they been adopted in full much earlier.

The specific developments and decisions relevant in the Norwegian problem representation for PPL include the government's response to the women's movement in the 1970s. A long series of research projects was commissioned, signalling the start of state involvement in family decisions, which led to the introduction of PPL, and later, the recommendation for a father's quota.

Chapter 6 presents silences, effects, and considers the dominance of the problem representations. It answers the fourth, fifth, and sixth WPR questions. In New Zealand the fourth WPR question identified a number of silences; the inequality between payments made to men and women for absences from employment; the gendered division of unpaid work; children's needs at birth; and the role of fathers. The fifth WPR question highlighted the discursive, subjectification, and lived effects of the problem representation. An example of a discursive effect was the lack of discourse on gender equality and a subjectification effect was the division of women into those eligible and those ineligible for PPL. Two lived effects identified were families having to adapt to one income and fathers receiving limited state support to be present with their new child. The sixth WPR question considers how the problem representation became dominant and explores PPL as welfare-related, as opposed to an alternative problematization of employment-related, or as part of gender equality. The same question also

considers how it could be questioned, disrupted, or replaced and suggests an extension of the accident compensation system to cover parental leave.

The Norway data presented different silences and effects as well as different issues regarding the dominant problem representation. The silences identified were ineligibility, family preferences and gender equality as a family issue (rather than a structural issue arising from labour market or institutional issues). An example of a discursive effect of the problem representation was the lack of discourse regarding the desirability of the institutionalised care of children, and a subjectification effect was to divide parents into those who share parental leave and those who don't. The lived effect was a change in family roles and dynamics. The means through which the dominance of the problem representation was achieved was proposed to be the power of the integration of liberal ideology into the welfare state. Two ways the representation could be questioned, both of which related to barriers to fathers taking leave, were identified. The first was the mother's work requirement, as it makes some fathers ineligible, and the second was the pro-rating of the fathers' parental leave payment and the economic impact it would have on the family.

Chapter 7 examines the interview data using the PIA processes. The data are transcripts from interviews with people involved with the relevant PPL policy change in New Zealand and Norway, which consisted of six open-ended questions. The participants were politicians, public servants, trade union officials, women's groups, and family policy academics and they were all asked the same questions. Two of the questions were related to the WPR questions and the other four were intended to illustrate what the interview subjects understood of the policy change.

Analysis of the New Zealand interview data revealed a new perspective on an existing topic. Payment rate was discussed in terms of its low value, and the way it operates as a maximum rather than a minimum, in contrast with the analysis of the historic data, where it focused on its relationship to the average male wage and the level of benefit payments.

In the Norwegian data analysis, although the interview data were similar to some of the document analysis, the interviewees also introduced some new matters. In addition, an interesting correlation was found between one of the interviews and a surprising element of the historical data analysis, which was a reference to family violence and the role of PPL in reducing it.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis. It commences with the researcher's WPR self-reflection, which is the last step in the WPR framework, where the researcher applies the six WPR questions to their own representation of the problem instead of to the data. By answering the questions myself, as the researcher, I reveal my own value judgements to the reader. These include a view of PPL as a labour

market issue, and different assumptions about the labour market participation of women in New Zealand and Norway, as I assume women in Norway will eventually enter in full-time employment again after becoming mothers but that New Zealand women may not.

The chapter also offers potential areas for future research, such as investigating the rate of utilisation, which is less than half the births in New Zealand resulting in a claim for PPL. If policy design features, such as eligibility, contribute to low utilisation such research could inform future changes to the PPL policy. On the basis of the literature examined for this research, I propose that PPL in New Zealand should continue to be paid at wage replacement but subject to a much higher cap than the current minimum wage equivalent, in order to encourage take up by those who are eligible. I propose that the duration of PPL be extended, and the introduction of a period of leave dedicated for fathers/partners, which is of sufficient duration to effect change at both home and in the labour market. On a broader level, I consider whether the current method of paying for transfers through general taxation is sustainable, and whether New Zealand would be better served by an alternative system such as social security.

1.10. Conclusion

The objective of this research is to answer the research question ‘How was gender equality conceptualized in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway?’

In researching that issue, three specific questions arose about the payment rate, eligibility, and rights. The first question is ‘Why was the minimum wage used as the payment rate for PPL in New Zealand but wage replacement adopted in Norway?’ The second question is ‘Why is the fathers’ eligibility for PPL (in both countries) based in some way on the mothers’ employment status?’ The final question is ‘Why were children’s rights discussed as a health issue in New Zealand but as receiving paternal care in Norway?’ The research also uncovers different understandings of gender equality in each country.

The data are historical documentation from during and preceding the chosen policy change (when PPL was introduced in New Zealand and when the father’s quota was introduced in Norway) and transcripts of interviews undertaken as part of this research with politicians, public servants, trade union officials, women’s groups, and family policy academics who were involved in the relevant PPL policy changes in New Zealand and Norway. The research adopts Bacchi’s poststructuralist perspective, and uses her two methodologies that examine the discourse in the data, the WPR and PIA approaches. The set of six WPR questions are applied to the historical documentation data and

the transcript data are analysed using the seven processes within PIA. The research draws upon gender equality literature.

This research makes a contribution to the academic literature regarding tax and welfare policy and gender in New Zealand. It provides an original insight into the design of PPL policy from a critical perspective as well as a unique comparison between New Zealand and Norway. It provides a further methodological example of the established WPR framework, and an early application of the new PIA approach, offering a unique application of both to PPL in both New Zealand and Norway. This research also challenges policy-makers to adopt and maintain a critical perspective in their work. By providing an example of how a policy-as-discourse approach can reveal assumptions and how they impact policy design, it can facilitate critical engagement, and encourage the explicit use of a gender lens to policy analysis.

Chapter 2 – Analytic and Conceptual Frameworks

2.1. Introduction

This research investigates policy as discourse. It recognises policy-making as a socially meaningful practise and policies as a product of their environment. It considers how the contested concept of gender equality was considered in the selected policies of PPL in New Zealand and Norway.

To analyse the policies, Bacchi's WPR approach (2009) is adopted, as it provides the desired critique. WPR delivers a new way of analysing policy. Traditional understanding of policy is based on an assumption that there is a pre-existing problem in the world that we can identify and solve, whereas Bacchi's approach of policy-as-discourse recognises that policies constitute problems in particular ways that have effects on people and social relations (Gill, 2012:79). Policy as discourse was discussed in Section 1.6.1, where it was suggested that assumptions and judgements are made by the subjects involved in the policy-making process, and that these reflect and reinforce the dominant discourses.

WPR has been used in a wide range of policy studies. These include the impact of domestic violence on children (Murray and Powell, 2007), Community Parent Education (Widding, 2011), prostitution and sex trafficking (Carson and Edwards, 2011), promoting physical activity to children (Alexander and Coveney, 2013), homelessness (Zufferey, 2014) and health (Bacchi, 2016). A second approach is used to analyse interview data, a data source which has previously presented challenges for poststructural researchers. PIA is also designed by Bacchi (with Bonham) and has the same philosophical roots. The gender equality literature is examined as it relates to policy, especially for women, and the family.

This chapter begins by discussing the comparative, qualitative, and poststructuralist nature of the research in Section 2.2. Next discussed are two research issues, of being an 'insider-researcher' and the particular relevance of tax research to women, in Section 2.3.

The data are then described along with the framework applied to analyse them. This commences in Section 2.4 with a summary of the historical documents and discussion of the WPR framework. The WPR questions are outlined and its poststructuralist nature and Foucauldian roots are discussed. Key Foucauldian concepts of problematization, governmentality, and power are examined. Section 2.5 outlines the PIA approach and the interview data that it is used to analyse.

Section 2.6 examines gender equality as a contested concept. It considers the different meanings that are applied to it and the worldviews they represent. The presentation of family, including parenthood and motherhood, within the gender equality literature is discussed. Then gender equality in policy

analysis is considered, and the classification by Squires (1999) that was introduced in Chapter 1, is expanded.

Section 2.7 examines how different welfare models are considered in the literature. The focus is on the models in the countries being examined, which (as defined by Esping-Andersen, 1990) is a liberal model in New Zealand, and a social-democratic model in Norway.

A conclusion of the key points of the chapter is provided in Section 2.8.

2.2. Research design

This research is a comparative study. It compares the problematization of the change that introduced PPL in New Zealand with the problematization of the change that introduced the father's quota and significantly extended the duration of PPL in Norway. The comparative method of research is well established (Johnson, 1893), and international comparative research requires the comparison of the same issues in different countries (Hantrais, 2009:2), as presented here. Although Norway and New Zealand are broadly similar countries, as outlined below, the PPL policies in each country are different and this research will assist in discovering the 'story' behind that difference. Using the WPR approach to compare problematizations, rather than trying to compare countries directly, has been supported by Rönnblom (2012:133) on the grounds that it produces a focus on doing and creates a dialogue between identified problem representations within contrasting problematizations. Bacchi (n.d.) suggests that by revealing 'the specific combinations of factors and relations' that create different problematizations, it is possible to see how a 'problem' is problematized, and how it came to be. Elsewhere she contrasts a comparison of problematizations with conventional comparative research. She suggests (2012:6) the former can illustrate how specific institutional and cultural contexts impact the way people think about 'problems' and 'make politics visible' rather than the latter, which accepts concepts without question, and seeks to generate 'knowledge'.

This research is qualitative in orientation. Qualitative research is often chosen by those who want to understand their subjects, to hear their voices, and to recognise their standpoints. This is referred to as 'indwelling' (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:25). Such intentions reflect the privileging of the research subject with a 'truth' that is sought by the researchers. That is not the way in which the present qualitative research is undertaken.

It is the poststructuralist perspective, rather than the qualitative orientation, that provides the critique and the point of difference in this research. The constructionist epistemology that was identified in the previous chapter results in the rejection of anything as objective, absolute or generalizable (Crotty,

1998:16). Such concepts arise from another of the worldviews that might be adopted while still undertaking qualitative research, positivism, although post-positivism and constructivism could also be adopted (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:105). As poststructuralist, this qualitative research is aware of the role of personal, social and cultural factors (Hammersley, 2011:21) and is undertaken with the researcher being alert to how their own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what they are trying to understand (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994:123). This is evinced by the self-reflection in Chapter 8, where I apply the WPR questions to my own problematization, rather than the data.

The methods employed in this research - the analysis of historical documents, in-depth interviewing, and the analysis of written and verbal discourses - are qualitative methods, not because they could not be used in quantitative research, but because of the interpretation and nuance that has been applied to the findings they have generated (Sprague, 2005:119). The qualitative data collected in the manner described above were analysed using NVivo computer software. The transcripts of the interviews were coded as were the collection of Norwegian and New Zealand documents. An analytical tool was used for the rigour it brings to a qualitative study (Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2011:70). The methods adopted are outlined in more detail in Appendix A.

2.3. Research issues

This section considers the issues of being an insider-researcher and the particular relevance of tax research to women.

At the end of the first year of my PhD research I transferred from another part of The Treasury into, and subsequently became the Team Leader and Acting Manager of, the Tax Strategy team, which is responsible for the formulation of New Zealand's tax policy, in conjunction with the Policy Advice and Strategy division of the Inland Revenue. For the three years I was there, I was arguably an insider-researcher. This occurs where the focus of the research includes one's own site of work (Costley et al, 2010:xviii) and the study of one's own social group or society (Naples, 2003:46). This represented both opportunities and challenges, as this unique position allows an insider-researcher to study the issues in depth, and with special knowledge, but requires a particular sensitivity to colleagues (Costley et al, 2010:3,5). The insider/outsider debate receives particular attention in feminist research and it is argued that it masks power differentials and experiential differences between the researcher and the researched (Naples, 2003:49). Often this concern would be raised where the interviewees hold less power (in the traditional sense) than the interviewer. However, in this research, all those interviewed were more senior to me, either as more senior public servants, or

as respected advisors, politicians, or established academics. On the other hand, a concern could be raised that a more junior researcher may feel reluctant to critique the positions or views of senior colleagues, and within poststructuralist research a concern may be raised about the ability of an insider-researcher to reflect on alternative discourses. Squires's (2005:374) discussion of gender mainstreaming raises concern with the need for 'bridging' where gender equality becomes a business case and is weakened through 'rhetorical entrapment'.

A case study approach is particularly suitable for insider-research, as it is a methodology which enables the researcher to draw out points that have potential for wider application or to illustrate problems in policy or practice (Costley et al, 2010:89). This is reflected in one of the contributions of this research, which is to enable policy and law makers in New Zealand to develop future tax and welfare policy with an explicit gender perspective.

Taxation has been recognised as a woman's issue (Apps, 1999; Williams, 2002; Abramovitz and Morgen, 2006; Kahu and Morgan, 2007; Stewart, 2010). This is because tax policy is not gender neutral as discussed in the previous chapter. Recognising this, feminist writers have raised concerns about the impact of a 'complex system of tax deductions, exemptions, and credits (which) either promote or undercut the economic security of individuals and families' (Abramovitz and Morgen, 2006:14). Kahu and Morgan (2007:144) observed how tax and welfare policies not only impact the choices people make about their lives but also the way those choices are viewed by others. This is achieved because such policies have a 'discursive influence' on society as they form part of the practises and processes that create discourse.

2.4. What's the Problem Represented to be?

This section explores the primary methodology used in this research and the data that it examines. The WPR methodology was introduced in Section 1.7.2 and stated to be poststructuralist in nature with Foucauldian roots. Foucault and poststructuralism were both discussed in Section 1.2.

The characteristics of a poststructuralist approach that can be found in WPR include a relentless questioning of ideologies and concepts that appear to be natural, stable, and known (Gormly, 1997:317) and the analysis of the constructions of meaning and relationships of power (Scott, 1988:33). There are three main concepts in WPR, which are outlined next, before consideration of the data and the WPR questions themselves. The concepts are problematization, governmentality, and power.

2.4.1. Problematization

Bacchi is particularly concerned with Foucault's concept of problematization, which was a term he discussed on various occasions towards the end of his life, and even suggested was the common element in the majority of his work (Barnett, 2015). Foucault used the term problematization in two ways. Firstly, as a way of thinking problematically, as a mode of critical analysis, and secondly to describe how objects are constituted in practise (Foucault, 1994). Foucault's explanation of critical analysis is as follows:

'A critique does not consist in saying that things aren't good the way they are. It consists in seeing on what type of assumptions, of familiar notions, of established, unexamined ways of thinking the accepted practises are based' (Foucault, 1994:456).

In terms of how objects are constituted, he suggested problematization to be 'the development of a domain of acts, practices, and thoughts' (Foucault, 1998) and it is in this explanation that we can see how Bacchi considers WPR to be Foucault-influenced in the second sense, relating to how objects are constituted and poststructuralist (Bacchi, 2009:vi). She considers those using a poststructuralist approach as seeking to critically scrutinize problematizations to determine the way in which problems are produced and represented (Bacchi, 2015:1).

Problematizations are the way a 'problem' is constituted, and that for Bacchi, what we propose to do tells us what we think is wrong. For example, if we propose to introduce a regulation or limitation, this implies we think there is some negative outcome we wish to avoid, perhaps for a certain group. The previous chapter included the example of the sale of alcohol, and how it is banned to those under 18, which reveals a problematization that minors need to be protected from consuming alcohol. Applying the Foucauldian concept of problematization to our example, we can see how acts and practises such as age verification and law enforcement, which give rise to objects such as ID cards, are created by the problematization.

Other researchers have applied their own problematization approaches based on Foucault, including a recent study of the way in which women's working bodies are problematized and constituted as deviant in relation to masculine forms for working bodies in the Australian wine industry (Bryant and Garnham, 2014:411). However, it is Bacchi's approach that has been used in this research, as it is a methodology specifically designed for policy analysis.

2.4.2. Governmentality

The second important concept is governmentality, which is another term taken from Foucault (although also used by others), and again he uses the term in two ways. Firstly, to identify different rationalities or mentalities of rule (govern-mentalities) and secondly, to refer to the form of rule that emerged in the late eighteenth century, which focused on population (Bacchi, 2009:26).

In a 1978 lecture, Foucault (1991:92) considered the upwards and downwards continuity that results in a well-run state ensuring that families are well-run by their heads, and how 'individuals will, in turn, behave as they should'. Foucault (1991:92,98-100) identified this family model as an art of government that started to occur in the sixteenth century, was trapped by the institution of sovereignty until the eighteenth century, and finally broken by the 'problem of population' in which the family becomes a segment of the population rather than a model.

Gordon (1991:3) notes that Foucault used the terms 'rationality of government' and 'art of government' almost interchangeably, and identifies how Foucault saw government as a practise, rather than as an institution (1991:4).

Foucault is concerned with power, as presented in his triangle of rule, which consists of three elements: sovereignty; discipline; and governmentality (Foucault, 1976:93). Where sovereign power is concerned with ruling subjects through law, violence, and pageantry, disciplinary power uses surveillance and normalization, and these both compare to governmentality which uses social and economic policy to govern (Bacchi, 2009:27). As is seen in the analysis chapters, both countries in this research designed and imposed rules as (relatively) newly independent states, and Norway employed a combination of discipline and self-regulation (or governmentality) to promote fathers taking parental leave through the father's quota. The policy change normalized a previously female life pattern to become also a pattern for most men. In New Zealand men continue to follow the societal norms regarding their lack of care roles. There has been no intervention seeking to change it, not through policy change, or from social activism.

After Foucault's death, his work on governmentality was developed during the 1990s by Miller and Rose (1990:5). Their work included a focus on the discursive character of governmentality and the attention to language that it requires. They also considered his concepts of problematization and subjectification but concentrated especially on governmentality, and suggested it was possible to identify three successive families of governmentality - liberal, welfarism, and advanced liberal - distinctions not made by Foucault (Miller and Rose, 2008).

Foucault's work on governmentality was critically examined by Dean (2015:400), who declared his own understanding of governmentality to be a perspective on how to investigate diverse practices and regimes of government, and who viewed regimes as the conduct of conduct. This thinking is reflected in the way in which Bacchi (2009:65) considers the WPR approach to capture the ways in which concepts are embedded in governmental practices, but her focus on issues of power relations reflects a more traditional Foucauldian way of thinking. These governmental practices are not only undertaken by government, in fact they occur more commonly through every-day practices, such as in norms about providing care for children. A related element of governmentality also captured by the WPR approach is dividing practices, such as constituting subjects as parents who share leave, and parents who decide the mother will take all the leave. The concept of dividing practices is one that has been explored by other researchers, such as McRobbie's (2013) examination of modern feminism, and its relationship with contemporary neoliberalism.

The concept of governmentality more broadly has also been considered by other researchers. In a manner reflecting Foucault's first use of the term, it has been suggested that it refers to the act of governing to produce the citizen best suited to fulfil its policies and to the organized practices through which subjects are governed (Mukhopadhyay, 2015:617). Teghtsoonain (2016:334) refers to governmentality as a conceptual framework for analyzing governing practices and their effects, suggesting these governing practices include the way aspects of existence are problematized, and people's conduct is regulated. She suggested a governmentality analytical approach would be used by those seeking to unsettle the way in which things are taken for granted (2016:341). This is exactly what Bacchi seeks to do in the WPR approach.

2.4.3. Power

The Foucauldian concept of power applied in WPR has been introduced through the concept of governmentality, as something different from legal rule or oppression, but equally effective in influencing people's lives. Power is not something that someone has or does not have because it is not a 'thing' (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:28). Gordon (1991:5) describes Foucault's understanding of power as requiring individuals who are free to act, who have their own agency, otherwise it is force rather than power. The focus here is on power relations, which are productive, and 'make "things" come into existence' (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:29).

The productive aspect of power is reflected in Foucault's use of the hyphenated term power-knowledge to reflect the constitutive aspect of knowledge and the way in which power and knowledge implicate one another (Sembo, 2015:37). In WPR, this view of power as productive is manifest in both the

questions that challenge how representations came about and became dominant, and those that consider how they could be disrupted or replaced.

As well as being important to WPR, power is also an important concept within gender equality literature, especially where policy (problematization) ignores existing power relations. This can occur where cultural or social issues are overlooked or underestimated. One example is offered by Andersson et al (2018) who observed that power relations were not discussed in their investigation of gender mainstreaming policies in the Swedish forestry industry.

Power is considered in different ways in this research. As the formal power of Parliament, particularly the process of forming a coalition government, which occurred when PPL was introduced in New Zealand. As the power to create knowledge or discourse, to influence the meaning of a word or concept, and create or deny subject positions. These are considered throughout the analysis chapters.

2.4.4. WPR data

Bacchi suggests that text selection is an 'interpretive exercise' that should start with a specific piece of legislation or a report and build to include other relevant texts, such as records of parliamentary debates, government reports, and media statements (2009:20). This was the approach undertaken in text selection for this research.

To analyse PPL in New Zealand, the first data selected was the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Act 2002, and the Parental Leave & Employment Protection Act 1987, which it amended and introduced new provisions (PCO, n.d.). Next was the Hansard record of parliamentary debate when the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Bill was making its passage through the House (of Representatives) along with the public submissions made on the Bill. Briefings to Ministers prepared by public servants from the Ministry of Women, Department of Labour, and The Treasury were obtained under Official Information Act 1982 [OIA] requests. Government reports on parental leave and social issues, and documentation from women's groups were collected as data, along with various print media articles on PPL from the period 1999 to 2002. All documents were allocated a number with the prefix A for New Zealand data (A1, A2, etc.) and this is how they are referred to in this thesis.

A similar approach was adopted to select the data to analyse PPL in Norway. The Norwegian equivalent of an amendment act, *Proposisjoner: Ot.prp.nr.13 (1992-1993) Om lov om endringer i lov*

*17. juni 1966 nr 12 om folketrygd og i visse andre lover*⁶ was selected first, along with the two Acts it amended. They were the parental leave provisions of the Work Environment Act 1977 and the National Insurance Act 1966⁷ (Norwegian Ministry of Labour, Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs). A document that provides a summary and guide to the rules of the Norwegian Social Insurance Scheme was also selected as data along with a number of government reports or White Papers (abbreviated as NOUs in Norwegian). This included the three NOUs issued prior to PPL being introduced in 1977 and two issued prior to the father's quota in 1993. The document number referencing for the Norwegian data has a prefix B (B1, B2, etc.). The key to all documents is provided in Appendix B.

2.4.5. WPR questions

Bacchi initially presented a set of five questions (Bacchi, 1999:12) as a methodology for critical analysis, but continued to develop them to become the six listed below (Bacchi, 2009:xii), which are used in this research. Although the WPR approach is presented as a set of six questions, they are actually a series of questions, as question four consists of three questions, and question six is composed of two questions.

The questions are as follows:

- 1 – What is the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?
- 2 – What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
- 3 – How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
- 4 – What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
- 5 – What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
- 6 – How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended?
How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Each question can be thought about in the following manner.

⁶ Propositions: Ot.prp.no.13 (1992-1993) On the Act on Amendments to the Law of 17 June 1966 No. 12 on National Insurance and Certain Other Laws

⁷ For completeness, these Acts were subsequently replaced by the Work Environment Act 2005, and the National Insurance Act 1997

The first question uncovers the implied problem representation in a specific policy by highlighting what was changed by the policy (Bacchi, 2009:4) and here I uncover the problem representation for the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway by looking at what changes the policies introduced.

The second question considers presuppositions or assumptions, called 'conceptual logics' by Bacchi (2009:5), by which she refers to the meanings that must be in place in order for a particular problem representation to make sense.

This approach does not try to identify the assumptions held by the policy-makers themselves. Rather it examines the worldview and 'knowledge systems' that underpin the problem representation. Assumptions based on particular modes of knowing (such as positivism, interpretivism, or poststructuralism), or on particular political rationalities (such as social democracy, liberalism or neoliberalism), are revealed within different knowledges. Such assumptions are deep-seated and generally unexamined by policy-makers, but they lead to policy decisions that impact people's lives, through the way people are governed. In the countries examined in this research, assumptions based on social-democratic and neoliberal politics are revealed, and the consequences critiqued.

The third question refers to the conditions that allowed the problem representation to assume dominance (2009:11). While this necessarily includes a historical perspective, it does not accept a 'natural' order of events, but instead analyses the power relations that led to the dominance of one problematization and identifies points at which different decisions could have been made.

The fourth question is in fact three questions presented together and they begin the critical analysis, leaving behind the discussion of how the policy was formed, to start thinking about what else might have been possible. They consider what was not problematized (after the first three questions examined what was problematized) and refer to these as silences (2009:13).

The fifth question considers three types of effects that are produced by the representation of the 'problem': discursive; subjectification; and lived effects. Discursive effects refer to limits that become imposed on what can be thought and said. Subjectification effects are the ways in which subjects are constituted in discourse. Lived effects are the impacts on life and death (2009:15). This question is critical in nature and returns the research focus to the dominant problem representation after consideration of alternative problem representations in the previous question.

The sixth question is two questions, also presented together, as in question four. The questions all link back to question three, which identifies how the problem representation came about, and now examine how it could be resisted. It considers how the dominant problematization could be replaced by an alternative one.

Although not a question, a final instruction is included in the WPR approach, as Bacchi then asks researchers to apply the set of questions in the approach to their own problematizations and the problem representations they contain (2009:45). This reflective work by the researcher is included in Chapter 8.

This thesis presents the WPR questions separately and in order but, as recognised by Bacchi (2009:233), when performing an integrated analysis it is common to apply only specific questions to the analysis, as appropriate to the research. This acknowledges the possibility of undertaking research that applies only the relevant WPR question or questions for the research question. If a researcher were interested in the impact or implications of a policy, WPR5 could be applied to interrogate the effects of the problem representation, and would provide a comprehensive understanding of the discursive, subjective, and lived effects. Alternatively, if a researcher wished to identify the assumptions that underlie a problem representation, WPR1 and 2 could be utilised for this purpose. This approach also acknowledges that some of the WPR questions could uncover similar topics. For example, a silence identified in WPR4 could be an effect identified in WPR5, and this is illustrated in this chapter. Recognising this last possibility of the WPR framework, while all of the WPR questions are answered in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, where there is some repetition in the findings, they are included once only.

2.5. Poststructural Interview Analysis

This section explores the second methodology used in this research and the data that it examines. The Poststructural Interview Analysis or PIA was introduced in Section 1.6.3. PIA was also developed by Bacchi (and Bonham, in Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:113) and has Foucauldian roots. Bacchi proposes it enables interview data to be used in poststructuralist research. PIA is a series of seven processes and these are discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.2 below.

Interview data have not generally been used in poststructuralist research due to concerns about the way in which interview subjects are considered to be (in Foucault's terminology) a 'founding subject', which is inconsistent with a poststructuralist approach (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016: 114). However it has been used in research that uses a governmentality framework and interviews (Teghtsoonain, 2016:335). The PIA enables the use of such data in an accessible and structured way and considers interview responses to be a form of discourse that can be analysed in the same way as any other form of discourse.

PIA is still very new, so there are limited examples of its application in the literature, but its developers used it to interview women cyclists to provide a demonstration of the approach (Bonham and Bacchi, 2017) and Walker et al (2018) have used it to interview prisoners. Bonham and Bacchi identified how objects, such as bicycles and cycling, and subjects, such as cyclists and women, are formed by what is said in interviews. They highlight the way discursive practises have made it possible to speak about cycling in particular ways. Walker et al (2018:319) highlighted the subjectification effects of a prison policy that constituted drug users as dehumanized and deserving of punishment and the harmful effects of the problem representation.

2.5.1. PIA data

The data analysed using the PIA approach are a new primary data source I created from interviews I conducted with politicians, public servants, women's rights advocates, and family policy academics in New Zealand and Norway. The interviews were open-ended, semi-structured, and the interview responses were transcribed and then coded in the same way as the historical documentation. The interview data complement the historical document data. By utilising both data in this research, I produce a richer examination of the PPL policy changes than could otherwise be achieved, and provide a unique contribution to the literature.

The participants were invited to be interviewed on the basis of their technical knowledge of the tax and welfare policy under consideration, their involvement in policy-making, or their research contribution on family policies.

With respect to feminist research, the use of interviews is common, and often interviewers engage in highly collaborative participatory research (Shields and Dervin, 1993:65). Many hold the view that interviewing provides feminist researchers with a way to gain insight into the world of their respondents (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007:114). Some feminist research deliberately privileges the voice of the interviewee, with the intention of valuing women's experiences, but with the consequence of failing to critique what is shared. However, when including interviews in poststructuralist research, such critique is necessary.

The same six open-ended questions were asked of all participants. Two of the questions were related to the WPR questions and the other four were intended to illustrate what the interview subjects understood of the policy change. A small pilot study was undertaken prior to the interviews used in this research. The draft interview questions were posed to a number of policy officials at The Treasury, Inland Revenue and Ministry of Education in New Zealand and as a result of the pilot study, the

interview questions were refined. The details of the seventeen interview participants from New Zealand and Norway are provided in Chapter 7. With one exception all are named respondents.

2.5.2. PIA processes

It was mentioned above that incorporating interviews into poststructural research had been uncommon, until the PIA was developed in 2016, which now provides a way to conduct poststructural interview analysis. The PIA approach is based on the premise that interviews are inherently political and it is concerned with how subjects are produced and, in particular, the kind of subject it is possible to become. The purpose of the analysis is to consider the kinds of subjects produced within the interview setting and allow reflection on how subject status can be questioned and disrupted (Bacchi and Bonham, 2016:115). These last tasks are recognised as familiar from the WPR approach. PIA considers not only what is said but how it was possible to say those things. It also considers the role of the interviewer with respect to their distribution and selection practises (2016:120).

The seven processes of the PIA approach are as follows (2016:115-120):

Process 1: Noting 'What is said'

The emphasis in the first process is on precisely what is said rather than on the people. Researchers are directed to pay attention to where interviewees differentiate ways of thinking/feeling/characterising/doing, as well as to any reference to measurement, or self-formation. This is where an interviewee speaks of themselves in terms of an available subject position. This process can investigate what things said have been noted on and on what grounds they have been noted.

Process 2: Producing genealogies of 'What is said'

This process is similar to the instruction in the third WPR question. The researcher is asked to reflect on how what is said could be said, its legitimacy, histories or genealogies. This requires attention to processes, procedures, and apparatuses. This process can investigate what meanings need to be in place for particular 'things said' to be intelligible and where and how has a specific 'thing said' come to be accepted as 'truth'.

Process 3: Highlight key discursive practices

This process draws on Foucault's concept of discursive practises, which are sets or networks of heterogeneous relations installing regimes of truth, and examines how discourses operate to establish

their knowledge credentials. In this process, attention is paid to the normative implications of identified discursive practices, and to the identification of subject positions. The interview itself is treated as a discursive practice. Questions to consider include the way in which discursive practises are relevant to the 'things said' that are the focus of the analysis and the subject positions that are made available within these discursive practices.

Process 4: Analyzing 'What is said'

This process returns to subject positions and discursive practises, and examines what the 'things said' produce or constitute, not what they 'mean'. It considers the norms that the 'things said' invoke. It also considers which subjects are produced, which 'objects' they create, and which 'places' are produced as legitimate.

Process 5: Interrogating the production of 'subjects'

This process involves thinking about how we are produced as particular kinds of provisional subjects. Interviewees are asked to examine their being, to consider elements of their lives, and to position these elements against each other and against people. In so doing, interviewees problematize their conduct, and associate themselves with certain subject positions. Such examination shifts the focus from the interviewee to the process, to the discursive practices, and subjectification. Questions that can be considered include what the individual relates to the self, and what ways of moving, thinking, characterizing and feeling they have excised and related to the self. The discursive practises in which these attributes have been formed can be identified.

Process 6: Exploring Transformative Potential

This process builds on the notion that subjectivity is a process, and uses the interview material to explore mutations in subject positions. It does so by examining plural and contradictory discursive practices, by considering whether a particular interviewee comment appears unusual, inappropriate or out of context. It looks for comments that offer an alternative to a taken for granted reality.

Process 7: Questioning the Politics of Distribution

The final process addresses the role of the researcher. PIA recognises that they have power in distinguishing what to report, include, exclude, or distribute. The role is examined by considering whether any particular interviewer comments ('things said') challenge or reinforce pervasive ways of thinking. Or whether any questions asked functioned to reinforce or challenge pervasive ways of thinking or if the sites for distributing research results are constrained in ways that reinforce pervasive ways of thinking.

The analysis of the interview data using the PIA processes is presented in Chapter 7.

2.6. Gender equality as a contested concept

Gender equality has been introduced as a contested concept, one that has different meanings for different groups, and whose meaning is likely to be reflective of the worldview they hold. Meanings are formed through knowledge, what people believe or understand and how they have come to believe or understand it, based on their own ontological and epistemological assumptions. Differences in these assumptions, and therefore different knowledge, lead to different understandings of a concept. This affects the type of policy that is introduced and determines how we are governed. Recognition of power as constructive in this way is captured by the Foucauldian term ‘power-knowledge’ and the WPR understanding of policy as political.

Gender equality has traditionally been discussed either in terms of sameness or difference. These approaches have been described as pre- and post-suffrage (Sarvasy, 1992:329), the sex-based approach of pre-suffrage that concentrated on difference, the post-suffrage commitment to equal rights.

The sameness approach arises from a belief that like must be treated alike, and this leads to formal equality measures, such as a focus on anti-discrimination. This approach seeks equality through a neutral society, including institutions such as legislature, where everyone is treated the same. It is equality rather than equity (Blair, 2015:27). Equity is suggested as the means to achieving equality, as it allows different measures for different genders to overcome historic or systemic bias, to achieve equality of outcomes and results (UNTERM, n.d.). Equality is thought of in terms of opportunity and merit and everyone is allowed to participate. It enables the gender-neutral citizenship option within Wollstonecraft’s dilemma (Pateman, 1989).⁸

The public sphere is the locus (Pateman, 1988), and Bacchi observes how this approach privileges the market, and obscures women’s disadvantage through ‘liberal notions of equal opportunity’ (2009:186,197). Individual liberal rights have actually subjugated women to men and cannot provide either equality or ‘genuine freedom’ (Nash, 2002:415). Other negative implications of this approach include the failure to consider the differences that do exist. This means there is no ability to consider positive discrimination or affirmative action policies to rectify those inequalities. There is no entry to

⁸ The challenge associated with women identifying as different from men, while at the same time, seeking equality with them.

a discussion of changing male behaviour. Motherhood is invisible, and can only be addressed in male terms, such as through sickness and disability policies (Williams, 1992).

The alternative is the difference approach, considered below in relation to gender equality and the family, because the reproductive function is a relevant difference between the sexes in this research. This approach attracts concern, as a concession to male power (MacKinnon, 1987), and because 'what is separate is rarely, if ever, equal' (Jennings, 1993:126).

It is not, however, intuitive that the equality debate should use sameness or difference as reference points. If the opposite of equal/equality is unequal/inequality why does the debate not focus on inequality? This would move the discussion away from that which is different to the difference itself. That something is *different* infers a standard norm from which it differs. That norm is male (Bacchi, 2009:198) but also often white, Western, heterosexual, and able-bodied. That there is a *difference* enables a more complex consideration of how the difference arose including structure and culture. It could enable a response that reduces the difference, without negative inferences about any group, shifting focus from norm/deviation to difference/equality.

However, binary approaches are challenged as no longer useful, and poststructuralism is offered as more useful. Hughes (2002:184) proposed that same/different equality has 'run its course as a viable term for twenty-first-century feminism'. Nash (2001:257) considered Derrida's view of binaries as unstable, suggesting women were an 'undecidable' within liberalism, neither paid worker nor carer. Scott (1988:43) critiqued the same/different dichotomy as an 'intellectual trap' that creates 'an impossible choice'. She suggests neither recognises diversity, and raises deconstruction as the only choice, as it can provide 'an equality that rests on differences' (1988:46,48). An approach of deconstructive equality is also supported by Nash (2002:420).

Like others before me who have considered gender equality and policy (Hattam, 2013:10) I do not propose that this research will resolve the same/different dilemma. However, to provide a contribution to poststructuralist research, I will use an approach that goes beyond the binary. The work of Squires is introduced in Section 2.6.2 and this will provide a broad gender equality lens for critiquing the problematizations behind the PPL policies in the chosen countries.

2.6.1. Gender equality and the family

The literature on gender equality and the family also considers the same/difference distinction outlined above. Within the structure of the family, the general critique of the sameness approach (that treating everyone the same does not result in equality) is amplified, primarily due to the family's

location in the private sphere. The care roles undertaken by women in the family are devalued because they are outside the market, leading to a lower level of citizenship for those citizen-carers, compared to citizen-earners (Lister et al, 2007:135). How the sexual division of labour has created the care role as female is a key area of focus in the gender equality literature. The division is held to reflect culture rather than nature, with masculine and feminine as lived cultural processes and norms (Harding, 1987). As the roles are based on gender, they can be changed, and changes are required in order to achieve a just society (Okin, 1989) and to achieve gender equity. Fraser suggests gender equity can only be obtained through making men undertake primary care work, rather than just women, making women's current life patterns become the norm (1994:610-611), later described as the universal caregiver model (1997). Fineman challenges whether this would lead to equality, suggesting that whoever undertakes the care role will suffer the same disadvantage, compared to those not in care roles (2014:112). For her, even if differences were social rather than biological, nothing would be resolved (1995:34).

Also in this view, the change in roles is usually associated with women's labour market participation, which is generally viewed as positive, including for social and psychological, as well as economic reasons (Lister, 2002). However, others can be negatively impacted, as global care chains (where poor women, often from the global south, care for the children of women in the global north) have been created because women's empowerment has not been matched by an increase in male unpaid care (Fudge, 2014).

The family structure itself also offers an example of how equal rights is an inadequate view of equality, because there are not equal voting rights within a family yet all members are considered important (Held, 1990:298). However, this may not translate into the distribution of family income based on a rational consideration of need, as suggested by Becker (1981).

The alternative view of equality for women within the family is to recognise and value the differences between the sexes. This can include essentialist views, where difference must be affirmed (Young, 1989), and the reproductive role is valued (Elshtain, 1981). One way to value the care role is through financial compensation, which has been proposed by some within the different/equal literature (Fineman, 2001:1412; McClain, 2001), even though the liberal perspective of market transactions is more commonly associated with the same/equal perspective. A critique of the difference approach is that it fails to recognise or value the differences between women. They are spoken of as a homogenous group ignoring their heterogeneity. There is harm beyond over-generalisation, as the focus is on the issues of privileged women, white, Western, middle-class, heterosexual women, and these are represented as 'paradigmatic "women's issues"' (Narayan, 1998:86).

The importance of the mother carer role is argued to go beyond the family, into society, with impacts on both. Fineman suggests the classic economic focus on the sexual relationship neuters the mother from her child (1995). For society, Hartsock (1983) proposes the mother/infant relationship as the prototypical human interaction, a view supported by Held (1990) who sees mother/child as an alternative paradigm to market/contract one that would lead to a different understanding of power. Here Held is drawing on a traditional view of power, as legal and authoritative, rather than as productive as discussed previously in Section 2.4.3.

The importance of the care role outside the family has been considered extensively in the development literature, which is outside the scope of this research, but has also been evident in family policy in developed countries. An example is Hattam's (2013) investigation of how motherhood was constituted by the State as a matter of family wellbeing in problematizations of the need for paid maternity leave in Australia.

2.6.2. Gender equality and policy

Policy, or problematizations, may be underpinned by assumptions about gender roles, the family, and equality. Construction of the family is suggested to be a powerful influence over policy in the USA (Blair, 2015:34), and its relation to gender equality in New Zealand and Norway will be investigated in this research.

This research draws on a particular section of the gender equality literature to consider how the concept of gender equality was considered in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway. This literature contains a number of typologies, some of which classify PPL policies, and some of which classify any type of policy in terms of its implications for gender equality.

The typologies that classify PPL policies includes that offered by O'Brien and Wall (2017:3), who suggest a distinction between parental leave that focuses on gender equality, on choice for parents, or on mother-centered care and part-time secondary female breadwinning. These different focuses can be observed through policy design features such as parental quotas, shareable leave, or maternity leave. Rostgaard (2002) also classifies forms of parental leave in terms of their focus. She contrasts leave in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark as focusing on safeguarding motherhood, fatherhood and the modern father, and neutral gender relations respectively. Ray et al (2010) considered the impact of parental leave policies on gender equality, which they measured using a 15 point scale they created, finding Norway near the top and New Zealand near the bottom in a study of 21 countries. In Australia, Baird (2004:261) created classifications of orientations to maternity leave as either welfare, industrial,

or business orientation. The welfare orientation is based on the male breadwinner and female carer model, and gives rise to schemes that encourage fertility and traditional roles, such as a 'baby bonus' (2004:265). The industrial orientation has a view of PPL as an employment right and is obtained through bargaining by unions (2004:266). The business orientation also has an employment right perspective but PPL is not viewed as a universal right, instead it is obtained on an individual basis, through a business case based on business rather than employee need (2004:268). She also proposed a new equity orientation, which would provide paid maternity leave for all working women, including income replacement as well as job security (2004:270). Baird's typology is useful in outlining the discourse associated with each type of leave, and in making explicit some of the assumptions that are usually implicit within policies, which will also be achieved by this research.

There a number of typologies that classify any type of policy in terms of its implications for gender equality. Brighthouse & Wright provide three classifications for policy: equality-impeding; equality-enabling; and equality-promoting (2008). Another is provided by Squires (1999:3) who outlines three approaches to gender in political theory: strategies of inclusion; strategies of reversal; and strategies of displacement. It is the Squires classification that is used in this research. It has been used frequently, including to consider diversity measures in Norway (Bygnes, 2010), and the European Union's gender mainstreaming policies (Schmidt, 2008). Sometimes, just one of the strategies is used, as by Jordan (2018) to investigate the ethics of care.

Strategies of inclusion are linked to the same/equal position presented above. They seek to recast political theory, moving away from a place where feminine characteristics are negative, towards an 'equality' where gender was insignificant. They are aligned to liberal feminism, to objectivity and autonomy, and have a view of justice as impartial. Citizenship is gender-neutral. In terms of the public/private spheres, the public sphere is widened to include women, leading to the criticism that the approach requires women to become like men (Squires, 1999).

Strategies of reversal are linked to different/equal. They seek to rework political theory, where feminine characteristics are revalued (upwards) in relation to the masculine, and in this way equality is achieved. The perspective is aligned to radical/cultural feminism and gender-differentiated forms of citizenship. The exclusion of women from the public sphere is celebrated but a significant critique is that ignores the differences between women (Squires, 1999).

Strategies of displacement challenge the traditional same/different distinction. They seek to rethink political theory, such that diversity is embraced, and discursive regimes that engender the subject are deconstructed. They reflect the postmodern or poststructuralist view of representation as constitutive and citizenship is heterogeneous (Squires, 1999).

The Squires classifications are applied in discussion of the policy changes in New Zealand and Norway. They are introduced after the thematic coding, and after the WPR framework or PIA processes have been applied, as a further step in the analysis of the data. The classification of the policy may complement or contrast with the explicitly stated policy intention. However, these methodologies do not seek to compare the stated intention with the likely or actual consequences of a policy, and the Squires classifications are not used to make such a simple assessment. Rather, they are used to further interrogate what is said, as a supplement to the methodological analysis of how it is possible to say it.

This examination of the literature on gender equality has provided a structure to investigate the research question. The data are examined using two questions arising from the gender equality literature, as follows:

As gender equality is a contested concept, what meanings of gender equality were evident (explicitly or implicitly) in the data? Squires's classifications are utilised to structure the presentation of this analysis.

As different policies will have different impacts, what impact on gender equality was expected (explicitly), or could be expected (implicitly) from each policy change? What perspectives on gender equality do they reveal? What 'knowledges' underlie these perspectives?

2.7. Welfare models

A final framework for considering the two PPL policies is the welfare system. The primary classification for welfare systems is that provided by Esping-Andersen (1990), who identified liberal, conservative/corporate, and social-democratic regimes. He held that to be considered a welfare state it must guarantee a decent standard of living to all, based on right, and be founded on the three principles of a decent standard of living independent of market considerations, distributive justice to correct inequalities caused by the market, and collective responsibility for each individual (Atherton, 1989:174). The New Zealand welfare system is classified as liberal and the Norwegian system as social-democratic (the classification of this system as Nordic is also discussed). The respective systems can be broadly positioned as market-based and state-based in terms of provision and as targeted or universal in terms of eligibility.

The liberal model provides means-tested support, modest in nature, generally to low-income dependents. Eligibility is strict and stigma is attached to receipt of benefits (Esping-Andersen, 1990:26). It involves minimal state intervention in the economy and wide-spread use of market mechanisms in the state sector (Obinger et al, 2010:146). However, research suggests (Baird and

O'Brien, 2015:212) that this century has seen increasing state intervention in parental leave policies, even in liberal welfare states. The more traditional perspective is reflected in public sector documentation which states that the objective of the welfare policies in New Zealand is to provide a safety net and to deliver temporary assistance to those who have no other means of support, as well as long-term support for those who have no means of supporting themselves (Treasury, 2013:4). The idea of temporary assistance reflects an ideology of labour force participation rather than welfare as the solution to poverty (Kahu and Morgan, 2007:140). The liberal welfare model is commonly found in advanced industrial countries, and generally reflects an original focus on the male breadwinner model, which arose from industrial capitalism (Saito, 2014:5). In the male breadwinner model, the male has responsibility to provide financially for the family, and the woman has responsibility for care of the family members (Shaver, 2013:97).

Rather than liberal, it has been suggested that New Zealand can perhaps be more specifically described as neo-liberal, because its policies reflect Milton Friedman's call to apply rational choice theory to welfare provision (Cadogan, 2013:32). Within such a framework, the individual responsibility of citizens to provide for themselves and their families through economic participation is emphasized, whilst social welfare is diminished (Bryant and Garnham, 2014:423). Examples of this approach in New Zealand include user-pays charges, targeting of social assistance, and the introduction of obligations or conditions on welfare receipt, which Humpage (2011:84) calls the 'repositioning of obligations over rights'. Discussion of obligations with respect to welfare recipients is provided in the following chapter. This is a particularly important issue for women as they are the majority of beneficiary recipients.

In contrast to most other OECD countries New Zealand's real social expenditure per dependent fell during the 1980s and 1990s (Castles, 2004:43). This approach has led New Zealand to be classified by Castles (2004:67) as a poverty alleviation state, rather than a social security state, or a Scandinavian state services state.

Between 2008 and 2017 (three terms of a centre-right government) there was a move towards the 'social investment perspective' which was arguably postneoliberal and depicted 'the state as an investor: to be effective, state spending must not be consumed in the present, to ameliorate current conditions; it must be an investment that will reap rewards in the future' (Razavi, 2015:430). A strong focus of this 'investment approach' was to move people off benefits and into work, reduce poverty and increase living standards (Chapple, 2013:56). This approach was created after the Welfare Working Group undertook its review on Reducing Long-Term Benefit Dependency and reflects a number of its recommendations (Welfare Working Group, 2011).

Although the investment approach was designed to improve outcomes through early intervention it has been suggested that it operated 'in tension with feminist notions of substantive equality' (Razavi, 2015:430). The observation that the 'notion of "equality of opportunity" that has become part of the common sense in current thinking about equality' (Razavi, 2015:430) reflects the discourse that the problematization approach seeks to identify. Here the knowledge that is taken-for-granted (Bacchi, 2009:5) by society is called common sense. This research seeks to identify what was taken-for-granted within the changes to the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway.

Esping-Andersen's (1990:27-28) social-democratic model is one focused on high standards and universal programs, committed to a 'heavy social-service burden', where women are able to choose paid work over the home. This model is 'genuinely committed' to full employment, and also 'entirely dependent' on it, as only through people in work will the system receive the contributions it requires. This model scores highly on his rankings of welfare states, which were first based on decommodification, and then later defamilialisation (Borchorst, 2008:30-31).

The term Nordic is also used for this social-democratic model, as all the Nordic countries ranked high under Esping-Andersen's measure, and are therefore classed as social democrat (Cadogan, 2013:10). Nordic is characterised by the general adoption of the principle of universalism (Kildal and Kuhnle, 2005:13). Nordic is also used to describe a dual-earner family where both parents are in paid employment (Shaver, 2013:97). This is also referred to as the adult worker model and recent policy developments in this model have been focused on sharing the care role between parents (Shaver, 2013:97). Such a dual-earner model can also be described as a 'weak' male breadwinner model (Lewis, 1992:159).

2.8. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the analytical and conceptual frameworks used in this research. It discussed the comparison of the problematization of a specific PPL policy change in New Zealand, with one in Norway, and the two poststructuralist frameworks used to analyse two different types of data drawn from each country. This chapter showed how the new PIA methodology enables interview data to be included in poststructural research and how the Foucauldian concepts of problematization, governmentality, and power are concerned with practices that impact the way people live their lives.

The conceptual frameworks within gender equality literature provide a focus for this analysis. The literature informs that gender equality has been traditionally discussed as a dichotomy of same or

different but that a new concept of displacement has been introduced to recognise diversity (Squires, 1999). In the previous chapter, the research problem was identified as seeking to understand why New Zealand introduced PPL with a design that was not in keeping with international general practise or with the design requirements in the formal conventions, and whether the understanding of the concept of gender equality in New Zealand could have contributed to that outcome. The research design, the use of critical methodologies specifically designed to investigate policy, and guidance from the conceptual frameworks will enable the research question to be answered. Two questions arose from the conceptual frameworks that will be used to guide the data analysis:

As gender equality is a contested concept, what meanings of gender equality were evident (explicitly or implicitly) in the data? Squires's classification is utilised to structure the presentation of this analysis.

As different policies will have different impacts, what impact on gender equality was expected (explicitly), or could be expected (implicitly) from each policy change? What perspectives on gender equality do they reveal? What 'knowledges' underlie these perspectives?

The following chapter critically examines the literature on PPL policy design drawing on these framework questions.

Chapter 3 – PPL Design

3.1. Introduction

PPL does not have a standard definition. It is a policy that is constructed differently in different countries based on a number of design elements. Therefore it is important to determine what the different design elements of PPL policies are, and what options are available for each element, before commencing the analysis of the specific changes to the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway. In the previous chapter it was discussed how the WPR methodology focuses on a particular policy change. By understanding the different elements, and the various options for each element, we are better able to appreciate the change made in each country. In providing these details, this Chapter provides the necessary foundation for the analysis in Chapter 4, which considers how the different design elements and options chosen in each country depict the problem representations, and reflect the underlying assumptions.

This chapter commences by establishing a taxonomy of parental leave in Section 3.2. This taxonomy outlines the various design elements and options and as it includes unpaid leave, it is referred to here as parental leave, rather than PPL. The taxonomy provides a significant contribution to the literature, as PPL is often considered against just four main dimensions: length; whether it is an individual or family entitlement; payment; flexibility (Koslowski et al, 2019:20). In contrast, the taxonomy provided here considers eight elements, and up to five options within each element.

Each PPL design element, and the various options within it, are then discussed in turn. This discussion is informed by the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, and the potential design elements and options are linked to Squires's classification of inclusion, reversal, and displacement (1999) and to the different underlying perspectives that inform these views. Leave type is considered in Section 3.3. Duration is examined in Section 3.4, followed by payment rate in Section 3.5. Funding mechanisms are discussed in Section 3.6, then eligibility in Section 3.7, which includes consideration of individual or family based entitlement. The question of whether PPL payments are subject to any obligations on the part of the recipient is discussed in Section 3.8, followed by consideration of whether PPL payments are subject to taxation in Section 3.9.

The chapter then considers which design elements and options have been applied in the New Zealand and Norwegian PPL policies. These are provided in Sections 3.10 and 3.11 respectively. The chapter concludes in Section 3.12.

3.2. Taxonomy

This section of the chapter provides a taxonomy of parental leave. Eight design elements have been identified, and for each element, a number of options are available. These various design elements and options are outlined in Table 3.1 below. Each of the design options have different implications for those impacted by the policies, as they change the manner in which they are governed.

Table 3.1 Parental leave design elements and options

Design elements	Options				
	Option one	Option two	Option three	Option four	Option five
Leave type	Maternity leave (mothers only)	Paternity leave (fathers only)	Partner's leave (fathers or same-sex partners)	Parental leave (shareable)	Extended leave
Duration	Short (generally accepted as less than 12 months)	Long (generally accepted as 12 months or longer)			
Transferability	Dedicated (cannot be shared or transferred)	Able to be shared or transferred between parents	Able to be shared or transferred to another carer		
Payment rate	Fixed amount	Full wage replacement	Wage replacement subject to a cap (or maximum amount)	Proportion of wage replacement	Unpaid
Funding	Social security or social insurance	General taxation	Employer and/or employee levy		
Eligibility	Universal (no criteria apply)	Targeted (means-tested by assets or income)	Targeted (using some other criteria)		
Obligations (Conditions)	None	An action or behavioural requirement			
Taxable income	Yes - forms part of assessable income	No - exempt income	No - excluded income		

Consideration of the conceptual frameworks and the research question in the previous chapter gave rise to a series of questions that guide the analysis in this research. The first question is, as gender equality is a contested concept, what meanings of gender equality are evident (explicitly or implicitly) in the data? Squires's classifications of inclusion, reversal, and displacement (1999) are utilised for

this purpose. The second is a set of related questions. What impact on gender equality was expected (explicitly), or could be expected (implicitly) from each policy change? What perspectives on gender equality do they reveal? What ‘knowledges’ underlie these perspectives? These questions are considered when describing the policy design options in the following sections.

The first design feature is whether it is maternity leave, paternity leave, or (shareable) parental leave. The next element is duration, the length of each type leave available to parents, and this is followed in the table by whether leave can be transferred or shared. This feature does not have a separate section in the discussion to follow as it is captured within discussion of leave type. The next design feature is payment rate. The rate of payment for PPL may be a fixed amount or it may be paid at wage replacement, in which case a cap (or maximum amount) may apply, or it could be paid at a percentage of previous earnings. Next to consider is the concept of eligibility, primarily whether it is provided on a universal or targeted basis. This is followed by discussion of the different funding mechanisms, such as social security as in Norway, or general taxation as in New Zealand. The chapter then considers whether any obligations are associated with its receipt. The final design feature is whether the PPL payment constitutes taxable income, whether it is subject to taxation, or treated as exempt or excluded income.

3.3. Leave type

The traditional type of leave for childbirth is maternity leave, which is available for mothers only. Paternity leave is for fathers only, but it can also take the form of partner’s leave, to be inclusive of same-sex couples. Parental leave is a form of leave that can be taken by either parent or partner and it is sometimes referred to as shareable or transferable leave. Each of these leave types are critically discussed in sub-sections 3.3.1 to 3.3.3 where they are linked to Squires’s classification (1999), to views on gender and gender equality, and to worldview perspectives. A summary is presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Parental leave types, gender, and gender equality

Leave types / Concepts	Maternity	Paternity	Parental (Shared)	Other (non-biological)
Squires (1999)	Reversal	Inclusion or Displacement	Inclusion	Displacement
Understanding of Gender	As a noun (where gender is positive)	As a noun (where gender is negative)	As a noun (where gender is negative)	As a verb (gender to be deconstructed)

Gender Equality	Difference	Same	Same	Diversity
Perspectives / World Views	Care / Essentialism Radical	Equality of opportunity or Deconstruction of gender	Liberal	Postmodern or Poststructuralist

3.3.1. Maternity leave

Maternity leave is the clearest example of a policy that would be classified as reversal within Squires’s classifications. The ‘knowledges’ associated with maternity leave cover female labour market participation and maternal and child health and breastfeeding. Before considering these, it is useful to briefly outline the history of maternity leave.

Maternity leave has its origins in the workplace safety of women, as early maternity leave entitlements were labour protection schemes, intended to eliminate hazards to women and their unborn children. Later, these schemes were developed to compensate for lost earnings (Sainsbury, 1996:89), and to provide job protection, generally through anti-discrimination legislation. These elements all reflect a view of maternity leave as an employment issue. The emphasis is on labour market needs, of the employer to provide a safe work environment, and the employee to be compensated for their absence and to be able to return to their employment after a period of time. This contrasts with a potential alternative, where the state might provide financial support for all mothers and children, not just those in employment.

The relationship between paid maternity leave and female labour market participation has two main elements, its existence, and its duration. The impact of duration of leave on women’s labour market outcomes is considered in Section 3.4. A positive relationship has been observed between the existence of paid maternity leave and female labour market participation (Gehring and Klasen, 2016). In this perspective, if women do not have paid maternity leave they will simply exit the labour market when they become pregnant, as they have no enduring link to their previous employment while they are at home with their child. This ‘knowledge’ is reflective of a liberal political view, one in which market transactions are privileged, and where equality is based on opportunity through legal rights (such as job protection and statutory leave). These are reflected in the inclusion strategy within Squires’s classification. Maternity leave as reversal (per Table 3.2) is considered shortly.

The gender equality literature provides some insights into female labour market participation. In her analysis of the representation of gender equality in International Labour Organization [ILO] documentation, Poulsen identified a number of subject positions available to ‘women workers’, as

follows: victim; misfit; poor; illiterate; and nurturer (2006:129-146). The main position was nurturer, and it was on this that the others were built, situating women's care responsibilities as the reason women lack equality in the labour market. Andersson et al (2018:773) considered gender equality action plans in the forestry industry and found that equality was positioned as a method for achieving better efficiency and financial results. Women's equality is positioned as having value to the firm, rather than to the women they employ, or women or society in general. In this way, the public sphere is privileged, and the private sphere ignored.

The next concepts are maternal and child health and breastfeeding. These are related as breastfeeding is discussed as a health issue. Maternal health can refer to both physical and mental health issues, from the physical recovery after labour or caesarean delivery, to post-natal depression and stress. The concepts of maternal and child health are used by various organisations to call for maternity leave where none exists, and where it does, they are used to support dedicated periods of maternity leave for the mother only.

The World Health Organisation [WHO] identifies paid maternity leave as a way of supporting nurturing care for children as it provides support for bonding between mother and child, increases initiation and duration of breastfeeding, and improves the likelihood of infants being vaccinated and receiving preventive care (WHO, 2018:11). WHO recommends (2015) exclusive breastfeeding up to six months of age and one way this can be achieved is where the mother is at home with the child for those six months. The ILO is a United Nations agency that sets labour standards, develops policies, and devises programmes promoting decent work for all women and men. It has two instruments relating to maternity leave: Convention Number 183, which is a legally binding international treaty where ratified by a member state; and Recommendation R191, which is a non-binding guideline. Convention 183 provides for 14 weeks of maternity benefit whereas Recommendation R191 proposes 18 weeks (ILO, 2017). The Convention specifically refers to maternity leave as having a role in the health and safety of the mother and child as well in promoting equality of all women in the workforce. In this way, although the ILO is an employment organisation, it positions maternity leave as a health issue. The WHO uses this health-based 'knowledge' to call for paid maternity leave, suggesting that lack of leave is a key reason why women do not breastfeed, or stop breastfeeding early (WHO and UNICEF, 2017:5).

Within the gender equality literature there are two alternative views on maternal and child health and breastfeeding. A focus on difference is viewed positively by Williams, who suggests that women should instead be working for recognition of the importance of their domestic and care roles, rather than seeking employment-related provisions (2002:417-419). The focus on biological difference, and the attempt to revalue women's roles in relation to men's roles, reflects the reversal strategy within

the Squires classification. Others reject the difference approach calling it 'accommodationist', because while it seeks special accommodation for women's domestic roles, it is stigmatising for those women utilising the leave (Schultz, 2000:1954). This reflects the inclusion strategy within the Squires classification. The power of the 'knowledge' shared by the WHO and the ILO can be thought of in terms of subject positions. The 'caring mother' is one who breastfeeds and the father is invisible and has no role to play in care. Parental behaviour, family dynamics, and female labour market participation are all shaped by this 'knowledge' of breastfeeding as necessary for maternal and child health. Where women return to paid work, the pressure to breastfeed remains, prompting an increase in the sale of pumps for expressing milk (Fraser, 2016:115).

Numerous calls have been made in New Zealand to support breastfeeding, and those have included making the link between the duration of dedicated maternity leave, and the occurrence of breastfeeding (Galtry, 1995; 1997; 2002, Families Commission, 2007). Nursing breaks were introduced in 2009 but are only provided 'so far as is reasonable and practicable in the circumstances'⁹ (PCO, n.d.). The focus on maternity leave as a health issue has the effect of reinforcing the assumption of parental leave as maternity leave.

In Norway there has been less focus on breastfeeding. However, research indicates that the rates of breastfeeding had been increasing in the 1970s, after the lowest point around 1967, but the rate did not increase after PPL was introduced in 1977 (Carneiro et al, 2011:74). Norwegian law provides an unpaid nursing break to all breastfeeding employees of up to an hour a day but public sector employees benefit from up to two hours with pay (Norwegian Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2011:71).

3.3.2. Paternity leave

Paternity leave can be viewed in two different ways within Squires's classification. Firstly, an example of a policy that would be classified as inclusion, as it reflects the legislative right of men to take parental leave, not just women. There is an impartiality and neutral justice available to both sexes who experience equality of opportunity (to take leave). There is also a second view, of displacement, and this would arise where the paternity leave is designed in a way to deconstruct traditional gender roles, or subject positions. An example would be a father's quota that cannot be transferred, and acts as a mode of governing, to encourage fathers to spend time as carers. There is support within the gender equality literature for such policies, from those considered part of the inclusion approach,

⁹ Employment Relations Act 2000 Section 69Y

reflecting both liberal and Marxist perspectives. For Okin, an independent entitlement for men was important to facilitate shared parenting (1989:176), and others saw it as part of women's struggle for equality, equal pay and equal work (Young, 1994:550; Holmstrom, 1981:197). Rostgaard (2002:351) suggests it supports a norm of fathers as carers and helps conversations with relevant parties, such as partners and employers.

Prior to the introduction of the *fedrekvoten* or father's quota, fathers use of parental leave in Norway was just 2% (Norwegian Parliamentary Committee on Children and Family Affairs, 1993), but afterwards it increased to 90% (Lister, 2008:217). The reverse effect has also been observed. When Denmark removed its father's quota in 2002, the numbers of fathers taking leave fell, from 36% to 22% (Rostgaard & Lausten, 2015:289). In Denmark, however, leave entitlement is part of collective bargaining agreements, as well as law, and requires negotiation with management (Bloksgaard, 2015). This may restrict take-up. It appears that dedicated leave for fathers, sometimes referred to as 'daddy quotas' (Barclay, 2013:164), is more effective for fathers than parental leave. As well as dedicated leave, Gornick (2015:375) suggests that fathers need high wage replacement rates, and for leave to be taken flexibly. There are a number of potential reasons why fathers may not have taken parental leave. These include the social norms of women's traditional care role, and men's traditional breadwinner role, as well as PPL design elements such as duration and payment. If the period of leave is short, women may be expected to take it all for recovery and breastfeeding, rather than share any of the leave with the father. (The knowledge of maternal and child health through breastfeeding was discussed above). If the leave is poorly paid, men who have a breadwinner role in the family may feel financially incapable of taking a lower payment, even for a short period of time. These challenges are considered further in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 under the headings of duration and payment rate.

Dedicated father's leave varies in duration around the world, and often it is shorter than the period reserved for the mother, but a number of organisations (such as PLENT, n.d.) and countries such as Iceland (see Eydal and Gíslason, 2017) support an equal division of leave between parents. Where additional (non-dedicated) leave is available for fathers, the vast majority do not take any of it (Barclay, 2013:168), meaning their entitlements are left underutilised (Leira, 2002:142). An alternative to dedicated leave is some form of bonus, given if both parents take some leave, and in a number of countries this is provided as a period of additional leave (Moss, 2014:18). These findings indicate that parental leave is still considered to be maternity leave - either by parents, employers, or society in general - otherwise such incentives would not be required.

Dedicated paternity leave is now available in some form in 90 countries (Mencare, 2019) and is supported by international bodies such as the United Nations (Commission on the Status of Women,

2017), The World Bank (2012), the OECD (2016b), and the European Parliament (Fredman, 2014:451). Paternity leave is generally supported for one of two reasons, either as a means of improving women's outcomes, or facilitating a care role for fathers. Each of these aspects of paternity leave are now considered in turn.

In terms of improving women's outcomes, there is the immediate post-birth experience of having both parents at home (assuming a two-parent family), and the longer-term impact on home life and on the labour market. Other health knowledges are present here, in the claims of improved maternal health, this time regarding sickness and depression (Harrington et al, 2014:3), and lower rates of violence against women and children (Fatherhood Institute, 2013). Changed patterns of domestic work can also result, as research from the OECD indicates that fathers who take at least two weeks parental leave are more likely to carry out childcare related activities when children are young (Huerta, et al., 2013) and that this involvement continues as the children grow up (OECD, 2016b). The impact on the labour market of men taking leave is to change the work experiences of men, so that their work experiences become more like women's, with breaks from employment after the birth of a child. This challenges the ideal worker proposed by Acker (1990), who has no responsibility outside of paid work, and is therefore male. However the extent to which men's experiences are changed depends on the duration of leave taken. Research indicates that fathers taking parental leave has a fiscal consequence for the mother, as each month the father stays on parental leave, has a larger positive effect on maternal earnings than a similar reduction in the mother's own leave (Johansson, 2010:1).

In terms of facilitating a care role for fathers, Leira (2002:138) described the ability for fathers to take parental leave as resulting in a reconceptualisation of fathers as being seen not only as workers but also as carers for children, and the likelihood for an ongoing care role for fathers who have taken parental leave was observed above. Parenthood is suggested to be a positive factor for men, with research indicating that young fathers are happier overall with their jobs and lives than their childless peers (Harrington et al, 2016:21).

3.3.3. Parental leave

Parental leave is leave that can be taken by either parent. It is now common for a period of shareable parental leave to be available, as well as dedicated periods for both the mother, and the father. Parental leave would be classified as inclusion within Squires's classification, as it reflects the same/equal view of gender equality, and a liberal perspective. There is an impartiality of usage that allows people to make their own choices.

Nevertheless, guidance is provided for the European Union (in the Revised Framework between social partners on parental leave) as to how these types of leave should be constructed (Council Directive 2010/18/EU). It provides that shareable parental leave should operate alongside four months of parental leave as an individual right of both parents, and only be transferable from one parent to the other, where each parent retains at least one of the four months of leave (EU, 2015). The explicit aim of this provision is to encourage a more equal uptake of parental leave by both parents. This is an example of parental leave being used as a gender equality tool, where equality is viewed as same/equal, by making the life course of men and women the same with respect to time in and out of paid employment and time spent in a care role.

Moss and Deven (2015:139) suggest that shareable leave has inherent maternalist assumptions. It is understood that, where traditional gender norms are still present, such leave is likely to be used by the mother. An example of this is seen in New Zealand, as although the parental leave is shareable, it is all initially allocated to the mother. This would alter the Squires classification, from an inclusion policy to a reversal policy, like maternity leave.

An alternative design option, instead of initially allocating all the parental leave to the mother, would be for the leave to relate to the child and not to any individual parent. The allocation process would then result from the parents identifying who will take the leave or how it will be split between them. This is the process that occurs in Sweden (Swedish Social Insurance Agency, n.d.). This is described as a child-centric, rather than parent-centric approach, which reflects children's right to parental care, rather than parents' rights to parental leave. The subject of rights is investigated further in Chapter 6 when one of the arising research questions, first identified in Chapter 1, is answered - 'Why were children's rights discussed as a health issue in New Zealand but as receiving paternal care in Norway?' The approach would be classified as inclusion under the Squires classification, reflecting a liberal perspective, as it enables choice by parents.

3.4. Duration

The International Network on Leave Policies and Research publishes a summary of parental leave policies from around the world on an annual basis. The 2019 report reveals that 37 out of 45 participating countries have statutory and designated maternity leave and 32 have statutory and designated paternity leave (Koslowski et al, 2019:8-19). 11 countries provide a bonus where fathers take some leave (2019:22) and 20 provide them with dedicated leave but it is not always paid (2019:23-32).

Parental leave is classified as falling into two categories, countries that have a total leave period of less than 15 months, and those where continuous leave is available for up to three years or more (Koslowski et al, 2019:20). The 45 countries exhibit a great variety in duration of leave. Paid maternity leave is between 1.9 and 12 months, paid paternity leave is between 2 to 5 days and up to 8 weeks, and paid parental leave is between 7.4 and 36 months (2019:9-30).

Both short and long periods of leave raise concerns. Short periods of leave are difficult for both employees and employers. Women are more likely to leave work rather than take a short period of leave (The World Bank, 2012:298) and employers, especially small businesses, can find it easier to obtain replacement cover for longer periods (nine to twelve months) than for shorter periods such as 14 weeks (Baird et al, 2009:54).

Long periods of leave can have an impact on labour market participation and future earnings. It was identified previously that paid maternity leave is suggested to be a positive factor in female labour market participation (Gehring and Klasen, 2016:1). However this is only the case up to a duration of 125 weeks, after which participation falls with additional weeks of leave (Thevenon and Solaz, 2014:16; for earlier consideration see Jaumotte, 2003). Taking a neoclassical economic perspective, this finding might suggest two alternative scenarios, depending on the current labour supply and demand levels. As this research focused on the OECD at a time when there was less than full employment, the finding suggests that the labour market responds negatively to employing those people who may take an extended period of time away from their employment, and chooses not to employ them. If unemployment had not been present, the research finding would instead suggest that longer durations of maternity leave encourage women to remain outside the labour market, after they have started their family.

In terms of the impact on future earnings, research from the OECD indicates that mere provision of paid leave in a country has a negative impact on the earnings gap because all women, not just mothers, are subject to a discrimination effect (Thevenon and Solaz, 2014:23). However mothers face a particular issue of the motherhood penalty of reduced wages. This is suggested to start during parental leave, and to continue on return, especially if part-time work is undertaken. Various international research suggests penalty figures of 4.5% (Johansson, 2010:35), and annual 6% earnings growth losses, accumulating to 49 per cent after 10 years (Baird et al, 2009:61-62). Blair (2015:50) identifies the motherhood penalty as having four elements - wage, workplace perception, time, and choice. However, women are not alone in facing a financial disadvantage, as men can face earnings reductions of 7.5% after taking parental leave (Johansson, 2010:35).

In terms of gender equality, a focus on labour market participation and future earnings reflects the same/equal perspective, where liberal values, the market, and participation in the public sphere are valued.

A further concern regarding women taking long periods of leave is the reinforcement of traditional roles, both in terms of care in the home, and in the areas in which women participate in the labour market. Long leave is suggested to preserve women's dominant roles as mothers and wives and to keep them in sheltered labour markets (Mandel and Semyonov, 2006: 1911), that is, areas where acceptance of the practice of taking leave is higher (Barclay, 2013:167).

A recent study analysed how attitudes relate to leave use (Duvander, 2014). Prior to becoming parents, people were questioned on their attitude to the following factors: family and child orientation; primary work dimension; economic dimension of work; and gender equality. When compared to their subsequent leave use, the length of leave taken by mothers was primarily influenced by family orientation, whereas fathers' was influenced by the economic dimension of work.

3.5. Payment rate

Payment rate is a fiscal constraint on the design of PPL. There are two broad approaches for determining the rate of PPL, either a fixed amount, or wage replacement. The latter may be subject to a 'cap' or maximum amount beyond which wages are not replaced or paid as a proportion of previous earnings. Payment of PPL as a fixed amount suggests a view of PPL as state support for a newborn, based on the lack of reference to the labour market that the parent (or if applicable, carer) is absent from during that time. However payment of PPL as a fixed amount is uncommon. Recent OECD reporting on its member countries indicates that only Luxembourg pays PPL at a flat rate, in all other countries some form of wage replacement is used, or parental leave is unpaid. In all except one of the countries where parental leave is unpaid there is paid maternity leave (OECD, 2016a).

Various international organisations provide guidance on an appropriate rate of payment for PPL. The ILO states that the cash benefit for parental leave should be no less than two-thirds of previous earnings, or a comparable amount (ILO, 2017). This is the level at which the European Commission describes leave as well paid (Koslowski et al, 2019:49). Within the OECD (2016a:2,5), most countries replace over 50% for maternity leave, and between 40% and 60% for parental leave, although there is considerable variation between countries. In 2008 the European Commission issued a draft Maternity Leave Directive that suggested full wage replacement, but it was not ratified, and was eventually withdrawn in 2015 (Eurofound, 2015). The payment of PPL at a rate below wage replacement implies

a resistance to viewing PPL as employment-related. It also suggests that care work is viewed as less important than paid employment. Monetising the time spent at work and away from work, and paying different amounts for those two periods, is an explicit statement that one activity is worth more than the other. This approach is contrary to the same/different literature, which seeks a revaluation of the feminine care role in relation to the masculine paid worker role, including recognition and financial reward (Fineman, 2001; McClain, 2001).

The rate of payment of PPL is important for all families but especially those on low incomes. If leave is not well paid the most vulnerable workers may not be able to afford to use such policies (McGovern et al, 2000:561). However payment rate is a PPL design feature that is particularly relevant to paternity leave. Further research from the OECD (2016b) indicates that in order for fathers to be financially able to take paternity leave it must be equivalent to half or more of their previous earnings. This reflects the gender pay gap, which makes it likely that the father would be providing more financial resources to the family than the mother, and suggests the ineffectiveness of unpaid or poorly paid leave. Low take-up of unpaid leave has been observed in Australia by Skinner & Chapman (2013:2). Research in 35 mostly OECD countries on well-paid father-only leave indicated that fathers do take such leave where it exists (Moss, 2014:31) and this has been the experience of the Nordic welfare states (Leira, 2002). Based on this knowledge of economic dependence, those who want fathers to take parental leave call for dedicated paternity leave, paid at a decent rate (Lawton and Thompson, 2013:7). These studies have only focused on the actual utilisation of available leave and have left the more significant questions regarding male and female earnings, and the financial value attributed to care roles, unaddressed. It eliminates the potential for any other amount to be considered, which would be sought by those seeking different/equal equality, as it does not recognise and reward women's care role. The gender pay gap, and the gendered implications of a cap on replacement wages, may be seen as a consequence of a same/equal approach to equality. The formal equality of both parents to take leave, or equal opportunity, is sufficient in this perspective. The focus on previous earnings reveals a liberal perspective of market-based compensation.

Analysis of the payment rate, and the differences between the two countries, is discussed in the following chapter. It answers the first of the arising research questions identified in Chapter 1 - Why was the minimum wage used as the payment rate for PPL in New Zealand but wage replacement adopted in Norway?

3.6. Funding mechanisms

Governments have a choice as to how to fund PPL (and other transfers) and all their spending initiatives. In Section 3.4, it was observed that cost was a constraint, and this section considers the implications of different groups bearing the cost. There are three broad methods of funding parental leave: employer and/or employee contributions; social insurance; and general taxation.

The use of employer and/or employee contributions to fund PPL reflects a view that it is an employment issue. However, it could lead to negative labour market outcomes for women, depending on how the contributions were determined. If contributions were made on the basis of the number of female staff in an organisation, this would increase the cost of hiring women over hiring men, and likely lead to lower rates of female staff. It could also lead to lower wages for any women who were hired, as a way of recouping their additional cost. If contributions were required from all employers and/or all employees, there would not be any direct cost increase from hiring women, although there could still be some general reluctance to hire them. It is not uncommon for employers to make contributions of this general type, payroll taxes are common in many countries, and levies relating to employee health and safety exist in New Zealand (and Australia). Research indicates that it is uncommon for employers to be solely required to pay for maternity leave and combinations of employer and social security are also rare (Baird et al, 2009:32). In a liberal political environment, there is likely to be pressure to reduce financial and regulatory 'burdens' on employers, making employer contributions an unlikely option.

Social insurance schemes are those where employed and self-employed people, employers, and the state all pay contributions into a social insurance fund. Individuals are then provided with various types of financial support through the fund, such as transfers during periods of unemployment, illness or disability, or upon retirement. These can be utilised as part of a social democratic or liberal welfare model. PPL payments in most OECD countries, including Norway, are particularly funded by such schemes.

It has been observed that schemes providing state support, which are not funded through general taxation, have a number of benefits but also a number of risks. They are generally more generous, at lower risk of being cut, and enjoy a greater level of political legitimacy than tax-funded schemes (Morel and Palme, 2013:404). The last point was illustrated in Australia, where attempts have been made by unions and workers groups to move the focus away from funding, towards eligibility. They argue that PPL should be viewed as an earned entitlement, because eligibility arises through previous paid employment, and as such is not welfare (Australian Government Productivity Commission, 2009:6.14). Welfare can be viewed negatively and referred to a handout, even though at the same time other

transfers can be viewed positively and be referred to as entitlements, such as payments made to war veterans (Arthur, 2015:4). This notion of entitlement is particularly relevant in consideration of policy-making for women because of the separation of the public and private spheres, which gives preference to transfers that relate to public rather than private activity, and make payments relating to children appear less worthy.

State support based on a social insurance fund is said to increase the cost of labour, and can provide an incentive for informal sector activity, rather than formal employment (Morel and Palme, 2013:404-405). Such concerns about the cost of labour were raised previously in this section with respect to employer/employee contributions, and although it may be lower under a social insurance arrangement due a larger group of contributors (including the state), it would still be expected to occur. However, as both the costs and benefits are borne more widely across the population, they may be considered more acceptable.

Funding PPL through general taxation is rare. Of the 42 countries studied by International Network on Leave Policies and Research in 2017, it was observed that statutory leave payments are generally funded by some form of contributory insurance fund, sometimes with contributions from general taxation, but that taxation is generally only used to fund benefits paid to all parents with young children rather than those taking leave (Blum et al, 2017:32). Although there are some examples in other countries of the state providing sole funding for some transfers, such as means-tested funeral grants in Norway (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2015:5), generally they are funded via the types of social or national insurance schemes described above.

This section has drawn a distinction between tax funding and the use of social insurance to fund transfers. However, if we consider how social insurance works in practise, we will see that the difference is more in form than in substance. Social insurance generally requires contributors to provide amounts to the insurance fund based on their income. The amount of the contribution required is calculated by applying one or more rates against their income. This is also how taxation works. Assessable income is determined and various tax rates are applied against it. There may be differences in determining the amount on which to base the contribution/taxation calculation, through the application of deductions or other adjustments to income, and the contribution/taxation amount could be calculated on some other factor, such as payroll costs, rather than on income. However the same principle applies to each scenario. A basis relating to the activity of the entity is chosen and rates are applied to determine an amount payable. In substance, if not form, those making social insurance contributions are paying a form of taxation. The payments are used for a specific

purpose, which in tax terminology is referred to as hypothecation, meaning that social insurance could be described as a hypothecated tax.

3.7. Eligibility

Eligibility refers to the criteria applied to determine who is able to receive a transfer or some other form of state support. This includes whether it is the mother who is eligible for benefits relating to children, or the head of the household, or highest earner (generally the father). A previous categorisation of this distinction was that it reflected either concepts of care or maintenance (Sainsbury, 1996:45). A more modern distinction might be based on citizenship, either as care, or earner (Lister et al, 2007). Different types of support can have different eligibility criteria applied to them, but any eligibility criteria produce a gendered effect, because women receive the majority of welfare payments. This fact prompted the term the feminization of poverty (Gimenez, 1999).

Some transfers do not have any eligibility criteria (although residence in the country is usually required) and these are sometimes referred to as universal. However in some cases, policies are referred to as universal simply because they are not means-tested, but they still have eligibility criteria. The alternative to universal policies is targeted policies where only those who satisfy particular criteria are eligible. Targeting often occurs on the basis of assets or income and is known as means-testing. It is commonly applied under a liberal regime, where the 'knowledge' held relates to the responsibility of the individual to provide for themselves, to the greatest extent possible. Means-testing usually takes a family perspective, so that it does not just consider the assets or income of the recipient, but also that of their spouse (if any). In a country where the tax system is based on individual assessment, any joint assessment of eligibility for transfers adds a level of complexity, and blurs the line between individual and family.

Determining a person's eligibility for a transfer, based in part on some factor of another person, is a design feature that is discussed in the following chapter. Chapter 4 answers the second of the arising research questions identified in Chapter 1 - Why is the fathers' eligibility for PPL (in both countries) based in some way on the mothers' employment status?

3.8. Obligations

Governments can influence various aspects of people's lives by imposing obligations on the receipt of state support. Although PPL itself may not have any specific obligations linked to its receipt, it is now

common in many countries for state support more broadly to include an obligation, rather than the transfer being provided without any element of reciprocity. This has been suggested to reflect a new meaning of active citizenship (Newman, 2013), and the concept of citizenship and how it pertains to women in particular, is examined further in Chapter 6. As indicated in Section 3.7, as welfare payments are received predominately by women, any obligations placed on their receipt will produce a gendered effect. The change from entitlement to obligation has been observed in welfare states across the industrialised world (Macintyre, 1999:104) and reflects a conservative perspective.

Work requirements are now common in the OECD (Janus, 2013:106; Baker, 2008:75), and these reflect an underlying assumption behind the provision of welfare services, that individuals should work if they can (Atherton, 1989:170). In the Nordic states, expectations of geographical and income mobility are imposed, whereby people are expected to move for work or accept work paid within a minimum percentage of their benefit payment (Clasen et al, 2001:211). These examples provide an indication of the relationship between the state and the individual. The state is not automatically responding to a perceived need on the part of the individual. The state is responding in a contingent manner, so long as the recipient undertakes to perform their part of the newly-struck bargain, over which they may not feel they have any say.

Other behaviour-based requirements suggest that obligations are a form of social control by governments. The social control can be achieved by using obligations that apply broadly in society or to a few. For example, a broad societal requirement is the requirement for children to be immunised against certain diseases, with the aim of protecting both the immunised child and other children, from contracting the disease. However, this is not imposed against the will of the parents, and some children remain unimmunised. In contrast, an example of an individual requirement is the restriction placed on beneficiaries (women) not to have another child whilst they are receiving welfare, which if not followed results in financial penalty (Naples, 2003:210). Reductions or withdrawal of benefits has become a common policy response when obligations are perceived to have been broken. In the UK, there have been reports of people dying of hunger and cold after benefit withdrawal, since such sanctions were introduced there in 2012 (Gentleman, 2014).

3.9. Taxable income

The final design element of PPL policy design to consider is whether the PPL payments are subject to taxation. In tax law, amounts that are designed to replace something that is taxable, are also generally treated as taxable. This applies in cases of personal insurance, where amounts are paid by an insurer

to an insured person in lieu of salary or wages, if the insured person becomes unable to continue in employment. As the salary or wages were subject to taxation, or to use the tax terminology were treated as assessable income, then so too are the payments made by the insurer. Countries vary in their tax treatment of PPL. Among the OECD members (2016a:9) PPL is taxed in some but not all countries, and among a broader group of 45 countries studied by the International Network on Leave Policies and Research, PPL appears to be taxable in most countries other than Russia and Latvia (Koslowski et al, 2019:308,412).

There are two types of income that is not subject to taxation - exempt income or excluded income. Exempt income is a term for income that is not subject to taxation and does not allow any deductions to be claimed against it.¹⁰ An example in New Zealand are payments received as child support or spousal maintenance.¹¹ Excluded income is also not subject to taxation but deductions may be claimed against it. An example in New Zealand is government grants to business.¹² When designing a PPL scheme, if the PPL payment was to be exempt or excluded income and not subject to taxation, then it could be provided at a lesser amount than the previously received salary or wage income, and still provide the same post-tax benefit to the recipient.

3.10. New Zealand

The previous Sections 3.3 to 3.9 provided an introduction to each of the design elements and options determined in the Table 3.1 taxonomy in Section 3.2, including how they may be considered with respect to gender equality, and the 'knowledges' that underlie these perspectives. It is now possible to examine how they are applied in each country. Starting with New Zealand, each element (leave type, duration, transferability, payment rate, eligibility, funding, obligations, and taxable income) is considered in turn and referenced back to the options outlined in Table 3.1. To assist in the reference process, Table 3.3 below replicates Table 3.1, and shows the options adopted by New Zealand (bold and shaded). The options are not mutually exclusive as more than one option may be used.

¹⁰ Section DA 2(3) of the Income Tax Act 2007 - Exempt income limitation

¹¹ Section CW 32 of the Income Tax Act 2007 - Maintenance payments

¹² Section CX 47 of the Income Tax Act 2007 - Government grants to businesses

Table 3.3 – Parental leave design elements and options in New Zealand

Design elements	Options				
	Option one	Option two	Option three	Option four	Option five
Leave type	Maternity leave (mothers only)	Paternity leave (fathers only)	Partner's leave (fathers or same-sex partners)	Parental leave (shareable)	Extended leave
Duration	Short (generally accepted as less than 12 months)	Long (generally accepted as 12 months or longer)			
Transferability	Dedicated (cannot be shared or transferred)	Can be shared or transferred between parents	Can be shared or transferred to another carer		
Payment rate	Fixed amount	Full wage replacement	Wage replacement subject to a cap (or maximum amount)	Proportion of wage replacement	Unpaid
Funding	Social security or social insurance	General taxation	Employer and/or employee levy		
Eligibility	Universal (no criteria apply)	Targeted (means-tested by assets or income)	Targeted (using some other criteria)		
Obligations	None	An action or behavioural requirement			
Taxable income	Yes - forms part of assessable income	No - exempt income	No - excluded income		

3.10.1. Leave type

New Zealand has no dedicated paid maternity or paid paternity leave, only shareable paid parental leave, which is allocated initially to the mother, but can be transferred to the primary carer. It also has two weeks unpaid partner's leave and 26 or 52 weeks unpaid extended leave¹³. Partner's leave, shareable parental leave, and extended leave reflect options three, four, and five in the Table 3.3 taxonomy. Prior to the change that introduced paid parental leave, there was unpaid maternity leave, and unpaid paternity leave.

¹³ Extended leave provides for an absence from paid work with job protection - Section 23 Parental Leave and Employment Act 1987 refers. Note that any period of PPL reduces the period of extended leave available (to a maximum of twenty-six or fifty-two weeks total leave).

Shareable parental leave is classified as inclusion within Squires's classification and it reflects the same/equal view of gender equality. A liberal perspective underlies the desire for people to make their own choices regarding utilisation of leave. However, other perspectives appear dominant in New Zealand, as rather than sharing leave, it is also almost exclusively taken by the mother, with less than 2% of paid parental leave taken by fathers in the year ended 31 March 2019 (Inland Revenue, 2019a). The knowledges that inform such decisions are investigated in the following chapter, when the first and second WPR questions are considered, including the assumptions underlying the problem representation.

The social norm of one carer, likely to be the mother, was reinforced by a recent change to rename parental leave in New Zealand to be primary carer's leave. Although the change was intended to broaden the scope of people eligible to take such leave, and does provide that ability, the perpetuation of a single person identified as the primary carer of a child is likely to reinforce this as a gendered role.

The lack of dedicated paid paternity leave has led to New Zealand being described as comparing poorly on an international basis (New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2011:69) and as having among the least comprehensive PPL policies in the industrialised world (Forbes, 2009:15). However there have been regular calls, over a number of years, for paternity leave to be introduced (Families Commission, 2007: NACEW, 2008; New Zealand Human Rights Commission, 2010:20; Reilly & Morrissey, 2016). While the Families Commission called for four weeks paid leave for fathers/partners, the NACEW did not state a period but suggested that some amount of PPL should be ring-fenced for fathers, in order to support greater choice for parents and gender equality in the home and at work (NACEW, 2008:11-12). Even though the NACEW report briefly recognises the gender inequality in the workplace, it fails to consider the structural barriers to fathers participating in childcare on an ongoing basis, focusing only on the period around the birth or adoption. For example, while flexible leave is proposed, there is no discussion of flexible work over the life course. Recent research has again called for dedicated, non-transferable leave (without specifying a period) in order to increase the sharing of family responsibilities, with a view to closing the gender pay gap (NZIER, 2016:26).

3.10.2. Duration

The duration of parental leave in New Zealand is currently 22 weeks and this will increase to 26 weeks from 1 July 2020. This reflects option one in the Table 3.3 taxonomy, being short leave, of less than 12 months. The period of parental leave available has increased regularly since its introduction. When New Zealand introduced PPL in 2002 it was 12 weeks but as late as 2001 calls were being made for

PPL to be introduced at the ILO Maternity Protection Convention duration of 14 weeks (EEO Ministerial Advisory Group, 2001:35).

PPL of a short duration is less likely to be shared by parents and to all be taken by the mother. In terms of gender equality, this is an example of reversal under the Squires classifications, as it reflects the biological difference between the genders.

A New Zealand study conducted after PPL was introduced recognised the range of relevant considerations regarding duration, and suggested that while labour market and gender equity considerations would suggest a short leave period, once biomedical research is included the recommendation becomes at least six months postnatal leave (Galtry and Callister, 2005:239). Such research is an example of the medical ‘knowledge’ upon which maternal and child health claims are made.

After conducting its own research in 2007, the Families Commission called for a staggered increase in the duration of PPL, with a view to reaching 13 months paid leave by 2015 (Families Commission, 2007). This was not achieved. In 2008 NACEW also recommended PPL of one year and suggested that a first increase to six months should be undertaken as an urgent priority (NACEW, 2008:10).

3.10.3. Transferability

PPL is initially allocated to the mother but it may then be transferred to whoever is to be the primary carer of the child. The ability to transfer leave to a non-parental carer reflects option three in the Table 3.3 taxonomy. Initial allocation to the mother is a policy design feature that was challenged as maternalistic in sub-section 3.3.3 and likely to make the policy one of reversal rather than inclusion.

When PPL was introduced in 2002, it could be transferred from the mother to her spouse, including same-sex. This remained in place until 2015, when changes were introduced so that PPL could be transferred from the mother to another person, if they are to be the primary carer.

Table 3.3 also indicates extended leave and partner’s leave as other parental leave types in New Zealand. Extended leave may be transferred but partner’s leave cannot. These design features reflect options three and one respectively from the Table 3.2 taxonomy. While the non-transferable nature of partner’s leave may appear to protect the father’s right to care for their child, both the short duration of two weeks and the unpaid nature of the leave, mean that this leave offers limited practical support to fathers.

3.10.4. Payment rate

New Zealand has adopted option three in the Table 3.3 taxonomy of wage replacement subject to a cap. As at 1 July 2019, the cap or maximum amount is \$585.80 per week before tax (Employment New Zealand, 2019). This is approximately equivalent to full-time minimum wage, and significantly below the median weekly income from wages and salaries¹⁴ of \$1,000 (NZ.Stat, 2019). As a result many families are likely to face financial pressure after a birth. The gender pay gap means that a greater proportion of women's wages and salaries are likely to be replaced than men's.

PPL in New Zealand has always been paid subject to a cap of approximately minimum wage. When it was introduced in 2002, the maximum amount of wage replacement was \$325 per week, and the minimum wage was NZD \$8.00 per hour (Employment New Zealand, 2018). Therefore the maximum payable as PPL was equivalent to approximately 40 hours at minimum wage. In contrast, average hourly earnings were NZD \$19.06 (Stats NZ info request).

There has been a rare call for the payment rate to be increased by the Families Commission (2007), but even that report recommended maximum caps on payment, below the international guidelines. This reflects a lack of value placed on the care role in New Zealand and suggests that PPL is not considered to be an employment issue. Many other New Zealand studies have simply failed to address the issue of payment rate (such as New Zealand Government, 2006; NACEW, 2008; NZIER, 2016). The 'knowledge' and perspectives reflected in the low cap are discussed in the following chapter, with reference to the very different situation in Norway. Chapter 4 considers the first and second WPR questions and answers the first of the arising research questions identified in Chapter 1 - Why was the minimum wage used as the payment rate for PPL in New Zealand but wage replacement adopted in Norway?

3.10.5. Funding

PPL in New Zealand is funded by general taxation, which is option two in the Table 3.3 taxonomy. When PPL was originally recommended by the Alliance party, it was proposed to be funded by an employer levy (option three in the taxonomy), payable by all businesses irrespective of the number of women they employed. This met with opposition from business groups and is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

¹⁴ June 2017 quarter (1 April to 30 June 2017)

New Zealand does not have a social insurance scheme (option one in the taxonomy). Instead most forms of state support are funded by general taxation, meaning that while tax-paying individuals contribute, they do not do so through social security payments and their contributions do not go into a separate fund. Although New Zealand's total benefit expenditure is in line with the OECD average (Rea, 2009:64), over half of all social assistance is represented by its universal aged pension (The Treasury, 2018a:62) and PPL represents a very small portion of public spending. In 2018/19, the total budget for PPL was \$375m (The Treasury, 2019) compared to forecast total core Crown expenses of \$81.7bn (Treasury, 2018b:32)¹⁵.

As discussed in Section 3.6, funding PPL through general taxation is rare internationally, so New Zealand is unusual in the way it funds PPL (and other transfers).

3.10.6. Eligibility

In New Zealand, eligibility is based initially on the mother, and the father has no independent entitlement to PPL. In the case of adoption, the primary carer is initially eligible, and in both cases leave may be transferred. Eligibility criteria for PPL are work-related and require an average of 10 hours a week for any 26 of the 52 weeks prior to birth. These criteria represent option three in the Table 3.3 taxonomy, targeted rather than universal, and using a criteria other than means-testing.

Calls to broaden the eligibility criteria for PPL in New Zealand were made (Families Commission, 2007; NACEW, 2008). The Families Commission called for a reduction in employment restrictions so that casual and seasonal workers would also be eligible (2007), as did the NACEW (2008:9), and changes to this effect were introduced from 2016. The 'knowledge' reflected in the NACEW position was that of PPL supporting workforce attachment, an approach which further reinforced targeted, rather than universal eligibility. Men, and male carers, were again absent and the family remained unscrutinised. Gender equality is situated as a labour market issue, something to be resolved through PPL policies, and not something that requires men or fathers to change their behaviours.

¹⁵ I am mindful of Esping-Anderson's (1990:19) caution that not all spending counts equally (a sentiment echoed by Castles, 2004), and acknowledge that this spending is not only for public servants and not means-tested, but the small proportion of total spending is noteworthy.

3.10.7. Obligations

There are no obligations attached to receiving PPL in New Zealand. This reflects option one in the Table 3.3 taxonomy. However there are a number of examples of obligations in respect to other forms of state support in the New Zealand policy environment.

Historic obligations included the requirement, prior to 1981, for women to take out maintenance proceedings against the father of their child in order to be eligible for sole parent assistance, and after that time to provide the name of the father to the state. Such rules have been likened to the Poor Law of nineteenth century Britain (Goodger, 1998) and are claimed to reinforce a cultural expectation of dependency on women (Nolan, 2000:278). There has generally been little attempt to push back against these judgements.

By the late 1990's there was an expectation for people to seek paid employment, and this applied to sole parents (Baker and Du Plessis, 2018) even though they find childcare expensive, as well as to spouses of the unemployed, widows, and older women (McClure, 1998:250/247). Over a decade later, the Welfare Working Group continued to support the idea that welfare recipients have obligations to the community, such as taking reasonable steps to secure paid work and having policy settings that support and encourage them (Welfare Working Group, 2011:12).

A recently introduced example of obligations is the requirement for beneficiary parents to take reasonable steps to ensure their children attend early childhood education from the age of three, or have their benefits cut (Johnston, 2015). State funding is available to make 20 hours of early childhood education fees free to parents (Education, 2016) but attendance is not compulsory.

3.10.8. Taxable income

PPL payments are taxable income in New Zealand under section CF1(1)(f) of the Income Tax Act 2007. This reflects option one in the Table 3.3 taxonomy.

3.11. Norway

The design elements and options, determined in the taxonomy of PPL in Table 3.1 above, are now considered with respect to the PPL policy in Norway. To assist in that process, Table 3.4 below replicates Table 3.1, and shows the options adopted by Norway (bold and shaded). The options are not mutually exclusive as more than one option may be used.

Table 3.4 Parental leave design elements and options - Norway

Design elements	Options				
	Option one	Option two	Option three	Option four	Option five
Leave type	Maternity leave (mothers only)	Paternity leave (fathers only)	Partner's leave (fathers or same-sex partners)	Parental leave (shareable)	Extended leave
Duration	Short (generally accepted as less than 12 months)	Long (generally accepted as 12 months or longer)			
Transferability	Dedicated (cannot be shared or transferred)	Can be shared or transferred between parents	Can be shared or transferred to another carer		
Payment rate	Fixed amount	Full wage replacement	Wage replacement subject to a cap (or maximum amount)	Proportion of wage replacement	Unpaid
Funding	Social security or social insurance	General taxation	Employer and/or employee levy		
Eligibility	Universal (no criteria apply)	Targeted (means-tested by assets or income)	Targeted (using some other criteria)		
Obligations	None	An action or behavioural requirement			
Taxable income	Yes- forms part of assessable income	No - exempt income	No - excluded income		

3.11.1. Leave types

Norway has maternity leave, paternity leave, and shareable parental leave. These are options one, two, and four in the Table 3.4 taxonomy. All three leave types are paid. Since PPL was first introduced in 1977, there has always been a dedicated period of leave for the mother, or paid maternity leave. The remainder of the leave is shareable parental leave. In 1993, a period of four weeks dedicated father's leave was introduced, with the maternity leave period remaining and the balance of leave available as shareable parental leave (subject to eligibility as discussed in subsection 3.11.6 below).

Earlier in this chapter maternity leave was identified as reversal within Squires's classification, paternity leave as inclusion (and as displacement where the paternity leave is designed in a way to

deconstruct traditional gender roles), and parental leave as inclusion. When the father's quota was introduced, there was an explicit gender equality focus, which is examined in Chapter 4.

3.11.2. Duration

Maternity leave and paternity leave (the father's quota) are currently both of ten weeks duration. A total leave period of either 48 or 52 weeks is available (including the maternity and paternity leave periods) depending on the level of wage replacement chosen, either 100% or 80%. This represents option two in the Table 3.4 taxonomy.

Norway introduced 4 months of PPL in 1977 and the duration of PPL was gradually increased during the 1980s and early 1990s, with a significant increase to 35 weeks occurring in 1993, when the father's quota of four weeks was introduced. This increase would be classified as a displacement policy within Squires's classification, as it sought to deconstruct gender roles, by increasing both women's labour market participation and men's care role in the home.

Changes to the duration of the mother's leave, the father's leave, and the total leave available have been made regularly from 1993 to the present.

3.11.3. Transferability

Neither maternity nor paternity leave can be transferred but parental leave can be shared (subject to eligibility as discussed in subsection 3.11.6 below). These design features reflect options one and two respectively in the Table 3.4 taxonomy.

3.11.4. Payment rate

In Norway, parental leave is paid for either 48 weeks at 100% wage replacement (subject to a generous cap¹⁶), or for 52 weeks at 80% wage replacement (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2015). This ensures any financial stress on the family is minimal, and optional, as the shorter period paid at 100% could be chosen. Wage replacement subject to a cap is option three in the Table 3.4 taxonomy.

¹⁶ The basic amount, or 'G', was identified in Chapter 1 as the starting point for calculations of all benefits provided under Norway's National Insurance Scheme. The cap for PPL payments is six times the basic amount currently NOK 49,932 per month (NTA, 2019).

Norway's parental leave policies also include ten days after birth known as 'daddy days'. They are not paid leave under the National Insurance Scheme, but payment may be under an individual or collective agreement, and most employed fathers are covered by such agreements (Brandth and Kvande, 2017:305). Unpaid leave is option five in the Table 3.4 taxonomy.

3.11.5. Funding

PPL in Norway is funded as part of the National Insurance Scheme. The Scheme itself is funded from contributions from employees, the self-employed, employers and the state. This is option one in the Table 3.4 taxonomy. The origins of the Scheme are discussed in Chapter 4.

3.11.6. Eligibility

There are different eligibility criteria for maternity, paternity, and parental leave. All reflect option three in the Table 3.4 taxonomy, targeting using some other criteria than means-testing, and each is considered in turn.

The eligibility criteria for maternity leave in Norway is to have been employed, earning pensionable income of at least half of the national insurance fund's basic amount, for at least six of the last ten months before birth. The eligibility criteria for paternity leave relate to both the father and the mother. The father must have been in work for at least two weeks before his leave. The mother must have worked at least 0.5 FTE for at least six of the last ten months before birth.

The eligibility criteria for parental leave vary for the mother and the father. The mother's criteria is the same as for maternity leave above. The father may only have parental leave transferred to him if he also meets that criteria and the mother returns to paid work, full-time education, or is unwell. Even if the father personally meets the work-related criteria, he is unable to access any parental leave if the mother remains at home, in which instance he is eligible only for his paternity leave. This linking of the father's eligibility to the mother's status was introduced with the father's quota. It was not a feature of the PPL policy before that time and the change is considered further in Chapter 4. The assumption of mother as carer, unless she has another role outside the home, reflects the equal/different approach in Squires's reversal classification.

3.11.7. Obligations

There are no obligations attached to receiving PPL in Norway, which is option one in the Table 3.4 taxonomy. However other transfers have obligations attached, such as unemployment benefit, which can require people to move location within the country for work (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2015:24).

3.11.8. Taxable income

PPL payments are taxable income in Norway (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, 2015:28) which is option one in the Table 3.4 taxonomy.

3.12. Conclusion

This chapter identified PPL as a term without a specific description and then provided a contribution to the literature by creating a taxonomy of PPL. Eight design elements of a potential PPL policy were identified: leave type; duration; transferability; payment rate; eligibility; funding; obligations; and taxable income. The potential options within each element were explored and the elements and options applied in New Zealand and in Norway were identified. These policy design options were then examined with respect to Squires's classification and the 'knowledges' that create different perspectives on gender equality. The identification and analysis of these elements and options reveals the complexity of PPL. The discussion of each provides clarity and outlining their application in the two countries under examination provides a strong foundation for the further analysis in the subsequent chapters.

This chapter also provided a further contribution by challenging the distinction generally drawn between general taxation, and social security or insurance contributions, as fundamentally different funding mechanisms. It was shown that they are technically equivalent to one another. The value of this observation is not the challenge to the common distinction for its own sake, but rather to contrast the difference in views held regarding transfers arising from social insurance, and those arising from taxation. These differences in views are examined in the following chapter.

Key findings regarding the PPL policies in each country were also derived in this chapter. New Zealand was identified to be an outlier internationally on three counts: by not having any dedicated fathers leave; by having a low maximum payment amount for parental leave; and by funding PPL through general taxation (although this distinction has now been challenged). The low payment rate raised

the suggestion that the care role is devalued, which is considered further in later chapters. The funding mechanism was suggested as a relevant factor because funding through taxation means the PPL policy must compete for funding against other spending proposals. Norway was identified as using family policy for broad societal aims. The Norwegian government provides PPL through the National Insurance Scheme, not just as a transfer of state support, but as a way of changing gender roles and reducing inequality between the genders. By introducing a period of dedicated father's leave, they hoped to encourage fathers to take parental leave, as although they had previously been eligible for shareable parental leave they had not taken it.

Chapter 4 – Problem representation and conceptual logics

4.1 Introduction

This chapter commences the WPR analysis of the historical data from New Zealand and Norway. The historical data are documents from during and preceding the policy changes being investigated and consist of records of parliamentary debate, public submissions on the PPL bill, reports by various Ministries, documentation from women's groups, and media articles,. The chapter answers the first two 'What's the problem represented to be?' or WPR questions. The first WPR question is 'What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?' and the second is 'What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?'

The previous two chapters of this thesis outlined the analytical and theoretical framework used in this research and discussed the various design elements of PPL policies. This chapter brings those elements together, applying the WPR framework to the historical data, to consider the changes to the policy that were introduced in each country.

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 4.2 the results of the thematic coding of the data are presented. All data were entered into NVivo software, then text within each data source was coded to one or more topic areas, called nodes. This process produced a list of nodes and a collection of text (across the whole data set) identified as relating to one or more of these nodes. From this process, the software can produce frequency counts for each node and coverage counts for each data source, and these are presented together in tables for each country in this section.

In Section 4.3 the first WPR question, regarding problem representation, is applied to the historical data from New Zealand. In Section 4.4 the same question is considered with respect to the historical data from Norway. In Section 4.5 the second WPR question, regarding assumptions and conceptual logics, is applied to the New Zealand data. The second WPR question is applied to the Norwegian data in Section 4.6.

In Sections 4.7 and 4.8 the assumptions and conceptual logics are considered further, and the initial problem representations are interrogated, to determine whether any additional problem representations nest or are embedded within them. The concept of nesting was discussed in Section 1.6.2, as part of the description of the WPR approach, and explained to be the result of asking the WPR questions more than once of the same data. The application of the first two WPR questions to the data provides the problem representation and the assumptions underlying it. Repeated application of the WPR questions to that problem representation reveals a problem within a problem.

Section 4.7 considers New Zealand's problem representation and the assumptions of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency, the devaluation of care work, and women as primary carers (from Section 4.5). The section also identifies two nested problems of a group needing a benefit from government and maternal health rights. Only the first of these is considered in this chapter, as the second arises as part of the genealogy of the problem representation in Chapter 5, and is included there instead. Section 4.8 considers Norway's problem representation and the assumptions of gender equality and the acceptance of the dual-earner/dual-carer model (from Section 4.6). The section also identifies the nested problem of not participating in that model.

A summary of the key differences and similarities between the problem representations, assumptions, and conceptual logics in the two countries is provided in Section 4.9. The chapter concludes in Section 4.10. References to the data in the chapter are to the document numbers given in the list of documents in Appendix B, for example, A1, A2 for New Zealand data and B1, B2 for Norwegian data.

4.2 Coding summary

As outlined in Chapter 2, and in the summary of methods in Appendix A, all data were thematically coded using NVivo software. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package, produced by QSR International, which is designed for the analysis of non-numerical data (QSR, n.d.). Thematic coding is a manual process in which, as the researcher, I highlighted specific text in the data that relate to 'nodes', or topic areas, which I identified as I progressed through the data. A full list of nodes used in the coding of historical data for New Zealand is presented in Appendix C and for Norway in Appendix D. Some of these nodes are relevant for the topics discussed in this chapter.

For New Zealand, the nodes that relate to the dominant problem representation are taxation and the State, economic independence, women as carers, women as paid workers, and PPL as employment-related. The nodes that relate to the assumptions and conceptual logics are PPL as welfare, economic independence, and women as carers. The nodes that relate to the nested problem representations are PPL as welfare, economic independence, and taxation and the State.

NVivo software has the ability to run queries of the data and its coding. The first query undertaken was a coding query, or frequency count, which identifies all incidents of coding to a particular node or nodes. The second was a coverage count, which identifies how much of each document was coded, and is expressed as a percentage. The details of the coding frequency and coverage of the New Zealand data are presented in Table 4.1. This information reveals that the documents almost always cover all three areas, to varying degrees, and have a concentration around one particular area.

Table 4.1 - Chapter 4 coding summary for New Zealand

Topics / Source documents	Subjects discussed in chapter		
	Number of coding references / Coverage of document		
	Problem representation	Assumptions and conceptual logics	Nested problem representations
A1	4 0.24%	0 -	2 0.14%
A4	20 54.15%	9 14.19%	7 9.99%
A5	19 24.66%	13 15.08%	11 14.52%
A6A	3 43.46%	4 73.46%	3 60.38%
A6B	16 28.30%	14 25.07%	13 21.87%
A7	10 28.63%	9 19.57%	12 31.27%
A8	0 -	4 4.81%	3 3.97%
A9	21 4.88%	7 1.63%	14 2.97%
A10	7 75.47%	2 17.66%	1 6.72%
A11	2 0.80%	1 0.20%	2 0.80%
A12	22 69.87%	10 24.63%	8 26.34%
A13	9 32.57%	3 10.24%	2 7.06%
A14	2 45.18%	0 -	0 -
A15	8 67.14%	2 21.33%	2 21.33%
A16	3 71.80%	2 46.93%	3 71.80%
A17	5 66.58%	4 66.20%	4 66.20%
A18	7 8.07%	1 1.07%	6 7.15%
A19	10 87.33%	3 8.52%	7 67.36%
A20	8 66.50%	6 51.50%	4 29.41%
A21	5 5.09%	2 1.80%	2 1.48%
A22	1 0.30%	0 -	1 0.30%
A23	1 13.36%	0 -	0 -

A24	5 10.94%	3 4.89%	4 7.86%
A25	1 11.97%	0 -	0 -
A26	15 4.09%	7 1.67%	8 1.92%
A27	7 4.94%	5 2.50%	4 2.00%
A29	2 18.11%	2 43.97%	1 38.73%
A30	1 2.28%	0 -	1 2.28%
A31	18 9.03%	4 1.92%	7 3.45%
A32	12 9.85%	0 -	8 6.14%
A33	3 4.27%	0 -	2 2.56%
A34	10 14.49%	8 8.92%	9 9.55%
A35	1 33.06%	2 26.90%	1 33.06%
A36	4 98.50%	0 -	4 98.50%
A38	2 41.46%	1 22.65%	2 41.46%
A39	2 45.27%	2 45.27%	2 45.27%
A44-59	24 52.33%	9 17.32%	13 27.34%
A60-78	17 23.88%	8 10.38%	14 18.40%
A79-87	13 52.78%	10 37.65%	7 30.00%
A88-92	11 38.23%	6 30.65%	4 18.70%
A94	7 71.20%	3 34.09%	5 51.01%

As discussed in this chapter, the problem representations for New Zealand and Norway are different, and as such there are different nodes that relate to the problem representation in Norway.

For Norway, the nodes that relate to the dominant problem representation are taxation and the State, women as carers, and fathers as carers. The nodes that relate to the assumptions and conceptual logics are fathers as carers, fathers as paid workers, women as paid workers, work and family life, taxation and the State, PPL as employment-related, equality and inclusion. The nodes that relate to the nested problem representations are work and family life, women as paid workers, fathers as paid

workers, PPL as welfare, taxation and the State, fathers as carers, women as carers, and children's rights.

The Norwegian data coded against these nodes are identified in Table 4.2 along with the number of times text was coded to the nodes. This information reveals that the documents almost always cover all three areas, usually with similar distribution, with fewer clear concentrations around one particular area than the New Zealand data.

Table 4.2 - Chapter 4 coding summary for Norway

Topics / Source documents	Subjects discussed in chapter		
	Number of coding references / Coverage of document		
	Problem representation	Assumptions and conceptual logics	Nested problem representations
B1	0 -	22 42.55%	27 48.18%
B3	6 6.08%	10 8.21%	9 8.81%
B4	6 32.61%	8 46.54%	8 46.49%
B5	4 37.76%	5 40.55%	4 37.76%
B6	2 6.81%	3 11.94%	3 11.94%
B7	21 24.62%	35 46.91%	37 48.90%

4.3 Problem Representation (WPR 1) NZ

The first WPR question asks 'What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?' and in explaining the WPR approach, Bacchi states that 'what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change' (Bacchi, 2009:xi). Bacchi is challenging the tradition view of policy-making as problem 'solving'. Instead, the WPR approach identifies the 'problem' by working backwards from the solution, and this can be illustrated with some examples from Bacchi (2009:3). If the solution or the policy change is to provide means-tested financial support for some activity, then the problem is a welfare problem, prompting a change to support those without the means to participate in the activity. If the policy change provides funding directly to a service provider, the problem is one of public responsibility, based on the public funding.

This method of identifying the problem representation is quite simplistic and Bacchi suggests WPR1 is just ‘a starting point for interrogation’ (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:21). Complexity arises where there are a number of problem representations. This can occur when a number of changes are made to a policy at one time or a policy is introduced that has a number of design elements and options within it. Bacchi advises it is possible that some of the problem representations will be more dominant than others (Bacchi, 2009:4). This is seen to be the case here. Further complexity is introduced in the second WPR question, which progresses the analysis by revealing the deeper issues within the problem representation, through identification of the underlying presuppositions and assumptions. For now though, the methodology requires that the change itself is examined, so the elements and options in place before and after the policy change must be identified. These are outlined in Table 4.3 below. The table includes the design elements of leave type, transferability, duration, payment rate, funding, obligations, eligibility, and taxable income, concepts that were introduced in the taxonomy of Table 3.1 and discussed in Chapter 3.

All ‘Before’ references are to the Parental Leave and Employment Protection Act 1987 (the Principal Act) and all ‘After’ references are amendments to the Principal Act made through the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Act 2002.

Table 4.3: New Zealand parental leave provisions - before and after PPL introduced

	Leave type / Funding / Obligations	Duration	Work test (eligibility)	Transfer	Payment / Taxable income
Before	Maternity leave	14 weeks	At least 10 hours in each week for same employer for previous 12 months	No	No
Ref	Section 7	Section 9	Section 7	n/a	n/a
After	Parental leave	12 weeks	No less than an average of 10 hours a week and either no less than 1 hour in every week or no less than 40 hours in every month for same employer for previous 12 months	Yes	Yes - at wage replacement subject to cap of approx. minimum wage

					Taxable income
Ref	Section 71A	Section 71J	Section 72A	Section 71E	Section 71M
Before	Extended leave	52 weeks (including maternity leave)	At least 10 hours in each week for same employer for previous 12 months	Yes	No
Ref	Section 23	Section 26	Section 23	Section 27	n/a
After	No change	52 weeks (including parental leave)	No change	No change	No change
Before	Paternity leave	2 weeks (no impact on extended leave total)	At least 10 hours in each week for same employer for previous 12 months	No	No
Ref	Section 17	Section 19	Section 17	n/a	n/a
After	Partner's / paternity leave (but may also be eligible to receive transferred PPL)	No change	No change	No change	No change
Ref	Section 17	Section 19	Section 17	n/a	n/a
Before	Funding	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
After	Section 71Q	Taxation			

Before	Obligations	None	n/a	n/a	n/a
After		No change			

The changes identified are the introduction of a payment, a slight relaxation of the work test for eligibility, transferability, and a small reduction in the duration of leave. Therefore the problem is represented to be the lack of payment for maternity leave, the work test (as too strict), the lack of transferability of maternity leave, and the period of leave. Earlier in this section it was stated that in some cases there may be a number of problem representations and that some may be more dominant than others (Bacchi, 2009:4). This is seen to be the case here. The work test and the period of leave are considered first, followed by the transferability and the period of leave, and then the most significant element (as seen by the high level of coding in Table 4.1) the lack of payment.

The work test is an example of eligibility criteria, which was discussed in Sections 3.7 and 3.10.6, and the change relaxes the test slightly. Where previously a woman must have been in paid work for at least 10 hours in each week, after the change this becomes an average of 10 hours a week, and either no less than 1 hour in every week or no less than 40 hours in every month. The requirement that this work is undertaken for the same employer for the previous 12 months is unchanged. This last requirement reveals a preference for employees over the self-employed because self-employed people are ineligible. It also reveals a preference for workers in stable employment over irregular workers because they are more likely to satisfy the eligibility criteria. The policy design makes PPL disproportionately more available to those in stable jobs, who are likely to be on average better educated, and earn higher incomes than those in irregular employment¹⁷. Although the work test was amended, the work-related criteria are not new, and so will not be treated as part of the problematization. However, they are considered again as part of the assumptions underlying the representation of the problem, in the next question.

The next changes identified are the transferability and the period of leave. With the change to introduce payment, previously non-transferable unpaid maternity leave became transferable paid

¹⁷ The legislation was later amended to include self-employed parents from 1 July 2006 through the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave for Self-Employed Persons) Amendment Act 2006. Further changes were also implemented from 1 April 2016 to extend eligibility for non-standard workers (such as casual, seasonal, and employees with more than one employer) and those who changed jobs shortly before going on leave, through The Employment Standards Legislation Bill.

parental leave, which could be transferred to a spouse (including same-sex). The examination of the data revealed that the transferable nature of the new policy was not a dominant discussion although the opposition National Party (Simcock) suggested that it ran counter to the maternal and child health (including breastfeeding) arguments being made by supporters (A5-15247). From an equality perspective, the change was important, as it moved the policy from different/equal (reversal) to same/equal (inclusion) - to an extent. The ability to transfer leave to a partner approaches the liberal concepts of choice and impartiality, but is restricted by the initial allocation to the mother, as utilisation of the leave by a partner relies on the mother's eligibility. Such a policy can be expected to have a negligible impact on gender equality, as the likelihood of utilisation by a partner is low (Moss and Deven, 2015), as discussed in Section 3.3.3.

The magnitude of the change to the period of leave varied between parents. Mothers went from having 14 weeks of dedicated unpaid maternity leave to 12 weeks of PPL but fathers or partners went from having 2 weeks of dedicated unpaid paternity leave to the potential to also have 12 weeks of PPL, if they passed a work-related eligibility test, and the mother agreed to transfer her PPL entitlement to them. Again, the examination of the data revealed that the policy change to make parental leave transferable was not a dominant feature in the data, meaning the fact that fathers or partners could start taking paid leave was not given attention. This could have been because it was not expected to occur - a suggestion that is considered further in Section 4.7. This change is another that takes the policy from different/equal (reversal) to same/equal (inclusion). As well as the inherent issues regarding utilisation by a partner, leave of such a short duration is likely to be taken by mothers, based on the 'knowledge' of breastfeeding as necessary for maternal and child health influenced by the WHO (2015) and ILO (2017) and discussed in Section 3.3.1.

The previous two paragraphs refer to dominant and non-dominant features based on examination of the data. It is important to recognise that there is inevitably a selection bias associated with this research and one of the ways in which that may appear is through the data selected for examination. It may be considered that all research is subject to some form of selection bias, in defining the research question or choosing how to investigate it, and I acknowledged this possibility in this research in Section 2.2. The classification of dominant and non-dominant is based on the result of the coding undertaken for all data. (Appendices C and D contain the parent and child nodes identified in the coding of the historic documents for New Zealand and Norway). Therefore, while I am confident to make the classification of dominant and non-dominant within the data selected, I restate my acknowledgement of potential bias regarding the selection of the data.

4.3.1 The lack of payment

The lack of payment under the previous policy was a dominant feature in the data (as reflected in Table 4.1). 45% of submissions on the bill discussed payment (A43). The discussion covered a range of issues relating to payment: international guidelines and comparability with other countries; the level at which payment should be made; women's economic inequality; and who should bear responsibility for the payment.

The lack of payment for maternity leave in New Zealand differed from comparable countries in respect of international guidelines and this was commented upon by politicians, officials, unions, and media (A5, A19, A32, A34, A50, and A54). It was observed that New Zealand was unusual in being non-compliant with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW], the United Nations International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [ICESCR], and the ILO Maternity Protection Convention 103 (A32). The majority of other OECD countries had introduced PPL by 2002, leaving New Zealand as part of a small group of developed countries without any PPL (Australia and USA). Officials and unions suggested that the lack of payment meant the current entitlements were ineffective (A31, A49). Officials described the value of the right to take leave and return to work as 'limited by the absence of any associated payment' (A31). They also suggested that some people may not have understood their entitlement or had to quickly return to paid work due to financial pressures (A31). The Service and Food Workers Union claimed that women were 'suffering both mentally and physically because they cannot afford to have time off work after they give birth' (A49).

The debate relating to the level at which payment should be made was focused on wage replacement. Officials had previously advised Ministers that wage replacement was the international norm (A13) but there was opposition to that approach from opposition MPs (A66, A77, A92). NZ First (Bloxham) suggested a set rate would be appropriate in order to avoid a situation where 'taxpayers end up supporting women on \$100,000 who did not really need it' (A66). The National Party (Shipley) expressed the view that it was 'morally wrong' to tax lower and middle income earners to support high-income earners through PPL (A77). Unions were concerned that the proposed payment rate was only just above minimum wage and would leave 90% of full-time workers facing a drop in income (A58). The low payment rate reflects a liberal view that payments in a welfare system should be modest. The 'knowledge' underlying the view is that people should be self-supporting to the greatest extent possible. As a result, any state support must be a safety net, and modest.

The subject of women's economic inequality was raised by Harré, the architect of the PPL policy, who suggested that women's low paid insecure jobs made mothers amongst the poorest adults in society

(A4-13895). An Alliance party colleague (Gordon) cited the gender pay gap to discuss women's economic inequality, stating the difference between the genders as 'fifty-seven percent of men's annual overall income, 67 percent of men's work income, and 81 percent of men's hourly rate is all we earn' (A4-13901).

In terms of gender equality, the policy change to pay (some) women during their parental leave comes from a liberal perspective too, where eligibility is based on the extent of previous labour market participation. The market is the site and origin of the payment and the public sphere has been expanded to include women and their reproductive function.

Who should bear responsibility for the payment was the final element of the debate. The funding of PPL was to be through general taxation, implying a problem representation of public responsibility, because it is funded via public funds without any means-testing. As PPL (and other transfers) are funded by taxation in New Zealand and through social insurance in Norway, it is worth reflecting on public funding for a moment. In Section 3.6, the distinction between tax funding and social insurance was shown to be more of form than substance, while the receipts from each (welfare or insurance) were perceived very differently. However the form is important, as under social insurance the responsibility may be felt to be shared, via the contributions from employees, employers, and the state to the scheme. This is the case even though it is no different from employees and employers paying tax and the state using tax revenue to fund welfare payments. This concept is considered again in Section 4.4.

The original proposal by the Alliance Party had been for PPL to be funded via a payroll levy. In such case, PPL would not be funded by the state using public funds, so the responsibility would no longer be a public one. Instead it would have been employers who were paying for PPL. This would have changed the first element of the problem representation, and assuming no other changes to the policy, the new problematization would have been 'an employer responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave'. The discussion generated by the Alliance proposal considered whether PPL should be employer-funded or taxpayer-funded, and the arguments were presented based on how PPL was classified by observers, either as an employment entitlement, or as welfare, or some form of social entitlement. This is considered further in Section 4.4 (the second WPR question) and Section 4.6 (regarding payment rate).

Alternative problem representations could be proposed in this case. The problem representation identified in Section 4.2 included a reference to eligibility and became a problem of maternity leave. Representations could, however, also be based on purpose. For example, the PPL payment is from the state (largely funded by tax revenue) to eligible mothers, and so it could be represented as state

support for mothers after birth.¹⁸ However there was already a policy in place that provided state support to mothers after birth. This policy was called the Parental Tax Credit [PTC] and it provided a payment of \$150 a week for eight weeks to families with a newborn if neither parent is claiming a benefit (Inland Revenue, 2019b). The PTC did not require the mother to have previously been in paid employment, meaning it had broader eligibility criteria than PPL, even with the restriction regarding a benefit.

The eligibility criteria for PPL could be used to construct another representation of PPL as state support for (some) employed mothers. In this context PPL would be a continuation of existing support, following the childcare subsidy that had been introduced in 1973, and job protection whilst on maternity leave that had been in place since 1987. There had also been earlier state support for mothers in paid employment, including the statutory right to unemployment benefit from 1938, but that right was not universal as only unmarried women were eligible (St John, 2013:2). Legislative protections were introduced later, such as the removal of separate male and female pay scales in the public service, the Equal Pay Act 1972, and the Human Rights Commission Act 1977, which provided protection from employment discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status, or religious or ethical belief.^{19,20} These alternative problem representations are not considered to reflect dominant features of the policy change, based on the analysis of the data, and so are not considered further in this research. Instead, when the lack of payment is brought together with the other elements discussed earlier, the dominant problem representation behind the change to introduce PPL in New Zealand is determined to be the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave.

4.4 Problem Representation (WPR 1) Norway

The first WPR question asks ‘What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?’ The same analytical approach used for New Zealand is also adopted for consideration of the problem representation in Norway. Table 4.4 below outlines what Norway’s parental leave provisions were, before and after the changes to introduce the father’s quota and significantly extend the duration of leave were made, based on the taxonomy developed in the previous chapter.

All ‘Before’ references are to the National Insurance Act 1966 (unless otherwise indicated) and ‘After’ references are amendments made through *Ot prp (Odelstingsproposisjon) nr 13, 1992-93 Lov om*

¹⁸ New Zealand government expenditure is also funded by return on investments and through debt (Treasury, 2018:106)

¹⁹ Section 15 refers

²⁰ Government Service Equal Pay Act 1960

endringer i lov av 17. juni 1966 nr. 12 om folketrygd og i visse andre lover / The Act on Amendments to the Law of 17 June 1966 No. 12 on National Insurance and in certain other laws.

Table 4.4: Norwegian parental leave provisions - before and after father's quota introduced

	Leave type / Funding / Obligations	Duration	Work test (eligibility)	Transferable	Payment
Before	Maternity leave	6 weeks (30 days) after the birth	Employed with pensionable income, annualised equivalent to at least half of the national insurance fund's basic amount, for at least six of the last ten months before birth	No	Yes - at wage replacement to a max of six times the basic amount
Ref	Section 14-9	Section 14-9	Section 14-6	Section 14-9	Section 14-7
After	Maternity leave	No change	No change	No change	No change
Ref	3 A-1	3 A-1, A-6	3 A-1, A-2	3 A-1	3-4
Before	Parental leave	33 weeks (100%) or 42 weeks (80%)	Employed with pensionable income, annualised equivalent to at least half of the national insurance fund's basic amount, for at least six of the last ten months before birth	Yes - but the father is only eligible for parental leave if the mother is eligible	Yes - at chosen percentage of wage replacement to a max of six times the basic amount, and father's benefit based on mothers work hours
Ref	Section 14-6	Section 14-9	Section 14-6	Section 14-6	Section 14-7 Section 14-3 (NIA 3-4)
After	Parental leave	42 weeks (100%) or 52 weeks (80%)	As above	Above still applies but can only be transferred to the father if the mother returns to paid work, full-	Yes - at chosen percentage of wage (same for each) and father's benefit based on

				time education, or is unwell	mothers work hours
Ref	Section 14-6	Section 14-9 (3 A-4)	Section 14-6 (3 A-1)	Section 14-13 (3A-1,A-7)	Section 14-9 (3 A-3, A-7)
Before	Pappapermisjon 'daddy days'	10 days after birth	None	No	No
Ref	Work Environment Act 1977 section 12-3				
After	No change	No change	No change	No change	No change
Ref	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Before	(New)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
After	Paternity leave - father's quota	4 weeks	Mother worked at least 0.5 FTE for at least six of the last ten months before birth. Father in work for at least two weeks before his leave.	No (but sole mothers may have the leave period)	Yes but father's benefit based on mothers work hours
Ref	Section 14-9	3 A-7	3 A-7, NIA 3-18	3 A-7	3 A-7
Before	Funding	Social Insurance	n/a	n/a	n/a
After		No change			
Before	Obligations	None	n/a	n/a	n/a
After		No change			

The table identifies three changes: to introduce a period of dedicated leave for fathers known as the father's quota; to increase the duration of parental leave; and to limit the circumstances under which mothers could transfer parental leave to the father. Therefore the problem is represented to be the

lack of a period of dedicated leave for fathers, the period of leave, the ability to transfer leave (as too generous). These are considered in turn.

Parental leave had previously included a dedicated period of six weeks directly after the birth, which were only to be used by the mother, and this period was retained. The balance of the parental leave period had always been available to be used by either parent if they satisfied the work-related eligibility criteria outlined in Table 4.2. However, there was very low uptake by fathers, with just 2% of fathers taking parental leave in 1991 (B7). To improve the number of fathers taking leave, a dedicated period of four weeks was introduced for the father, the *fedrekvote* or father's quota. The period of total parental leave available was extended at the same time, from 33 to 52 weeks (at 80% wage replacement) or 42 weeks (at 100% wage replacement), which meant that mothers did not have less parental leave available to them after the change.

This change may be viewed as taking the policy from same/equal (inclusion) to diverse (displacement) as it challenges the traditional gender roles. It moves beyond a legal right for a father to share parental leave with the mother, to actively promoting a care role for fathers, through the dedicated and non-transferrable nature of the father's quota. However, while gender roles are challenged, it is simply towards gender neutrality and not gender deconstruction. As such, equality here is still same/equal (inclusion), through an increase in female labour market participation by returning to paid work earlier after childbirth and greater sharing of care responsibilities in the home.

The desire for more fathers to utilise parental leave was a dominant feature in the data, and was a particular focus of one White Paper, as seen in Table 4.2.²¹ The Committee on Male Role had given its final report in 1991 (B6) with a strong recommendation for longer parental leave overall and for utilisation by fathers. This was followed by another NOU or White Paper in 1993 called 'Time for Children', which was issued by the same parliamentary committee and included a chapter on fathers' caring responsibilities. It indicated an expectation that the father's quota should lead to more sharing of the non-dedicated leave balance (B7). Reasons for sharing leave between the parents included reducing violence against women, improving women's opportunities at work, and improving the relationship between spouses (B6). PPL was proposed as a way to reduce violence against women because 'violence is the opposite of care' - although no evidence was provided to support the suggestion that undertaking a care role would reduce the likelihood of violence (B6:Chapter 2). Improving women's opportunities at work, and the relationship between spouses, appear together as

²¹ The acknowledgement of potential bias in data selection made in Section 4.3 also applies here

part of a gender equality proposal based on a dual-earner/dual-carer model of family life. This model is discussed further in Section 4.6.

Gender equality was discussed in Time for Children (B7) in terms of women's position in the workplace, as the responsibility of both parents for childcare, and in the gender difference in time spent on family (domestic) work, which was higher for parents than for couples without children. When PPL was first introduced in 1977, gender equality was described as men and women sharing the care of children and both participating in paid work outside the home (B4), a view of equality which privileges the traditional male role as one that women should have the opportunity to obtain. This is an example of same/equal (inclusion) per Squires's classification (1999).

If just these two changes to the policy are considered, the father's quota and the increased duration of parental leave, the problem is the current utilisation of the shared or transferable period of parental leave. Both parents are implicated in the problem. Mothers are using too much parental leave, and fathers are not using enough, hence the requirement for their own dedicated period and an increase to the overall duration of leave to accommodate the father's quota.

Another restriction that was in place previously was retained. Fathers were eligible for (shareable) parental leave only if the mother was eligible. This provision was reviewed in the 1993 NOU (B7), but not supported, so the committee recommended an independent entitlement for fathers. The father's quota was approved but the restriction on (shareable) parental leave was retained by the government. In practise this meant that if a father was the only eligible parent, he would be able to take his four weeks father's quota, but would not be entitled to any of the balance of the (shareable) parental leave.

There was also a further change, which restricted the ability to transfer parental leave from the mother to the father only to situations in which the mother had started or resumed paid work or full-time education, or was hospitalised. This requirement did not apply to the father's quota period only to the transferable parental leave period. This policy change indicates a problem of having two parents at home at the same time, or alternatively, this could be expressed as a problem of having both parents outside of paid employment at the same time. The importance of labour market participation, including dual-earner parents, for a social democratic welfare state was observed in Section 2.7. Dual-carer parents is the other half of the dual-earner/dual-carer model of family life that is preferred in Norway, and which the PPL changes (including the father's quota) support.

Another restriction already in place, and retained, related to the payment of parental leave for fathers. Where a father takes parental leave, his benefit is based on the mother's work hours, so that if she was working part-time before the birth, he can only receive *fødselpenger* or parental benefit payment

on a part-time basis. The consequence is that any period of *foreldrepengeperioden* or parental benefit leave period of the father results in a reduction of income for families where the father works full-time and the mother works part-time. This was also discussed in the 1993 NOU (B7) but was not amended. Together these provide a number of examples of inter-connected eligibility, both to the leave itself, and then to its rate of payment. These inter-connections are discussed further in Section 4.7 to follow.

The concept of dominant problem representations was previously considered in Section 4.1, and there is a representation here that is not considered to be dominant, based on the analysis of the data. The duration of parental leave had been regularly increased since PPL was introduced at 18 weeks in 1977 (B1) and further increases were anticipated in the future (B6). However, the change which provided a further increase may be considered less significant than the other changes that occurred at the same time, as there was little discussion on the topic in the data. Accordingly, the dominant problem representation is held to arise from the changes to introduce the father's quota, and the inter-connected eligibility requirement.

The final point to consider is how the policy is funded as this will also influence the problem representation. In Norway, *fødselpenger* or cash payment for birth, is one of the benefits available under the National Insurance Scheme. The scheme is funded from contributions from employees, the self-employed, employers and the state.²² A number of benefits under the scheme are financed solely by contributions from the state but this does not include PPL (B2). The implication is that PPL is a benefit for which there is a shared responsibility, as it is funded by a range of sources, and is not means-tested. The point was made in Section 4.3.1 that the difference between tax funding, and using a range of sources to fund a social insurance scheme, is more of form than substance but that the form impacts perception. The social democratic welfare model in Norway provides a positive relationship between the state and the recipient of support.

It is now necessary to bring together the problematization associated with the funding, with the problematizations associated with the father's quota and the change to introduce inter-connected eligibility for the parental leave period, to determine the overall problem representation. It may be determined that the dominant problem representation behind the changes to the PPL policy in Norway was a shared responsibility for the unequal use of parental leave.

²² The Norwegian government's expenditure is funded through taxation, income from exploration and production licenses for petroleum and natural gas on the Norwegian continental shelf, and dividends from Equinor - the majority state-owned energy company (Statistics Norway, 2018).

4.5 Assumptions and Conceptual Logics (WPR2) New Zealand

The second WPR question asks ‘What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?’ Bacchi advises the intention of this question is to discover what is taken for granted and the assumptions within the problem representation (Bacchi, 2009:5). She also suggests that it links back to Foucauldian thinking, as discussed in Chapter 2, and his concept of archaeology in particular. Therefore, the second WPR question helps to uncover how something can be thought about (Bacchi, 2009:5).

The first step is to perform what Bacchi describes as discourse analysis (Bacchi, 2009:7). Discourse was introduced in Chapter 1 as what we speak about and the way we speak about it. It is represented to us as language, either the spoken or written word, but it represents knowledge. In this research, the analysis of the discourse examines written texts, some of which feature the spoken word (such as the Hansard records and media articles). Bacchi’s proposed discourse analysis has three elements.

The first element is the identification of binaries. Binaries or dichotomies are words that have a paired word, which may be an opposite, but is always different. These are important because they imply what is one side of the binary or dichotomy cannot be on the other side, as well as also implying a hierarchy between the two items, where one side is more important than the other. Examples include black/white or male/female. Such binary opposites are of particular interest to all those concerned with inequalities of power, including poststructuralists like Foucault (Wetherell et al, 2001:i, 280).

The second part of the analysis is to identify key concepts, which Bacchi suggests are abstract labels, and are very common with policy (Bacchi, 2009:8). These labels help us to understand the world but defining and classifying is inherently limiting. Although the definitions and classifications enable the world to make sense to us, at the same time it restricts our view, reducing it to the narrow label that is applied. This restriction and expectation was also introduced in Chapter 1, under the term subject positions, roles within society that are made available through the discourse.

The final part of the Bacchi’s discourse analysis is the identification of categories within the policy, in particular the identification of people categories, as they are concepts central to governing (Bacchi, 2009:9). Governing was discussed in Chapter 2 as mentalities of rule (govern-mentalities) exhibited as organised practises through which subjects are governed.

As the purpose of the second WPR question is to understand how something can be thought about, it is necessary to consider what knowledges and political views gave rise to each of these elements (binaries, concepts, and categories), as well as understanding what meaning is - currently - connected with each of the terms. Meanings can change, they are not fixed, and will differ based on the

knowledges and political views held. The discourse analysis is presented in Table 4.5 and the meanings are considered below.

Table 4.5: Discourse analysis - New Zealand historic documents

Binaries	Concepts	Categories
Paid / unpaid	Welfare	Beneficiaries
Mother / father	Health (maternal and child)	Families
Eligible / ineligible	Eligibility	Employees
Dedicated / shared	Care (female)	Single parents
Employee / self-employed		
Breastfeeding / bottle-feeding		
Private / Public		

From the table a number of key assumptions can be identified. First are the assumptions of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency. This is identified through the concept of welfare and the category of beneficiaries. The assumption of PPL as welfare observed here contrasts with the positioning of PPL as an employment right by some advocates. The tension between these two views is explored as part of this question. The assumption of PPL as welfare reflects a liberal political view and a knowledge that welfare is a safety net for those unable to provide for themselves. From this knowledge, a low payment rate, and the assumption of welfare as dependency arises.

Second are the assumptions that the care role will be undertaken by women and the devaluation of the unpaid (generally female) care role in relation to the paid (generally male) work role. This is shown in eligibility criteria, as only women are initially eligible for PPL, and in the binary of breastfeeding/bottle-feeding. Breastfeeding was discussed in Section 3.3.1 as part of a knowledge of maternal and child health that is facilitated by PPL. This means that PPL is for women, effectively making it maternity leave. The devaluation of the care role is seen in the paid/unpaid binary. It was noted above that a low payment rate arises from the knowledge of welfare as a safety net reflecting a liberal worldview. The care role as female arises from a gender-based division of labour, associated with the breadwinner model of family, which is also linked to a liberal perspective.

There is also a related assumption, arising from the eligibility criteria, of women's employment history following a male pattern. This is considered further within the discussion of eligibility in Section 4.7.3 along with the assumption that the care role is undertaken by women.

Although the dominant initial problem representation for New Zealand has been identified, Bacchi suggests (2009:21) that repeated application of the WPR analysis to key terms or topics within the problem representation may reveal problem representations which are nested, or embedded within one another. The dominant initial problem representation was determined to be the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave.

To consider the term 'public responsibility' further, the first WPR question, 'What's the problem represented to be?' would be asked. This question could identify the problem of a requirement on government. Government is required to do something, as that is the manifestation of public responsibility in a democratic country, where taxes are paid to the centre for application by the government.

The second term in the dominant initial problem representation, lack of payment, indicates what it is the government is required to address. The second WPR question, what presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem, would then be asked. When the discourse analysis is considered, the concept and category of welfare and beneficiaries suggest the rate of this payment will be at a minimum, and the concept of eligibility suggest it may not be universal. A nested problem representation of a group needing a benefit from government is revealed.

The final term in the dominant initial problem representation, maternity leave, is then considered further by applying the first and second WPR questions (WPR1 and WPR2). A problem of women's health rights is suggested from the discourse analysis, in particular the binary of breastfeeding/bottle-feeding, and the concept of health (as maternal and child).

The assumptions of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency, of women as carers, and the devaluation of care work, are all considered in detail within discussion of these nested problem representations in Section 4.7. Women's health rights are considered later in this thesis, first in Section 5.4.1, as part of the genealogy for WPR3 (which outlines how they became the dominant problem representation), and then in Section 6.3.2, as part of the discussion of WPR4 regarding silences. In that section, a contrast is made between the limited view of children's rights as purely relating to breastfeeding and maternal bonding in New Zealand, and the broader view of children's rights that was evident in Norway.

4.6 Assumptions and Conceptual Logics (WPR2) Norway

As seen in Section 4.5, the second WPR question asks ‘What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?’, and the analysis commences with a discourse analysis. The discourse analysis of the Norwegian historic documents is presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Discourse analysis - Norwegian historic documents

Binaries	Concepts	Categories
Mother / Father	Care	Employees
Dedicated / Shared (transferable)	Subordination of care and family (private sphere) to labour market (public sphere)	Single parents
	Equal parenting and previous exclusion of men from caring (either by women or state)	Families
	Dual-earner/dual-carer	
Capped / uncapped	Social Security - National Insurance Scheme	
Eligible / Ineligible	Labour market participation	
	Gender Equality	

A number of key assumptions can be identified from the discourse analysis, presented in the table, all of which relate to the dual-earner/dual-carer model. The dual-earner part of the model refers to labour market participation, which is the eligibility criteria for PPL, and also for other benefits under the National Insurance Scheme. This environment of policies is known as work line (Brandth and Kvande, 2009b:193), and it means that people are entitled to support by the State through their labour market participation and their contributions to the Scheme, which arise from their status as employees. This is what Esping-Andersen (1990) describes as the social democratic model of welfare state. Everyone needs to be provided with paid work, to undertake paid work, and through their wages contribute to the welfare state (here the National Insurance Scheme). The state will in turn provide universal care of a high standard. Such support from the state is discussed positively in the data and offers a marked contrast to the way PPL is discussed as welfare in New Zealand. The positive relationship between citizen and state is explored further in Section 4.7 and in Chapter 7 when the analysis of the interview data is presented. The dual-carer part of the model refers to both parents (there is an assumption of two parents) both having a care role and spending time looking after children.

The first assumption is that of fathers as unwilling carers and is revealed by the dedicated/shared binary and the policy change to introduce dedicated leave for fathers. The data reveal how the meaning of dual-earner/dual-carer is currently seen differently by parents and the state. The meaning (for the state) is fathers spending at least four weeks at home with their new child, as that is the policy change, and other meanings (held by parents) on the division of care responsibilities are positioned as incorrect. Bjørnholt (2012:63) suggests unwilling carers can alternatively be seen as fathers who are equally responsible for childcare, with implications both at home, and in their role as employees. She considers the change to construct men as particularly valuable carers as part of the problem. The 'knowledge' on which the meaning of fathers as carers rests, is that it is important for fathers to undertake a caring role, which could be important to fathers or their children. This is explored further, as fathers and children's rights, in Chapter 6. It forms part of the answer to the fourth WPR question, in respect of a silence arising from the problem representation in New Zealand, and to avoid repetition (which can occur when applying all the WPR questions to a single policy), it is not covered here.

The second assumption is the acceptance of work line policies, evinced by the concepts of labour market participation and care within the public sphere, rather than the private sphere. This is the Nordic model of welfare that was outlined above as Esping-Andersen's social democratic model. It is based on a knowledge of state support as universal, of high standard, achieved through high contributions from all who can participate in the labour market. Having the labour market as the basis of knowledge reveals a liberal perspective, and in terms of gender equality per Squires (1999), a strategy of inclusion. Everyone must participate and through participation all will be considered equal. Bjørnholt (2012:65) suggests this 'implicitly subordinates love, care, the family sphere and personal life' to paid work.

Gender equality is the final assumption revealed in the discourse analysis as a concept. It has been discussed here in terms of work line policies, and in terms of the father's quota, it was previously analysed (in Section 3.11.1) to determine what meaning of gender equality it reflected. It was found to be generally a strategy of inclusion, but potentially displacement, if designed in a way to deconstruct traditional gender roles. As the father's quota was only introduced at four weeks duration it is unlikely to be considered the latter.

Following the same process adopted for New Zealand, Norway's initial problem representation is reviewed, to determine if any problem representations are nested within in it. The dominant initial problem representation for Norway was the shared responsibility for the unequal use of parental leave. The concept of 'unequal use' could be considered further. The first WPR question 'What's the problem represented to be?' could identify the problem of not taking equal periods of leave to care.

This would suggest both men and women are failing to participate in the dual-earner/dual-carer model, or are doing so in an unequal manner, and the policy change provides fathers with a right to care. The first WPR question could also identify a problem of children's rights, as the period of leave taken impacts not only the person taking the leave, but also the person being cared for by that person (but as noted above fathers' and children's rights are discussed in Chapter 6 rather than here). The assumptions of work line policies and gender equality are considered within discussion of this nested problem representation in Section 4.8.

4.7 Nested problem representations regarding payment rate and eligibility (New Zealand)

In Section 4.5, the dominant initial problem representation for New Zealand was interrogated, to reveal any nested problem representations it may contain. The problem was identified as a requirement for government to pay a benefit to a group. This section will consider the rate at which it pays that benefit and to whom it is paid.

Payment rate is one of the eight design elements classified in the taxonomy in Section 3.2. The design options for payment were identified as a fixed amount, full wage replacement, wage replacement subject to a cap, payment of a proportion of previous wages, or unpaid. In New Zealand PPL is effectively paid as a fixed amount (minimum wage), which contrasts with Norway, where it is paid at wage replacement.²³ In New Zealand two relevant assumptions were revealed, those of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency, and the devaluation of care work. These assumptions are considered in Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 respectively, and the gender equality literature is drawn upon to inform the analysis.

Eligibility is another of the design elements identified in Section 3.2. The design options for eligibility were identified as universal without any criteria, targeted through means-testing based on income or assets, and targeted using some other criteria. In New Zealand, eligibility rests only with the mother, although PPL may be transferred to her spouse (subsequently amended to be primary carer)²⁴. In Section 4.7.3 eligibility is considered with respect to the assumption of women as carers.

²³ Although PPL is paid at wage replacement in New Zealand, it is subject to a cap of approximately minimum wage, and as only 3.5 % of employees in New Zealand are paid minimum wage (MBIE, 2018:13) for 96.5% of employees the payment rate of PPL does not represent wage replacement.

²⁴ As discussed in Section 3.10.3

4.7.1 Welfare and dependency

This section considers how the assumption of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency contributed to PPL in New Zealand being paid at minimum wage. It then considers how the post-industrial model of society contributed to women's dependency within the family.

The data include some explicit concerns regarding the level of payment, such as a risk that having benefits provided at a level above the average wage would reduce the numbers of people getting married (A89), but in the main the concerns were implicit. The assumption of PPL as welfare, and welfare as dependency, was observed from the data in a number of ways.

Direct statements of PPL as welfare were made by multiple groups, including politicians, officials, media, and employer's groups (A6b-15308; A37; A62, A64, A90; A48, A51, A54, A57, A58). Indirect statements to making families welfare beneficiaries while on parental leave were also made by the media (A89) and by politicians from the opposition National party, including Shipley (A6b-15300), and Scott who called it 'middle-class welfare' (A7-15298). The minor ACT party (Schnauer) also expressed concern about 'taxpayer funded benefit dependency' (A29) and asked why this 'public good' is something that taxpayers should fund if other public goods, like caring for aged parents, is not taxpayer funded (A70). Officials' reports described PPL as a benefit (A37), employer group Business Roundtable called it 'a social benefit New Zealand can't afford' (A58), and a temporary staff hire firm called it 'social welfare' (A57).

Media (A48, A54) and politicians (A7) claimed that PPL was welfare because it is paid by taxation. This inference was discussed in Chapter 3, in terms of the importance of the design features of PPL, and the funding mechanism in particular. The funding mechanism was proposed by Business Roundtable to be a reason why PPL should be available to all people, rather than just employees (A48), and the minor ACT party (Schnauer) and a legal commentator (Robertson) suggested the funding mechanism should result in PPL being means-tested (A70, A89).

Dependency is another example of a contested concept. In the data it has been positioned as negative, but in the literature, a broader view of dependency is encouraged. The negative position arises from a knowledge of liberalism, in which a liberal model welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990) produces low-income dependents, for whom the state is required to provide a safety net. Conversely the literature provides an alternative meaning of dependency that recognises it as an inevitable part of life. Fineman (1995) referred to dependency as inevitable, in respect of children Held (1990) called it necessary, and Strassman (1993) observed that it was unchosen but present at the beginning and end of life. The same observation was made by Orloff (2009:334). Other authors have suggested the

relationship between spouses to be one of dependency. For Friedan (1963), it was the psychological dependence of housewives on their husbands, whereas for Fudge (2014) it was economic dependence. Section 4.7.2 considers the potential consequences if dependency was acknowledged as inevitable.

However the literature does not exclusively position dependency as positive. Folbre (1991) suggested that women's dependency was created as a fact through discourse, in the vocabulary used in the political and economic census, which tied non-earning women to earning or moneyed males. Fraser & Gordon (1994) critiqued the framing of state support for sole parents as dependency, suggesting it implied an individual problem, rather than a broader economic one. They also raised the concept of co-dependency, whereby women were assumed to be supporting the dependency of another person on them, as a way in which the discussion regarding dependency had negatively reinforced the low status of care work.

The analysis of the data regarding welfare and dependency in New Zealand also revealed the concept of 'deserving'. Deserving is a concept discernible in the earliest Poor Laws and argued by some as remaining in place today.²⁵ Van Oorschot (2000) identified five dimensions that determine whether a person is considered to be deserving, based on the level of each that the person has, as follows: control; need; identity; attitude; reciprocity. These criteria are suggested to inform the conditionality of welfare as it becomes more targeted and less universal. The concepts of control (over when to have a child) and need (those on low incomes) have been observed in the New Zealand data.

The concept of deserving is identified within three different discussions in the New Zealand data. The first discussion was the predominant one, arguing that professional women do not require to be paid at wage replacement level, because their employers are likely to also pay them some amount in respect of their parental leave. The next discussion focused on women at home, who were ineligible for PPL as they were not in paid employment, but were argued to be deserving of state support. While less dominant, there was a third discussion, that women will have a man supporting them during their absence from paid work, and so not require state support. All discussions were predicated on the assumption of PPL as welfare and are outlined below.

The Cabinet Papers on PPL indicated that the policy was most concerned with assisting low-income working families, that the proposal was for more of the total funds to go to eligible lower-income mothers, and that those mothers will have more of their previous income replaced than higher-income mothers (A34). The debate in Parliament also focused on the benefit to low-paid

²⁵ English laws providing relief for the poor, based on Parliamentary Acts of 1597-98 and 1601, and remaining in some form until the mid-late twentieth century (Economic History Association, n.d.).

women, with reference made by Harré (A4-13895) to those for whom no wages are lost by taking 12 weeks off work to be with their babies, and who currently return to work within a few days or weeks of the birth of their babies. It is these low-income mothers who are deemed to be deserving.

While the Cabinet Papers also claim that PPL provides income support to ensure that working families with new babies or adopted children have sufficient income, (A34) this fails to consider the expenses that a family earning more than minimum wage might have, such as higher rent or mortgage payments. This difference is observed in a report from The Treasury (A39), which observed that PPL is orientated to replacing *some* of the income that women lose when taking time out of work for child rearing, while acknowledging the drop in income. In Parliamentary debate it was mentioned that some submitters said the amount of money being offered through these provisions would not even cover their rental costs, that is was therefore totally unacceptable, and of no use to them. This prompted the National Party (Tolley) to suggest the words paid parental leave in the title of the Bill could be better worded as 'some recompense for time taken from work' (A6a-15293). The leader of the party (Shipley) expressed concern about 'making welfare beneficiaries of people on middle and upper incomes' (A6b-15300).

These middle and upper income women are not considered to be deserving. Instead PPL was positioned as a form of middle-class welfare for those who may not need the \$325 per week, and the government was challenged by the opposition National Party (Shipley) to 'somehow or other justify that it is morally proper to give \$3,900 to women who, clearly, have sufficient finance to both parent their children and make independent decisions' (A6b-15328). Shipley also suggested it was pandering to a narrow group of feminists who do not need the money (A6b-15328).

However there was some support for a higher rate of payment. The Green Party, a minor centre-left opposition party (Bradford), agreed with those submitters who suggested to the Select Committee that the payment should be set at 100 percent of earnings up to the level of the average male wage (A5-15248). The payment rate was also used as a debating point by those opposed to PPL, with the National Party (Tolley) quoting figures from the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, stating that nine out of ten women would have to take a decrease in their pay if PPL was at the proposed level (A7-15440). Of the 57 submissions on the bill, 26 or 45% commented on the payment rate, and of these 18 or 70% supported a higher rate of payment, at either the average adult or male wage, or at 2/3rd or 80% of previous earnings (A43). Both positions reveal a number of points relevant to gender equality. Equality for women, which is to be paid for caring, cannot be compensated at a rate higher than that generally received by men. The care role is subordinate and cannot be compensated in full if it leaves men financially disadvantaged. Even where women have been engaged in the private

sector (the pre-requisite for PPL is work-related eligibility criteria) their contribution does not overcome the requirement for men to retain economic advantage over women. In Squires's terminology, the private sphere has been widened to include women, but this does not provide them with economic equality.

A second theme of women at home being deserving of support was also identified in the data. Due to the proposed eligibility criteria, only employees could be eligible, leaving women at home (including the self-employed) excluded. The concept of self-employment is particularly important in New Zealand, due to the number of family-run farms, where women are either self-employed or not included as employees even though their participation is essential for the farms' operation. It was these women who were envisioned when the self-employed were claimed to be at a disadvantage or discriminated against by the proposal (A6b-15299 Mark; A6b-15348 Scott; A4-13904 Smith; A4-13905 Hutchison; A5-15249 Bradford; A5-15251 Jennings; A5-15253 Sutton). In terms of women who were at home in care roles already, they received support in the media from the little-known Christian Heritage Party (A82), and some local paper editorials (A79, A87). Of the fifty-seven submissions on the bill, twenty-five or 44% commented on the exclusion of the self-employed, two suggested PPL should be available to all women, and two suggested mothers should be at home rather than in paid employment. These views are based on a knowledge of traditional family roles and responsibilities, where a gendered division of labour applies, and where family members are economically dependent on the male breadwinner.

This links to a final, less dominant, theme observed in the data, that women will have a man supporting them during their absence from paid work and so do not require state support. Officials' reports generally referred to spouses in any discussion of PPL (A14, A15, A16, A19, A20, and A30) as did politicians (A5-15442 Simcock). A spokeswoman for Plunket suggested it would be nicer if a man supported a woman but accepted that wasn't always possible (A46). Media articles generally referred to couples (A61, A62, A63, A69, and A78) and one even suggested that, in response to the changing times that now see average wage earners paying tax unlike in 1960, women now go to work in order to earn back what their partners pay in income tax (A70). Even those who supported PPL, such as the 12 weeks PPL Campaign, referred to women needing PPL as married (A26).

This provides an introduction to the post-industrial model of society, the literature on which will be examined, to see how it contributed to women's dependency within the family. The separation of men and women into the public and private spheres was discussed in Section 1.7. Pateman (1988) suggested that attention and power became centred solely in the public sphere, within business, government, and the judiciary, from where women are effectively excluded. Women lack power even

within the family, as they are subject to or dependent on, the man who provides the income for the family through his role as breadwinner within the public sphere. This separation of men and women was proposed to have been embedded during the period after the industrial revolution in the late nineteenth century (Nicholson, 1986), which saw the growth of the public sphere, and the shrinking of the private sphere (Jennings, 1993). The subsequent model of family life created dependency for women as those excluded from wage labour (Fraser & Gordon, 1994). In the decades that followed, this separation was supported by the rise in trade unions and their calls for a family wage, one on which a male breadwinner could support their wife and children. For a family wage to be a legitimate right of workers, there needed to be a dependent spouse, rather than a woman who was also earning a wage. The result was a fanciful representation of domestic life, referred to as the 'cult of domesticity' (Folbre, 1991), a story or illusion of women who enjoy leisure time (Strassman, 1993; Jennings, 1993) where the position of housewife and the importance of the family home was praised.

This section has shown how both the assumption of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency, and the post-industrial model of society, have contributed to PPL in New Zealand being paid at minimum wage.

4.7.2 The care role and unpaid work

This section considers how the devaluation of care work contributed to in PPL in New Zealand being paid at minimum wage. It first considers the data and then explores the gender equality literature, which considers the classic economic model that has the market at the centre, and alternatives that place the mother (or mothering person)/child relationship at the centre.

The discussion in Section 4.7.1 disclosed the arguments for keeping the payment for care work at a low rate. The data also include some explicit statements suggesting that unpaid work has been devalued, with Kedgley referring to motherhood as 'invisible, unpaid, and seriously undervalued' (A4-13903), and concern over a potential baby boom effect from introducing PPL (A94) reinforcing the subordination of care work to labour market participation.

Care work is discussed in the data as something that is a minimum rather than something of value. This is seen in a briefing to Ministers, which outlines a scenario enabling both parents to be at home at the same time, but concludes that benefits are unlikely to match the cost (A20). Even where the value of care work is acknowledged as a public good, there is resistance to this value being a cost which taxpayers should meet, as seen in Harré's proposal that it should be funded through an employer levy (A68). This shows that a strategy of reversal (Squires, 1999) was not present, as there

is no attempt to value or revalue the care role, leaving equality as only available through the labour market. The knowledge that payments in a welfare system should be modest reflects a liberal view.

By way of contrast, two other changes to payments for time away from employment were made around the same time as PPL was introduced, to increase the amount of statutory annual leave from three to four weeks, and to 'Mondayise' two public holidays if they fall on weekends.²⁶ In 2003, the cost of the additional leave was estimated to be up to \$908.5 million each year (Business New Zealand, 2003:3) and ten years later, the cost of moving the two holidays to Mondays was estimated at an average annual cost of \$44million (Bond, 2013). The cost of one additional week of annual leave is significantly more than the estimated annual cost of PPL at introduction of \$57million. Both the annual leave and the 'Mondayising' cost a far greater amount than the 2002 estimate of \$6.7million for a more relaxed criteria that would have provided eligibility to women with multiple employers in the last 12 months (A34). However, PPL experienced more resistance than either of the other two policy changes, and the expanded eligibility was not adopted on introduction. Although PPL is necessarily tied to the labour market (through the work-related eligibility criteria) the 'knowledge' that the care role is subordinate to labour market participation means that its cost is viewed negatively.

However the data also contained attempts to position the care role in a positive light. Harré suggested that having a baby is a public good as well as a private good (A68) and media editorials discussed children as something wanted by society (A87). Harré also suggested motherhood to be 'a perfectly ordinary part of the lives of most women' (A7-15437) and described it as 'essential', with the observation that it was also essential that most people work (A69). Her Alliance colleague (Gordon) described it as 'the single most important job in this society, because without motherhood this society could not reproduce itself into the next generation and we would cease to exist' (A4-13901).

These data support a case made in feminist economic literature that we should consider the relationship between the mother/mothering person and their child as the key societal relationship, as it provides a more accurate depiction of human interaction than transactions with the market, which is the key relationship in economic theory. Held (1990) makes her case by identifying the inherent dependency within the relationship between the mothering person and the child, and based on her observation of children as 'necessarily dependent', she puts this need at the centre of human interaction. Hartsock (1983) makes a similar argument in asserting mother/infant as the prototypical human interaction. The importance of this relationship is discussed by Fineman (1995) who suggests the classic economic focus on the sexual relationship neuters the mother from her child. Fineman

²⁶ The Public Holidays are ANZAC Day (Remembrance) and Waitangi Day (New Zealand's National Day)

uses the terminology of the neutered mother to describe both the pain of separation and the closeness of the child to its mother. The connection between mother and child is suggested to be central to life and unrepresented within transactions in the market. This lack of representation is critiqued as invisibility (Sainsbury, 1996) and suggested to depict a male model (Beneria, 2003). For many, the primary critique is the privileging of market interaction, and the lack of recognition of unpaid work both care and domestic work (for a New Zealand example, see Waring, 1988).

The last two sections have revealed data showing state support to be welfare, which must be paid at a minimum level, and only to those who are deserving. This is premised on beliefs that welfare support from the state creates dependency. The deserving are defined as the low-income, which restricted the policy design options of paying PPL as a percentage of average or above average wage, and resulted in PPL paid at minimum wage. The 'knowledge' that payments under a welfare system should be modest was based on liberal views, which also informed a negative view of the care role, compared to labour market participation. This shows the tension between the dominant problem representation, and the alternative (but weaker) problem representation, favoured by those who sought to argue for PPL as an employment right.

4.7.3 Women as carers

This section explains how fathers' eligibility for PPL in New Zealand is linked to the mothers' employment status because of the dominant assumption of women as carers.

The New Zealand data reveal an assumption of women as carers, both from the legislative change, and the accompanying debate. The legislative change is considered first. When PPL was introduced the entitlement was for mothers. Eligibility was based on work-related criteria of an average of ten hours a week, and either at least one hour every week or at least 40 hours every month, for the same employer for previous twelve months (Table 4.1 refers). If the mother was eligible the PPL could be transferred to her spouse, but if the mother was ineligible, then no transfer could be made. The requirement that leave must be transferred, because of the lack of any independent paid leave for the father, perpetuates the idea of female carers. In the post-industrial nuclear family, the mother would be in the home, and the father outside in employment. When thinking about employment in order to determine appropriate eligibility criteria, it was implicitly men's experience that was reflected, by requiring a history of regular and enduring employment. This was not women's experience, as their pattern of employment would often include breaks during school holidays, or for older children. The assumption of women as carers can also be seen in the way the existing legislative provision for two

weeks of unpaid leave for fathers was not amended when PPL was introduced. Instead of making this leave paid, or removing it because mothers and fathers would share PPL, it remained unchanged. As unpaid and subject to an eligibility requirement of work-related criteria, it was neither useful nor universal, and reflected the assumption that care work was not expected to be undertaken by men. This PPL policy is therefore a strategy of inclusion (Squires, 1999) where women are provided with legislative rights, but gendered divisions remain, and care is not valued.

Parental leave was implicitly referred to as maternity leave. In Parliamentary debate in PPL was described by Harré as meaning 'all, or part, of their mothers income replaced for at least the first twelve weeks of the time off they take with their newborn children' (A7-15438). It was also explicitly referred to, and argued to be, for women. This occurred in informal terms through the suggestion from a female Green Party MP (Kedgley) that 'If men gave birth to babies, paid parental leave would have been introduced into New Zealand decades ago' (A4-13902). It was also evident in the challenge provided by a National Party politician (Tolley) regarding the transferability of PPL when it had been positioned as supporting breastfeeding, bonding, and recovery from childbirth (A5-15245, A6a-15293).

Advice to politicians from their ministries perpetuated the assumption of women as carers. In considering how to limit eligibility while including individual entitlements, it was suggested to allow female employees to be entitled to maternity leave, but spouses only where the mother is not eligible for PPL (A20). Such a strict delineation would have clearly reinforced that it is not the role of fathers to care, unless as a substitute, where the woman is unable. This view is based on the 'knowledge' that women are natural carers. It does not go as far as a strategy of reversal, as the care role is not valued, simply allocated to women, and nor does it go as far as a strategy of inclusion, because it lacks gender neutrality (Squires, 1999).

In the media, there were suggestions that women should have to agree with their employer when to have a baby (A79), making a contrast between women who need special arrangements when in paid employment and men who do not. Men remain the ideal workers without responsibility beyond their employment (Acker, 1990). Based on the expectations and requirements of employers, Acker determined the ideal worker to be a disembodied hypothetical worker, with no legitimate obligations other than those required by the job. She concluded the hypothetical worker can only be male, as women have family responsibility, including for care. Such analysis is also reflected in the work of Pateman (1988). The implication is that when thinking about workplace provisions of any kind, implicitly the thought will be of a male, leaving women trying to fit into provisions based on the experience of others, to be recognised within the private sphere.

It was observed from the legislative change that fathers' eligibility for PPL in New Zealand is explicitly linked to the mothers' employment status because fathers do not have any independent entitlement to PPL. The reason for this has been outlined as the dominant assumption of women as carers. Fathers do not need PPL because caring for children is the role of women and the ideal worker has explained the male role to be in employment.

4.8 Nested problem representations regarding not participating in the dual-earner/dual-carer model (Norway)

In Section 4.6, the initial problem representation for Norway was interrogated, to reveal any nested problem representations it may contain. The problem of not participating in the government's preferred dual-earner/dual-carer model was identified. This section considers two elements of that model. The first is the acceptance of work line policies, which require previous labour market participation, and provide support at the same level. The second is gender equality, which the PPL policy was specifically designed to improve, by changing men's experiences to be more like women's. Like Section 4.7 for New Zealand, this section is also informed by the two questions that arose from the conceptual frameworks, the meaning of gender equality (as a contested concept) and the impact on gender equality expected from policy change (including the perspectives on gender equality and underlying knowledges).

4.8.1 Work line policies

This section considers work line policies, which resulted in PPL in Norway being paid as wage replacement, and impacted the eligibility provisions.

There was little debate about payment levels in Norway. At the time the father's quota was introduced, PPL had already been available for 16 years, and had always been based on wage replacement. A White Paper from the time PPL was introduced, 'Public Policies for Childhood', recognised the requirement for payment to be able to take time away from employment (B4). The discussion in a White Paper 'Time for Children', from the time of the policy change to introduce the father's quota, was framed on this basic concept but also included consideration of whose wages were used for the calculation. This was because, if the mother worked part-time before birth, the payment the father received if he took parental leave was also calculated based on part-time hours (B7). The White Paper suggested removing this, so that the father could have his wage replacement based on

his hours, but that recommendation was not accepted. This is one of three identified examples of the interrelationship between the employment status of the mother and the father's eligibility for PPL (regarding payment rate). The second and third examples (regarding access to shared parental leave) are considered in the next section.

First the use of wage replacement as the rate for PPL is considered. This arose because PPL is viewed in the same way as any other transfer under the National Insurance Scheme. The National Insurance Scheme is part of the Norwegian system of work line state support, whereby previous and future labour market participation is assumed, and support is provided at similar levels. Labour market participation is assumed to include not only prior employment but also to have been paid at a minimum income level (B1). Meeting these criteria entitles the insured to sickness benefit. The entitlement to sickness benefit is then used as the basis for entitlement to PPL (B1). Therefore, it can be seen that PPL is viewed in the same way as other benefits under the Scheme, such as old-age pension, disability, and sickness payments. In a 1975 White Paper, 'Lump Sum Maternity and Child Care Benefit', the decision was taken that the payment for parental leave should be the same as for sick pay because both are paid to compensate for income lapses (B3). As stated previously in Section 4.3, leave and payment are provided for in separate Acts, meaning that leave is explicitly linked to employment, but payment is explicitly linked to the Scheme.²⁷ At the time of the policy change being considered, the vast majority (98%) of those receiving PPL were women (B7), making the PPL a gendered benefit under the Scheme. Nevertheless, neither the fact that it was mostly received by women nor that the payment relates to care work, had a negative impact on its payment rate.

The nature of eligibility under the Scheme, prior employment paid at least at a minimum income level, presents a social-democratic view. In terms of gender equality, it is a strategy of inclusion (Squires, 1999), because men and women are largely treated the same with the same eligibility criteria. There is gender neutrality, which is associated with strategies of inclusion, other than in three examples where the father's eligibility for PPL is linked to the employment status of the mother. Initially this appears at odds with a policy that states an intention of improving gender equality, but the particular meaning of gender equality here helps explain how these three modifications are included to support the all-important dual-earner/dual-carer model.

Full employment was observed to be a necessary part of the social-democratic welfare model (Esping-Andersen, 1990) in Section 2.7, and in the Nordic countries this became a dual-carer, as well

²⁷ The same legislative separation of leave and payment has also been adopted in Australia, where the government provides PPL funds to the employer, who then pays it to the employee as 'wages'. This signals a workforce relationship for the payment as it is received by the employee from their employer even though it is funded by the government (Fairwork, n.d.).

as a dual-earner. The importance of maintaining full (or at least high) employment resulted in policy design features that provide maximum benefits to couples that follow the model and reduced benefits for those who do not. This dividing practise creates two groups and constitutes subject positions in the discourse that govern the way people live their lives. A woman, perhaps a mother, in full-time work is the first subject position observed through the policy design that calculates a father's PPL payment in line with a mother's labour market participation. A second subject position of caring father is also created. Other subject positions are identified in the next section, which outlines the examples of linked eligibility, and the meaning of gender equality in the Norwegian PPL policy.

4.8.2 Gender equality

The Norwegian data reveal an assumption of gender equality as important. This section outlines how gender equality appears in the Norway data and applies the questions arising from the literature, the meaning of gender equality (as a contested concept), and the impact on gender equality expected from policy change (including the perspectives on gender equality and underlying knowledges).

The discussion of the father's quota, and the intention for men to also take periods of leave away from paid employment to care for their children, was referred to in the 'Public Policies for Childhood' White Paper (B4) as 'strengthening the position as between man and woman in home and occupation'. Here it is a combination of both parents both working and caring or 'undertaking both the educator and the occupational role' that represents gender equality. The later White Paper 'Time for Children' (B7) sought to clarify that both parents have responsibility for childcare, but also linked this back to women realizing their opportunities in the workplace, and more equal distribution of occupational roles between genders.

This reveals how gender equality was regarded, as being about both the labour market, and the home. The change that was being introduced was expected to result in fathers taking some PPL, changing the pattern of men's employment history, and making them more like women's. It also changed the role played by men within the family, so that they became carers as well as earners, and reduced women's care and potentially domestic responsibilities (at least for a period of time). It also enabled women to return to the labour market earlier than otherwise making women's employment history more like men's. This is described as the universal caregiver model (Fraser, 1997) and is supported as a mechanism for gender equality (Hernes 1987:134).

The meaning of gender equality here has a strong liberal focus, of participation in the labour market, and gender neutrality. Both the care role and the earner role are positioned as available to both men

and women. However, while the non-transferrable policy design of the father's quota provides encouragement for fathers to participate in the dual-earner/dual-carer model, it has been suggested to construct men as particularly valuable carers (Bjørnholt, 2012:63). The same/equal perspective is observed and the father's quota is a strategy of inclusion. It was rejected as a potential strategy of displacement because it is insufficient as an attempt to deconstruct gender roles. It does not attempt to achieve the deconstructive equality sought by Nash or Scott (2002:420; 1988:43).

The impact on gender equality expected from the policy change has to be considered in respect of the relatively short duration of the father's quota. An additional four weeks working at a job rather than at home may be considered unlikely to have a large impact on a women's career or pay prospects. In the same way, four weeks at home may not create any lasting change in men's participation in care or domestic work. Even if the care role continued, writers (Hartsock, 1993; Okin, 1989) have cautioned that shared parenting would not abolish the sexual division of labour.

However, this change did not simply *enable* women to return to the labour market earlier than otherwise, as noted above, it *forced* them to do so, if the parents wanted the father to spend more than his father's quota at home. The second and third examples of the interrelationship between the employment status of the mother and the father's eligibility for PPL are now considered (the first regarding payment rate was discussed above).

The change to introduce a period of dedicated leave for fathers has been discussed as an independent entitlement for fathers. However, if fathers wish to use any of the balance of the parental leave period (i.e. excluding the periods reserved for the mother and for the father), there is a requirement that the mother is eligible for PPL herself. The eligibility criteria are work-related (Table 4.2 refers). If the mother's work history does not meet the eligibility requirement for PPL, the father is not eligible for any parental leave (other than his father's quota), even if his own work history would meet the criteria. This assumes that the mother will undertake the childcare duty and reinforces the notion of the mother as the expected carer.

The third example was introduced previously in Section 3.11.6. The father's ability to utilise any of the shareable parental leave is also dependent on the mother returning to paid work, or full-time education, unless she is unwell. Even if the father personally meets the work-related criteria, he is unable to access any parental leave if the mother remains at home, in which instance he is eligible only for his paternity leave. This linking of the father's eligibility to the mother's status was introduced with the father's quota and was not a feature of the PPL policy before that time.

These three examples reflect the importance of the dual-earner/dual-carer model. Policy design features were included to impact payment rate and eligibility, and to limit fathers' ability to utilise PPL, unless the family followed the model preferred by the state. These examples also reveal something more about the meaning of gender equality in Norway. Although gender equality was suggested to be 'undertaking both the educator and the occupational role' (B4), it is clear that the occupational role is considered more important, as it is failure to follow the dual-earner part of the model that results in greater penalty. The same/equal perspective privileges the public over the private. It creates available subject positions of fathers as carers and mothers as paid workers. However, as a dividing practice, the policy change also creates subject positions of non-sharing fathers and non-participating mothers.

This discussion arose because of an expectation that the pattern of men's employment history would be changed by taking their father's quota of PPL and another feature can be observed in the data. The workplace was not expected to remain unchanged, instead it would be 'aligned so that it takes into account the needs of parents of small children', which was defined as shorter or reduced working hours with full pay (B4). It appears that when men have a work-based requirement, as here for PPL, employers must adapt their expectations of employees. This might represent the modern progression of literature cited in Section 4.7.3, which reflected an earlier (implicit) view by employers of the ideal worker as male, because men did not have any outside responsibilities. Now that men are being forced to accept their responsibilities, by taking their dedicated period of PPL, work places are expected to change. There was no previous expectation to change when only women had requirements for time away from paid employment.

4.9 Cross-country comparison

When the problematizations between the two countries are compared, there are some similarities, but mostly differences.

The problematizations in New Zealand and Norway both revealed assumptions about care roles. In New Zealand the assumption was that care was the role of women. This was observed from the policy design features that effectively produced paid maternity leave rather than paid parental leave. This design arose on the basis of the conceptual logic of women as primary carers. In Norway care roles were assumed to be constituent of gender equality. This was observed from the design policy that forced both genders to undertake a care role and an employment role. This design arose on the basis of the conceptual logic of the dual-earner/dual-carer model as representing gender equality, which

was identified as meaning same/equal (inclusion), and the assumption of fathers as unwilling carers. It can be seen that, although the problematizations in both countries included assumptions about care roles, the assumptions themselves were quite different.

The problematization in Norway has been observed to be based on the conceptual logic of the dual-earner/dual-carer model. As well as representing gender equality, it also reflects the acceptance of work line policies, and the positive view of state and family interaction in Norway. In contrast, the interaction between the state and the family in New Zealand is viewed negatively, with transfers understood to represent dependency. This was seen to result in the payment of PPL at minimum wage, supported by another assumption, the devaluation of care work due to its unpaid nature. The significance of paid work, and the role of the male breadwinner in financially supporting his family, was observed in New Zealand whereas the importance of both parents undertaking both paid work and care work was observed in Norway.

The absence of social security or social insurance in New Zealand means that all state support is taxpayer funded, which leads to debate regarding eligibility, based on deservingness. In contrast the universal nature of the social insurance scheme in Norway, with individual rights based on previous labour market participation, reflects the social-democratic welfare state model.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the power of a dominant problematization. Arguments were made in New Zealand in support of PPL as an employment right, but they did not succeed, due to the power of the representations of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency. This representation contributed to the minimum wage payment rate.

The prominence of the dual-earner/dual-carer model in Norway has been observed. The change that introduced the father's quota also introduced a restriction on the father taking any (shareable) parental leave if the mother did not resume or undertake paid employment or full-time education. This reflects a problem of two parents at home, or perhaps more accurately, a problem of two parents out of paid employment. The change reinforced the depiction of gender equality as same/equal, which is represented in the dual-earner/dual-carer model, and reflects a liberal perspective.

Chapter 5 – Genealogy

5.1. Introduction

This chapter answers the third ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ or WPR question - ‘How has this representation of the problem come about?’ Bacchi advises (2009:10) that there are two objectives behind this WPR question. The first is to reflect on the specific developments and decisions that contributed to the formation of the problem representation. This is different from WPR question 2 and questions 4 to 6, which focus on the discourse revealed in the written word in the text, and instead focus on decisions. Bacchi describes decisions as ‘non-discursive practises’, meaning they are a process or action, and one that occurs outside of the texts that are examined to determine the discourse. Due to this different focus, there is no quantitative summary to commence this chapter, as provided in Chapters 4 and 6.

The second objective of the question is to recognise that competing problem representations exist, both over time and across space, which means that a different policy could have been introduced or an existing policy could have been left unaltered. Accordingly this chapter has a focus on process, on how something came to be, its ‘origins, history, and mechanisms’ (2009:12). Bacchi’s thinking on this question appears to have developed over time, because later with Goodwin (2016:22), she suggests

‘It is important to note that the intent of this question is to challenge any search for origins or any suggestion of some easily traceable evolution of a policy. Rather, the objective is to bring to light the plethora of possible alternative developments. The intent is to disrupt any assumption that what *is* reflects what *has to be*.’ (Emphasis in original)

Accordingly, the approach taken here is to focus on potential alternatives. Chapter 4 revealed the dominant problem representations for each country and considered the problems nested within them. This chapter analyses how these problem representations came about, the processes and decisions which led to their formation, and considers how things could have gone differently. As WPR ‘takes the side of those who are harmed’ (Bacchi, 2009:44) it also identifies who is harmed by the dominant problem representations.

The historical data examined are documents, such as records of parliamentary debate, public submissions on the PPL bill, reports by various Ministries, documentation from women’s groups, and media articles, leading up to the policy changes being investigated. The earliest New Zealand data is from 1987 (the primary legislation), and the rest is from 1996 to 2002, when the PPL change took effect. The earliest Norwegian data is also the primary legislation, from 1966, with the balance dating from 1975 to 1993, when the change was made to introduce the father’s quota.

The chapter is structured as follows. To provide context, Section 5.2 provides a summary of the political background in both countries, and the background to family policy in Norway. It considers the contested concept of gender equality and identifies the meanings of gender equality that were present at different times. It also examines the 'knowledge' and worldview on which these meanings rest.

The next three sections are structured using the familiar topics of payment rate, eligibility, and rights, which were identified previously from examination of the data. Each section also considers, as relevant, the first part of the sixth WPR question that considers how the dominant representation of the problem could be questioned, disrupted and replaced.

Section 5.3 considers the representation of the problem as it applies to the payment rate of PPL. It identifies the specific developments and decisions that led to the use of minimum wage in New Zealand and wage replacement in Norway. This section includes discussion of an early National Insurance scheme in New Zealand that did not succeed and present day alternatives that were not pursued.

Section 5.4 considers eligibility within the problem representations. Previously in Section 4.3, the problem in New Zealand was determined to relate to maternity leave, as fathers are ineligible for leave in their own right. In Section 4.4 for Norway, the problem was determined to relate to the unequal use of parental leave, as a dedicated period of leave was being introduced for fathers to encourage them to participate in care. Within that problematization, a nested problem was identified, of failing to participate in Norway's preferred dual-earner/dual-carer model. This refers both to fathers not taking leave and to mothers not participating in (ideally full-time) paid employment. The impact of mothers' part-time work on fathers' parental leave payments, the mothers' eligibility, and the requirement for her to return to work or study in order for the father to access the 'shareable' parental leave, were all discussed in the previous chapter. Section 5.4 identifies the developments and decisions that led fathers' eligibility for PPL in both countries to be based in some way on the mothers' employment status.

Section 5.5 considers the rights issues within the problem representation. It identifies the developments and decisions that led to maternal and child's health rights being discussed in New Zealand but a broader set of rights, as they pertain to both children and fathers, being discussed in Norway. A cross-country comparison is provided in Section 5.6. The chapter concludes in Section 5.7 with consideration of who is harmed by the dominant problem representations.

5.2. Political and policy background

Before proceeding to identify the specific developments and decisions that influenced the problem representation in both countries, it is useful to outline the political background in each, and the family policy background in Norway.

5.2.1. New Zealand political background

The background to PPL commences with the Parental Leave and Employment Protection Act 1987 [PLEPA 1987]. This provided for 14 weeks of maternity leave, 2 weeks of paternity leave and up to 52 weeks of transferable extended leave (reduced for any maternity leave taken), all of which were together called parental leave and none of which were paid. Sections 9, 19, 26 and 27 of the PLEPA 1987 refer (PCO, n.d.). The Act also provided job protection for the first time (South, 2009:20) through Section 49 of the PLEPA 1987, and removed the threat of dismissal due to pregnancy, related health issues, or because an employee wanted to take parental leave (Shirley et al, 1997:241). This move, whilst not offering any payment during the period of leave, did ensure that women could return to the job they left. The Families Commission later observed the importance of this policy feature, as they found that women would take jobs with poorer pay and conditions in order to access flexibility (2010:9).

In 1990, the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women [NACEW] issued a report 'Beyond the Barriers', which recommended that Government investigate ways of providing income support to those on parental leave. The report proposed that a survey be undertaken to determine whether or not the current legislation is meeting its objectives. It also proposed that a monitoring system be set in place to investigate the take up rate, to find out how many actually make use of the current entitlements (12 Week Paid Parental Leave Campaign, Sheet Eight, n.d.).

The '12 Week Paid Parental Leave Campaign' was launched at Parliament in 1993 and was followed soon after by the survey that NACEW had recommended. The survey of the PLEPA 1987 was commissioned by the Industrial Relations Service (part of the then Department of Labour and now contained within MBIE), and issued a draft report in 1994 with the final report released in 1996. It found that awareness about parental leave entitlement was low and that most men who took parental leave received payment but very few women did (12 Week Paid Parental Leave Campaign, n.d.).

In 1995 the Ministry of Women's Affairs published a report entitled 'Parental Leave Policies, Women and the Labour Market'. The report found that women using leave provisions were more likely to

return to paid work, usually to their previous employer, than women who had to leave their job when they had a child and would have had to find a new employer after the birth. The report also cautioned that the eligibility and coverage criteria can make leave policies inequitable if they effectively exclude particular groups (NZ Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1995). This was relevant to low-income families in New Zealand, who may not have been able to utilise the current unpaid leave provisions, due to financial pressure.

In 1996 Laila Harré was elected to Parliament on the Alliance Party list. She supported the 12 weeks PPL campaign, and submitted a Private Members bill to introduce it, with PPL to be paid at 80% of the recipient's earnings, up to the average male weekly wage, funded by a payroll levy (A64, A72). Her Private Members bill was drawn from the Parliamentary ballot in 1998. Members' bills are bills introduced by members of Parliament who are not Ministers. Members enter bills in the ballot by lodging notices of proposal with the Table Office and providing a copy of the proposed bill. Ballots are held periodically to decide which members' bill(s) will be introduced (NZ Parliament, 2018). Although it was supported by the majority of submissions (71%) it was narrowly defeated in Parliament by two votes in June 1999. This defeat is considered further in Chapter 7, in the analysis of my interview with Harré, which provide her reflections on this event.

In early 1998 political attention was focused on social services spending. In February of that year a Discussion Document was sent to all households in New Zealand seeking feedback on various 'expectations' and 'questions for discussion' (NZ Government, 1998). The document, titled 'Towards a Code of Social & Family Responsibility', outlined 11 topics which included 'Sharing parenthood'. The proposed expectation was that 'Parents will love and care for their children, support them financially and, where possible, share the parenting responsibilities, even when they are not living together'. There were three questions for discussion, one of which was, 'What more can we all do to encourage fathers to play a more active part in bringing up their children?' The question was contextualised as an entitlement of the child to have contact with their parents with reference to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1998:19).

As in that example, some of the questions in the document commenced with 'What more can we all do...?' implying a role for both people and government, but others were posed as matters of state responsibility, and started with 'What else can the government do...?' The question regarding fathers' involvement as parents was framed as a question in which both people and government have a part to play in the answer. However, the topic of ensuring absent parents (generally fathers) provide financial support for their children is framed as a government responsibility - 'What else should the government do to reinforce the responsibility of parents not living with their children to support them

financially?’ This expectation was the only one to have the caveat - ‘where possible’ - implying that all other expectations are considered achievable except this one. It is possible that the caveat was included to reflect situations in which it is not possible for a second parent to contribute financially, for example, if they suffered from chronic sickness or disability. However it could also reflect an assumption that the state cannot influence family life as it is private rather than public. In the question, the matter of fathers’ parental involvement is contextualised as a ‘public’ issue and it is implied that the government would consider the enforcement of payment obligations to be within its remit. The inherent assumption of a two-parent heterosexual family within both questions is clear, and also apparent in the expectation outlined for pregnancy care, for women to protect their own and their babies’ health ‘with the support of their partner’ (1998:9).

The document also provides some insights into how welfare was viewed in the late 1990s through a number of instances where the government suggests imposing obligations on those in receipt of welfare. These suggestions included checking that women receiving pregnancy-related sickness benefit have sought ‘proper care’, that parents receiving Income Support are required to immunise their children and take them for child health checks, and that parents who receive a benefit are required ‘as a condition of benefit, to get their children to school’ (1998:9,11,15). Such obligations were identified in the typology in Chapter 3 as a potential design element that could be included in a PPL policy. Their inclusion in the government document suggests that welfare is viewed, not as something to which those in need are entitled from a supportive state, but rather as something that can be used as a tool of social control or an instrument of governing (a concept introduced in Chapter 1).

In early 1999, possibly in response to Harré’s Private Members bill, the National government introduced the PTC. It was means-tested with eligible families receiving \$1,200 over eight weeks and has been referred to in the media (A73, A90) as a baby bonus. It remained in place until 1 July 2018, by which time it had increased, to up to \$2,200 to be paid over 10 weeks (Inland Revenue, 2019b). When the new Labour-Alliance coalition government was elected in late 1999 it announced an intention to introduce 12 weeks PPL.

In 2000, the International Labour Organisation [ILO], increased its Maternity Protection Convention’s minimum standard for PPL from 12 weeks to 14 weeks which led to a ‘14 Week Paid Parental Leave Campaign’ in New Zealand. The government received advice from the Ministerial Advisory Group on Equal Employment Opportunities to implement PPL in line with the ILO’s standard (2001:35) but instead chose a 12 week PPL, in line with its original proposal (NZ Government, 2001a).

With respect to the contested concept of gender equality, New Zealand's political background reveals that explicit references to equality relate to the workplace, and obtaining payment for women for their temporary absence from it. Other discussion of women is as a dependent to a male breadwinner, or if they are absent, as dependent on the state to enforce their financial responsibility. This dependent status is something that can be used by the state to impose obligations. It is not a positive relationship between women and the state. Instead the state is being required to intervene, and will do so at a minimal level, revealing a liberal view.

5.2.2. Norwegian early political background

Norway's history of providing mothers with payment and entitlement to leave from employment began in the late 19th century and Sainsbury suggests (2001:117) it was assisted by the 'intensified struggle for nationhood' which was occurring at the same time. The first entitlement to leave was introduced in 1892, and provided up to six weeks after birth, for mothers working in industrial jobs (Valdimarsdóttir, 2006:26). By then the suffrage movement was already part of the political landscape in Norway with the establishment of the Women's Suffrage Association in 1885 (Hvorfor kvinnehistorie.no, n.d.). The struggle for independence as a country was occurring at the same time as women's demand for the vote and arguably assisted them in obtaining their goal (Sainsbury, 2001:117). The demography of the country may also have been a factor as there were few class differences, a strong sense of egalitarianism, and widespread popular movements (Skard, 2014:107).

Developments for women continued into the early twentieth century. From 1909, a small payment was provided to those mothers in industrial jobs who had been eligible for a leave entitlement since 1892, and from 1915 they could also take four weeks leave before the birth (Valdimarsdóttir, 2006:27; see also Sainsbury, 2001:122). The suffrage movement continued with women of a particular level of income, and women married to men of a particular level of income, achieving the right to vote at local elections in 1901 and at general elections in 1907. Universal suffrage at local elections was obtained in 1910 and in 1913 all Norwegian women obtained the right to vote in general elections (Hvorfor kvinnehistorie, n.d.). Women started to be represented in parliament, the first of whom was Anna Georgine Rogstad, in 1909 (Stortinget, 2018). As well as rights for women, rights for children were also being actioned at this time, with the Castbergian Child Laws being passed in 1915, which gave children born outside of marriage rights to inheritance and to bear their father's surname. The same laws also ensured financial support for unmarried mothers by expanding the maintenance obligation, such that if a mother failed to receive child support from her child's father, the municipality was to provide financial assistance (Stortinget, 2017).

The first policy discussions about family allowances occurred during the 1930s, with debate focused on whether they should be paid to fathers from a social insurance scheme, or to mothers funded by general taxation revenue (Sainsbury, 2001:130)²⁸. In Norway, feminists expressed concern that child allowances would reinforce women's care role, and the economic dependence of wives on their husbands (Sainsbury, 2001:131). Child allowances paid to the father reinforce their financial provider role, as discussed in Section 3.7, and although payments to the mother can provide a measure of economic independence, they also reinforce the expectation that the mother is the primary carer of children.

Norway faced high unemployment in the 1920s and 1930s which resulted in proposals by the unions and Labour party to restrict the right of married women to work (Sainsbury, 2001:131). However this period also saw maternal leave rights extended to women in all types of employment, with mothers receiving the right to six weeks' leave before and six weeks after giving birth, and job protection whilst they were on leave (Korsvik, 2014:13). This development was notable in its timing as this period initiated the 'housewife contract' (Sainsbury, 2001:135) which resulted in Norway becoming known as 'the country of housewives' (Borchorst, 2008:34). This concept also appears in the analysis of interview data in Chapter 7.

In 1956 a form of maternity leave benefit became available to women in Norway, by way of sickness insurance, which provided 12 weeks of unpaid leave (Carneiro et al, 2011:8). During the 1950s and 1960s in Norway there was a focus on the family and gender relations (Bjørnholt, 2012:56). This was reflected in the government's decision to establish a commission to consider the women's role, which found that revised social legislation, and tax reforms were required to move Norway towards gender equality (2012:58). Tax reform occurred in 1959 giving married couples the option of being taxed separately and in the same year Norway ratified the ILO convention on equal pay (Korsvik, 2014:14). In 1964 a new benefit was introduced, providing unmarried mothers with a lump sum at birth, and with benefit for two months before and for a period after the birth (Norwegian Justice and Police Department, 1977 at 13.6).

The 1970's saw the women's movement become a significant political force in Norway, and it called both for women's financial and physical (reproductive) independence, and for periods of father-only leave, designed to assist in creating a care role for fathers, which prompted the introduction of 'state feminism' (Korsvik, 2014:15,23). Aarseth (2007:425) suggested that the women's movement was one

²⁸ The question of funding of PPL in New Zealand is considered in Section 5.3.1 and it is observed to be a key subject but with a different discussion, arising from a different underlying knowledge.

of the reasons for the departure from the traditional breadwinner masculinity but that it was supported by a rise in male consumerism for goods previously considered feminine.

With respect to the contested concept of gender equality, Norway's political background reveals how early policies for women had a different underlying perspective from later developments. Women first received support from the state in respect of their role as mothers. This recognises their difference from men, and provides dedicated support, but is based in the market. The public sphere was expanded to include women and their reproductive function. Suffrage was achieved, staggered over 12 years, based on income and marital status. Political rights were not granted on an individual basis until universal suffrage. The further rights for unmarried mothers that followed (financial support for the mother, child's right to receive inheritance and their father's surname) may have been primarily intended for the child. The income and property rights are again market-based. Women are supported in their care role only where the father is absent and supported in the market on the basis of their difference. The underlying perspective, at this point time, appears to be based on a 'knowledge' of family as private, and state involvement only if there is no breadwinner.

However, this changes over time, with the significant developments in the 1930s referred to by Esping-Andersen (1990:167) as a 'social democratic breakthrough'. Active welfare and employment policies (leave and job protection) were introduced, unions commenced central coordination of bargaining, and the women's movement strengthened. The absolute parliamentary majorities of post-war governments provided 'unusually pervasive political consensus' (1990:168). So began the move towards a social-democratic welfare state, which provides high standards of support, including for the employment of its people. Women were again supported to participate in the market.

5.2.3. Norwegian family policy background

The National Insurance Scheme, which funds a range of benefits, was established in the late 1960s (Grønvik, 2006) and by 1967 a dedicated Fund was required to manage its surplus (Folketrygdfondet, n.d.). A key development in Norwegian policy-making was the discovery of oil in the 1970s and the decision was taken to ensure that the benefits of the discovery were retained by the Norwegian people. This was achieved by ensuring the state held a 50% stake in each production license, the creation of Statoil (at that time, a majority state-owned oil and gas production operator) in 1972 and the State's Direct Financial Interest (which owns interests in a number of oil and gas fields, pipelines and onshore facilities) in 1985 (Norwegian Government, 2013)²⁹. Although the benefits were retained,

²⁹ Statoil was publicly listed in 2001 (Norwegian Government, 2013)

a fiscal prudence measure was introduced, to ensure that the assets were enduring. No more than 4% is transferred into the national budget for spending initiatives (Norwegian Royal Ministry of Finance, 2016:15).

Beyond maintaining state ownership in its new asset, Norway took another key decision to use some of the wealth created by the oil discovery to invest in family welfare policies, through the National Insurance Scheme. This decision arose from the political climate outlined in Section 5.2.2 but was facilitated by the wealth that was discovered at the same time (Saito, 2014:6). Alternative decisions could have been taken by the Norwegian government, either at the time, or subsequently. Instead of spending on the welfare state, they could have spent their wealth on tax cuts, or other policies. However, this did not occur, and the Norwegian welfare state continues to be supported by the government and the people. Esping-Anderson (1990:182) suggests the oil provides Norway with 'naturally unique' conditions for policy options such as financing incomes and employment and high public subsidies. However, while it certainly provides the finance, the nature of the decisions made could be different and do not necessarily have to continue to support these types of policies.

In the early 1970s, the result of a well-funded National Insurance Scheme, combined with political will, resulted in a focus on gender (Vollset, 2011:283), evinced by the Work-Sharing Couples Project and the establishment of a Law Committee to consider how to facilitate the implementation of the work-sharing model (Bjørnholt, 2012:59). These were examples of 'a new political view on men's responsibilities and participation in child care' at this time (Brandth and Kvande, 2009a:180). A number of *Norges offentlige utredninger* [NOU] Norwegian Public Reports or White Papers, on children and the family were commissioned. They were as follows: NOU 1975/22 *Engangsstønad ved nedkomst og stønad til barnetilsyn - delutredning 2* / Lump sum maternity and child care benefit (B3); NOU 1977/6 *Ein samla offentleg politikk for oppvekstmiljøet* / Public policies for childhood (B4); and NOU 1977/35 - *Lov om barn og foreldre (barneloven)* / Act about Children and Parents (B5). These were examined in Chapter 4 when considering the first and second WPR questions.

The result of these White Papers was that paid maternity leave of 18 weeks was introduced in 1977 through an amendment to the National Insurance Act 1966 (Norwegian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs)³⁰. Notably, whilst it maintained the mothers' six weeks period after birth, it allowed the remaining 12 weeks to be shared between the parents. The period of unpaid leave available was increased to one year (Brandth and Kvande, 2009b:195). The National Insurance Act also provided guaranteed job protection for those taking parental leave (Carneiro et al, 2011:8).

³⁰ *Ot prp (Odelstingsproposisjon) nr 13, 1992-93 Lov om endringer i lov av 17. juni 1966 nr. 12 om folketrygd og i visse andre lover* / The Act on Amendments to the Law of 17 June 1966 No. 12 on National Insurance and in certain other laws

In the 1980s, a significant change to the PPL policy occurred, with an increase in the duration of paid leave from 18 to 42 weeks (Korsvik, 2014:23). This change was introduced by Gro Harlem Brundtland, who became Norway's first female Prime Minister in 1981. She had entered parliament in 1974 and quickly become deputy leader of the Labour party. After the leader's unexpected resignation in 1981 she became leader and Prime Minister (Skard, 2014:107-109). After 1983 when the Labour party introduced gender quotas, the number of women in parliament increased, from a base of 25% (Matland, 2004:6). Brundtland's second government in 1986 included the 'women's cabinet', in which eight of the 18 ministers were female, and during her third government that she became known as the 'Mother of the Nation' (Skard, 2014:111). Her 1986 government made significant policy changes for women and resulted in Norway becoming a 'women-friendly' welfare state (Hernes, 1987:10). This included the dramatic increase in the duration of PPL from 18 to 42 weeks (Korsvik, 2014:23).

The next key development was the introduction of the *fedrekvote* or father's quota, which occurred in 1993, but has its roots in work undertaken in the 1980s. Brundtland's government established a Commission on the Role of Men. Members were appointed in 1986 (Kjeldstad, 2001:77) and the Committee worked on equal opportunities 'by focussing on men and their possible contribution' (Brandth and Kvande, 2009a:199). They focused on men as fathers and discussed not only their duties but also their rights (Kjeldstad, 2001:77) and Leira suggested that at that time a 'politicisation of fatherhood was gaining ground, adding to fathers' right to care for their children' (Leira, 2002:141). Two White Papers were issued, NOU 1991/3 *Mannsrolleutvalgets sluttrapport / Male Role Committee final report* (B6), and NOU 1993/12 *Tid for barna / Time for Children* (B7).

Prior to the introduction of the father's quota, 2% of fathers took parental leave (B7), so the father's quota was introduced as 'mild and benevolent coercion' (Borchorst, 2008:35). It was a world-first policy move (Borchorst, 2008:34) which provided an exclusive period of four weeks for the father that could not generally be transferred to the mother (Valdimarsdóttir, 2006:27). It is an example of what Fraser (1997) calls the 'universal caregiver model' whereby women's life pattern is taken as the norm and men are encouraged to take on more of the caring (Lister et al, 2007:113). As well as introducing the period of dedicated leave, the overall total of leave available was increased at the same time, to 52 weeks at 80% of pay (Brandth and Kvande, 2009b:197). This enabled fathers to take their leave without mothers experiencing a reduction in the leave available to them.

Although the key PPL developments occurred under centre/left governments, they largely retained support when centre/right governments were in power. PPL was introduced in 1977 under Nordli's labour-led government and the father's quota was introduced in 1993 under Brundtland's labour-led government (Government.no, n.d.).

With respect to the contested concept of gender equality, Norway's family policy background included consideration of the role of men in care and resulted in policies that included them, such as shareable parental leave from its introduction, and later, the father's quota. The meaning of equality is for care responsibilities to be shared between men and women. This puts the focus on the private sphere, rather than the market, and the public sphere.

5.3. What were the specific developments and decisions (practices and processes) that led to the use of minimum wage in New Zealand and wage replacement in Norway?

The lack of payment was identified in Section 4.2.1 as a key part of the problem representation for New Zealand. The analysis in that section attributed the selection of a cap of approximately minimum wage for PPL payments to two assumptions, of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency, and the low value attribute to care work. Norway's work line policies and its National Insurance Scheme were identified to be key parts of its social-democratic welfare system in Section 4.8.1. The Scheme treats absence from employment for caring in the same way as other absences and provides wage replacement during the period. This section of the chapter examines the decisions which resulted in these assumptions and outcomes. For New Zealand, they relate to the choice of funding mechanism and administrative agency, and for Norway, to the investment in the welfare state.

5.3.1. New Zealand funding mechanism

PPL was problematized as welfare in New Zealand, based largely on the decision to fund it from general taxation, as discussed in Section 4.6.1. Section 5.2.1 described how tax funding was not the method by which the Alliance Party originally proposed to fund PPL. They had suggested a payroll levy, requiring all employers to pay a levy into a fund that would be used to make the PPL payments, and had estimated that the levy required to fund 12 weeks PPL would be \$1.20 to \$1.50 a week per employer (A75). Harré stated this was expected to be approximately 0.24% of a payroll (A69). There is no reference in the data to incidence, either from Harré or commentators, which suggests it was assumed that the employers would bear the cost of the levy. However, this is not necessarily what neoclassical economic theory suggests, and the cost could be passed on to employees through lower wages, or other adjustments such as higher prices, by the employer.

The payroll levy calculations were undertaken on the basis of paying PPL up to 80% of the recipient employee's earnings, subject to a cap of \$610 per week (A53, A67). This cap amount represented the average male wage (A60, A64, A69). As PPL was actually introduced in 2002 using tax funding instead of an employer levy, and with a fixed maximum cap of \$325 of ordinary gross earnings (A4-13895), it is necessary to consider the developments that occurred before the final decision was taken.³¹

The most significant political development that occurred ahead of the introduction of PPL was the 1999 election, which saw Labour defeat the National Party, who had been in power since 1990. However, Labour could only form a government by entering into a coalition with the minor Alliance Party. As the junior party in the coalition the Alliance Party did not have as much negotiating power as the Labour Party. A number of consequences arose that directly impacted the low payment rate for PPL. The first was the desire of the Labour Party to reassure the business community that, in spite of its union roots, it was not the enemy of employers. This concern for business is evident in the data. Labour MPs acknowledged the matter in the media (A46, A73). Labour's concern was observed even by other opposition parties, with the ACT Party including a reference to Labour's lack of support for the Alliance's employer levy in a press release (A61). The media reported that business would support Labour in using tax funding rather than an employer levy (A87). Sections 4.6.1 to 4.6.3 included a number of references in the media data regarding concerns about PPL funding.

This political concern for business meant that an employer levy was going to be a difficult design feature for the Alliance Party to successfully implement. Tax funding was the only other option considered, but as discussed in Section 4.2.1, this led to PPL facing pressure from other existing or proposed expenditure, as all spending initiatives are primarily funded from this one source. However, there was a potential alternative to tax funding, and this is explored in the following sub-section.

The second consequence arising from the formation of a coalition government, and the desire to avoid an employer levy, was the fact that Labour set a limit to the amount of money available for PPL. This reflects both the power differential between the coalition partners and the difference in prioritisation accorded by each of them to PPL. Evidence in the data for this limit was observed in media and official's reports. The Vice-President of the Council of Trade Unions was quoted in the media as saying she had heard rumours the Government could only afford to pay parental leave at the level of the aged pension or close to the minimum wage. This was part of her reasoning that employers must pay for PPL, as it was 'an employment right' but also that 'A decent living wage was crucial to the scheme's

³¹ Clarity regarding gross earnings (rather than net or post-tax earnings) was not present in earlier media coverage but was stated explicitly in the Hansard debate. There was no specific statement as to whether the payment was taxable (not even on the Government website – NZ Govn, 2001b) but parental leave payments are defined as income under Section CF 1(1)f of the Income Tax Act 2007.

success and could only be afforded by employers' (A55). As stated earlier in this section, neoclassical economic theory suggests the cost (incidence) could be passed on and borne by employees or consumers, but this was not acknowledged or debated at the time. The media is silent on this topic. In terms of official's reports, The Treasury prepared a report in August 2001 responding to a given full-year cost of \$40m for PPL, and outlined the design parameters that could be used to meet this financial constraint, which included assuming that only women were eligible for PPL (A17). In March of that year, Treasury provided advice on PPL paid at the same rate as the Dependent Persons Benefit (for sole parents), which it costed at \$38.9m (A38). This suggests that once the decision had been taken to fund PPL from taxation, payment at minimum wage or at welfare rates was the expectation, reflecting the assumptions identified as underlying the problem representation in Chapter 4. Accordingly, there was no room in the debate for consideration of paying PPL at wage replacement, because it did not align with the assumption of PPL as welfare.

A final consideration regarding payment relate is provided by two examples from the early twentieth century, which explore how the dominant representation of the problem in New Zealand could have been questioned, disrupted, and replaced. The first is the National Provident Fund [NPF], which was established in 1911 (Seely, 2017:10), and was similar to the UK's National Insurance Fund. However, the NPF was unsuccessful, with few people joining and many leaving soon afterwards (McClure, 1998:45). The second example is the work of Michael Joseph Savage, the first Labour Prime Minister, in the 1930s. Savage established a social security system that had features existing in some form today, including NZ Superannuation, invalids and sickness benefit, and maintenance on a means-tested basis from an emergency benefit. Savage funded the social security system through a special tax of initially one shilling in the pound. Later extensions to the scheme, such as provisions for Māori under a new Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act 1945, and a Universal Family Benefit for women working as carers in the home, were funded both by additional funds of general government revenue and an increase in the social security tax by six pence in the pound (Smith, 2010). Around the same time in the UK, the prominent 'Beveridge Report' influenced the UK government to reform its National Insurance Fund so that it became a compulsory contributory system, with contributions received from individuals, employers and the state (Seely, 2017:13).³² In effect, this means it is a tax, although it is not generally referred to as such. In New Zealand, the provisions of the scheme were changed to be more or less generous, reflecting broader economic conditions. The social security tax disappeared and benefits became wholly funded through government (tax) revenue. The use of tax funding was explored in Section 4.6.1 and seen to lead to a negative view of welfare.

³² 'Social Insurance and Allied Services' report by Sir William Beveridge, 1942

Maintaining a contributory approach could have led to the dominant problem representation being replaced with a focus on prior earnings.

5.3.2. New Zealand administration

The government took the decision for the Inland Revenue Department [IRD], New Zealand's tax authority, to be the administrative agency for PPL (Cabinet Office, 2001). The role for IR to play was to make the payments of PPL directly to the recipients. Other potential agencies considered were the Accident Compensation Corporation [ACC] and Work and Income [W&I].³³ Each is considered in turn.

ACC is an organisation designed to 'help prevent injuries and get New Zealanders and visitors back to everyday life if they've had an accident' (ACC, 2018). If an employed person incurs an injury, ACC provides weekly compensation at 80% of their previous earnings until they can return to work or reaches retirement age, as well as various other support. Consideration of ACC as a potential administration and delivery agency was discussed in Section 5.3.2. PPL was considered to have 'a slightly better 'fit' with ACC and its subsidiary Catalyst's current functions and systems than with those of IRD' (A34). It was stated that 'Administratively, the PPL scheme is similar to the ACC scheme. Both require the agency to receive claims, assess eligibility, process medical certificates, calculate entitlement, make payments and liaise (*sic*) with employers' (A34). If ACC had been selected, the focus on welfare could have been questioned and disrupted, and replaced with a focus on prior earnings. This could have provided the opportunity for more equitable treatment between the payments men and women receive for taking time away from their place of employment. The difference in power between the genders is reflected in payments based on prior earnings, at 100% for statutory leave (i.e. annual and sick leave), and at 80% under ACC, compared to payments subject to a cap of minimum wage for PPL, which represents the earnings of only 3.5% of employees (MBIE, 2018:13).

As well as being an administrative agency, ACC could also have provided an alternative funding option for PPL. ACC services are funded by a combination of levies and tax funding. Levies are paid by employees, the self-employed, employers, and motor vehicle owners, and these levies fund coverage for those in paid employment and those injured in motor vehicle or medical accidents. Tax funding is used to fund coverage for those not in paid employment, such as children, the elderly, and visitors. It was previously stated in Section 3.6 that the distinction between tax and social insurance is more of form than substance (while the receipts from each are perceived very differently) and levies are also substantively similar to a tax. ACC's services could have been expanded to include PPL funded through

³³ Work and Income is part of the Ministry of Social Development or MSD

levies. While it is possible that such a plan would have met similar resistance to the payroll levy proposed by the Alliance party it was not explored.

W&I is the agency responsible for payment of benefits, such as the aged pension, and disability payments (MSD, n.d.). Although the WPR analysis for New Zealand revealed assumptions about PPL as welfare, there was resistance to using W&I to make PPL payments, which reflect the other observed assumption of welfare as dependency. Officials at the Department of Labour [DoL] were concerned that using W&I as the administrative agency would lead to stigma on the part of employees, in particular, 'if they perceive that the payment is in the nature of a benefit rather than wages replacement' (A19:11). DoL officials also stated that it was unclear to them why W&I would be the most appropriate delivery agency and proposed ACC and IR as alternatives (A19:4,10). The Treasury favoured IR as it would allow for data matching to ensure that families only received either PPL or the PTC but not both (A17:12).

A second administrative choice was made for IR to make the payment to the recipient rather than for IR to reimburse the employer for making the payment. As the employer had been previously paying their staff member, and would continue to pay them if they returned from their leave, it may have been efficient for the employer to continue to pay them while they are on leave. This is the method of payment that occurs in Australia, under the Paid Parental Leave Act 2010 (Australian Government), which states that one of the objectives of parental leave pay is to reinforce the workforce attachment (Part 3-2 and Section 3A, 1(c) of the Paid Parental Leave Act 2010 refers). The Australian Human Rights Commission has established a separate website dedicated to supporting working parents (AHRC, 2015). How the concept of rights is present in the data in New Zealand was introduced in Section 4.4 and is explored further in Chapter 6.

5.3.3. Norwegian investments

The previous section described Norway's decision to invest in a welfare state, and in family policies, including PPL. The first key decision was to create the National Insurance Scheme. Two subsequent decisions were of equal importance. The first was to structure the National Insurance Scheme with prior contributions, through paid employment, as a prerequisite for assistance. The second was for that assistance to be provided at the same level as the recipient's previous employment (previous employment was an eligibility criteria for coverage under the Scheme). These decisions paved the way for PPL in Norway to be paid at wage replacement (even though there is a maximum cap, it is at a high level, and does not attract comment in the literature). The 'knowledge' underlying these

decisions is a reciprocal relationship, between the state and people, and it creates a social-democratic welfare state.

The second key development was the decision to continue with the approach of investing in family policy even when the economy was not performing well. In the 1990s, Norway experienced a banking crisis, largely as a result of rising interest rates in Europe (Steigum, 2010:3) and significant support was provided to Norwegian banks by the state (Honkapohja, 2009:7). However, Brundtland's government continued with the planned family policy reforms, rather than delaying them until the economic situation improved.

This decision stands out in the current environment as it contrasts strongly with the decisions taken by political leaders after the Global Financial Crisis [GFC] of 2007-2008. After the GFC, various austerity measures were introduced which had a detrimental effect on women, including the loss of public sector jobs, reduced income and benefits, and reduced public services (Lethbridge, 2012:5-6). Griffin suggests these actions reinforced the already unequal power between the genders (2015:49). The 'knowledge' underlying these decisions is that the welfare state should make minimal intervention and provide modest support when it does. This supports the cutting of services when other economic pressures arise and reflects a liberal view of welfare state.

5.4. What were the specific developments and decisions (practices and processes) that led fathers' eligibility for PPL in both countries to be based in some way on the mothers' employment status?

In the previous chapter, the problem representation for New Zealand was determined to relate to maternity leave, while the problem representation for Norway related to parental leave. In spite of this apparent difference, both countries have linked father's eligibility to the mother's employment status. In New Zealand the father has no independent entitlement to PPL but the mother may transfer some or all of her PPL to him. In Norway the father is entitled to his *fedrekvote* or father's quota but he cannot access any of the shared parental leave period unless two criteria, both relating to the mother, are met. She must personally meet the work-related eligibility criteria for PPL and, after taking her leave, must commence or return to paid work or study. Furthermore, the amount of his *fødselpenger* or parental benefit payment is calculated based on the mother's employment, so that if she works part-time his payment is pro-rated (or reduced) to match. This section examines the decisions which resulted in these outcomes. Each country is considered separately.

5.4.1. New Zealand legislation

Maternity leave was first introduced in New Zealand in 1948, but only for public sector employees (Callister and Galtry, 2006:39). It was not until 1980 that maternity leave was extended to all eligible New Zealand women through the Maternity Leave and Employment Protection Act [MLEPA] 1980 (Shirley et al, 1997:241, Koopman-Boyden and Scott, 1984:40). The Act (Sections 8 and 5) provided for 26 weeks maternity leave but required the mother to have been employed by the same employer for the previous 18 months for at least 15 hours a week (PCO). This legislation was superseded by the PLEPA 1987 which enabled men to take extended leave as well as women.

In preparation for the 1987 Act, the Labour government commissioned a Working Party on Payment for Parental Leave which consisted of officials from the Department of Labour and Social Welfare, Treasury and the Ministry of Women's Affairs. Its report stated that arguments for paid leave had been made at the time of the 1980 Act but were rejected (Working Party on Payment for Parental Leave, 1986:1). The Working Party undertook an analysis of the current provisions in employment contracts, which indicated that while some women received a payment from their employers, it was generally payable six months after they returned to work and was not a payment to cover the period of leave (NZ Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1996:4).

The report reveals a number of assumptions about family at that time. First, parental leave was still considered a 'woman's issue', as the report commented that Trade Union negotiation for paid leave could increase 'if payment is seen as desirable by female workers' (Working Party on Payment for Parental Leave, 1986:3). Secondly, numerous references indicated that families have two parents, and finally that family is a private matter, within a cautionary comment that 'a payment for parental leave could tend to reduce the incentive to parents to make financial provision for having children' (1986:6). The Working Party concluded that the topic of payment for parental leave should be referred to the (then forthcoming) Royal Commission on Social Policy but recommended that leave should continue to be unpaid as it would be a substantial cost and 'payment would be too far ahead of existing practice in awards and agreements' (1986:1,12).

The decision to make changes to the existing act, rather than drafting a new piece of legislation, is perhaps surprising given new legislation had been drafted when the PLEPA replaced the MLEPA. The decision may have had other implications that were not considered at the time. It is likely that this decision gave officials less ability to change the already established policy design features of the PLEPA than if they had been able to start from a 'blank canvas' of new legislation. The key feature of the PLEPA that was retained after the amendment was the lack of any independent entitlement to paid leave for fathers.

This section explained the conditions that enabled the problem representation of maternity leave to become dominant. Although these conditions may have led to retaining the policy design that allocated PPL first to the mother, even if new legislation had been drafted, the decision to retain the principal act facilitated that dominance. In this way, fathers' eligibility for PPL in New Zealand came to rest entirely with the mother, who had to choose to transfer any amount of her PPL to him. If the mother is not eligible for PPL, whether she is out of the labour market or does not meet the eligibility criteria for some reason, the father has no ability to take any PPL.

5.4.2. Norwegian work line policies

The policy design in Norway that means fathers' eligibility for PPL (with respect to rate of payment and access to shared parental leave) is based on the mothers' employment status relates to the practice and process of work line policies in Norway. Another way to describe this is the policies that implement the social-democratic welfare state. These policies provide support for people during times of care responsibility or illness, so long as a minimum contribution has been made to the state. This minimum contribution varies for each type of support (or policy), but is some factor of the basic amount, which is also used as the basis for calculating payments under the National Insurance Scheme. The basic amount is adjusted annually (B2) and in Chapter 4, PPL eligibility was shown to require paid employment of at least 0.5 of the basic amount, for six of last ten months prior to the birth (Table 4.2 refers). Hernes (1987) describes Norwegians' 'passion' for equality and egalitarian distribution policies but this distribution is not without any requisites.

These work line policies, and the dual-earner/dual-carer model that they support, are at the heart of Norway's social-democratic welfare state. They have been discussed here in relation to fathers' eligibility for PPL, previously in Section 4.7.1 regarding the payment of PPL at wage replacement in Norway, and can be traced back to the shared responsibility identified as part of the problem representation for Norway in Section 4.3. They are also considered as part of the way that the problematization has been produced, disseminated, and defended, in Section 6.4. Accordingly, it will not be discussed further here, but its importance and influence is clear.

5.5. What were the specific developments and decisions (practices and processes) that led to children's and father's rights being discussed in Norway but only women's and children's health rights being discussed in New Zealand?

The problematizations behind the policy changes in New Zealand and Norway have been identified as having consequences for payment rate, eligibility, and rights. Maternal health rights were identified as a nested problem within the dominant problem representation in New Zealand as part of the WPR analysis in Chapter 4. However, the matter was not considered in detail in that chapter, as it is addressed here instead. The concept of children's and fathers' rights is introduced here but discussed in more detail in Section 6.3 as part of the analysis of WPR4 regarding silences.

5.5.1. New Zealand maternal health rights

The decision to use the previous maternity leave legislation to provide for PPL was suggested to be influential in determining the eligibility criteria in Section 5.4.1. It also had another consequence. The discourse narrowed to the subject position of mother, especially lactating mother, and denied the subject position of caring father as available. It also meant that children were not considered beyond this physical need, which was generally referred to by reference to the mother, through the discourse of maternal and child health.

The concept of subject positions comes from the poststructuralist approach adopted in this thesis. Any poststructuralist approach results in a focus on power, and the WPR approach considers the relationship between power and knowledge, which includes how the problem representations became dominant. Part of this process is the creation of 'subject positions' and these were introduced in Chapter 1.

To understand how it was possible for this narrowing to occur, it is useful to return to the second WPR question, which revealed a number of assumptions. The first is that PPL was welfare and welfare was dependency. Related to that was the concept of deservingness. These were considered in Section 4.6.1 and it was seen that the recipient of PPL adopts the subject position of beneficiary. The second assumption was of women as carers as noted in Section 4.6.3. This makes the beneficiary subject position likely to be a woman. Further to this is the 'knowledge' of maternal and child health, based on breastfeeding, which was discussed in Section 3.3.1. PPL acts to facilitate breastfeeding and support this knowledge.

A relevant 'practise' (Bacchi, 2009:10), or process, is the form of the welfare state in New Zealand. Using Esping-Andersen's (1990) classification it is a liberal welfare state, because it provides modest and temporary support for those in need. Under this model, PPL provision becomes focused on the immediate needs around birth itself, when women are unable to perform their employment duties, and require state support. It also results in the exclusion of men. This exclusion created human rights concerns, which were raised by officials from the Department of Labour (A20), but was still pursued.

These factors combined to create a discourse around maternal and child health, of which breastfeeding is a key component, where mothers must be with their child as its carer for this purpose. Men are absent and there was no other discourse present that provided them with an available subject position in care. While gender equality was not a dominant feature in the data, it is difference that is recognised and addressed, rather than any attempt towards gender neutrality or deconstruction (Squires, 1999). The Norwegian experience is quite different.

5.5.2. Norway father's and children's rights

The decision to focus on gender equality in the early 1990s created an environment in which both children's and father's rights were discussed in Norway. Section 5.2.3 outlined the process of White Papers and Committees that resulted in the 1993 policy change to introduce the father's quota. The right of the child to spend time with both parents and the right of the father to undertake a care role were both identified in the data, and this contrasts with the data and the problem representation for New Zealand, which discussed only the child's health rights.

As previously outlined in Section 4.7.2, in the Norwegian data, equality is same/equal (rather than different/equal) and so the life course of fathers is changed to become more like that of women. It was considered necessary to provide equality both in the home as well as at work. Therefore a family policy change was introduced rather than direct labour market measures.

The practise of acknowledging the rights of children existed prior to the introduction of the father's quota. Earlier data reveal a desire to ensure equality between the children of one parent and two parent families (B3) as discussed in Section 5.2.2. Modern policies also provide children with rights, such as the right of all children from age one to five to early childhood education (Ellingsaeter, 2014:53). This means that early childhood education is provided as soon as PPL finishes, and responsibility for childcare is placed in the public sphere, which maintains the shared responsibility identified in the problem representation.

5.6. Cross-country comparison

The two countries have different political backgrounds but the history of each country is seen as influencing current policy. New Zealand's colonial history has been identified as both influencing how state transfers are viewed, in the Anglo tradition of payments to the needy, and as providing an example of how things could have been different, if the NFP had been more successful, or if Beveridge's reforms had been followed in New Zealand. Norway's history of rule by Denmark and Sweden may have influenced its commitment to define a particularly Norwegian approach to supporting its people, through the National Insurance Scheme, and the expectations it places on citizenship.

Both countries provide good examples of Esping-Anderson's welfare state classifications (1990) through the different ways in which the two countries provide financial support if people need to take a temporary break from paid employment. In New Zealand, support for parents at times of childbirth or adoption are impacted by negative assumptions about welfare, resulting in restrictions of both eligibility and payment rate. In Norway, support is provided as part of a reciprocal arrangement, to the extent that father's eligibility and benefit payment rate are impacted by the mother's previous labour market connection. Both parents are expected to have contributed to the National Insurance Scheme through their paid employment, and the State has also made contributions to the Scheme, so each party is fulfilling its role in this social-democratic welfare state.

Each country has a different meaning for the contested concept of gender equality. The gender equality discussion in New Zealand is about payment for an absence from the workplace. Women are positioned as dependent, either on a breadwinner or the state, and provision is made at a minimum level and can come with obligations. The discussion in Norway changed over time. It started by supporting women in their role as mothers, by expanding the public sphere, and added additional support where fathers were absent. The support increased after the adoption of a social-democratic model but it was still market based. Later discussion of gender was providing men with the right to care, and equality came to mean shared care responsibilities, reflecting a shift of focus into the private sphere.

5.7. Conclusion

This chapter has answered the third 'What's the problem represented to be?' or WPR question - 'How has this representation of the problem come about?' New Zealand's decision to amend the previous maternity leave provisions, rather than drafting new legislation for PPL, has been identified as a

contributing factor in how the representation of the problem came about. It limited the debate with respect to eligibility and rights, keeping PPL as maternity leave, and denying fathers the subject position of carer.

The decisions regarding funding mechanism and administrative agency limited the opportunity for discussion on payment. The original funding proposal, of a payroll levy payable by employers, was rejected (although the likelihood that the actual incidence would have fallen elsewhere was not discussed). Instead tax funding was chosen, leaving the PPL policy to compete with all other spending initiatives for budget prioritisation, both then and now. The option to use an organisation that already made payments to those temporarily unable to perform their paid employment (ACC) was also rejected. This kept PPL as a transfer policy and subject to the negative view of welfare in New Zealand. ACC could also have been an alternative funding mechanism but this was not explored.

Norway's decisions to retain its new oil wealth within the state, rather than the private sector, and to establish a redistributive National Insurance Scheme have been identified as key factors in the problem representation of PPL. Norway decided to spend on welfare rather than spend on other policies, such as tax cuts, which would have been another redistribution option. These decisions provided the basis for the shared responsibility element of the problem representation. The desire to focus on gender equality provided the basis for the parental leave element.

Different parties are seen to be harmed by the dominant problem representations in each country. In New Zealand, men are emotionally harmed because the 'father as carer' subject position is not available to them, and PPL recipients (women) are harmed economically by the low payment rate. In Norway, those who do not want to adopt the dual-earner/dual-carer model are harmed, through reduced support from the state (less leave and potentially less well-paid). As identified in the previous chapter, they also suffer from being the weaker part of the sharing/not-sharing binary, a dividing practise. People that find themselves harmed in this way are those seeking a 'traditional' family life and may include conservative religious people and migrants.

Chapter 6 – Silences, Effects, Dominance

6.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the WPR analysis of the historical data from New Zealand and Norway and answers the last three ‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ or WPR questions.

The focus of study returns to the texts, after examining the decisions and practises that led the problem representations to become dominant, in Chapter 5. This chapter considers the impact of those dominant problem representations, the effects they produce, and what has been left unproblematised. It provides a further opportunity to consider who is harmed by the problem representations and how the contested concept of gender equality appears in the data.

In Chapter 2, it was observed that the WPR questions can generate repetition, and are sometimes used selectively instead of applying all questions in full. As this thesis presents the WPR questions separately, and in order, there is such a risk. Therefore, instead of duplicating discussions, some parts of some WPR questions are not included in the standard WPR order, because they have been covered previously within other WPR questions. In this chapter, only two of the three parts of WPR4 are presented, because the third part of the question was already considered in Chapter 4. This was the part of the question that asked how the problem can be thought about differently. Also, only the second of the two parts of WPR6 are presented here, because the first part was already covered in Chapter 5. This was the part of the question that asked how the dominant representation of the problem had been produced, disseminated, and defended. Within this chapter, a silence identified in WPR4 is also an effect identified in WPR5, and is discussed only as part of WPR5. By presenting the analysis in this way, all parts of the WPR framework are applied in this research, but there is no duplication.

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 6.2 the results of the thematic coding of the data are presented. As outlined in Chapter 4, all the data were entered into NVivo software, then I manually coded text within each data source to one or more thematic topic areas or nodes. The software was used to produce frequency and coverage counts for nodes relevant to the discussion in this chapter. Both types of counts are presented within tables for each country.

In Section 6.3 the relevant part of the fourth WPR question is considered. This is the ‘silences’ or that which remains unproblematic in the problem representation. In New Zealand there is silence regarding the rights of children beyond breastfeeding and maternal bonding. A second silence in New Zealand, regarding the rights of fathers, is also identified and contrasted with the problem representation in Norway. The problem of fathers’ and childrens’ rights was identified as part of the

embedded problem representation for Norway in Chapter 4. However, it was not discussed in detail at that point.

Section 6.4 considers the fifth WPR question and identifies the effects that are produced by this representation of the problem. The particular focus in this question for New Zealand is the lack of support, and in Norway the modified support, for fathers to be at home with a new baby if the mother does not satisfy the eligibility criteria for PPL.

In Section 6.5 the relevant parts of the sixth WPR question are discussed. This is the how the representation of the problem has been produced, disseminated and defended. In New Zealand the debate regarding duration of leave, and its focus on the health of the mother and child, is discussed as reinforcing the perception that PPL is not about employers or the father.

A summary of the key points of difference and similarities between the silences, effects, and representation dominance in the two countries is provided in Section 6.6. The chapter concludes in Section 6.7.

6.2 Coding summary

Following the same pattern as for Chapter 4, before the analysis is discussed, the results of the thematic coding of the data is presented. The text in each data source was manually coded against nodes or topic areas, identified by the researcher, using NVivo software. The full list of nodes used in the coding of historical data for New Zealand is presented in Appendix C and in Appendix D for Norway. Some of these nodes are relevant for the topics discussed in this chapter.

The nodes that relate to the rights of children beyond breastfeeding and maternal bonding are breastfeeding, maternal and child health and children's rights. The nodes that relate to the rights of fathers are children's needs and fathers as carers. The nodes that relate to eligibility are women as carers and fathers as carers. The nodes that relate to PPL as not about employers are PPL as welfare and family as private and the nodes that relate to PPL as maternity (not about other parents) are maternal and child health and women as carers.

NVivo software has the ability to 'query' the data and its coding. Presented in Table 6.1 are frequency and coverage counts for the nodes listed above. It displays the number of times each piece of data was coded to a node (frequency) and the percentage of the document that was coded to those nodes (coverage). This information reveals that the documents provide some detail on a number of the subject areas but generally have a concentration around one particular area.

Table 6.1 - Chapter 6 coding summary for New Zealand

Topics / Source documents	Subjects discussed in Chapter				
	Number of coding references / Coverage of document (%)				
	First silence: rights of children beyond breastfeeding	Second silence: rights of fathers	Eligibility	PPL as not employment related	PPL as maternity
A4	3 9.91%	0 -	9 5.31%	0 -	7 9.21%
A5	4 11.68%	3 15.25%	5 12.04%	1 0.18%	4 9.64%
A6A	1 13.09%	0 -	2 20.61%	2 37.53%	2 20.61%
A6B	0	6 12.79%	8 17.45%	6 14.02%	3 5.40%
A7	1 3.66%	0 -	0 -	4 8.44%	1 3.66%
A8	2 1.41%	1 0.70%	2 1.55%	0 -	2 1.49%
A9	4 1.53%	2 0.61%	3 1.04%	0 -	3 0.98%
A10	0	1 11.80%	2 22.73%	0 -	1 10.94%
A11	2 0.71%	2 0.85%	2 0.85%	1 1.06%	0 -
A12	0 -	1 1.77%	4 10.38%	0 -	3 8.60%
A13	1 0.21%	2 5.79%	2 5.79%	1 1.95%	2 3.40%
A14	0	1 15.50%	1 15.50%	0 -	0 -
A15	1 5.62%	0 -	0 -	1 8.23%	1 5.62%
A16	2 25.35%	1 74.09%	1 74.09%	0 -	2 25.35%
A17	1 5.59%	2 35.34%	1 1.39%	0 -	1 5.59%
A19	2 11.95%	0 -	0 -	0 -	2 11.95%
A20	1 5.71%	1 2.56%	5 35.83%	1 9.84%	5 38.98%
A21	1 1%	0 -	1 1.15%	0 -	2 2.15%
A23	2 30.59%	2 23.25%	1 10.45%	0 -	1 13.36%
A25	0	1 3.58%	1 3.58%	0 -	0 -
A26	3 1.39%	2 0.29%	4 0.64%	0 -	4 1.21%
A27	3 1.35%	1 0.50%	1 0.50%	0 -	2 1.03%

A29	0	0	1	4	1
		-	5.24%	70.95%	5.24%
A30	1	0	0	0	0
	2.06%	-	-	-	-
A31	6	3	3	3	3
	2.94%	0.76%	0.76%	2.08%	1.41%
A32	2	1	1	2	2
	1.23%	0.54%	0.54%	1.58%	1.23%
A34	2	0	0	1	2
	2.35%	-	-	0.72%	2.35%
A35	0	1	1	1	0
	-	13.11%	13.11%	10.34%	-
A37	0	0	0	1	0
	-	-	-	99.92%	-
A44-59 Media articles	5	5	1	13	4
	7.73%	4.85%	1.50%	25.10%	4.62%
A60-78 Media articles	3	3	1	14	2
	6.25%	6.65%	2.04%	21.61%	4.07%
A79-87 Media articles	4	4	5	3	6
	10.6%	26.07%	16.16%	7.51%	18.94%
A88-92 Media articles	5	2	3	3	6
	30.85%	10.03%	20.32%	17.07	33.06%
A94	1	0	0	1	1
	7.90%	-	-	22.21%	7.90%

The same detail, of frequency and coverage count, is provided with respect to the Norwegian data in Table 6.2. Similarly, this data also provides details on a number of the subject areas but generally has a concentration around one particular area.

Table 6.2 - Chapter 6 coding summary for Norway

Topics / Source documents	Subjects discussed in Chapter				
	Number of coding references / Coverage of document (%)				
	First silence: rights of children beyond breastfeeding	Second silence: rights of fathers	Eligibility	PPL as not employment-related	PPL as maternity
B1	5 5.52%	8 24.6%	18 35.21%	0 -	18 26.31%
B3	1 1.32%	4 3.02%	1 2.34%	5 6.3%	1 2.34%
B4	0 -	4 19.36%	4 19.36%	0 -	0 -
B5	1 4.79%	0 -	0 -	3 11.12%	0 -
B6	0 -	3 10.15%	2 6.81%	0 -	1 5.15%
B7	1 1.06%	17 20.89%	19 22.88%	0 -	2 1.99%

6.3 What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently? (WPR4)

Bacchi advises that the purpose of WPR4 is to consider the limits in the problem representation by asking 'what fails to be problematized?' and she recommends we call these areas 'silences' (Bacchi, 2009:12). A number of silences have been identified here but a different researcher could have identified and selected alternative ones.

For New Zealand, there is a silence in relation to the rights of children beyond breastfeeding and maternal bonding, and this is contrasted with the view in Norway where children's rights were viewed in a broader sense. The rights and needs of children, particularly in respect of time with their fathers, was clear in the data in Norway. The first columns in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the documents that contain the data that support this identification. A second silence identified in New Zealand was the rights of fathers, and again this is contrasted with Norway, where fathers were identified within the problem representation. The second columns in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the relevant data. Each silence is discussed below.

Before children are discussed, however, another silence is briefly noted as it has an important link to gender equality. The dominant problematization for New Zealand does not include any reference to power or conflict. Where such reference is absent, the current state of inequality is ignored, and consequently the potential for change is limited. In other research where the absence of discussion of power and conflict has been observed (Andersson et al., 2018:773), strategies of inclusion or reversal have been identified, rather than any gender equality strategies of displacement. The same is also observed here. The dominant problematization for Norway includes unequal use of parental leave. This provides space for discussion that may include issues of power or conflict, although as previously observed in Section 4.4, the father's quota policy is likely classified as inclusion rather than displacement.

6.3.1 The rights of the child

Family policies such as parental leave are generally discussed from an adult perspective, not from a child's perspective, and are often framed in terms of legal and/or employment rights or gender equality and/or human rights terms. They are rarely presented in terms of the children themselves or their rights. This section explores the limited manner in which the rights of children were discussed in New Zealand - as the right to breastfeeding and maternal bonding.

The dominant and alternative problem representations were discussed in Chapter 4. The WPR analysis revealed that PPL was discussed as a welfare problem, but also revealed the existence of an alternative problematization of PPL, as an employment problem. Neither of these problematizations reflect any concern about the rights of the child. In Section 4.4, the initial problem representation was interrogated, to see if there were additional problematizations nested within it. This analysis discovered a problem of women's health rights, which was suggested from the binary of breastfeeding/bottle-feeding and the concept of health, identified through the discourse analysis. Although the child is implicitly included in this problematization, the focus remains primarily on the mother. The importance given to this mother/mothering person and child relationship in the literature was discussed in Section 4.7.2 (Fineman, 1995; Hartsock, 1983).

The data contain numerous references to breastfeeding. In Parliamentary debate there were references by the Alliance Party to the declining rates of breastfeeding (Harré, A4-13895), and to how PPL could help establish breastfeeding by Green and Labour MPs, Kedgley (A4-13902), Field (A5-15246), Bradford (A5-15249). Opposition politicians (Tolley, Simcock, Scott) suggested that PPL should only be for mothers, because the legislation refers to breastfeeding and recovery, and both pertain specifically to the mother (A5-15245, A5-15247, A5-15254). The same arguments were also made (Tolley) in later readings of the legislation (A6a-15293).

PPL as facilitating breastfeeding was also a feature of officials' reports (A16,A31,A32) and the government information pages on the Government website (A8). It was also discussed in the media as an expected result of PPL (regional newspaper, A86 and Wellington newspaper, A60), as a public health issue (Wellington newspaper, A84) and a human rights issue (Wellington newspaper, A91). Officials' reports from the Ministry for Women (A31, A32), and media data (regional newspaper A86) include specific references to maternal bonding, as do the parliamentary debates (Tolley, A5-15245).

Reference to rights in the data generally pertain to eligibility, i.e. of parents. These references are found in Parliamentary debates and in the 14 weeks Parental Leave Campaign materials. In the House, concerns over eligibility were initially raised by Field and Bradford from the left (A5-15245, A5-15249) and by Jennings and Scott from the right (A5-15251, A5-15253). In later readings, similar concerns were again raised by the right - Scott (A6b-15297), Shipley (A6b-15300), Heatley (A6b-15309), Simcock (A6b-15322) and Newman (A6b-15326). The 14 weeks Parental Leave Campaign also referred to eligibility of parents and sought to expand eligibility to all those in paid employment (A27).

The few examples of specific references to the rights and needs of children come from the PPTA, Plunket, and the 12 and 14 week Parental Leave Campaigns (A47, A23, A26 and 27). They discussed bonding, recognition of the critical importance of the parenting role, and the social responsibility for

children respectively. An implicit comment about rights was made by Barnados (A80), who said that economic pressure is forcing parents to place babies under the age of three months into childcare, a decision not taken with the interests of the newly born child at the centre.

To consider the data further, it is useful to turn to the rights literature, for potential insight. The literature has identified a recent trend towards a hierarchy of rights, with civil and political rights being treated as superior to economic, social and cultural ones (McGregor et al, 2016:19; see also Tadros, 2009, on religion). This hierarchy reflects Marshall's (1950) development of citizenship (previously considered in Chapter 4), but suggests that economic, social and cultural rights have not been as fully developed as civil and political rights, at least not for all people.

With respect to children's rights specifically, Held (1990:299) identified that in the past they have been thought of as counting for more, leading to people being willing to make sacrifices for them. This does not appear to carry over into PPL policy in New Zealand, because in Section 4.4, the data analysis revealed a private/public binary that left childcare as a private responsibility. Doubt has been expressed over whether New Zealand meets its obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child or the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which require that children should not be discriminated against on the basis of their parents' status, given the eligibility criteria that apply to a number of family policies (McGregor et al, 2016:109; CPAG, 2015). The challenges associated with identifying children's rights, including the distinction between rights and needs and when childhood ends, have been discussed in the New Zealand context by Mulheron (2008). Reflecting poststructuralist themes explored in this research, she recognises the power imbalance between children and adults, and the social construction of each position (2008:7). From an international legal perspective, Williams (2000:120) observes how children's rights are included with women's rights within family law, which is discretionary, rather than in the nondiscretionary realm of property law. Drawing on the language of the literature, and applying it to the analysis of the data, it appears that New Zealand subordinates the cultural, economic, and social rights of women and children and prioritises the civil and political rights of men.

Accordingly, children are harmed by this problematization, because they are not explicit in the problematization but instead linked within it to the mother. This removes their ability to have their rights considered on an individual basis, and provides them with the limited rights experienced by women, instead of the broader rights experienced by men. It also removes any discussion of what they need from their fathers.

If the New Zealand situation is compared to Norway, the Norwegian data reveal an alternative perspective, that of the child itself and its rights and needs. An early White Paper outlined the need

to support unmarried mothers because their children ‘must be ensured a full life’ from the start (B3). It stated that children in one-parent families had the right to grow up in equally good conditions as children in two-parent families (these conditions were not defined but appear to relate to financial circumstances given the proposal was to provide a monetary transfer). It also suggested that parents have an educator role to play for their children. Although not specifically referred to in those terms, it may be appropriate to say the rights of the unborn child were also considered, as there was reference to supporting unmarried mothers so they did not feel pressured into an abortion due to economic factors. A later White Paper discussed the duration of leave and made a recommendation that in the long term it should reach 18 months for each child (B6). The use of welfare legislation to support the right of a child to be cared for in this way by its parents has been observed in the literature (Lister et al, 2007:117).

An interesting language observation in the data is the use of the word *småbarnsfedre* which means toddler’s fathers or fathers of pre-school age children (B7).³⁴ The word *fedre*, or father, is not used in relation to these small children, which gives them a particular status in a manner not accorded to older children. Other data reflecting the particular way in which young children are specifically considered is the way in which parents hours in paid employment are expected to vary with the age of their children. Parents are each expected to work 50% when they have babies, but increase to 75% each when their children are between four and ten years of age, after which time full-time work is assumed (B4). The staggered labour market participation is based on an assumption that the child has changing needs regarding parental care. The specific categorisation in this manner is based on the concept of equal parenting, identified in the discourse analysis in Table 4.4, and also suggests a willingness by the state to advise families on what would generally be considered to be private matters. This is considered again in Chapter 7 when the analysis of the interview data is presented.

6.3.2 The rights of fathers

The claim was made in Section 6.3.1 that family policies are generally discussed from an adult perspective, rather than from a child’s, and more specifically, primarily from an adult female perspective. Men are suggested to feature rarely in childcare policy debates (Bacchi, 1999:145) and when they do, they appear as patriarchs, not as parents or husbands (Teghtsoonian, 1996:133). The concept of the rights of men as fathers is relatively new, but as observed in Chapter 1, this has recently become the focus of some groups. The global campaign group MenCare (2016) has a ten point parental leave platform designed to ‘leave gender inequality behind and give our children the care

³⁴ Terminology also observed in Norwegian academic work (Håvik, 2012; Skjoldhorne, 2008).

they need', which seeks equal leave for men and women, for it to be non-transferable, and paid according to each parent's salary. The mainly European PLENT also seeks the same policy design (PLENT, n.d.).

Where the data from New Zealand provide references to fathers, they are to absent or irresponsible fathers, who are viewed in terms of their obligations, both familial and financial, rather than their rights. In poststructuralist research, the concepts of absent fathers or irresponsible fathers are subject positions, which are made available through the discourse. Absent fathers were implicitly discussed in the 'Towards a code of social responsibility' document, which contained a statement that acknowledged New Zealand's international obligations under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, by stating that 'Children have the right to have contact with both parents unless this contact is harmful' (A11). The document also asked the question 'What more can we all do to encourage fathers to play a more active part in bringing up their children?' In terms of financial obligations, the data include numerous references to a couple's decision to have a baby, and to the fact that financially supporting their child is their responsibility. These were seen in Parliamentary debate and in the media. In Parliamentary debate, ACT politician Webster called having a baby a personal decision (A4-13900), as did Vernon for National, who also suggested that PPL provides a false sense of financial security because the costs associated with children last beyond the 12 week period of PPL (A6b-15329). The media quoted the ACT party's opposition to PPL as because 'the cost of a couple's decision to have a child is their own responsibility' (A61, also A63, A70). These comments are generally made as a contrast to a public responsibility which would warrant taxpayer funding of PPL.

The data also reveal the assumption of the male breadwinner within the discussion of payment rate for PPL, where references are frequently made to the average male wage, reinforcing the expectation of financial provision by males to women. This was seen in parliamentary debate where references to the male wage were made in early readings of the bill by Yates (A4-13898) and Bradford (A5-15248). References were also present in reports from the Ministry for Women (A14), a speech by the Minister for Women (A21), and a 2002 Alliance Policy statement (A25). They also appeared in the media, within discussion of the Alliance policy (A54) and reflecting union support for a higher cap on PPL payments (A58).

Other subject positions, such as carer, are denied to fathers. A report from The Treasury (A17) acknowledged New Zealand's international obligations under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and identified that the proposed eligibility criteria breached them with respect to men, through

their lack of an independent eligibility for PPL. These were nevertheless the eligibility criteria that were selected.

If the New Zealand situation is compared to Norway, contrasting perspectives are revealed in the data, both in terms of fathers' right to care, and the decision to use the parental leave policy to address gender inequality.

With respect to the fathers' right to care, the data refer to ensuring entitlement for fathers, and suggest equal periods of dedicated leave (B6). In introducing the father's quota, references are made to reserving periods of the benefit period for the father, and beyond rights, the responsibility of both parents for childcare is also acknowledged (B7). In addition, the practical requirement to provide fathers with a right to care is reflected in the comment that, as fathers currently take their entitlement to two weeks leave, this may indicate that men easily take their leave rights where they are specifically reserved for them (B7). An independent entitlement for men was recommended. Discussion of the current eligibility criteria for PPL, whereby the father's eligibility is linked to the mother's employment status, was previously introduced in Chapter 4 and is considered further in Section 6.4.3 below.

There is another element of fathers' rights that is revealed by the Norwegian data. In discussion of fathers using parental leave, a number of caveats are included, whereby men have the right not to take their dedicated leave. This suggests a privileging of the father's relationship to the labour market over the mother's. It is stated that fathers may sometimes be prevented from using their quota, and are not required to take it if they were previously unemployed, but started a new job while the mother was on parental leave (B7). Additionally, reference is made to the gender pay gap, with the recognition that it generally makes sense from an income maximising perspective for the mother to take leave rather than the father (B7). Recognition that men earn more than women, on average, is also clear in the legislation (B1), as it provides an exemption from paternity leave for self-employed men, if they prove it will have significant negative financial consequences.

With respect to gender equality, the Norwegian data reveal this assumption as early as 1977, in a White Paper from when PPL was first introduced, and it is repeated in later documentation. The White Paper defined equality between the sexes as both parents having the opportunity to care for children and have a professional role in society. It also advocated for both parents to have shorter working hours so they have more time to be with their children (B4). In later documentation, the expectation is revealed that providing men with the opportunity to take leave will result in more equal distribution of occupational roles between women and men, as well as providing women with relief from childcare (B7).

Reflecting on the data, and drawing on the rights literature, Norway may be suggested as having a broader concept of rights than New Zealand. In Norway, fathers' rights were incorporated into gender equality discussions (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009:406), and the meaning of gender equality became men and women both participating in the labour market and in care. It is an example of gender neutrality per Squires's (1999) strategies of inclusion. However, the temporal focus was restricted to just the first year of a child's life, with little discussion of sharing the care responsibilities that exist after that time. Gender equality was something expected to be achieved in the home, aided by the father's quota, but Bjørnholt (2012:66) raises two concerns about that proposition. Firstly, the lack of evidence of a change in the couple relationship after paternity leave, and secondly the silence in relation to the role of the labour market or factors that impact gender equality. While the broader concept of rights in Norway may be expected to reduce harm, depending on your 'knowledge' regarding institutionalised care, it may be considered to harm the child. Bjørnholt identifies that children are represented as 'items that should and can be shared equally between the parents during their first year, and be enrolled in day-care from the age of one'.

6.4 What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'? (WPR5)

The fifth WPR question is designed to highlight where and how the problem representation benefits some groups, but harms other groups, and what can be done about it. It encourages consideration of how the attribution of responsibility for the problem affects those so targeted as well as the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to blame (Bacchi, 2009:15,18).

The primary focus in answering this question is the lack of support in New Zealand, and the modified support in Norway, for fathers to be at home with a new baby if the mother does not satisfy the eligibility criteria for PPL. However, before addressing the chosen effects in detail, some other effects of the problem representations in each country can be briefly identified.

6.4.1 Effects of the problem representation in New Zealand

Bacchi identifies three types of effect: discursive; subjectification; and lived. Discursive effects are the limitations imposed by the discourse that frames the problem representation and, as such, they are linked to the previous WPR questions regarding silences, limitations and assumptions (Bacchi, 2009:16). They limit what can be said and define how something is talked about. Subjectification refers to the creation of subject positions, which have been discussed in Section 6.3.2, and the process of creating opposing groups or dividing practices. The way in which something is discussed in the discourse creates an identity that can be allocated to individuals, such as absent father, or caring

mother. This process can involve assigning responsibility for the 'problem' to one of those groups, and in this part of the question, Bacchi encourages us to consider whether such responsibility has been appropriately assigned (2009:17). Lived effects are those that materially impact our lives (2009:18). They can be thought of as the result or consequence of the discourse and the subject positions it creates. One example is the unequal division of care work between the genders. A number of discursive, subjectification, and lived effects may have resulted from the problem representation in each country but the one identified as key by the researcher in each category is considered next (recognising that others could have been selected). As has been previously stated the dominant problem representation for New Zealand is the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave.

An identified discursive effect is the lack of discourse on gender equality. This may be considered surprising for the first country in which women achieved voting rights, but from a civil society perspective there is little feminist activity in New Zealand, and limited government focus on gender. The lack of discourse on gender equality suggests it is not considered important. This primarily harms women, but inequality within society may have a broader impact, harming all genders.

Between 2002 and 2008, a specific gender focus was applied to some policy-making, through the requirement for a Gender Implications Statement to be included in all submissions to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee³⁵. The purpose of the Statement was to assess the impact of proposed and existing policies and programmes on women and men including whether they advantage or disadvantage either gender. The requirement was introduced in 2002 but was removed in 2008 when the Committees were changed by the incoming National Party government. Another example of the lack of gender equality discourse within government or civil society is the fact that no organisation in New Zealand produces a Gender Budget Statement or equivalent document. These documents examine fiscal policy, including taxation and spending initiatives, from a gender perspective. They determine if the policies have different impacts on men and women and the extent to which spending is predominately geared towards different genders. This form of gender analysis is considered again in the conclusion chapter of this thesis. A further fiscal implication of the lack of discussion on gender equality is the gender pay gap, which was 9.2% in the June 2018 quarter (Stats NZ, 2018), and fluctuated between 14% and 9.1% during the period 2005 to 2018 (Ministry for Women, 2018).³⁶ Women's economic independence is restricted by the pay gap and it provides an economic incentive, in a heterosexual two-parent household, for the woman to assume the primary care role.

³⁵ Cabinet Office Circular CO (02) 2 referred (DPMC, 2016)

³⁶ The source for the difference in median hourly earnings between men and women is the New Zealand Income Survey

An identified subjectification effect, or dividing practice, is the creation of two groups of people, such as those who are eligible for PPL, and those who are not. There are two aspects to this which merit attention. The firstly is eligibility for PPL, which has been extended twice since its introduction, to the self-employed in 2006 and to those with non-standard employment histories in 2016.^{37,38} The initial ineligibility of both of these groups featured in the data at the time that PPL was introduced and was powerful enough to have - eventually - resulted in amendment of the law. The second is the continued lack of an independent entitlement to paid leave for fathers. This has not been a dominant discourse, either then or now (although see Reilly and Morrissey, 2016; and Callister, 2018), and does not even gain vicarious support through a gender equality discourse as that is also absent.

An identified lived effect is that fathers receive limited support from the state to participate in the early days of their child's life. Fathers can only take PPL if the mother transfers some of 'her' leave to him and recent figures indicate that less than one percentage of PPL is claimed by fathers (Inland Revenue, 2019a). In the absence of their own independent entitlement to paid leave at the birth or adoption of their child, they must use other forms of leave, such as annual leave, but this requires them to be eligible for, and have accrued such leave.

Bacchi suggested this WPR question can be used to determine how responsibility has been assigned to a group and in this case it is mothers. Mothers have responsibility for the care role and the public has the responsibility to support them in that role. Nested within that responsibility is the strength of the problematization because ineligible mothers resulted in a law change but ineligible fathers do not require addressing. Mothers who wish to resume paid work, and fathers who wish to care, are harmed by this problematization as both are seen to be unnatural.

6.4.2 Effects of the problem representation in Norway

The three types of effect (discursive, subjectification, and lived) are now considered in respect of the problem representation in Norway. As has been previously stated, the problem representation for Norway is the shared responsibility for the unequal use of parental leave.

An identified discursive effect is the lack of critical consideration of the desirability of the institutionalised care of children. This has arisen because Norwegian society has embraced the ethos of a social-democratic welfare state (Esping-Anderson, 1990), where services are provided to those who have earned them, and it is at the heart of the dual-earner/dual-carer model. That women

³⁷ Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave for Self Employed Persons) Amendment Act 2006 at Section 10

³⁸ Parental Leave and Employment Protection Amendment Act 2016 at Section 12

require childcare services in order to participate in the labour market has been accepted as fact, leaving no room for an alternative discussion of children's needs. Leira (2002:136) observed that the state support for institutionalised childcare only came after women started to work outside the home rather than the policy change leading to the labour market change.

An identified subjectification effect, or dividing practice, is the creation of two groups of people, parents who share parental leave (fathers who use their quota) and parents who don't share parental leave (mothers who stay at home and fathers who stay at work). Those parents who do not share are stigmatized, and those who do share are supporting the government's desired behaviours, which Foucault would describe as being governed. There are likely to be a number of migrant families in the second group, as many follow more traditional gender roles, although the same is also true for conservative religious groups as well. Ethnic and religious differences reinforce the distinction between the groups, which is an example of 'othering' (Zufferey, 2014; Nadasen, 2012; Yanow, 2009). Othering limits discussion by allocating a characteristic to a particular group and in so doing, removing the requirement for the dominant group to reflect on the issue as it is no longer anything to do with them, it only relates to the 'other'. Another potential difference between those who share leave and those who do not is social class. PPL is a policy that is criticised for being middle-class, both in New Zealand (Callister and Galtry, 2006:43) and Norway (Bjørnholt, 2012:65), so working-class parents are another group who may not utilise PPL.

An identified lived effect is the sharing of parental leave by the majority of Norwegian parents. 90% of Norwegian fathers use their father's quota (Lister, 2008:217) so it is now a majority practice among fathers instead of a minority one (Brandth and Kvande, 2009a:184). Observers comment that family roles have changed, with mothers becoming breadwinners, and fathers having a state-endorsed right to care. It has been suggested that family dynamics have changed, with a more even power structure (Leira, 2002:140), and that families who share leave have a reduced risk of separation (Duvander, 2014).

6.4.3 Effects of the problem representation regarding linked eligibility criteria

After considering a number of other effects in each country, we now consider the effects arising from connecting the fathers' eligibility for PPL to the mothers' employment status, and recall that this question highlights those groups who have benefited or been harmed by the problem representation. It also highlights the impact of being identified as being responsible for the problem and the perceptions of the rest of the community about who is to blame. The third columns in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show the documents that contain the data supporting this discussion.

In New Zealand, the lack of independent entitlement to PPL for fathers has resulted in limited sharing of PPL, as mothers have used all of the relatively short period of PPL available. This lived effect has benefited employers, who can reasonably assume a particular - and different - pattern of employment history for men and women. Men continue to have an uninterrupted pattern of employment history and women have an interrupted then part-time employment history. Although the labour market supply is less than it would be if women were to return to work on a full-time basis, the dominance of the gendered work patterns provides certainty, which has its own value.

In Norway, the requirements that mothers have worked for at least six of the ten months before birth, and that they return to work or study when the father takes his parental leave, have left fathers with access to fewer weeks of PPL than would have otherwise been the case. If the mother has not been working prior to the birth, then the father is not eligible for PPL, and if the mother does not return to work after the child is born, the father is only entitled to the father's quota, and not any further parental leave (see Table 4.4). These criteria are suggested to be responsible for the utilisation of parental leave by fathers being lower in Norway than in both Sweden and Iceland (Valdimarsdóttir, 2006:37). Norwegian employers are the likely beneficiaries from this lived effect for the same reasons given above for New Zealand employers.

In New Zealand, both mothers and fathers have been harmed by the subjectification effect of mothers as carers and fathers as breadwinners, because parents wishing to adopt alternative subject positions find they are not available to them. There is no positive discourse of mothers as breadwinners and fathers who care. Instead, there is resistance to mothers returning to work at a time determined to be 'too early', or to working full-time and seeking career progression. The discourse gives these women the subject position of 'working mother' with blame allocated to these women for making that choice. The perception in society is that they are resisting their 'natural' care responsibility. In the same way, fathers who care are not allocated responsibility for the role, instead they are seen as a babysitter, and a substitute.

In Norway, the subjectification effect of not sharing leave has resulted in a subject position of 'traditional' roles, assigned to women who care at home and men who work outside the home. They could be linked to migrant or religious groups or to the working-class, as identified above, and blame is assigned to them for not sharing or following the Norwegian cultural norm. The intentional adoption of these subject positions by a younger cohort of Norwegian born people is explored in Chapter 7 when the interview data is analysed.

6.5 How/where is this representation of the ‘problem’ produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (WPR6)

The last of the WPR questions builds on the third question, which looked at how this representation of the problem has come about, and was covered in Chapter 5. That chapter included discussion of the developments and decisions that contributed to the formation of the dominant problem representation, and acknowledged that things could have gone differently, if different decisions had been taken. Such discussion is similar to how the problem representation could be questioned, disrupted and replaced. Accordingly, this section does not consider those areas, but instead focuses on how the problem representation was produced, disseminated, and defended. In particular, it considers the means through which the particular problem representation reach its target dominance, and achieved legitimacy (Bacchi, 2009:19). Bacchi suggests (2009:19) areas for consideration include who has access to the discourse, the relationship between the discourse, speakers, and destined audience, and the role of the media.

The dominant problem representation in New Zealand was identified as the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave. Both the WHO and the Ministry of Health in New Zealand provide recommendations on the appropriate duration of PPL to enable exclusive breastfeeding and support maternal and child health. This health ‘knowledge’ is constituted in the discourse alongside the subject position of caring mother. This discourse reinforces the idea that PPL is only about mothers and babies and that it is not about other parents or employers.

The continued representation that PPL is not about fathers maintains the discourse that keeps fathers without their own independent entitlement to leave. There is no subject position of caring father, no recognition of a father’s right to care, and no ‘problem’ that requires a policy ‘solution’. The continued representation that PPL is not about employers maintains the discourse of PPL as welfare. One of the ongoing implications of which is the low payment rate, as was examined previously, in Chapter 4. Both fathers and mothers are harmed by this representation. Fathers are unable to care, mothers have sole responsibility, but their contribution is not valued financially.

Media is a form of discourse, a form of power relation, where power is productive (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016:29). In poststructuralist research, power is not something to ‘have’, instead it is something that ‘does’. Media was productive in the PPL debate by providing coverage that reinforced the dominant discourses and positions. Employers and employer’s groups received a large amount of media coverage to express views that did not support the PPL proposal. Both regional newspapers (A44, A46, A54) and city newspapers (A45, A53, A58) covered their concerns. Simpson Grierson, a large national law firm, conducted its own survey to determine employer sentiment. The results were a

slight majority of 51% employers stating their opposition to statutory PPL although 13% were already providing their own paid leave to their employees (A52).

Support for maternal health and breastfeeding received positive media attention, drawing on recent research by Galthry (A84, A91), but support for paid leave for fathers was not observed in the media. Politicians had access to various media, including the ability to issue their own press releases, as undertaken by ACT Party (A61). Media space was provided for opposing parties to challenge the proposed funding mechanism for the policy (A70, A77), for its proponent to seek support for PPL (A69, A72, A75, A76), and to challenge those opposing parties for not supporting it (A63, A64). The coverage was provided in both city and regional newspapers.

When reviewing these data collectively, it is possible to perceive a relationship between an audience of women voters and readers who may wish to spend time at home with their babies, and female politicians and health specialists who also want women to be at home, based on a knowledge of breastfeeding as healthy. Knowledge and the subject position of caring mother are constituted in the discourse and result in the problematization of PPL as maternity leave. This is an example of the concept of governing that was introduced in Chapter 1, which was discussed as the use of social and economic policy to govern and the normalization of particular outcomes, such as women having the primary care role.

The problem representation in Norway was identified as the shared responsibility for the unequal use of parental leave. The shared responsibility element of the problem representation reflects the dominance of the social security system in Norway, which includes the power of the work line policies (Brandth and Kvande, 2009b), and the social-democratic welfare state. It was noted in Chapter 5 that this was produced as part of Norway's transition from a poor country of farmers and housewives to a rich country with a strong welfare state funded by high employment and taxes.

Shared responsibility is produced, disseminated, and defended throughout the discourse on the relationship between individuals and the state. This appears in the legislation (B1), in government guidance documents (B2), and in the White Papers that supported the original introduction of PPL in Norway (B3, B4). This also has a governing impact, as the norm of behaviour in Norway becomes to participate in the labour market, and to receive benefits in accordance with this participation.

Those who are harmed by this representation are those who do not follow the model of family life supported by the government, such as migrants, religious groups, and the working-class, as observed in Section 6.4.2. Gender equality is expected to be improved by the policy change, a strategy of

inclusion (Squires, 1999), based on a meaning of equality as combination of both parents both working and caring as discussed in Section 4.8.2.

6.6 Cross-country comparison

The fourth WPR question considered what is left unproblematic in the problematization and referred to this as a silence. A number of silences could have been considered but the one offering the starkest contrast between New Zealand and Norway was a silence regarding rights for children and fathers. As the dominant problematization in New Zealand focused on women (maternity leave), only rights as they pertained to women could enter the discourse, and these were identified as the child's right to breastfeeding and maternal bonding. The problematization left no space in the discourse for other groups, such as fathers, or for other rights of the child, as were identified in Norway. These included equality between children from one and two parent families, and the appropriateness of a reduction in the time parents spent in the labour market when their children were younger, increasing as the children got older.

The fifth WPR question considered the effects of the problematizations and two different elements of the dominant problematizations were found to create similar effects. In both countries, the effect was to restrict the father's ability to take PPL, if the mother does not satisfy the eligibility criteria herself. In New Zealand the restriction is absolute, with fathers denied any individual entitlement to PPL, and therefore losing out if the mother is not eligible and unable to transfer any of her leave to him. In Norway the restriction is partial, limiting fathers to their father's quota only, and denying them access to any further period of parental leave.

In both countries, employers were identified to be a group who benefit from these effects, as they receive an element of certainty regarding gendered work patterns. There was a difference between the groups harmed in each country although the restriction of alternative subject positions was the same cause. In New Zealand the harmed groups were 'career mothers' and fathers who care. In Norway it was migrant families, and they were held to be responsible for failing to share leave, and perceived to be failing to adopt Norwegian norms. Conservative religious and working-class families could also be harmed for the same reasons.

The sixth WPR question considered how the problematizations were produced, disseminated, and defended and considered the access to the discourse. The dominant problematization in New Zealand was observed to create a subject position of caring mother, with the media playing a role in supporting that position, and health-based knowledge governing through the discourse. By contrast, the

dominant problematization in Norway supported the governmentality of dual-earner/dual-carer, where both mothers and fathers were expected to participate in paid employment, as a key part of the process in which the state provides support to people who follow the societal norms.

The problematizations in both countries reflect concern about rights, but in different ways, and significantly different policies were presented as the solutions. Concerns for maternal and child health in New Zealand produced maternity leave and concern for fathers and children's rights produced parental leave in Norway.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that although children can be considered as central to PPL, as it is the birth or adoption of a child that prompts consideration of whether PPL is available, children do not always appear at the centre of the PPL policy. This unexpected outcome was revealed through examples in each country.

Since the distinction between the dominant problem representations in New Zealand and Norway was first drawn in Chapter 4, it has been apparent that the 'problem' of maternity leave in New Zealand and the 'problem' of parental leave in Norway, reflect different assumptions and knowledge. What is 'known' in each country is different. There are contrasts in the dominant discourses, so different subject positions arise through them, and lead to different problem representations.

It is perhaps not surprising that the different problematizations in the two countries have produced different silences. The dominant New Zealand problematization provides the first example of children not being central to the PPL policy. In New Zealand, children's rights are expressed only as they relate to the mother, in terms of breastfeeding and maternal and child health. Any other rights of children, such as the right to be cared for by their father, are not recognised. This both reinforces the assumption that PPL is for the mother and denies alternative discourses, such as PPL as an employment issue, or the opportunity for longer duration to facilitate sharing of leave between parents.

It is more surprising that different problematizations can produce the same effect. Fathers in both countries lack full support from the state to care for their children because their eligibility for PPL is based in some way on the mothers' employment status, even though the Norwegian problematization is parental leave, and the New Zealand problematization is maternity leave. This is the second example of children not being at the centre of the policy. If they were, all parents would be eligible, so that all children would be supported to receive parental care.

Chapter 7 – Interviews

7.1. Introduction

This chapter contains the Poststructural Interview Analysis (PIA) of the interviews conducted in New Zealand and Norway. The interviewees were invited to participate in the research on the basis of their technical knowledge of the policy under consideration, their involvement in policy-making, or their research contribution on family policies. In determining who to invite, some differences between the two countries were revealed. Norway has a range of employment and women's interest groups, as well as a number of academics who conduct research, publish, and advise on policy. New Zealand has fewer interest groups and academics who work in this field. This suggests a different level of interest in family policies in each country.

Each interview was conducted in English, recorded electronically, and transcribed by the author. The transcripts generated by this process, the interview data, are a new primary data source created by this research. The transcripts were analysed using PIA, which has been developed to enable poststructuralist research to include interview data, by treating them as a form of discourse that can be analysed in the same way as any other form of discourse. The interview data complement the historical document data analysed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 using the WPR framework.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 7.2 outlines the interview questions and explains how the questions were selected. The section also provides details of the interviewees and describes the seven processes within the PIA approach.

In Section 7.3 the results of the thematic coding of the data are presented. The interview transcripts were treated in the same way as the historic data. They were entered into NVivo software, and text within each transcript was coded to one or more topic areas, called nodes (the nodes created from the coding of the historic data were also used to code the transcripts). In following the PIA processes, two new documents were created, from the interview transcripts of each country. These documents were also entered into NVivo and coded using four different nodes, the three themes discussed throughout this thesis (payment rate, eligibility, rights) and a new node called 'processes' to capture PIA analysis unrelated to those themes.

The results of the analysis are discussed in Sections 7.4 to 7.9. Discussion is focused around the three themes explored in the previous analysis chapters (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) of payment rate, eligibility, and rights. Section 7.4 presents the findings produced by application of the first two PIA processes for New Zealand. It outlines what is said in the transcripts with respect to the three areas identified above, and on other topics, and considers how it is possible to say what was said. Section 7.5 presents

the findings produced by application of the third, fourth, and fifth PIA processes. It considers object and subject formation, where subject positions (roles within society such as caring father) are produced, and where the interviewees talk of themselves in terms of subject positions. Section 7.6 presents the findings produced by application of the sixth and seventh PIA processes, with a focus on text that challenges ways of thinking, or has transformative potential. The same areas are covered with respect to the Norwegian data in Sections 7.7 to 7.9. A cross-country comparison of the interview data is presented in Section 7.10. The chapter concludes in Section 7.11. References to the data in the chapter are to the document numbers given in the list of documents in Appendix B.

7.2. Interview questions and analysis

The interview questions and method of analysis were the same for the data from New Zealand and Norway. All interviews were conducted in English. All interviewees were asked the same set of six open-ended questions. The questions did not test any hypotheses. They were designed to open a conversation with the interviewee, so they were formed as broad open questions, rather than a list of closed ‘yes/no’ questions. This semi-structured approach provided structure for the conversation, and assisted with collation of responses, while enabling the interviewees to share their thoughts on the subject under discussion.

The methods and process followed in this research was such that the interview questions were formulated early in the research before the WPR analysis of the historic data was undertaken. The combination of the WPR analysis, and the initial analysis of the interviewee data about to be described, resulted in the identification of the three themes that have been discussed throughout this thesis (payment rate, eligibility, rights). Accordingly, the interview questions do not include questions directly relating to these three themes, because the interview data helped to reveal the themes. Nor do the questions reflect the WPR questions. Although the first interview question is reminiscent of the first WPR question, it was included as a simple opening to the topic, and does not consider the problem representation. The interview questions are listed in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 - Interview questions

Number	Question
1	In your view, why was paid parental leave introduced? What ‘problem’ was it intended to ‘fix’?
2	What other factors may have contributed to the paid parental leave policy? Positive or negative. What else was being discussed at the time which might be related to this policy? What might have influenced the policy outcome?

3	Who were the opponents of the paid parental leave policy when it was introduced, and why? Were their concerns taken into consideration? Are they still against the policy now?
4	What were the consequences of introducing paid parental leave? Positive or negative. What has happened since it was introduced?
5	What changes have occurred to the original paid parental leave policy (other than extensions to the duration of leave)?
6	Has the 'problem' (from question 1) been considered or addressed by any other policies? Are there any other reasons for having paid parental leave, does it 'fix' anything else (other than address the 'problem' from answer 1)?
7	Is there anything else you would like to tell me about this policy?

Informed by these questions, the interviews discussed the PPL policy, the role of each parent and the state, and women and men as paid workers and as carers. Analysis of the data is presented within the structure of the PIA processes in Sections 7.4 to 7.9.

7.2.1. Interviewees

The interviewees were invited to participate in the research on the basis of their technical knowledge of the policy under consideration, their involvement in policy-making, or their research contribution on family policies.

I adopted a strategic approach to selecting my proposed interviewees. I wanted to interview politicians, public servants, union officials, and academics in each country. I recognise that as a current public servant, with knowledge of public sector and government practises, and an international network of contacts, I was well-placed to identify, contact, and be accepted by my selected interview candidates. I knew, or knew of, the people I wanted to interview in New Zealand. In Norway, I used my network to find the relevant politicians and public servants, but was aware of the union and the academics through my reading of the literature.

In New Zealand, two Ministers were responsible for the legislation, and I was personally introduced to one and contacted the other directly via email. Both accepted my invitation to participate. The current and previous public servants and the union official were selected on the basis of their involvement at the time the policy was introduced. All three were known to me personally, so I contacted them directly, and they accepted. One academic in particular has published widely on women and transfers over many years, so I invited her and she accepted.

The names and affiliation of the New Zealand interviewees are provided in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 - New Zealand interviewee names, document reference, and affiliation

Name	Doc #	Affiliation
Confidential Respondent	A95	A senior policy official
Laila Harré	A96	Former Minister for Women, Alliance Party
Heather McDonald	A97	Former senior policy official at the Ministry for Women's Affairs (seconded to the office of Minister Harré)
Associate Professor Susan St John	A98	University of Auckland
Eileen Brown	A99	New Zealand Council of Trade Unions
Professor Margaret Wilson	A100	Former Minister of Labour, Labour Party

I wished to interview the same selection of people in Norway (politicians, public servants, union officials, and academics).

To identify relevant politicians, I checked the website of the Parliament, or *Stortinget*, to determine which committee was responsible for PPL. After identifying the Standing Committee on Labour and Social Affairs, I contacted the Secretariat, who I assumed would be responsible for administration tasks such as a meeting request. I asked to interview two politicians and the Secretariat arranged for me to interview the Chair and Vice-Chair of the Committee.

To identify relevant public servants, I contacted two Norwegian public servants in my network, and asked for referrals. Through them, I was introduced to an official at the BLD, and she agreed to participate. I contacted the union directly. I contacted two of the academics directly on the basis of their work on this topic, who agreed to meet, and another academic I contacted referred me to a colleague with more experience in researching parental leave.

As I understood the women's movement to be active in Norway I decided to contact a women's group (Kvinnefronten Norge) who agreed to meet. In an example of snowball sampling, they introduced me to a second group (Norwegian International Women's Day committee), when I explained that I was travelling to Trondheim.

The result of including the two women's groups for Norway, and an additional academic, was that there were nine interviewees compared to the six for New Zealand. On my return from Norway, I determined there were no equivalents to the women's front, and could not find an International Women's Day committee. New Zealand does have a National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women [NACEW] but they are not 'grass roots' like the Norwegian interviewees. The Chair is appointed by the government, their role is to advise the Minister for Women, and one of the Council

members is the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, who I had already interviewed. I decided not to invite the NACEW to participate. There are only a few academics who publish on family policy in New Zealand, and who were here at the time of the policy change, so I proceeded with the difference of one academic in New Zealand and two academics in Norway.

The names and affiliation of the Norwegian interviewees are provided in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 - Norwegian interviewee names, document reference, and affiliation

Name	Doc #	Affiliation
Ms Synnøve Konglevoll	B9	LO (Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions)
Mr Svein Harberg	B10	Chair, Family and Cultural Affairs Standing Committee
Mr Geir Jorgen Bekkevold	B11	First Vice Chair, Family and Cultural Affairs Standing Committee
Mrs Gerd Vollset	B12	Senior public servant at Barne-, Likestillings- Og Inkluderingsdepartementet [BLD]
Dr Margunn Bjørnholt	B13	President, Norwegian Women’s Lobby
Ms Sara Rydland Nærum	B14	Kvinnefronten Norge (Norwegian’s Women’s Front)
Ms Silje Salomonsen, Ms Sofie N. Engelstad, and Mr Didrik Sten Ingebrigtsen (interviewed together)	B15	Trondheim branch Norwegian International Women’s Day committee [IWDC]
Professor Elin Kvande	B16	Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim
Professor Kjell Salvanes	B17	Norwegian School of Economics, Bergen

7.2.2.PIA approach

The interview data (transcripts) were analysed using the PIA approach. The seven processes in the PIA approach, previously outlined in Section 2.5.2, are as follows (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:115-120):

Process 1: Noting ‘*What is said*’

Process 2: Producing genealogies of ‘*What is said*’

Process 3: Highlight key discursive practices

Process 4: Analyzing ‘*What is said*’

Process 5: Interrogating the production of “subjects”

Process 6: Exploring Transformative Potential

Process 7: Questioning the Politics of Distribution

Each process can be thought about in the following manner.

The first process is concerned with precisely what is said and not the people (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:115). The coding summaries in Section 7.3 provide a statistical summary of what has been said and they are discussed, along with the second process, in Sections 7.4 and 7.7.

The second process considers how what is said could be said, its legitimacy, histories, or genealogies. It considers what meanings need to be in place for particular 'things said' to be intelligible and where and how has a specific 'thing said' come to be accepted as 'truth' (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:116).

The third process draws on Foucault's concept of discursive practises or the way it is possible to speak about something in a particular way. This process considers the normative implications of identified discursive practices and the identification of subject positions (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:117). A list of identified subject positions was drawn up for each transcript and are discussed, along with the fourth and fifth processes, in Sections 7.5 and 7.8.

The fourth process considers what is produced, rather than what is meant, in each transcript. This involves identifying the norms that the 'things said' invoke, which subjects are produced and which 'objects' they create, as well as which 'places' are produced as legitimate (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:118). It extends the analysis beyond identification of subject positions in the previous process.

The fifth process considers what the individual relates to the self, and what ways of moving, thinking, characterizing and feeling they have excised and related to the self (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:119). In this way, the focus of the fifth process is the interviewee, and it considers what they say about themselves.

The sixth process examines changes in subject positions by noting plural and contradictory discursive practices and identifying any particular interviewee comments that appear unusual, inappropriate or out of context (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:119). This process reveals the unexpected within the text.

The seventh process addresses the role of the researcher by considering whether any particular interviewer comments ('things said') challenge or reinforce pervasive ways of thinking. It also considers if the sites for distributing research results are constrained in ways that reinforce pervasive ways of thinking (Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016:120). The sixth and seventh processes are discussed in Sections 7.6 and 7.9.

7.3. Coding Summaries

NVivo software has the ability to ‘query’ the data and its coding and two coding queries are presented here. First is a frequency count, which shows how many times text was coded to a particular node, within a particular document. Second is a coverage count, which shows the proportion of words in each document that has been coded, against a particular node.

The first part of the section provides details of the coding of the transcripts, using the nodes generated when coding the historic data, and is similar to the detail provided in Chapters 4 and 6. The second part of the section provides details of the coding of the results of the PIA approaches, the two new documents, one for each country.

7.3.1. Coding - New Zealand

Table 7.4 shows the results of the coding of the interview transcripts. It shows the number of times text was coded in each transcript (references) and the proportion of each transcript coded to those nodes (coverage). A full list of nodes for New Zealand is provided in Appendix E and they are the same as those used to code the historic data.

Table 7.4 - Coding summary of NZ transcripts against nodes

Themes / Names	Payment rate		Eligibility		Rights	
	References	Coverage	References	Coverage	References	Coverage
Brown	11	11.65%	13	12.54%	5	2.45%
Confidential	13	32.38%	12	30.30%	3	5.63%
Harré	18	33.34%	19	34.32%	9	17.91%
McDonald	16	31.16%	21	34.65%	15	24.22%
St John	12	26.29%	13	31.97%	7	10.83%
Wilson	25	31.12%	25	30.22%	20	24.40%

The details shown for the first theme, payment rate, is the sum of all coding to the following nodes: economic independence; women as paid workers; taxation and the state; PPL as welfare; PPL as employment-related; discrimination and inequality; equality and inclusiveness.

The coding for the second theme, eligibility, is the sum of all coding to the following nodes: fathers as carers; women as carers; individualising; family as private; PPL as employment-related; PPL as welfare; taxation and the state; fathers as paid workers; mothers as paid workers; work and family life.

The coding for the third theme, rights, is the sum of all coding to the following nodes: children’s needs; children’s rights; fathers as carers; discrimination and inequality; equality and inclusiveness; work and family life.

The coding figures are presented against alphabetical names because quantity is not the most relevant demarcation. While higher numbers of references indicate more text coded to each theme within each transcript, and higher percentages of coverage indicate a greater amount of text within each transcript had been coded, the importance of what is said is not necessarily reflected in these quantitative summaries and qualitative discussion is provided in the following sections.

In undertaking the PIA processes, two new documents were created, from the interview transcripts of each country. The documents contained a selection of text from within each transcript, which provided a specific response to each of the processes, and these were entered into the NVivo software along with all other data. The new documents were then coded using four nodes, the three themes identified from the initial PIA analysis and the analysis of the historical data, and a new node called ‘processes’ to capture PIA analysis unrelated to those themes. The results of this coding are presented in Table 7.5. The table reveals how payment rate was the most commonly referenced of the three themes, with rights receiving the least attention, which is discussed in Section 7.4. It is also clear that, overall, the PIA processes highlighted areas other than the three themes and these are discussed in Sections 7.5 and 7.6.

Table 7.5 - Coding summary of NZ PIA analysis against themes

Node	Number of References	Coverage of transcript
Processes	67	54.91%
Payment rate	13	9.10%
Eligibility	16	8.54%
Rights	8	3.02%
Total (some text was coded to more than one node)	76	74.55%

7.3.2.Coding - Norway

Table 7.6 shows the results of coding the Norwegian interview data (transcripts). It shows the number of times text was coded in each transcript (references) and the amount of each transcript coded to those nodes (coverage). The coding for each theme uses the same nodes as listed in subsection 7.3.1 for New Zealand, with the exception of a new node of sex role theory, which was created for the

Norwegian data and not used on the New Zealand data. A full list of nodes for Norway is provided in Appendix F.

Table 7.6 - Coding summary of Norway transcripts against nodes

Themes / Names	Payment rate		Eligibility		Rights	
	References	Coverage	References	Coverage	References	Coverage
Bekkevold	5	11.75%	10	17.71%	10	18.77%
Bjørnholt	19	21.88%	21	21.43%	15	19.24%
Harberg	11	13.90%	17	30.65%	15	29.27%
Konglevoll	1	1.74%	3	8.58%	1	1.23%
Kvande	12	13.10%	33	39.98%	30	35.79%
Nærum	9	13.30%	11	21.33%	7	12.44%
Salomonsen, Engelstad, Ingebrigtsen	15	16.22%	25	27.11%	18	14.35%
Salvanes	1	7.75%	3	16.50%	2	8.75%
Vollset	14	14.42%	19	30.35%	11	22.94%

In the same way as for New Zealand, the PIA approach was applied to the Norwegian transcripts, and a new separate document was created that contained a selection of text from each transcript. This new document was coded using the same nodes of payment rate, eligibility, rights, and processes. The results of this coding are presented in Table 7.7. In contrast to New Zealand, rights received the most attention, and payment rate received the least. The reasons for this are discussed in Section 7.7. The difference between the coding to the three themes and other processes is smaller for Norway than for New Zealand.

Table 7.7 - Coding summary of Norway PIA analysis against themes

Node	Number of References	Coverage of transcript
Processes	35	23.68%
Rights	42	11.87%
Eligibility	32	10.08%
Payment rate	28	6.49%
Total (some text was coded to more than one node)	120	50.74%

These coding summaries provide some quantitative details of the interview data. The following six sections (Section 7.4 to 7.9) provide a qualitative discussion of the newly selected sub-section of the interview data. By determining which elements of each transcript to report as ‘what is said’, the researcher impacts the distributive process associated with the data (Bonham and Bacchi, 2017:698),

and I adopted a deliberate selection criteria for this process. Data were selected that relate to the three themes explored in the previous analysis chapters (Chapters 4, 5, and 6) and also where they provided challenge or support for areas of discussion in the previous analysis chapters. The results of the PIA analysis are presented as follows. First is 'what is said and how'. This covers the three themes listed above, as well as text that references earlier analytical discussion, and is the result of the first two PIA processes. Next is 'object and subject formation', which is the result of PIA processes three, four, and five. The final section considers text with transformative potential and is the result of the sixth and seventh PIA process.

7.4. What is said and how - New Zealand

This section outlines what the first two PIA processes reveal about the themes of payment rate, eligibility, and rights, but commences with discussion of other text identified from the PIA analysis. The first examples of what is said are things that were a surprise to me. St John (A98) unexpectedly remarked

'I have never been able to get very excited at PPL. It seemed to have been driven by the feminist movement. And unfortunately feminists tend, once they get into the work force and in to that male way of looking at the world, and then they want to make policy that works for them but they lose sight of everyone else. So I was never involved in being an advocate for PPL.'

This was noted because of its difference to the remarks made by all other interviewees, who were very supportive, although this was natural as in some cases they had been actively responsible for introducing PPL. In her comment, the interviewee groups all feminists together as a homogenous group, to which the characteristic of insular focus is ascribed, and she then separates herself from this group. Another surprise was the comment by Wilson (A100) 'And there was a lot of support (for them), I think that's why it went as smoothly as it did'. This was noted because the data do not suggest support or that the process was smooth.

One instance of this was the matter of which agency or Ministry would administer PPL, and it was raised by a couple of interviewees. This subject was previously discussed in Chapter 5, both in terms of the decision that was made (in Section 5.3.2), and the potential for other decisions to have been reached (in Section 5.6). Harré mentioned it in passing 'There were nuances around what agency would administer it and things like that' (A96). She went on to say 'The whole IRD thing was really to avoid it looking anything like an employer levy. Even with it being state funded the simplest mechanism would have been ACC because they already had exactly the payment system needed.'

They deal with exactly that kind of payment. Whereas IRD had to set up a whole new payment system' (A96). The Confidential Respondent discussed it in more detail, claiming the Department of Labour ruled itself out, saying 'we just don't do this sort of stuff' (A95), leaving the Ministry of Social Development [MSD], Inland Revenue [IR], and New Zealand's accident compensation agency [ACC]. MSD was suggested to have decided 'it's not them because it's not a benefit payment' and the rationale for ACC was 'well basically they pay replacement wages when people have accidents or can't work. This is a period when people can't work' (A95). This way of thinking about PPL, as a period when people cannot be at their place of employment, and the implication of that view, was raised by a number of other interviewees.

It reflects a strong sense of PPL as employment-related (A98, A95, A99, A100) but more than that, it challenged the difference in treatment for parental leave, which was predominately taken by women, and other forms of leave from employment that were paid, such as annual and sick leave (A97, A96). This difference was referred to as discrimination by Harré, who said 'PPL was intended as a means of directly addressing a form of discrimination that was quite explicit and that was, that the necessary time for women to recover from a birth and take time off work was not remunerated in any way' (A96).

Other interviewees also observed gender issues within the labour market. Inequality was suggested to be present (A96), requiring the attention of the Labour Women's Council (A100), and resulting in negative consequences for women (A97)

'the reality of absences from the labour market for childrearing has such a dramatic impact for women's, you know the outcomes for women from their labour market experience. Both at an individual level but also at a systemic level. But how much you could expect a PPL policy to address all of that.'

Although part-time work was not discussed explicitly as female, references were made to it, neither of which were positive. Part-time work was given as an example of precarious work (A97) and of declining working standards (A100).

The alternative to viewing PPL as employment-related is to view PPL as welfare but this was less prevalent in the interview data. A negative perception of welfare was revealed by St John and the Confidential Respondent with their respective statements 'Oh the stigma. It's hideous. It's absolutely dreadful' (A98), and 'there's always that stigma about welfare' (A95). Welfare is also discussed under eligibility in Section 7.4.2.

An assumption of PPL as maternity leave was evident even though the policy allowed for transfer of PPL from the mother to a partner. This is seen in the Confidential Respondent's comment that it is 'when a women or potentially a man needs to take leave for parental purposes' and 'If you had equality of remuneration across genders, would you still need a PPL thing? I suppose you still would' (A95). McDonald said 'women, in particular and in the first instance, have to take some time off work for a legitimate and temporary period of time in which they have babies' and that PPL is likely to 'improve health outcomes for mothers and babies' (A97). Wilson noted (A100) 'the reality was that women would have to go back to the labour market whether they wanted to or not, in some form or not, the question remained did we want them to go on having children'.

A few country comparisons were made, against the policy design in Australia (A98), and with the rest of the world as New Zealand had been one of only three countries without PPL (A97). The influence of international organisations was observed (A99). An interesting suggestion was made by Brown that 'we were a country that was late to introduce PPL and so then when you're late it's really difficult to catch up' (A99). The other comments relating to overseas policies suggested that a country would learn from what other jurisdictions had done but this was not the view of that interviewee. Brown identifies herself as part of the 'late' country and then defends its policy design.

As this research adopts a poststructuralist perspective, discourse and power are of particular focus, and McDonald made the suggestion that societal change comes through discourse, rather than policy change 'it's a sort of gut sense, and I'm sure it's not just as a result of the policy, a consequence of the policy, but having that debate and discussion, has, is likely to have contributed to, fathers taking leave around the birth of their babies' (A97). This reflects comments made by some academics in the literature, that policy changes follows societal change, not the other way around (Leira, 2015).

In the same way, what is said about power by the interviewees is of interest. Interviewees specifically acknowledged power relations, the power inherent within the parliamentary process, and the absence of power. Each is discussed here. Brown (A99) observed how

'The coalitions sprung up after the election, struck up into vibrancy again, after the 1999 election. So that meant that, firstly I think it was called the 12 Weeks Parental Leave and then it became the 14 Week Campaign, but they really got in behind it and they had high expectations that this was going to be a deliverable. They knew they had people in power.'

In contrast, Wilson reflected (A100) 'Women don't have much control or power in New Zealand, so we're very good at trying to accommodate and adapt whatever is the dominant discourse at the time'.

This comment reveals the interviewee talking about herself as one of these women without power and it contrasts with the previous acknowledgement of times when women did have power, institutional power, through a female PM and female Ministers (including herself).

The power inherent within the parliamentary process was discussed by the Ministers and the official that worked in the Minister for Women's office. McDonald suggested 'I think also that it was, you know, that coalition government also was a factor. I don't think we would have seen PPL introduced by Labour on its own' (A97). She reflected 'So I think that was, that gave it a particular push, in order for the junior partner I guess to be, have a sense of achievement from being in government' (A97). Harré (the ex-Minister for Women) recalled the almost accidental way in which she had previously chosen to focus on PPL (A96)

'No-one had really identified it as a political priority. Then, when I was in opposition, Lindy McIntyre who was our Press Secretary for the Alliance at the time, and I were having a discussion about a Private Members Bill and she said, why don't we do PPL. So it was a completely, 10'o'clock at night, let's do it. And we had both been involved in the campaign, it was part of it.'

Harré also reflected on how, when she was in government later, the senior coalition partner (Labour) was able to determine the funding mechanism, tax funding instead of an employer levy, which she described as 'just complete capitulation to narrow business lobbying' and then explained in more detail (A96)

'And there wasn't even that strenuous opposition from business and that's why my conclusion is that Labour just had this bloody-minded desire to have a point of difference on it. Clark made a promise to the employers' federation, Business New Zealand or whatever it was called at that time, before the '99 election, that it wouldn't be employer funded. That wasn't a public promise but basically then from day one, she ruled it out as an option because she had promised them it wouldn't be. We hadn't even had the election yet, we hadn't had a coalition negotiation yet.'

Wilson's reflection (the ex-Labour Minister) was muted (A100) 'So that was internal not opposition to PPL as such but to who pays for it. And that's what held us up for a while actually while we internally sorted all that out.'

A final comment on power, which is also a candid admission of lack of understanding of the machinery of politics, follows in Section 7.6 as it is an example of transformative potential.

7.4.1. Payment rate

A number of the interviewees used the semi-structured format to make specific comments about the payment rate (as shown in Table 7.5). As the first interview question asked why paid parental leave was introduced or what 'problem' was it intended to 'fix', the responses all covered the fact that previous maternity leave provisions had been unpaid, but there was a variety of ways in which the policy change was discussed. This included simple statements, such as 'The extra 'p' because while we've had parental leave and job protection of employment, the issue was actually about that leave being paid' by Brown (A99) and 'the payment is saying you shouldn't have to forgo all of your earnings for that period either' by McDonald (A97).

Brown (A99) raised the decline in value of the payment suggesting that

'It was pegged to the minimum wage, for mostly reasons of affordability. But that's inconsistent with the ILO convention, which is two-thirds of your previous earnings, and certainly well below comparable countries. So that is something that has slipped. And I think there's not much focus on that, although I did notice in the Regulatory Impact Statement on the PPL changes, that MBIE identified the low level of payment (*SM - right*). So we've focused on length rather than rate, probably at the cost of rate, and we've focused on that coverage of seasonal and casual workers.'

The 'cap' or limit on the maximum amount that can be paid was discussed by a number of interviewees. It was challenged by Brown as creating a maximum (A99) 'We stress quite a lot, we have become a country depending on minimum levels. And you know it's meant to be a minimum not a maximum but a minimum is treated somehow as a maximum.' It was also challenged, by St John, as comparing poorly to other countries 'It's interesting too that in New Zealand you can get a proportion of PPL but in Australia you either get it or you don't. So over there, if I understand it right, is that if your income prior to having a child was not as much as PPL, well you actually got an increase, whereas in New Zealand you're limited' (A98). The fact that the cap is indexed was observed by McDonald, revealing her focus on the lowest paid, as she suggested that indexation means there is 'an annual increase to the payments' (A97), which would only be relevant if you worked very few hours or for minimum wage.

Harré reflected 'that fairly low cap means that if you are in the private sector and you're on an average female income even, let alone an average income, you're still losing a lot of money during your leave period and that's just not fair' (A96). Fairness was not a term used by other interviewees but equity was used by three people.

7.4.2. Eligibility

Eligibility was another area that the interviewees were keen to raise, either in terms of the original eligibility criteria, the later expansions, or (to a lesser extent) fathers. Like the other theme of rights, eligibility was not an obvious response to any questions in the interview, but rather was a theme that had been identified from the discourse in the historical documentation. Table 7.5 shows it attracted almost as much discussion as payment rate.

The question was posed by St John whether any eligibility criteria were appropriate, given the taxpayer funded model adopted, saying 'And what puzzles me about PPL is that it's funded by the taxpayer. It's clearly redistributive. It goes on a selective basis to this minority of newborns, mothers, and I would be asking the question, why is the taxpayer not concerned about targeting here' (A98). She is likely to be aware that less than half the births in New Zealand result in a claim for PPL and that most transfers in New Zealand are means-tested.³⁹

St John's comment contrasts with that of Harré, who revealed that she thinks of PPL as universal, even though there are work-related criteria that must be satisfied in order to be eligible, through this comment (A96)

'We were just as concerned, that then drove a welfare view of the problem. That it was about women's welfare and baby's welfare, and when you took a welfare view of the problem it became much easier then to (and I might be jumping ahead here but it fits in my mind in this way) that it becomes much easier then to address it with a welfare solution and a welfare solution is much more likely to be a targeted solution than a universal one.'

St John, who raised the eligibility question, acknowledged the inherent issues with eligibility criteria, that this will always create a boundary, saying 'Yes but my view is that what you're doing is you're certainly pushing the boundaries out, so that more people are included in the policy, but you create boundaries again at another point and people will just miss out then' (A98).

Wilson suggested that eligibility was not a key consideration for PPL (A100) 'How you did it, who was eligible and under what circumstances, were sort of secondary issues but the actual principle was, that it was an idea whose time was due, if you know what I mean, if not overdue.' This comment exposed her assumption of PPL as maternity leave, because it was the previous maternity leave

³⁹ There are two exceptions, which both have broad support, the taxable NZ Superannuation payments to the over 65s and 20 hours 'fees free' Early Childhood Education a tax funded in-kind benefit

provision that was changed to be paid, rather than the unpaid paternity leave provision, which remains unchanged.

One of the early changes to the original eligibility criteria was to extend PPL to the self-employed. This change was not supported by Harré, who said 'In politics you've got to, even when you really detest the logic of something, you have to go with them because they feel right or they've got support and they kind of reinforce the way people feel about a policy. The logic of it being extended to the self-employed was, there was only logic there because of the tax funding of it' (A96). This sentiment was shared by Wilson, who remarked (A100) 'as soon as the government announced it was looking at that, then women who didn't fall within the technical definition of employee also wanted some of the cake so speak, not really having done anything to support it I hasten to add, but that's the nature of life. So self-employed women then came on bandwagon'.

The changes to the eligibility criteria over time were noted by a couple of interviewees. The Confidential Respondent observed how 'the tenure has got a lot looser' (A95) and Harré stated 'All those things which have made it easier for people to access, and less associated with the job you are in at the moment and more universal to the fact you are in work, they are all good things' (A96).

The lack of independent eligibility for PPL by fathers was called 'unfinished business' (A97) by McDonald. She recognised that 'I think, one of the consequences, like I was a strong supporter of women getting the primary access and being able to transfer it. But I think as a consequence it's sort of limited our discussion now about fathers having an entitlement. And it limited our discussion in that people aren't quite sure when to have the discussion.' Wilson also expressed support for paternity leave saying (A100) 'Being able to have men involved in the rearing of their children. I think that makes an enormous difference both for the child and the father actually'. These were the only two interviewees to raise the subject of fathers' eligibility for PPL.

7.4.3.Rights

The discussion of rights in New Zealand was very limited (as shown in Table 7.5). However, a couple of comments were made regarding children, implying the right to receive care by Brown 'So I think there has been a huge attitude shift and that children have to get bonded in order to thrive' (A99) and prioritising children's wellbeing within PPL by Wilson (A100) 'I represented the group that said, no, this is a state responsibility because the state is responsible for the welfare of children and the focus should be on the welfare of children as much as on women'.

A different notion of rights was raised in another comment by Brown, which I wasn't expecting (despite what she thought), that considered the employment law issues associated with granting leave and appointing replacement staff (A99)

'One issue is it means that workplaces have to, and you will have been expecting this, the workplace has to replace the person who has gone and so it means that there are certain responsibilities for the employer, informing the person of their rights. And then they have to employ somebody on a fixed-term contract, they have to inform that person of their expected date of cessation of employment, so I think it's meant, and I think it's a good thing, it has meant that workplaces, employers, have had to do certain things to accommodate, to actually meet, their legal responsibilities'.

7.5. Object and subject formation - New Zealand

The interview text revealed a number of common subject positions: women as paid workers; women as carers; employee; self-employed; employers; fathers as carers; mothers as paid workers; welfare beneficiaries.

One unique subject reference was to male and female union members by Brown 'I think that it is a very important gender equity marker (*SM - right*). For us unions, it's a core employment issue, but that's from a women unionist' (A99). In self-identifying as a unionist, she makes a distinction between her and her colleagues, saying 'It's not so easy for male unionists to see that, but we just keep pushing PPL as a core employment issue' (A99). This suggests the question of whether PPL is employment-related or welfare is unresolved.

Wilson observed (A100) 'you can't really look at the detail until you're in government'. She then reflected on when she was in that position, with a number of other women, and how PPL became their focus 'And because it was women, the government was very representative of women who wanted to change, and an increasing number of women as I said in the labour market, PPL then became a priority in that sort of sense'. Harré (A96) mentioned the subject position of women as paid workers, as causing tension with the subject position of women as carers, while identifying herself with both positions. She stated 'It was introduced because of the broader context of women in the workforce, was that our role, our social role as mothers had a major negative impact on participation and equality within the paid workforce.'

One of the key features of the New Zealand policy, its transferability rather than separate entitlements for fathers or partners to PPL, was raised by McDonald who said 'I strongly supported that because I

thought that women needed that time to recover and it should be on the basis of their recovery that they should make that decision' (A97). She does not identify herself to be a mother here, rather as a policy official, who was part of the decision-making process that led to fathers being excluded. The justification is reminiscent of the previous defence of the policy design by Brown in Section 7.4.

7.6. Transformative potential - New Zealand

Two interviewees discussed the payment rate in a manner which offered an alternative to the taken for granted reality and both offered ACC as a comparison. McDonald stated (A97)

'And I still think the rate of payment needs to be lifted, quite considerably, to actually align it with something like ACC. The temporary disability payments which is how it's done in some of the US states. It depends what you think of pregnancy and childbirth I guess, or what's the policy paradigm that you put it into. Where we do, right from the beginning we talked about the wage replacement that occurs for annual leave and sick leave, or when you have an accident. And then we have PPL. So why is PPL so dramatically out of synch with what would be available for those other reasonable and temporary absences? (*SM - That's a very good question*). What's the justification for a much lower level of payment? And I guess it does then raise the question around who should pay it'.

The potential to expand New Zealand's ACC scheme to include parental leave was discussed in Section 5.3.2. It was suggested that the focus on welfare could have been questioned and disrupted, and replaced with a focus on prior earnings, if ACC had been chosen as the delivery agency rather than IR. Harré also raised this point in her interview (A96) saying 'ACC is one of the world's best social insurance systems and yet it has been put in this box on its own rather than have people saying is that a potential mechanism for other kinds of social needs.' She went on to contemplate the Woodhouse report⁴⁰ further

'It's really, really enlightened and could have formed the basis of a much more enlightened system for sickness benefits and all sorts but we just stopped there. And then we hit the '80s and '90s and it was just a matter of dismantling as much of it as possible, so it just sort of lost that momentum'.

⁴⁰ The Royal Commission on Compensation for Personal Injury in New Zealand was chaired by Sir Owen Woodhouse and the report became known as the Woodhouse Report. It led to the establishment of ACC.

She alludes to a more expansive system of support that might have been possible in New Zealand. Wilson does the same, using Norway as a point of contrast (A100)

‘They have always somehow had a different approach to family than we’ve had and I would support that. People talk a lot of crap about families but for me, if you really were interested in sustaining families, you would be looking more seriously at PPL and childcare and all those sorts of things.’

Wilson goes on to offer a reason why this hasn’t happened in New Zealand, suggesting our policies are ‘reactionist to globalisation and the changes in the labour market’, while also explaining that ‘for me there should be an underlying more societal focus. You know, if you’ve got healthy parents, you’ve got healthy children, you’ve got a healthy societies and probably a healthy economy you know’. Such a way of thinking, to think about society, to think critically about our policies, would be a very different way of thinking about state support in New Zealand compared to the negative view of welfare outlined in Section 7.4.

McDonald referred to something she had read, which provided an example of a different, and very male-dominated way of thinking about PPL. It suggested PPL could be supported because of its expected impact on local communities, through maintaining the spending power of the parents, not for the ongoing provision for the family but for the benefit of the owners of the local businesses (A97)

‘I read an interesting article, actually an Australian article that was during the time where, ahead of the provisions being introduced in Australia and one of things that they referred to was particularly in smaller communities, this might be a bit spurious but anyway, contributing to the local economy. Because if you’ve got wages or wage replacement continuing to going in, then you continue to keep spending.’

Such a way of thinking offers an alternative to the taken for granted reality (in New Zealand) that PPL is for mothers and children. Maternal and child health is a topic that was frequently observed in the historical discourse as well as in the interview data. Harré (A96) made an unusual reference to it, not in the usual manner as a reason for introducing PPL (as Wilson did in Section 7.4.3), but instead as a topic to be avoided because it shifted the attention from where she felt it should be

‘Maybe in order to keep a really clear focus on discrimination that was pretty much all, our absolute emphasis of our public justification for it because it was a really good opportunity to educate people more widely on structural discrimination. As soon as you start just talking about maternal welfare or babies health or it being good for employers and business you divert from the opportunity to talk to the public about discrimination.’

Other interviewees made more traditional references to breastfeeding (A97, A99, and A100).

The final comment with transformative potential also comes from Harré. She reflected openly about her lack of knowledge, at that time, about the machinery of politics and how an opportunity was missed as a result (A96)

‘My biggest regret is that I didn’t know more about Parliamentary procedure when we did the Private Members bill because we lost that bill on the last Private Members day of the ’96 Parliament, and no-one, I tried to get advice on this internally from the Party. I could have, we could have, carried that bill over and not had it debated on that day and I just didn’t know that, and so it went up to a vote even though it was going to lose by one vote’

She explained the implications

‘If the bill had been live at the start of the 1999, after the 1999 election, it would have put Labour in a really difficult position because the government would then have had to adopt, or I would have had to withdraw it, and then the starting point would have been, at least on paper the starting point would have been the employer levy, and we just didn’t have a good enough, we didn’t know enough about Parliamentary procedure, to play that one right from a tactical point of view.’

The position that she could have been in would have given her an advantage in negotiations with the coalition partner. With a better knowledge of process would have come greater power, and without it, an opportunity was lost.

7.7. What is said and how - Norway

The PIA approach was applied to the Norwegian data in the same way as for New Zealand. What it revealed about the themes of payment rate, eligibility, and rights is discussed after outlining the other text identified through the processes.

Two of the interviewees made a distinction between Norwegians and migrants. This topic has been previously considered in discussion of the dual-earner/dual-carer model. Bekkevold remarked that kindergarten was important ‘especially for immigrants and children who need to learn the language, to learn how it is to live in Norway’ (B11). It is possible to say this because it has become a truth that immigrants needed to assimilate into Norwegian society. Associated with the dual-earner/dual-carer model was a comment by Bjørnholt about ‘the strong morals around working full-time’, which reinforced the expectation that both parents would work full-time, leading to people choosing to have

one or two children but not more (B13). The other comments regarding migrants was an observation by the IWDC that migrants are over-represented in the numbers of people working as housekeepers and that lack of access to the labour market impacts their ability to 'take part in society, they won't get the same access to income' (B15).

The discovery of oil in Norway oil and the political climate were both proposed as important factors in the development of Norway's PPL policy. These factors were discussed in the genealogy chapter in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3. The discovery of oil was observed to result in an increase in spending on elder care and health. Konglevoll stated this was important to gender equality, both as increasing available jobs, and to relieve women from unpaid care responsibilities within the families' (B9). Vollset said 'Yes, of course it created a space for women, the oil, the welfare state (*SM - right*) we could afford a welfare state and all experience in the labour market were easily absorbed by this' (B12). Vollset also suggested the importance of 'the Nordic model', which she explained to be 'a strong, and at this time relatively stable, cooperation between unions (centralised), employer's organisations and the government' (B12). The IWDC reflected that 'It was one of those times in history where there was both a strong left side, where the welfare was an ideal, and also it was a strong feminist movement. So those two coincided' (B15).

Two interviewees made comments about the lack of gender equality in Norway, which were surprising to me, given Norway's strong reputation on this matter. That is why they were noted. Bjørnholt suggested that 'Gender equality policies in general in Norway are very weak. (*SM - right*). Very weak in an institutional light. They are lacking machinery and structures and lacking policies' (B13). IWDC reflected on gender discrimination in the labour market 'But also this point about, the discrimination, when you hire women, many women still get the question from their future employer, if they are planning to have children, if you're done with the family. (*SM - is that legal, to ask that question?*). No, it's not legal but it's being done, a lot' (B15). This topic is considered further in the cross-country comparison in Section 7.10.

The influence of the state was acknowledged by two interviewees. Kvande stated that 'you know how in Norway we believe in the authorities, they should recommend the right way to go about it' (B16), a comment that shows how the people want and expect direction, even in their personal life, and positions the crossover from public to private as desirable. IWDC reflected on the change this represents 'In the 70s it was very, what did they say?, that the private is political? (*SE/DI - yes*). And I think now that it goes, could go, the opposite, we are on the other side of the line' (B15).

Finally the interviewee transcripts contain a number of comparisons to other Nordic countries, along with an acknowledgement that Norway regularly compares itself to its neighbours, and adopts their

policies. In just one interview, with Bjørnholt, it was said that 'So, Norwegian women, for instance, got the suffrage before the Swedes' and 'it's different in Norway than for instance in Denmark' and 'In Sweden, all municipalities have their own gender equality advisors who are working towards the implementation of gender equality'. The process was conscious to the interviewee, who noted (regarding previously shorter duration of PPL) 'Norway still was a laggard, the Nordic countries have a kind of internal competition... we say, oh the Swedes are doing it, why can't we do it?' (B13). Other interviewees also made similar statements, such as 'Yes, I use her as an example of imported, they have imported, the Norwegians, the Swedish model' by Kvande (B16) and 'We usually look to Denmark and the Netherlands for every radical change in the workforce systems' by the IWDC (B15).

To close this section, I quote the interviewees who challenged the design of the current policy. In reference to duration, Salvanes stated that PPL is 'a type of family reform that has sort of, almost been taken to absurdity. I think it is too much' and 'I think we have gone completely overboard' (B17). With reference to the ability to take PPL on a part-time basis while working part-time, Kvande offered the critique that 'in most cases it has, a problematic side to it because, it's you can't concentrate. You tend to believe that in the name of flexibility you can combine, there is an ideal combination, of finding the right percentage time spent at work and time spent at home, and what our interviews showed is that, work tends to take over (*SM - right*) and play the main role (*SM - right*) and then trying to compete and make time, creates a lot of stress' (B16). She also observed that this was not just detrimental on a personal level, but it also restricted the parents (usually the fathers) ability 'to learn, to see the child, and learn the care work, learn the trade' (B16).

7.7.1. Payment rate

Payment rate was the least covered of the three themes (Table 7.7 refers). Introducing paid leave was remarked to be 'easy' by Vollset because 'in a country of housewives, society just (expected to) pay what many of the politicians believed would be parental leave for a few academic educated mothers, all others will still be housewives when they have toddlers at home' although concern about cost by the employers' organisation was also recognised (B12). Paid leave was discussed as natural by the IWDC who said 'If we want everyone to be able to have children, they we need to be able to pay, for the state to play its part' (B15).

The rate of payment was discussed only in terms of being improved by employers 'on top of the PPL and the father's quota, you have certain companies, probably mostly state-owned but also some

private companies, that pays the gap between the parental leave, what you are paid and what the government will pay' (B15).

Interviewees indicated the importance of women in the labour market, in order to have a career and a pension (B10, B14), and for labour supply (B16). Women in the labour market was also considered to represent equality (B9, B12) and 'liberation' (B13) but it was also observed that men have historically earned more than women (B10, B15).

7.7.2. Eligibility

Eligibility and rights attracted a similar level of discussion (Table 7.7 refers). The issue of relating the mother's employment status to the father's eligibility was raised by three interviewees. Harberg said 'well, so in order to get the, to get the transfer, or get to PPL, you have to been employed and your spouse needs to not be at home, well, that's for now. The big discussion today is whether men should be on an equal footing there and whether they should be paid for their parental leave even if the wife is also at home, if she is unemployed or sick or for other reasons' (B10). He frames the issue as one of gender equality, to give more rights to the father, and does not raise any concerns with amending the dual-earner/dual-carer model. Kvande also commented on this topic in terms of gender equality saying 'So there you have the equality working. It's to encourage mothers to be in the workforce, but this is what they are pressing, to get more, to give fathers more individualised rights' (B16). The dual-earner/dual-carer model is a key part of the Nordic model (Shaver, 2013:97) and Esping-Andersen's (1990) social-democratic model of welfare state.

The public servant who had worked on the PPL policy when it was introduced in 1977 (Vollset) also mentioned this policy design feature. In one instance it was framed as an equality issue, 'But then you got, now you got this problem, that fathers are saying it's unjust, it's unjust, my wife or my, the mother of my child can't get a job and then I don't get my time with my baby' (B12). Another time it was her observation of the differences in societal norms at that time that resulted in the design features only restricting fathers instead of mothers. Vollset said 'Then we had something in Norway, it's like mother and father can't stay at home at the same time. Ja, and this is formulated as, in the way, that it is many exceptions to that, but it is the father who can't be at home, if the mother is at home. It's not the other way around because no-one thought that was a problem' (B12). This reflects the existence of the 'caring mother' subject position and the specific parameters in which the 'caring father' subject position is available.

This was reinforced by her comment that the policy design feature that made fathers eligibility to take the shareable parental leave part of the leave went unnoticed 'And at the same time, we introduced this leave that could be taken by the fathers as well as the mothers, with an exception for the first six weeks after birth. And no-one said anything to us, because I think no-one thought the fathers (would take the leave)' (B12). The lack of use was raised by Kvande 'Yes, it was a shareable parental leave, it wasn't a mother's leave. It was labelled parental leave, so it was gender-neutral. But it was only 16 weeks, which is quite a short period (*SM - yes*). So, there were very few fathers who took any parental leave at all, 4% we say, so the discussion was, how to increase father's take up' (B16).

The result of that discussion was the father's quota, which was described by Konglevoll as 'under some pressure' (B9), and by Bjørnholt as an example of how 'family policies are to a very large extent, used to solve gender equality issues in Norway' (B13). Its ability to change the behaviour of fathers, to take leave, was noted by Kvande (B16) and the recent reduction in duration was called 'a shame' by Nærum (B14).

Despite the eligibility criteria that can provide for fathers to take some PPL, Salvanes immediately referred to PPL as 'Ok, so this maternity leave' (B17), a contrast to the IWDC who saw it as 'family benefits' (B15).

7.7.3.Rights

The rights of fathers and children were discussed by a number of interviewees and had slightly more coverage than eligibility (per Table 7.7). Increasing the father's role in the family was called 'really a good thing' by Bekkevold (B11) and 'a huge development' by Harberg (B10). Kvande explained one of the reasons for father's quota was 'fathers need to get to know their children better, or it will have positive consequences for fathers' and she also noted that 'they [fathers] talk about it, as I want to use my right, I want to use my right, my quota. So they have taken ownership' (B16).

Harberg observed the way in which PPL was being discussed saying 'It's the gender equality debate that is going on, not so much what's best for the child, or how long it should be from that perspective, in Norway' (B10). An example of the gender equality debate was provided by Vollset, who described a conversation, saying 'there was a young man, and so on, who come up to me after and said 'you didn't think that should be a man's right, you didn't think'. He was shocked over this (*SM - but this was 40 years ago*) that this old lady couldn't think about man's rights, about the time he was conceived I suppose' (B12). She also observed how father's rights to care can be impacted by decisions of the mother 'I hate young fathers saying 'she's leaving me because she wants all the paid leave herself'

(B12). Kvande explained how other arguments can be used to support the father's quota, in the context of recent changes to shorten the duration, she said 'I argued that this was taking away rights for fathers. So I used, not the equal opportunity argument (*SM - the legislative right?*). Yes, yes (B16).'

Fathers' rights within the employment context were also noted, with Nærum drawing the distinction between shared and dedicated leave, saying 'They (employers) are supportive of the dads, if they don't take it they are going to lose it altogether (*SM - yes*). I'd say that makes a difference, being able to have it, and being paid for it' (B14). This was followed later with a comment that 'I think there's definitely a gender role thing that the employer don't kind of see it as dad's duty to be at home, it's not a responsibility for them to let them have that. But once it is actually a right not a choice, then they are forced into it' (B14).

Children's rights were discussed by Bjørnholt, who outlined Norway's early adoption of legislation, saying 'This year we celebrate the centenary of the Norwegian child laws, the child laws which made children born outside and inside of marriage equal with regard to the fathers name and heritage' (B13). Kvande cited 'children needs, the child needs a caring father' as one of the reasons for introducing the father's quota (B16).

The IWDC characterised a number of parties as having rights with respect to PPL 'You have the rights for everyone. The child's right to be with its father, the father's right to get to know his child, the mother's right, for shared responsibility' (B15). They also reflected on the status of these parties as potential reasons for introducing the father's quota 'Was it a problem for the mothers that the fathers didn't stay at home or was it a problem for the children or for the fathers themselves?'

7.8. Object and subject formation - Norway

The interview texts revealed a number of common subject positions: carer mother, migrant families, fathers as carers, fathers as paid workers, mothers as paid workers, unmarried mothers, solo mothers, well-paid private sector, low-paid public sector, unsupportive employers, well-developed children.

The fathers as carers position was revealed by the comment from Harberg that 'It's accepted, for a man to be home, now it's accepted I can't imagine anyone having a problem with that today' (B10). The various comments regarding father's rights, as outlined in Section 7.7.3, also support the subject position of father as carer and present it as equally as legitimate as carer mother. A history of thinking about children's rights and needs was necessary to identify that children had a need to have their father at home. Fathers as also involved in domestic work at home, not just caring, was discussed by Kvande, who compared her historic and contemporary research, noting that previously 'They

concentrated on doing the care work, they didn't do much housework (*SM - right*). But now we can see that there is, they do both' (B16). The norm invoked here is of a participatory father.

The mothers as paid workers position was revealed by Harberg in his reference to the risk that women are 'losing career and losing money for the pension' and the desire to 'empower women financially' (B10). Paid work for women was also suggested by Konglevoll as a way of obtaining gender equality (B9) and 'the main route towards women's liberation' by Bjørnholt (B13). A strong norm of paid work was invoked by a number of statements such as 'Work, that's a normal thing, and it's normal that both parents go to work' by Bekkevold (B11) and 'the strong morals around working full-time' by Bjørnholt (B13). The importance of kindergartens to facilitate women going back to work was stated by Harberg and the IWDC (B10, B15). The workplace itself was another subject of discussion as it pertains to fathers taking leave. Nærum positioned some employers as unsupportive, requiring negotiation to take leave (B14), and the IWDC commented that other employers actively encouraged fathers not to take their leave period 'And at the same time, other companies offer bonuses paid to men who don't take out the leave' (B15).

A subject position of (well-)developed children was introduced by Kvande, who associated herself with a subject position of sociologist, saying 'The psychological theories tend to talk, they have sort of concentrated on the bonding between mother and child and the importance of, what is that called? (*SM - I'm not sure what that is, something maternal*). Yes, the bonding, which is important for the child's development. So what I try to say, and I am only a sociologist, is that a father can also take part in that type of process' (B16). She also suggested this was good for the father too, saying 'Receiving love and giving love (*SM - right*) and the positive consequences of that for himself', and suggesting 'I think we talk about, we tend to focus too little, on the effect it has on the fathers. The, and I would say positive effect, that being, that receiving the love, and the positive affection and the closeness to another human being, that they get through having the main responsibility and over a long period of time. That is important, being as we say home alone with the child, having, being given the main responsibility' (B16).

A number of interviewees made references to the self-formation of fathers as carers. One example from the IWDC was regarding the acquisition of personal knowledge 'I think that men are more now, that they have to take part, that they have to do the work that traditionally women in the home, they are forced to care about that sort of thing, both politically and have a personal understanding of what actually goes on and have a bit more sympathy' (B15).

In another example from Kvande, the reference to self-formation was how men become like women, through the care role (B16)

‘But what I think is, sort of, the great idea with parental leave for fathers, is that they, is placing them as replaceable workers (*SM - it’s important right?*). Yes, that is what the law is trying, or the parental leave, the father’s quota is trying to do. And the more you increase the father’s quota, they become even more replaceable. (*SM - right, they are out for longer and longer*). Yes, so by doing this, they resemble the female worker. And then we are doing things with our concept of the abstract worker that Joan Acker talks about (*SM - yes, yes*). That the abstract worker is a man, without a body and sexuality, and so you are changing the general concept of the worker (*SM - right*). Because you have to place reproduction work on the male worker. Then you can change the general idea.’

The discursive practise of equality revealed a broad conceptualisation of equality, including between married and unmarried mothers and children born in and out of wedlock, by Bjørnholt (B13). Equality was also discussed in the context of reciprocation between people and the State. The IWDC said ‘it’s very important to ensure equality in society, that we have the same rights, and we share the responsibilities’ (B15). This reflects the understood meaning of the dual-earner/dual-carer model, which was observed in the interview text in Section 7.7, as part of the Norwegian cultural norms.

Some interview texts contained a discursive practise of recognising the trade-off between parents being free to choose how (or if) to share parental leave, and forcing parents to share, in order to increase gender equality. An example from Bekkevold is ‘when we have this labour and social left party in government, they said that the father should have 14 weeks but I think we are very close to the limit where we are doing something that is not what the parents want’ and ‘I want parents, we want parents to choose themselves, make their own decisions how to arrange their own family’ (B11). Harberg referred to the difference of views on the topic saying ‘It’s just the sharing between the parents. And there are some wants to have it all free (*SM - free? shared?*). Yes, at one side and the others would like to divide it into two I think’ (B10). Kvande shared her view on how the father’s quota is viewed and amended by the different political parties ‘So it was freedom of choice, freedom to choose, as opposed to the force that the father’s quota represented, so that was a very, and it still is, in the Norwegian context. And that was why, the Conservatives, when they came into the government again, reduced the father’s quota to 10 weeks’ (B16).

Another discursive practise was the formation of a new type of gender equality, this time for men, but as this was discussed in Section 7.7.3 it is not repeated here.

7.9. Transformative potential - Norway

An alternative to a taken for granted reality, one where PPL is problematized as the solution to a different problem to that considered to date, was offered by Bekkevold who suggested that PPL has a role in reducing partner violence

‘what I would say to you is that in all societies, we always have a problem with violence in close relationships, and that is also something that we have a strong focus on, because we see that women are also suffering in a lot of families here so that is also something that is happening there’ (B11).

A second alternative to a taken for granted reality is the gendered division of the labour market. Bjørnholt asked (B13)

‘And is it a problem that women work in the welfare state? Or is the problem that the wages systematically are lower and that the wage negotiations are set up in a way that the public sector will always lag behind the private sector? So the way the whole game is rigged, it’s difficult to change the structure, or problems that is underlying the gender pay gap. But the question is, is the problem that men and women are not doing exactly the same? Could we imagine having equality even if they are not doing exactly the same and how would that look like?’

Another alternative to a taken for granted reality is a return to the ‘country of housewives’ of Norway’s past (previously raised in Chapter 5). The IWDC explained

‘SE - But in the last years, there seems to have been somewhat of a change. We have all these new blogs, bloggers, representing a kind of, it’s like they revert to something (SM - *ok*) where the goal is to have traditional family values, to stay at home with the children, bake and you’re a housewife. That’s something that has happened.

SM - And this is young people?

SE - Yes. They want to have a white traditional wedding, and the man is the one working, and I’m staying at home with my kids. It’s something that’s happening.

SS - And that’s something that’s presented as choosing to stay at home. I demand the right to choose for myself to stay at home.’

An unusual comment was made by Vollset ‘I hate young fathers saying ‘she’s leaving me because she wants all the paid leave herself’ (B12). The comment provides a mutation from the reluctant carer father, who had been suggested as a reason for needing a dedicated father’s quota, into a subject who is keen to be a carer father.

An apparent contradiction is revealed in one interview, where Harberg expresses his pleasure that parents have the right to choose how to use their leave, but then refers to each parent as having some time with their children as ‘a luxury’ (B10). Harberg resists the option of allocated leave for each parent even though it would facilitate this luxury.

The final PIA process questions the politics of distribution. The first example of this is the role of researcher in choosing what to report, include, exclude, or distribute. The selection criteria I applied was outlined in Section 7.3. Some of the results of the PIA analysis were included in a 2019 conference paper (Morrissey, 2019) and other parts of this research have been recreated as various conference presentations and journal articles (Morrissey, 2018; Morrissey, 2017; Reilly & Morrissey, 2016).

Further examples include the intended audience for this research. In the first chapter I stated that this research could facilitate critical engagement and enable policy and law makers to develop future tax and welfare policy with an explicit gender perspective. There are other potential target audiences and my focus on policy and law makers, rather than advocacy groups or activists, is something that I consider in my self-reflection (Step 7 of the WPR approach) in the final chapter.

7.10. Cross-country comparison

The areas identified as ‘processes’ in the opening analysis for each country in Sections 7.4 and 7.7 lack commonality. However, two differences provide useful insights into the different PPL policies, and these are part-time work and the relationship of the people with the state.

In New Zealand, part-time work was given as an example of precarious work (A97) and of declining working standards (A100) but in Norway, the high quality of part-time work is a taken for granted reality. Bjørnholt described how ‘it is quite interesting that in Norway, the unions accepted part-time work and also defended the rights of part-time workers. So part-time people in Norway, have rather strong, they have the same rights as people working full-time (*SM - right, right, ok*). So this was accepted at an institutional and legislative level, which I think is important for explaining that part-time work in Norway is high-quality work, it does not need to be precarious or you are not second rate workers’ (B13). One potential subjectification effect of this is the way in which the PPL policy in Norway has been designed, so that parents are allowed to take PPL over a number of years, and work part-time while also receiving PPL. This design feature is absent in New Zealand, as lamented by St John, but in Section 7.7 this feature was suggested by Kvande to be risking fathers’ ability ‘to learn, to see the child, and learn the care work, learn the trade’ (B16).

The second difference is the relationship of the people with the state, which is referred to positively 'in Norway we believe in the authorities' (B16), with an expectation of 'the state to play its part' (B15). In New Zealand, by contrast, the references to the state are 'responsibility' (A100) and 'welfare' (A95, A98).

Smaller contrasts between the New Zealand and Norway data include the subject position of breastfeeding mothers, which was introduced by only one interviewee (B17) in Norway, but was discussed more frequently in New Zealand (A97, A99, A100). This reflects the problematization of PPL in New Zealand as maternity leave and in Norway as parental leave. Another contrast is the manner in which the duration of PPL is discussed. In Norway, and recalling the comment noted in Section 7.7 that the current duration was so long it was 'absurd' (B17), the IWDC reflected on the previous length of the leave 'SE - Then they had not such a long time, I don't think my father was home a very long time. SS - No, when we were kids, could it have been half a year together maybe' (B15). In New Zealand, it was suggested by Brown that we had 'focused on length rather than rate' (A99), even though PPL was only 18 weeks at that time.

Something that I thought was 'taken for granted' in Norway is gender equality. Its importance had been outlined in the historical data I analysed yet two of the interviewees challenged its reality. Nærum looked forward to an improved future state 'Hopefully one day there won't be a difference, in a job interview say, if you had a 27 year old woman or a 27 year old man' (B14). Bjørnholt questioned whether it remained a priority for the country. First she noted the decline of the apparatus for gender equality 'This Ministry (Ministry of Children, Inclusion and Gender Equality) is very, it has a very small budget, and you probably know if your budget is small, there is not so much you can do... it does not have very much power' (B13). Then she reflected on the people's perception 'I think part of the problem is that there is this self-perception in Norway, that Norway we are the best'. New Zealanders are generally proud that in 1893 we became the first country where women had the right to vote, and it raises the question, does this impact the way we think about gender equality now? Is it possible that New Zealand does not focus on gender equality because of its early record on civil and political rights - and the present day example of our third female Prime Minister?

7.11. Conclusion

The PIA approach was used to undertake the interview analysis, enabling the utilisation of transcript data in this poststructuralist research. The PIA processes benefited from the focus provided by the WPR analysis of the historic data and from the initial coding in the NVivo software. The PIA

instructions to note and analyse what is said, and to produce genealogies of them, are easily followed with some pre-existing areas of interest. I acknowledge the selection bias in choosing them.

Turning to those areas, the New Zealand interview data included discussion of payment rate, in terms of its low value, and the way it operates as a maximum rather than a minimum. This contrasts with the analysis of the historic data, where the discussion of payment rate related to the average male wage, and the level of benefit payments. The New Zealand interview data reveal the tension between the dominant problem representation (determined in Chapter 4 to be the public responsibility for the lack of payment for maternity leave, and based on assumptions of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency), and the way some parties tried to represent PPL (as employment-related). While the latter framing may have naturally led to wage replacement, there was not a place in the discourse for that to occur.

There was limited discussion of fathers' eligibility for PPL in New Zealand in the interview data. Instead the discussion of eligibility related to the first expansion of PPL, to cover the self-employed, which was viewed negatively. This contrasts with the historic data, which covered the inequity of not including self-employed women (and only women, as noted in the problem representation of PPL as maternity leave). There was scarce mention of rights in the New Zealand interview data but when they appeared, it was within the context of health rights, in line with the historic data analysis.

The three themes were also present in the Norwegian interview data, but payment attracted little attention, because PPL is paid at wage replacement as part of the established and accepted work line policies.

The linked eligibility of parents for PPL was directly mentioned by three Norwegian participants. Harberg explained there was a 'big discussion' (B10) about whether that inequality (for men) should be addressed. Kvande called it 'equality working' (B16) for its attempt to return mothers to the labour market, and Vollset (the public servant who helped introduce PPL) explained that at the time nobody thought it would be an issue because fathers were not carers then (B12).

Rights were discussed in more detail by the Norwegian interviewees than the New Zealand interviewees and also had a greater presence in the Norwegian historic data. As well as fathers and children, the discussion captured the rights and obligations of citizens and the state. The strength of the social and cultural norms behind the work line policies reflects the agreement between the state and its citizens to each play their role. For the state, it is to support its people in their dual roles of workers and carers, and for the people, it is to participate in this reciprocal arrangement. Failure to

do so results in a restriction of support (fathers ineligibility for parental leave if the mother doesn't return to work).

The contested concept of gender equality was evident in the Norwegian interview data and to a lesser extent in New Zealand. In Norway, meanings of gender equality included female labour market participation (B9, B12), reducing women's unpaid care work (B9), a lack of discrimination in hiring practises (B14, B15), and fathers' right to care (B10, B12, B16). The use of family policy to solve gender inequality was observed. It was, however, challenged as ignoring systemic and structural issues, and the suggestion was made that there is a declining focus on gender equality in Norway (B13). In New Zealand, inequality was observed in the labour market (A96, A97, A100), with motherhood impacting (reducing) participation and equality (A96). One interviewee mused whether eliminating the gender pay gap would remove the need for PPL (A95). These reflect previously identified differences between the meaning of gender equality in each country, with a broader meaning in Norway that includes the family, and a narrower meaning in New Zealand focused on the labour market.

Chapter 8 – Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to investigate the PPL policy in New Zealand, to understand how that particular policy came about, and the basis on which it had been determined to be appropriate. To do this required a research approach that would reveal how we know things and help understand how and why we think about PPL in the way we do. This includes policy-makers, both politicians and public servants, and the general public. As this can be assisted by understanding how other people think differently, a comparative case study was chosen, using Norway because its PPL policy is so different to New Zealand's. A suitable perspective for such research is poststructuralist, because this critically examines 'knowledge' as something fluid and contestable, rather than something fixed that can be taken for granted. To conduct this research two methodologies that draw heavily on Foucauldian thinking were selected. These were the 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' or 'WPR' approach (Bacchi, 2009:1) and the Poststructural Interview Analysis or 'PIA' series of processes (Bacchi and Bonham, 2016: 113). They were applied to answer the research question 'How was gender equality conceptualized in the paid parental leave (PPL) policies in New Zealand and Norway?'

This chapter proceeds as follows. It begins by briefly outlining the methodologies applied in this research and then discussing its findings. This includes the contested nature of the term gender equality and three common themes found within the discourse - payment rate, eligibility, and rights. These are discussed along with some additional findings from the interview data. The chapter then provides a reflection on the use of the methodologies, both for policy analysis and research, followed by my WPR self-reflection. This is the final step in the WPR approach, when the researcher asks the WPR questions of their own representation of the problem. Finally, the chapter considers how PPL policy and policy analysis might develop in the future, before providing concluding comments.

The methodologies applied in this research are WPR and PIA. The WPR approach was designed by Bacchi to provide a way of critically analysing policy. It is poststructuralist in nature, with Foucauldian roots, and takes the view of policy as discourse. The relevant data for a WPR analysis are historical documents that relate to a particular policy change. This reflects Bacchi's premise that 'what we propose to do about something indicates what we think needs to change' (2009:xi). In this research, the data were records of parliamentary debate, public submissions on the PPL bill, reports by various Ministries, documentation from women's groups, and media articles. The WPR set of six questions are applied to the data. Instead of assuming a pre-existing problem in the world that can be identified and solved, policy as discourse considers how policies constitute problems, and recognises that assumptions and judgements are present in the policy-making process. The WPR approach can

identify a number of discourses in the data, and in discussion of the findings of this research, examples of dominant discourses are presented for both countries.

The PIA is a relatively new approach, also designed by Bacchi (with Bonham), which enables the same theoretical approach of WPR to be applied to interview data, by treating an interview transcript as data, and critically examining it in the same way as other data. In applying PIA to the PPL policy in two countries this research makes a contribution to the literature by increasing the examples of the application of PIA, and showing how PIA can be used alongside WPR in researching policy, and PPL in particular.

This research has found that there are different understandings of gender equality in each country and identified three common themes within the discourse in both countries.

Gender equality is a contested concept that has different meanings for different groups. Squires's (1999) classification of strategies as either inclusion, reversal, or displacement was used to consider the nature of the policy or discussion in each country.

Analysis of the historic data using the WPR approach identified a lack of discourse on gender equality in New Zealand. However, the data reveal that equality for women is to be paid while performing the care role for their children, but that it cannot be compensated at a rate higher than that generally received by men. It is not economic equality. The gender-neutral PPL policy is a strategy of inclusion.

In Norway, gender equality was determined to be both parents having the opportunity to care for children and having a professional role in society, meaning it is something that occurs both at the workplace and in the home. It provides rights to fathers as carers and changed the pattern of men's employment history making them more like women's. The meaning of gender equality in Norway has a strong liberal focus, of participation in the labour market, and gender neutrality. As a result, and despite its differences from the New Zealand policy, Norway's PPL is also a strategy of inclusion.

Analysis of the interview data using the PIA processes reiterated a broader meaning of gender equality in Norway, which includes the family, and a narrower meaning in New Zealand, focused on the labour market.

A number of discourses were identified as present in each country, leading to a number of potential problematizations of the PPL policies, but dominant problematizations were revealed in the data and outlined in Chapter 4. The WPR analysis revealed three common themes of payment rate, eligibility, and rights within the dominant discourse in both countries. The payment rate in New Zealand was influenced by the assumptions of PPL as welfare and welfare as dependency. As a result the payment rate was set (and remains at) a minimum level, in keeping with other benefits, rather than reflecting

a percentage of previous earnings. The assumption of PPL as welfare was sufficiently dominant to prevent attempts to argue that PPL was an employment right. However, if other assumptions had been present, then alternative problematizations would have arisen. This could have been the assumption that PPL was an employment-related matter or that a broad social security scheme should be introduced. These may have resulted in the rate of payment approximating or maintaining the income of the women (and family) during the period of leave. This is the situation in Norway, due to the dominant dual-earner/dual-carer model, which requires wage replacement as part of the agreed support from the State. The linked eligibility criteria ensure that both parents participate in the model, which is based on a clear system of rights for all individuals (adults and children alike). Under the model, relations between the citizens and the state are viewed as reciprocal and positive.

The eligibility criteria in each country restrict the ability of children to receive parental care from both parents. This is because in both New Zealand and Norway the fathers' eligibility for PPL is based in some way on the mothers' employment status. This has left New Zealand fathers without any independent entitlement to paid leave, and Norwegian fathers dependent on the mother commencing or resuming paid employment, in order for them to access any period of (shareable) parental leave. This is observed even though the Norwegian problematization specifically refers to parental leave and the New Zealand problematization refers to maternity leave. The similarity of result also contrasts with the New Zealand assumption of women as primary carers and Norway's stated aim of gender equality through PPL. The restriction on Norwegian fathers' eligibility for PPL both reflects and contrasts with the dual-earner/dual-carer model. It reflects the model because it denies full support where there are not dual-earners (because the mother isn't in paid employment). However, it is applied in a gendered manner, because if the father isn't in paid employment, but the mother is earning, she can take both her maternity and the parental leave.

The policy design relating to eligibility was considered in depth in response to the third WPR question. This was the genealogy, provided in Chapter 5, where I concluded that New Zealand's decision to amend the previous maternity leave provisions limited the discourse with respect to eligibility and rights, keeping PPL as maternity leave, and denying fathers the subject position of carer. That analysis also concluded that the decisions regarding funding mechanism and administrative agency limited the opportunity for discourse on payment.

The assumptions stated above have also impacted on human rights and were discussed in Chapter 6. In New Zealand, a restrictive view of children's rights exists, seen through their expression only as they relate to the mother, in terms of breastfeeding and maternal and child health. Any other rights of children, such as the right to be cared for by their father, are not recognised and fathers' own rights

to care are not recognised. In Norway, the rights of fathers as carers are recognised, but only partially. As recognised above, the requirement for broad participation in the dual-earner/dual-carer model is so dominant that parents who have not or will not follow the model, are not eligible to enjoy the full range of leave types. Adherence to the model outweighs children's rights to paternal care.

The PIA analysis of the interview data revealed additional findings beyond these common areas. In New Zealand, the interviewees together made a number of references to process, including to the machinery of government, and elements of traditional power. These included coalition governments, the use of Private Members Bills, and the process for legislation before the House when it rises at the end of a Parliamentary term. No doubt these all played a role in the introduction of PPL in New Zealand but it is the ability to identify discursive practises, and their role in creating subject positions, that really improves our understanding of the nature of the PPL policy.

In Norway, the interviewees talked about the power dynamics of the home and the labour market, and how gender equality was still illusive. The data suggested the 'ideal worker' of the past (Acker, 1990) now has responsibilities outside their employment and has become a universal caregiver (Fraser, 1997). The dual-earner/dual-carer model has resulted in men becoming more like women, by taking parental leave, and enabling the woman's return to paid employment. However instead of creating gender equality (Hernes 1987:134), this appears to be an outstanding goal, as interviewees lamented the discrimination in hiring practises, the gender segregated workforce, and the gender pay gap.

From a research perspective, the methodologies uncovered the hidden 'knowledge' upon which policy-makers made these policies, and exposed how policies constitute problems. As well as answering the research question, by revealing the different understandings of gender equality in the two countries, they revealed the dominant problematizations and how they had arisen.

As I have been employed as a public servant working in policy while undertaking this research, I am considered an insider-researcher, and as such I am able to consider the application of the WPR approach to policy practice as well as research. Policy advisors are not generally encouraged to consider their own ontology or assumptions and they are expected to provide advice that is politically neutral and impartial (SSC, 2010). Using WPR in their analysis would provide a framework to recognise the different views or knowledge that underlie our assumptions. It would acknowledge the political as present everywhere. I believe this would result in richer and more critical advice to Ministers.

Qualitative interview data are not frequently used in policy analysis. When interview data are used, it is often with the specific intention to hear the voices of the interviewees. The PIA approach is not

designed for this purpose, instead it considers the kinds of subjects produced within the interview setting, and allows reflection on how subject status can be questioned and disrupted (Bacchi and Bonham, 2016:115). Other techniques such as the Listening Guide would enable voices to be heard (Woodcock, 2016:1).

PIA has proved to be a valuable research methodology although I suggest it benefits from a clear focus on what to examine (while acknowledging the role of the researcher in providing that focus). The first two processes of noting what is said and what it produces is assisted when the researcher already has some areas of interest. In the case of this research, the WPR analysis and the coding of the transcripts in the NVivo software (discussed in Chapters 4 to 6 and undertaken prior to the interview analysis) revealed the three themes of payment rate, eligibility, and rights, and the ability to focus on what is said about those themes helped apply the approach to transcripts that covered a wide range of topics.

The final step in the WPR approach is an instruction to apply the list of questions to one's own problem representations (Bacchi, 2009:xii). Unlike the process followed in Chapters 4 to 6, where the researcher applied the six WPR questions to the data, the questions are here applied to oneself.

Bacchi (2009:48) describes this process as a form of reflexivity, which involves subjecting the grounding assumptions in one's own problem representations to critical scrutiny, and is achieved through revealing the researcher's value judgements. As well as highlighting these to the reader, it assists the researcher in recognising their own assumptions and values, which they will inevitably hold. Bacchi refers to this as being 'immersed in the conceptual logics of our era' (2009:19).

With respect to New Zealand, I view PPL as a labour market issue rather than an issue of welfare provision. This judgement is shown in the way I identify the requirement for an absence from paid work as the problem, rather than an alternative, such as the requirement for the state to support a new mother on the arrival of a child. This reflection has revealed a further silence of class within my own problematization. PPL is something that is more likely to be available to the middle-class than the working-class and the working-class are likely to include minority groups. In New Zealand this means that PPL may be available to more white women than Māori women (our first people) or migrant women. While I acknowledged that this was not intersectional research in the introductory chapter, I reflect here that the particular interests of Māori women are not highlighted in this research, and that it does not focus on working-class women.

I am also mindful that I always refer to 'both parents' when talking about access or utilisation of leave. I reflect that my problematization has two parents, which creates a silence about single parents, as well as non-binary and transgender people, and their parenting arrangements.

In terms of my problematization of the PPL change in Norway, although I also view the problem to be a labour market issue, I display a different focus towards the labour market as an area where gender roles can be challenged and changed. I reflected that my identification of the dual-earner/dual-carer model was a positive one, which revealed my 'knowledge' of female labour market participation and equal parenting as positive, and limited consideration of any other potential barriers to change.

My discussion of both problem representations has a strong institutional focus. When outlining the genealogy, and how the representations could be questioned, disrupted, or replaced, I discuss political structures, government Ministries and administration, and policies. I observe that all of these are within the formal system of government and reflect that it is likely to represent the fact that I work within that space myself. My status as an insider-researcher was discussed in Chapter 2, and it may have silenced discussion of more transformative alternatives, and resulted in consideration of options that are more in line with those described by Squires (1999) as inclusion rather than displacement. Related to this is my consideration of the seventh PIA process in Chapter 7. It considers the politics of distribution, and I observed that policy and law makers are my intended audience, rather than advocacy groups or activists. This is another example of an institutional focus that may be driven by my status as an insider-researcher.

Over the period of time that this research was conducted, my own problematization of the PPL policies in each country has not changed. However, I now recognise that different groups may be harmed by different problem representations, and my understanding of the silences that result from it has deepened.

Bacchi (2009:54) also encourages reflection on why a policy interests you and how your reasons influence your views about the subject. While the fact that PPL in New Zealand is less generous than in many other countries is of some interest, transfers in New Zealand are generally paid at a low rate, and so it is instead because PPL is suggested to be important for gender equality that made it particularly interesting to me. This immediately leads to consideration of what is meant by gender equality, which is how my interests have shaped the research project and question.

With limited debate about PPL in New Zealand, changes to the PPL policy are not expected in the short term, but it is possible that some of the policy design elements that vary from international guidelines (such as payment rate and the lack of dedicated paid paternity leave), may attract critical attention in the future.

I suggest a number of areas of potential future research for consideration. One is the overall low level of utilisation of PPL compared to live births. While the periods are not exactly matched, there were

58,020 births in the year to December 2018 (Stats NZ, 2019b), but only 33,036 people receiving PPL in the year to 31 March 2019 (Inland Revenue, 2019a). Examination of whether this difference is due to restricted eligibility or some other factor would be useful. A second area for research would be to undertake qualitative interview research to understand the experiences of those taking PPL using the PIA process to analyse the data (following on from Morrissey and Williamson, 2018, a small project in the public sector). This may help determine whether the elements and options in PPL design, as outlined in the taxonomy in Chapter 3, continue to be appropriate for New Zealand - especially in light of this low rate of utilisation. Another research project would be to apply the WPR approach to investigate subsequent changes to the PPL policy in New Zealand and the problematization could be compared to the findings of this research.

Alternatively, the WPR methodology used in this research could be applied to understand the 'problem' behind other policies, and this would likely provide richer and more critical advice, which would be supported by a greater understanding of the importance of gender in policy. Tax policy in particular is not gender neutral so including or expanding gender analysis in policy advice would be a way to highlight the impacts of proposed policies. It would provide a complement to the WPR analysis of the problematization and its underlying assumptions.

Although policy advisors are expected to provide politically neutral and impartial advice, their analysis could be expanded and enriched if they used alternative frameworks that examine policy as discourse.

To conclude, this research revealed gender equality to be a contested concept, the understanding of which differently impacted the design of the PPL policies in New Zealand and Norway. New Zealand focused on a single element, of payment for absence from employment, whereas Norway sought to change both the home and the labour market. The research highlighted how PPL does not have a standard definition but is constructed differently in different countries based on a number of design elements. The two PPL policies differ significantly with respect to payment rate, reflecting different assumptions in each country about the nature of the relationship between people and the state, but are linked by a similar effect - the restriction of fathers' right to care.

This research does not offer a complete examination of gender equality in each country: it is limited to PPL, and to the policy changes when PPL was introduced in New Zealand, and when the father's quota was introduced in Norway. As such, it does not consider later changes to either policy, nor does it consider any other policy. Those interested in gender equality will no doubt see benefit in examining other labour and family policies. I may even turn to that next myself.

However, the research provides a number of contributions, to knowledge, policy, and practise. Details of the contested concept of gender equality and its impact on the PPL policies in the two countries has just been outlined. Two areas of New Zealand's PPL policy design, payment rate and the lack of a dedicated paid paternity leave, have been identified as outliers internationally. Policy-makers in New Zealand can now prioritise these for further consideration.

The way in which policy-makers undertake their work can be changed by using this research as a guide. Policy-makers can undertake policy analysis in a new way, adopting a perspective of policy as discourse. Written by one of their number, this critical work has presented rich and revealing analysis, and revealed the underlying assumptions that are usually invisible.

This research makes a further contribution by offering a new comparison of how PPL was problematized in New Zealand and Norway. Application of the well-established WPR approach has revealed differences in the problematizations and extended the literature. This research also provides an example of the application of the new PIA approach, although it remains to be seen whether PIA will prove as popular as WPR. While I have shown that PIA can extend a Bacchian perspective to interview texts, increasing the range of data that can be used, I suggest that its application will be greater in academic research than in policy-making. This is because interviews are rarely used at scale in the public sector, and when they are, they generally intentionally privilege the interviewee. However, this is not the intention of the PIA approach, and is not what adopting the methodology would achieve.

In closing, I offer this research as a challenge to fellow policy-makers to adopt and maintain a critical perspective in their work, and to recognise that people are subjects and policies are problems constituted by the discourse.

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APPENDIX A

METHOD USED IN WPR AND PIA ANALYSIS

Chapter 2 outlines the methodology adopted in this thesis. This Appendix outlines the methods used.

The data were selected in accordance with the two frameworks utilised in this research. For the WPR framework, data must come from prior to and including the time of the policy change, rather than after the policy change. I created a new data set for the PIA.

Selection of historical documents

Using the guidance provided by Bacchi on text selection (2009:20), I selected documents for analysis by starting with the primary PPL legislation, and building upon it. For New Zealand, the first data selected was the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Act 2002 and the Parental Leave & Employment Protection Act 1987, which it amended and introduced new provisions. Next was the Hansard record of parliamentary debate when the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Bill was making its passage through the House (of Representatives) along with the public submissions made on the Bill. Hansard records are held at the library of Victoria University of Wellington and the public submissions were obtained from the New Zealand Parliamentary Library in Wellington. Digital copies were made of each. Briefings to Ministers prepared by public servants from the Ministry of Women, Department of Labour, and The Treasury were obtained under Official Information Act 1982 (OIA) requests. I requested all Cabinet Papers and briefings that related to the introduction of PPL in 2002. Government reports on parental leave and social issues, and documentation from women's groups were collected as data, along with various print media articles on PPL from the period 1999 to 2002. These documents were hard copies selected from a private collection held by an official in the office of the Minister for Women. The media articles in the collection were reviewed and a number of themes identified (employers, parents, and politics). Around 10-15 articles on each of these themes were selected, along with a smaller number of articles on various topics, which were categorised together as other in the list of documents.

A similar process was followed to select the historic data for Norway. Starting with the current PPL legislation, I traced the changes made back to find the Norwegian equivalent of an Amendment Act, accessing the legislation via the website Lovdata.no, which provides access to a collection of online legal resources. I then accessed the two Acts that it amended, and selected as data the relevant parts of the two Acts, those which covered PPL. These Acts were also accessed via the website Lovdata.no. The government reports or White Papers (abbreviated as NOUs in Norwegian) were accessed via the

University of Oslo online library service (UiO Universitetsbiblioteket). Some Norwegian documents were available in English and others were translated.

Selection of interview participants

The participants were invited to be interviewed on the basis of their technical knowledge of the tax and welfare policy under consideration, their involvement in policy-making, or their research contribution on family policies. This may be referred to as purposeful or judgement sampling. Full details of how each interviewee was chosen and approached is provided in Section 7.2.1.

Treatment of interview data

The interviews were conducted in English and audio-recorded using a tablet device. The interviews were then transcribed by the researcher into Word documents. Once transcribed, the transcripts were treated in the same way as other data.

Thematic coding

All data, both the historic documents and the interview transcripts, were added to a new project in NVivo software. NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package, produced by QSR International, which is designed for the analysis of non-numerical data (QSR, n.d.). Data is organized and stored within the software, which contains query and visualization tools that allow the researcher to ask questions of the data, and the software produces numerical and graphical answers. Once the new project for this research was created, and all of the data stored within it, the analysis commenced.

The first step was to code the data. Coding refers to identifying particular themes and topics (QSR, 2014:23). The coding was undertaken manually, by reading the text of each document and, within the software, highlighting words (individual words or whole sentences) and coding each highlight against one or more nodes or themes.

The nodes were determined by the researcher, based on my understanding of the methodology and the literature, and reflecting the research question. The methodology identifies different knowledges, different subject positions that are made available through discourse, and contested concepts. Accordingly, nodes were created to capture various subject positions that were evident in the data, such as women as paid workers, women as carers, fathers as paid workers, and fathers as carers. Other nodes were created to capture contested concepts such as discrimination and inequality, equality and inclusion, and these also reflect the gender equality focus of the research question. Concepts that are discussed in the literature, such as maternal and child health, individualising, and the family as private, were revealed in the data and nodes were created to capture that detail.

After all documents had been coded, the nodes were reviewed, and grouped together under 'parent' headings. The complete list of nodes or themes, and the parent headings to which they belong, are listed in Appendix C (historical data) and Appendix E (transcripts) for New Zealand and Appendix D (historical data) and Appendix F (transcripts) for Norway. Although the nodes are largely common to both countries, the node 'work and family life' was only identified and used for New Zealand (transcripts and historical data), and the nodes 'sex role theory' (transcript only) and 'fathers as paid workers' (transcripts and historical data) were identified and used only for the Norwegian data.

The second step was to undertake queries of the data (QSR, 2014:36). Visualisation queries were undertaken to show all the documents coded to a particular set of nodes and the extent of the coverage of those nodes in each document. These are referred to as frequency and coverage queries and the numbers and percentages they produced are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in Chapter 4, Tables 6.1 and 6.2 in Chapter 6, and Tables 7.4 and 7.6 in Chapter 7. Details of which nodes were selected for these queries, and why, is provided in the relevant chapters.

The next stage was to undertake the analysis using the WPR framework, which is a series of six questions. The collation and coding of the data identified three themes within the data that can be summarised as payment rate, eligibility, and rights. In more detail, these themes are as follows: the difference in payment rates between the two countries; the common restrictions on fathers' eligibility based on the mother's employment status; and the different concepts of rights for fathers and children in each country. The coding informed the analysis, as the revelation of these three topics informed how the WPR analysis (the answers to the series of six questions), were considered and presented in the thesis chapters. The coding, and the identification of the three themes, also informed how the PIA was conducted.

PIA was the second framework and it was used to analyse the interview data. PIA is a series of seven processes, which were applied to each individual transcript in turn. However, the first action was to code the interview transcripts using the same nodes that had been created during the coding of the historic data. The creation of one additional node was required when coding the Norwegian transcripts, that of sex role theory. This coding approach was undertaken for consistency with the historical data. After that, the PIA analysis commenced, and this produced two new documents. The documents contained a selection of text from within each transcript, which provided a specific response to each of the processes, and these documents were also entered into the NVivo software. These new documents were then coded to one or more of the three themes, or where the responses to the PIA processes did not fall within any of the three themes, to a new node called processes. The coding process of highlighting the relevant text in NVivo was as previously described for the historical

data. A coding query was then undertaken and resulting frequency count is detailed in Tables 7.5 and 7.7. The results of the PIA processes were then summarised and discussed in Chapter 7.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYSED - NEW ZEALAND

No. (A)	Source	Title	Description
A1	MBIE	Parental Leave & Employment Protection Act 1987	Provides legal entitlement to leave and job protection ('the principal Act' (see also A26)
A2	Department of Labour	Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Act 2002	Amendment to the principal act which introduced paid parental leave (see also A1)
A3	Submission	Submission on PPL Bill (Parliamentary Library reference SS/PL/3)	Caring Fathers / Home and Family Society (Christchurch) Inc. 31 January 2002.
A4	Hansard	Introduction of paid parental leave by Hon Laila Harré, Minister for Women, through the Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Bill.	First reading 13894-13908 (Volume 597). 13 December 2001.
A5	Hansard	As above	Second reading 15242-15255 (Volume 599). 21 March 2002
A6a	Hansard	As above	In committee 15291-15296 (Volume 599). 26 March 2002
A6b	Hansard	As above	In committee continued 15297-15351 (Volume 599). 26 March 2002
A7	Hansard	As above	Third reading 15437-15450 (Volume 599). 28 March 2002
A8	Beehive	Website pages dated 1 Oct 2001	Paid Parental Leave summary pages 1/8 - 8/8.
A9	NACEW	Report on Parental Leave. February 1997	The National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women report
A10	Working Women's Council	NZ Working Women's Charter	Charter of demands adopted by Labour
A11	New Zealand government	Towards a Code of Social & Family Responsibility	Public Discussion Document February 1998
A12	Ministry of Women's Affairs	Parental Leave Policies, Women and the Labour Market	A Comparative Analysis of: NZ, Sweden, UK, US, Aus. June 1995 (Executive Summary)
A13	Ministry of Women's Affairs	Briefing to the Minister of Women's Affairs and Associate Minister of Women's Affairs	Maternity Leave / "Birth" Payment in New Zealand. 21 February 1996 (No reference)

A14	Ministry of Women's Affairs	Briefing to the Minister of Women's Affairs and Associate Minister of Women's Affairs	Paid Parental Leave. File Number PoL 10/4/3. 26 November 1997.
A15	Ministry of Women's Affairs	Briefing to the Minister of Women's Affairs	Paid Parental Leave Bill. File Number PoL 10/4/3. 4 September 1998
A16	Treasury	Report to Treasurer and Minister of Finance, Associate Treasurer, Associate Ministers of Finance	Paid Parental Leave Bill: Costs and Key Issues. T98C/3858. 18 November 1998.
A17	Treasury	Report to Treasurer and Minister of Finance, Associate Ministers of Finance	Design Parameters for Paid Parental Leave, T2001/1448. 31 August 2001. Previous OIA release
A18	Office of the Minister for Women	Internal Memo	Paid Parental Leave: Key Issues for Party Consideration. 13 November 2000
A19	Department of Labour	Report to the Minister of Labour	Additional information on Paid Parental Leave: Risks and Benefits of Paid Parental Leave and Issues Regarding Possible Methods of Provision. BRI 01/001091. 9 March 2001
A20	Department of Labour	Report to Minister of Labour	Delivery Options for Paid Parental Leave, BRI01/004241. 16 August 2001. OIA.
A21	Minister of Women's Affairs	Speech to Wellington Chamber of Commerce. 29 May 2000.	Paid Parental Leave
A22	Government	Budget 2001. 24 May 2001	References to Paid Parental Leave (speech/fiscal risk)
A23	Press Release	Plunket. 15 June 2001.	Parents must be appreciated and supported
A24	Beehive	Hon Laila Harré. 7 November 2001	Paid Parental Leave - a great start.
A25	Alliance New Zealand	Policy 2002	Extending Paid Parental Leave - more weeks, more families, more money
A26	12 Weeks Paid Parental Leave Campaign	Information Kit	Information Kit
A27	14 Weeks Paid Parental Leave Campaign	Information Pack	Information Pack
A28	Government	Prime Minister 21 December 1999	Speech from the Throne Opening of Parliament

A29	ACT letter	Patricia Schnauer to Treasurer Birch	Letter stating ACT's position on PPL
A30	Department of Labour (IRS)	Briefing to Minister for Enterprise and Commerce. 21 May 99	Brief for Delegates on the Revision of the ILO Maternity Protection Convention (No.103) and Recommendation (No.95) 87 th session
A31	Ministry for Women's Affairs	Briefing to Minister of Labour and Minister of Women's Affairs	Paid Parental Leave - Objectives and Scope of Work. 2 March 2000
A32	Ministry for Women's Affairs	Briefing to Minister of Women's Affairs. POL 10/4/3/2-102	Paid Parental Leave - Funding rationales, operation and implications. 16 June 2000
A33	Department of Labour	Briefing to Heather McCauley, Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet	Additional information: Extending eligibility for paid parental leave to low-income women. 23 October 2001
A34	Cabinet Papers	OIA release 30 April 2004 to requestor (contains 17 released documents)	All Cabinet minutes and papers pertaining to 2002 law establishing paid parental leave
A35	Treasury	Treasury Report T98C/1637. The Costs of Paid Parental Leave	Report to Treasurer, Minister of Finance, Associate Treasurer. 26 May 1998.
A36	Treasury	Treasury Report T98C/4069. Paper for Cabinet Strategy Committee: 1999 Budget Initiative: Assistance for Parents	Report to Treasurer and Associate Ministers of Finance. 10 December 1998.
A37	Treasury	Treasury Report T99C/603. Aide Memoire: Assistance for Working Parents	Report to Minister of Finance, Associate Ministers of Finance. 26 March 1999.
A38	Treasury	Treasury Report T2001/278. Further Costings of Paid Parental Leave Options	Report to Treasurer / Minister of Finance and Associate Ministers of Finance. 8 March 2001
A39	Treasury	Treasury Report T2001/897. Eligibility for Paid Parental Leave and the Parental Tax Credit.	Report to Treasurer / Minister of Finance and Associate Ministers of Finance. 8 June 2001.
A40	Government	Report of the Working Party on Payment for Parental Leave	1986 Report by officials ahead of Royal Commission on Social Policy and 1987 legislation
A41	Submission	Submission on PPL Bill (Parliamentary Library reference SS/PL/3)	New Zealand Father and Child Society. Undated.
A42	Submission	Submission on PPL Bill (Parliamentary Library reference SS/21)	Barnardos. 8 February 2002.

A43	Departmental Report	Summary of submissions. Parliamentary Library reference SS/PL/DOL-5	Parental Leave and Employment Protection (Paid Parental Leave) Amendment Bill
A44	Media (Employers)	Manukau Daily News. 2 March 1999. Catherine Hutton	Maternity pay gives garment bosses a chill
A45	Media (Employers)	NZ Herald (First Edition). 4 March 1999. Eugene Bingham	Employers off the hook over paid parental leave scheme
A46	Media (Employers)	Daily News. 17 March 1999. Glenn McLean	Mixed feelings on paid parental leave
A47	Media (Employers)	PPTA News. April 1999.	Paid parental leave - not just an issue for parents
A48	Media (Employers)	Otago Daily Times. 22 April 1999. NZ Business Roundtable submission (extract)	Paid parental leave seen as a matter of choice
A49	Media (Employers)	Gisborne Herald. 27 April 1999. Amanda Gillies	Paid leave 'long overdue'
A50	Media (Employers)	Press Release PSA. 2 September 1999.	Parental leave demand will not go away
A51	Media (Employers)	Sunday Star Times. 19 September 1999. Quentin Clarkson	Paid parent leave on rise
A52	Media (Employers)	Media Release Simpson Grierson. 27 October 1999	Paid Parental Leave - What Employers Want
A53	Media (Employers)	The Press. 13 December 1999. Tara Ross	Paid leave 'should come from tax'
A54	Media (Employers)	Sunday Star Times. 9 January 2000. Ionna Wane	Paying for parenthood
A55	Media (Employers)	The Press. 6 March 2001. Stu Oldham	Scrapping over paid parent leave
A56	Media (Employers)	Media Release Council of Trade Unions. 15 May 2001	The time is right for paid parental leave
A57	Media (Employers)	Otago Daily Times. 16 May 2001. Dene Mackenzie	Employers relaxed about parental leave
A58	Media (Employers)	The Independent. 27 February 2002. Deborah Diaz	Parental leave slated as 'middle-class welfare'
A59	Media (Employers)	Law News, Issue 28, p4, 24 May 2002. Alison Brook	Impact of paid parental leave less than expected
A60	Media (Politics)	The Independent. Politics p11. 10 February 1999. Graeme Speden	MPs puzzle over the price of parenthood.
A61	Media (Politics)	Press Release ACT New Zealand. 28 February 1999	ACT Only Party Against Paid Parental Leave
A62	Media (Politics)	NZ Herald (First Edition). 5 March 1999. Editorial.	Paid parental auction
A63	Media (Politics)	The Dominion (Second Edition). 6 March 1999. Victoria Mann	Opposition from ACT 'embarrassing'

A64	Media (Politics)	The Evening Post (First Edition). 8 March 1999. Editorial.	Nats dithering on leave Bill - Clark
A65	Media (Politics)	Manukau Daily News. 8 March 1999. Catherine Hutton	Women rally over bill
A66	Media (Politics)	Timaru Herald. 9 March 1999. Unattributed.	MP believes leave must be paid from taxation
A67	Media (Politics)	Sunday Star Times. 14 March 1999. Ruth Laugesen	Baby Bill struggling
A68	Media (Politics)	Sunday Star Times, C1. 14 March 1999. Anthony Hubbard	Producer payments.
A69	Media (Politics)	NZ Herald, A13, first article. 19 March 1999. Laila Harré	Paid parental leave basic workers' right
A70	Media (Politics)	NZ Herald, A13, second article. 19 March 1999. Patricia Schnauer MP	Don't leave overburdened taxpayers holding the baby
A71	Media (Politics)	Gisborne Herald. 16 April 1999. Janet Mackey MP	Maternity leave bill 'shoddy'
A72	Media (Politics)	The Dominion. 4 May 1999. Laila Harré	Why we must have paid parental leave
A73	Media (Politics)	Sunday Star Times. 12 December 1999. Ruth Laugesen	Parents will get paid time off work
A74	Media (Politics)	Hawkes's Bay Today. 19 September 2000. Rose Harding	Women's movement lagging, says MP
A75	Media (Politics)	The Dominion (Second Edition) p2. 7 October 2000. Unattributed	Harré suggest funding mix to meet paid parental leave costs
A76	Media (Politics)	The New Zealand Herald Online. 9 March 2001. Audrey Young	Harré suggests task force on paid leave
A77	Media (Politics)	Evening Post. 14 May 2001. Brent Edwards	Funding is a farce - Shipley
A78	Media (Politics)	The Dominion. 28 August 2001. Jonathan Milne	Parental pay unresolved
A79	Media (Parents)	The Evening Post (First Edition). 10 March 1999. Unattributed	Caring for babies is a job for parents
A80	Media (Parents)	The Dominion (Second Edition). 11 March 1999. Unattributed	Barnardo's backs paid parental leave
A81	Media (Parents)	The Dominion (Second Edition). 25 March 1999. Unattributed	Parental leave act 'discriminates'
A82	Media (Parents)	NZ Herald (First Edition). 25 March 1999. Ewen McQueen, Christian Heritage Party	...But what about mothers who choose to stay home?
A83	Media (Parents)	Waikato This Week. 25 March 1999. Unattributed	Paid parental leave

A84	Media (Parents)	The Dominion (Second Edition). 30 March 1999. Unattributed	Parental leave a 'health issue'
A85	Media (Parents)	Auckland City Harbour News. 14 March 2001. Julian Slade	Rallying for paid parental leave
A86	Media (Parents)	Northern Advocate. 14 May 2001. Jacqui Kerr-Bell, NZPA	Parental leave with pay gets thumbs-up
A87	Media (Parents)	Hawke's Bay Today. 24 May 2001. Paul Taggart.	Mums worthy of State help
A88	Media (Other)	Waikato Times. 18 March 1999. My View - Alexis Stuart (young mother)	Parental leave plans get it wrong
A89	Media (Other)	National Business Review. 23 April 1999. Bernard Robertson	National MPs bow to ideology of the state.
A90	Media (Other)	The Press. 14 December 1999. Editorial	Paid parental leave
A91	Media (Other)	Evening Post. 4 January 2001. Anthony Paltridge	Breastfeeders need paid leave - study
A92	Media (Other)	Timaru Herald. 14 May 2001. Rhonda Markby and NZPA Wellington	Paid leave plan gets muted reception (SPUC)
A93	Media Statement	Treasurer and Minister for Women's Affairs. 13 May 2001.	Timeline Announced for Paid Parental Leave
A94	Media (Parents)	NZ Herald. 30 March 1999	Who's left holding the baby?
A95	Interview	Confidential respondent	Public Servant
A96	Interview	Ms Laila Harré	As Minister for Women first introduced PPL
A97	Interview	Ms Heather McDonald	Ex-Ministry of Women's Affairs official assigned to the Office of the Minister for Women
A98	Interview	Associate Professor Susan St John	University of Auckland, CPAG Economic Advisor
A99	Interview	Ms Eileen Brown	Council of Trade Unions
A100	Interview	Professor Margaret Wilson	As Minister for Labour, involved in PPL introduction

LIST OF DOCUMENTS ANALYSED - NORWAY

No. (B)	Source	Title	Description
B1	Barne- og familiedepartementet Ministry of Children and Family Affairs	Ot prp nr 13 (1992-93) Odelstingsproposisjon Amendment Act	Lov om endringer i lov av 17. juni 1966 nr. 12 om folketrygd og i visse andre lover Act amending the Act of 17 June 1966 No. 12 on National Insurance and in certain other laws
B2	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	The Norwegian Social Insurance Scheme	Summary document / guide to rules
B3	Norwegian Government	NOU 1975/22 Engangstønnad ved nedkomst og stønad til barnetilsyn - delutredning 2	Lump sum maternity and child care benefit - Interim Report 2
B4	Norwegian Government	NOU 1977/6 - Ein samla offentlig politikk for oppvekstmiljøet	Public policies for childhood (Section 13.3 only)
B5	Norwegian Government	NOU 1977/35 - Lov om barn og foreldre (barneloven)	Act about Children and Parents / Children's Act (Section 13.6 only)
B6	Norwegian Government	NOU 1991/3 - Mannsrolleutvalgets sluttrapport / Male Role Committee final report	Report by the parliamentary committee on Children and Family Affairs (Summary)
B7	Norwegian Government	NOU 1993:12 - Tid for barna / Time for children	Chapter 2 committee recommendations and Chapter 6 fathers caring responsibilities
B8	Norwegian Government	Daddy came home (Pappa kom hjem) NOU 1995/27	Report by the parliamentary committee on Children and Family Affairs
B9	Meeting	Ms Synnøve Konglevoll	Representative of LO, Confederation of Trade Unions
B10	Interview	Mr Svein Harberg MP	Chair, Family and Cultural Affairs Standing Committee
B11	Interview	Mr Geir Jorgen Bekkevold MP	First Vice Chair, Family and Cultural Affairs Standing Committee
B12	Interview	Mrs Gerd Vollset (retired)	Deputy Director General, BLD, PPL and Gender Action Plan
B13	Interview	Dr Margunn Bjørnholt	President, Norwegian Women's Lobby
B14	Interview	Ms Sara Rydland Nærum	Kvinnefronten Norge
B15	Interview	Ms Silje Salomonsen, Ms Sofie N. Engelstad,	International Women's Day Committee, Trondheim

		Mr Didrik Sten Ingebrigtsen	
B16	Interview	Professor Elin Kvande	Academic
B17	Interview	Professor Kjell Salvanes	Academic

APPENDIX C

NVIVO CODING OF HISTORIC DOCUMENTS – NEW ZEALAND

Parent node	Child nodes
Individual	Discrimination and inequality
	Equality and inclusion
	Individualising
Children	Birth and having children
	Breastfeeding
	Pregnant and pregnancy
	Maternal and child health
	Children's rights
	Children's needs
	Fathers as carers
	Women as carers
Workers	Women as paid workers
	Work and family life
	Work policies and organisations
	Economic independence
Women and the State	Politics
	Policy details
	International guidelines and comparisons
	PPL as welfare
	PPL as employment-related
	Women's movement
	Taxation and the State
	Family as private

APPENDIX D

NVIVO CODING OF HISTORIC DOCUMENTS – NORWAY

Parent node	Child nodes
Individual	Discrimination and inequality
	Equality and inclusion
	Individualising
Children	Birth and having children
	Breastfeeding
	Pregnant and pregnancy
	Maternal and child health
	Children's rights
	Children's needs
	Fathers as carers
	Women as carers
Workers	Women as paid workers
	Fathers as paid workers
	Work and family life
	Work policies and organisations
	Economic Independence
Women and the State	Politics
	Policy details
	International guidelines and comparisons
	PPL as welfare
	PPL as employment-related
	Women's movement
	Taxation and the State
	Family as private

APPENDIX E

NVIVO CODING OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS - NEW ZEALAND

Parent node	Child nodes
Individual	Discrimination and inequality
	Equality and inclusion
	Individualising
Children	Birth and having children
	Breastfeeding
	Pregnant and pregnancy
	Maternal and child health
	Children's rights
	Children's needs
	Fathers as carers
	Women as carers
Workers	Women as paid workers
	Work and family life
	Work policies and organisations
	Economic independence
Women and the State	Politics
	PPL as welfare
	PPL as employment-related
	Women's movement
	Taxation and the State
	Family as private

APPENDIX F

NVIVO CODING OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS – NORWAY

Parent node	Child nodes
Individual	Discrimination and inequality
	Equality and inclusion
	Individualising
	Sex role theory
Children	Birth and having children
	Breastfeeding
	Pregnant and pregnancy
	Maternal and child health
	Children's rights
	Children's needs
	Fathers as carers
	Women as carers
Workers	Women as paid workers
	Fathers as paid workers
	Work and family life
	Work policies and organisations
	Economic independence
Women and the State	Politics
	PPL as welfare
	PPL as employment-related
	Women's movement
	Taxation and the State
	Family as private

APPENDIX G

VUW INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT CONSENT PRO-FORMA

Consent to Participate in Research

Research Project Title: Policy-making as Problem-Solving

**Researcher: Suzy Morrissey, School of Accounting and Commercial Law,
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand**

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project within three weeks of the date of this interview without having to give reasons.

I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the transcripts of the interview before publication.

I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.

I understand that I can choose to either be a named respondent or have my responses treated as confidential which means they will not be attributed to me individually. Data such as questionnaires, interview notes and similar materials will be destroyed within five years of completion of the project.

I understand that any audio or video recording will be returned to me and/or electronically wiped. All electronic information will be password protected with access restricted to the investigator.

I understand that I will receive a summary of the results of the research when it is completed.

I agree to take part in this research.

Please circle one: Named respondent Confidential respondent

Signed: _____

Name of participant: _____

Date: _____