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The Relationship between Home and Work in an Enlarged Europe: A Quantitative Analysis

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Sociological Series

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A quantitative analysis

Barbara Haas; Nadia Steiber; Margit Hartel and Claire Wallace

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Founded in 1963 by two prominent Austrians living in exile – the sociologist Paul F. Lazarsfeld and the economist Oskar Morgenstern – with the financial support from the Ford Foundation, the Austrian Federal Ministry of Education, and the City of Vienna, the Institute for Advanced Studies (IHS) is the first institution for postgraduate education and research in economics and the social sciences in Austria. The **Sociological Series** presents research done at the Department of Sociology and aims to share "work in progress" in a timely way before formal publication. As usual, authors bear full responsibility for the content of their contributions.

Das Institut für Höhere Studien (IHS) wurde im Jahr 1963 von zwei prominenten Exilösterreichern – dem Soziologen Paul F. Lazarsfeld und dem Ökonomen Oskar Morgenstern – mit Hilfe der Ford-Stiftung, des Österreichischen Bundesministeriums für Unterricht und der Stadt Wien gegründet und ist somit die erste nachuniversitäre Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für die Sozial- und Wirtschafts-wissenschaften in Österreich. Die **Reihe Soziologie** bietet Einblick in die Forschungsarbeit der Abteilung für Soziologie und verfolgt das Ziel, abteilungsinterne Diskussionsbeiträge einer breiteren fachinternen Öffentlichkeit zugänglich zu machen. Die inhaltliche Verantwortung für die veröffentlichten Beiträge liegt bei den Autoren und Autorinnen.

Abstract

The following report contributes to our knowledge about labour market behaviour in an enlarged Europe with a special focus on gender aspects and on cross-national settings embedded in different welfare state architecture. First, we deal with the determinants of cross-country variations in gendered employment patterns by drawing on the 'Households, Work and Flexibility' (HWF) survey. Second, we use these data to investigate which factors make employees more or less satisfied with their jobs, with a special focus on gender aspects. Third, we look at employment patterns from a life course perspective in an enlarged Europe by using official data from various sources (OECD, Eurostat). Finally, drawing on the Eurobarometer Surveys on Time Use EB 60.3 (EU-15) and CCEB 2003 (Candidate Countries), we investigate female labour market participation over the life course.

Zusammenfassung

Das vorliegende Projekt untersucht die komplexe Beziehungsstruktur zwischen Erwerbsarbeit und Privatleben in acht west- und osteuropäischen Ländern. Zunächst werden die Determinanten geschlechtsspezifischer Arbeitszeitmuster in den ausgewählten Ländern analysiert. Als Datenquelle dient eine internationale, im Rahmen des Fünften Rahmenprogramms durchgeführten Umfrage (‚Households, Work and Flexibility' HWF). Im zweiten Kapitel untersuchen wir auf Basis der gleichen Datenquelle mögliche Einflussfaktoren auf die Berufszufriedenheit und fokussieren dabei geschlechtsspezifische Differenzen. Ausgehend von offiziellen Datenquellen (EUROSTAT und OECD) werden im dritten Kapitel Erwerbsmuster aus einer Lebensverlaufsperspektive im Überblick dargestellt. Im letzten Kapitel nutzen wir diese Hintergrundinformationen sowie eine zusätzliche Datenquelle (Eurobarometer für Zeitverwendung, EB 60.3 und CCEB 2003 für die Kandidatenländer), um zu einem besseren Verständnis des länderspezifischen Erwerbsverhaltens von Frauen im Lebensverlauf beizutragen.

Keywords

Keywords: household employment patterns, female labour market participation, welfare states, East-West comparison, job satisfaction, empirical quantitative analysis

Schlagwörter

Schlagwörter: Erwerbsmuster, Haushaltsebene, Frauenerwerbsarbeit, Wohlfahrtsstaats-vergleiche, Ost-West Vergleiche, Berufszufriedenheit, quantitativ-empirische Untersuchung

Remarks

This is part of the final report of the project „The relationship between home and work in eight European countries. A quantitative analysis“ (Projektnummer: 11029) which has been funded by the Austrian Jubilee Fund in Vienna, duration of the project: August 2004 to September 2006.

Bemerkungen

Beim vorliegenden Bericht handelt es sich um einen Endbericht des vom Jubiläumsfonds der Oesterreichischen Nationalbank finanzierten Projekts mit dem Titel „The relationship between home and work in eight European countries. A quantitative analysis“ (Projektnummer: 11029), Projektdauer: August 2004 bis September 2006

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Introduction

The principle aim of this project was to investigate the relationship between home and work in eight Western and Eastern European countries. The present research report is structured as follows: In **Chapter 1**, we deal with the determinants of cross-country variations in gendered employment patterns. This chapter has been accepted for publication in the peer-reviewed journal *Work, Employment and Society*. Drawing on the 'Households, Work and Flexibility' (HWF) survey deriving from a Fifth Framework Programme project (2000-2003), we look at which household employment patterns prevail in which parts of Europe and how women's and men's patterns of labour market integration are affected by the presence of children. The countries covered are: Bulgaria (BG), the Czech Republic (CZ), Hungary (HU), the Netherlands (NL), Romania (RO), Slovenia (SL), Sweden (SE) and the United Kingdom (UK). In **Chapter 2** we investigate which factors make employees more or less satisfied with their jobs, thereby focusing on the explanation of gender and cross-national differences in the level of job satisfaction. For this, we also use the HWF survey. In **Chapter 3,** we look at employment patterns from a life course perspective in an enlarged Europe. We draw on official data from various sources (e.g. OECD, Eurostat) to trace back the institutional framework for the employment and unemployment patterns in an enlarged Europe. In **Chapter 4**, we look at female labour market participation over the life course in an enlarged Europe. Drawing on empirical survey evidence of the Eurobarometer Surveys on Time Use EB 60.3 (EU-15) and CCEB 2003 (Candidate Countries Eurobarometer), we describe cross-national differences in female labour market participation from a life course perspective.

Overall, the report contributes to our knowledge about labour market behaviour in an enlarged Europe with a special focus on gender aspects and on cross-national settings embedded in different welfare state architecture. The final section of the report presents our conclusions about what can be learned from our insights and we refer to questions which still present important challenges to be tackled by future studies.

The main aspects about these four chapters can be summarized as follows:

Chapter 1: **Household employment patterns in an enlarged European Union**

This chapter aims to contribute to our understanding of why different models of work-care integration prevail in different parts of Europe. Hereby, we explore how the empirical evidence in the HWF survey-data corresponds to the conventional theories about the determinants of cross-country variations in gendered employment patterns. More precisely, we analyse the parallels and contradictions between the institutional setup and its potential impact on gendered employment patterns (structures), prevalent ideals about the 'best' way to combine work and caring responsibilities (cultures) and the actual division of paid work within couple households (practices). Referring to the practices in paid working time, we

theoretically distinguish five different household types, namely *the dual earners, the male breadwinner, the modified male breadwinner, the female breadwinner and the low involvement household*. In a first step, we show which types predominate in which countries. Next, in a multinomial logistic regression framework, we investigate how the presence of (small) children shapes the division of paid labour between men and women in different national contexts and for what structural and cultural reasons. The findings call for a further elaboration of conventional theories of gendered employment patterns when applied to an enlarged Europe.

Chapter 2: **How does flexibility and control affect job satisfaction**?

This chapter compares the relationship between flexible employment and job satisfaction in employer-lead and employee-lead flexibility regimes. In a cross-national comparison we explore whether job satisfaction is affected by the extent of flexible employment and by employees' ability to control their working conditions (time issues and place of work). The chapter further considers if gender and the family situation (presence of young children) affect the way in which job satisfaction and flexible employment interact, testing the assumption that women are more satisfied with flexible jobs because they are more committed to their family responsibilities than are men. For this, we draw on the international 'Households, Work and Flexibility' (HWF) survey carried out in 2001 in eight countries of Eastern and Western Europe, which represent different approaches to flexibility: On the one hand, we investigate *employee-lead flexibility regimes* represented by the Netherlands and Sweden. On the other hand, we look at more *employer-lead flexibility regimes*: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia and UK. The research shows that in the *employee-lead regimes* the ability to decide over time and place issues is an important factor contributing to job satisfaction, whereas in the *employer-lead regimes* earning enough money and having a permanent contract play a crucial role for both sexes.

Chapter 3: **Employment patterns from a life course perspective in an enlarged Europe**

This chapter explores employment patterns of Europeans along their life-course by drawing on official data sources from EUROSTAT and the OECD. Since the debates about welfare state typologies to understand cross-national differences still heavily rely on the classification by Esping-Andersen (1990), our contribution to this debate is to take on a more dynamic perspective upon the developments of labour market participation. In this vein, an important challenge is to better understand the dynamics in employment patterns by studying variations in three distinct life course phases. Beginning with the phase of labour market entrance, we investigate in which European countries people start their working career early or late. Next, we analyse the main working phase which can also be a sort of 'rush hour of life' as the majority of employees has to combine work with other life domains. Finally, we draw our attention to the fact that there are strong cross-national differences about when employees leave the labour market. The principle aim of this chapter is to gain an overview

about different employment patterns in 25 Eastern and Western European countries. To deepen our understanding about major issues in how to increase employment rates, we first have to know what the labour markets in different parts of Europe look like. This is especially important against the background of an enlarged Europe. This description provides a basis for additional studies addressing more the explanations for why countries differ a lot when considering labour market participation from a life course perspective.

Chapter 4: **Female labour market participation over the life course in an enlarged Europe**.

This chapter draws on a representative sample from the Eurobarometer Surveys on Time Use EB 60.3 and the CCEB 2003 (Candidate Countries Eurobarometer) to map female employment transitions over the life course in 28 countries (EU-25 plaus Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey). We explore whether observed patterns reflect conventional welfare state regime typologies or classifications of breadwinner models in Europe with a special interest in the Central and Eastern European countries, which are typically subsumed under the post-socialist regime type. Our results suggest an elaboration of former welfare state typologies with regard to female labour market participation.

Chapter 1: Household employment patterns in an enlarged European Union[1]

Barbara Haas, Nadia Steiber, Margit Hartel and Claire Wallace

Abstract

With the aim of contributing to our understanding of why different practices concerning the gender division of paid labour in couple households prevail in different parts of Europe, we empirically investigate the distribution of dominant 'household employment patterns' in eight countries including Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Netherlands, Romania, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Based on comparative survey evidence (N=10,123), we explore how national differences in terms of the actual gender division of paid work (practices) correspond with what well-established 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' theories about the determinants of cross-country variations in gendered employment patterns would predict. The findings call for a further elaboration of conventional approaches to explaining gendered employment patterns in an enlarged Europe.

Introduction

Western European countries have witnessed a large influx of mothers into the labour force in the last decades (e.g. Ellingsaeter 1999; Blossfeld & Drobnic 2002). This has rendered the question of how parents can reconcile their work and family responsibilities increasingly salient. In Eastern and Central European (ECE) countries, by contrast, problems of work-care integration have not been a central topic of debate. Women traditionally worked full-time while the state supported the care of children, although retrenchment in the welfare system means that this is now changing. However, on account of cross-country differences in the structural and cultural context in which couples decide on how to divide their paid and unpaid work responsibilities between themselves, gendered employment patterns still vary considerably across countries.

The present paper aims to contribute to our understanding of why different models of work-care integration prevail in different parts of Europe. Hitherto, research in this area has mainly focused on socio-political regulations and/or predominant views concerning the 'ideal' division of labour between the sexes, whilst the actual practices within households in terms of the gender division of labour are largely unexplored, especially for Eastern European countries. We aim to test the applicability of conventional theories about the determinants of

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[1] "This paper has been accepted for publication in *Work, Employment & Society* and will be published in *Work, Employment & Society*, 20/4, December/2006 by SAGE Publications Ltd, All rights reserved. © BSA Publications Limited. For more information please visit: **www.sagepub.com** ."

cross-country variations in gendered employment patterns (e.g. Lewis 1992; 2002; Pfau-Effinger 1998; Sainsbury 1996) when applied to an enlarged Europe. Based on a specifically designed survey that looked at household and not just individual employment patterns carried out in 2001, we investigate the ways in which paid work is actually divided in couple households in five Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Romania) and in three Western ones (the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom). First, we explore which household employment patterns predominate in these countries and then go on looking at how the presence of children shapes the division of paid labour within couple households. Finally, we compare prevalent household employment patterns (practices) with what the institutional setup supports, the socio-economic conditions allow (structures), and with what the gender cultural context prescribes (cultures). In this way, we aim to shed new light upon the determinants of cross-national differences in gendered employment patterns.

The Theoretical Framework

There is a large quantity of empirical research on the potential influence of the institutional context on female labour supply (e.g. Uunk et al. 2005, Gornick & Meyers 2003; Stier & Lewin-Epstein 2001). In such studies either well-established typologies of gendered welfare state regimes (e.g. Lewis 1992; Sainsbury 1996) or specific policy arrangements (e.g. child care provision, leave or tax systems) are used to explain cross-country-variations in women's paid work involvement. A weakness of such 'structuralist' approaches (Haas 2005) lies in the assumption that women's labour market behaviour can be directly read off from policies, which is not necessarily the case (Daly 2000). Welfare state typologies understate the complexity of the variation in policies across countries and the resulting structure of opportunities and constraints for women. An important theoretical contribution to our understanding of why actual practice in terms of the gender division of labour may differ from what the policy context favours, are so-called 'culturalist' approaches (Haas 2005). These are concerned with the historical evolution of societal ideals concerning the gender division of labour ('gender cultures') that are argued to shape policy-decisions and actual practices in terms of the gender division of labour (e.g. Pfau-Effinger 1998; 2004; Blossfeld & Drobnic 2002).

Both 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' approaches have their merits and explanatory power to explain cross-country variations in women's work involvement. However, just as gendered employment behaviour cannot directly be read-off from policies, not least due to economic constraints, it also does not necessarily follow prevalent ideas in a society about the ideal way of dividing the work between the sexes (Pfau-Effinger 2004). Furthermore, these dominant theories have been developed and tested in the context of affluent North-Western societies, and cannot simply be transposed to different societal contexts; neither to Southern

Europe (Uunk et al. 2005) nor to post-socialist countries, as the present paper sets out to show.

Building on the insights of both approaches, the paper explores cross-country variations along three dimensions: institutional structures, gender role norms and actual practices in terms of the gender division of paid work in couple households. Following Pfau-Effinger (2004), we recognise that these three analytical dimensions are highly interdependent, yet they may not always follow from one another. They can develop in different directions thereby contributing to the emergence of contradictions in the relationship between gender policies, cultural orientations and actual household practices. The aim of the paper is to show that actual practices in terms of the gender division of labour may differ from what we would expect when drawing on conventional theories on the impact of the policy arrangements and/or the gender cultural context on female labour supply. With the aim of understanding such incongruities between theoretical expectations and actual practices, we investigate the impact of economic and labour market conditions as a crucial aspect of the structural context on how paid and unpaid work responsibilities between women and men are divided. In this way we aim to take account of the fact that individuals may not be able to practise the household employment pattern they would prefer if their financial situation allowed. For instance, whilst the gender culture and/or the policy context may favour women's roles as full-time mothers and homemakers, it is only in more affluent societies that significant shares of women are able to put this into practice. In less prosperous countries and within households of lower socio-economic status, by contrast, most women have to pursue paid work to support their families instead.

We start with a cross-country comparison in terms of the policy context, economic and labour market conditions and the gender cultural context. Then we empirically investigate national variations in the distribution of household employment patterns and look at the extent to which women reduce their paid work involvement when they have children. This is commonly argued to be the main mechanism driving different distributions of household employment patterns across countries (Stier & Lewin-Epstein 2001). Empirical evidence in these respects is then compared with what we would expect to find when drawing on 'structuralist' or 'culturalist' approaches to the explanation of cross-country differences in the gender division of labour. Finally, we assess what economic necessity of working may add to the explanation of cross-country variations.

Data

For the empirical investigation of household employment patterns, we draw on a cross-country comparative data set collected in spring 2001 within the 'Households, Work and Flexibility' project (HWF), which was funded by European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme (Wallace 2003). The survey was based on random samples of

adults yielding a total sample of 10,123. To take account of cross-country differences in tertiary education and early retirement rates, we focus on prime age households in which both partners are between 20 and 60 years of age, resulting in a total sample of 6,000 couple households in eight countries. As the HWF data does not provide information on gender cultural contexts, we additionally draw on data from the 2002 International Social Survey Programme and the European Values Study 1999/2000.

Weekly working time in paid employment was measured asking respondents how many hours they and their partners usually work in their main as well as in additional economic activities. For the analysis a summary measure of hours performed in all economic activities was computed that was then combined with the weekly work hours performed by respondents' partners to form seven different household employment patterns. These were not derived through empirical clustering but defined a priori to resemble the household employment strategies most discussed in the literature and frequently found in policy documents: Accordingly, male breadwinner households are defined as couple households in which the man works full-time, while the woman is economically inactive (e.g. housekeeper, in education, pensioner, unemployed, disabled or sick). Modified male breadwinner households comprise a full-time working man and a part-time working woman. As the definition of part-time employment varies across countries, we decided to adopt the threshold proposed by the OECD (van Bastelaer & Lemaitre 1997) and to define part-time work as performing less than 30 hours of paid work per week. In households termed dual moderates both partners work full-time neither of them working more than 48 hours per week. This is contrasted with high commitment households in which both work full-time with at least one of the partners having a very long workweek of 48 hours or more (set as the working hours limit in the European Working Time Directive). In dual part-time earner households the man and the woman are working less than 30 hours per week. In Female breadwinner households the woman works full-time while her partner is either not employed or working part-time. Finally, the residual category, termed low involvement households, comprises all households in which none of the partners is gainfully employed or in which only one of the partners works part-time.

The Structural and Cultural Context: A Comparison of Countries

Economic development and labour market characteristics

In terms of the economic development (GDP per capita) the Western European countries under consideration are most advanced followed by Slovenia and the Czech Republic. Next in the ranking is Hungary, while Bulgaria and Romania are much less prosperous. A rather similar country ranking emerges when looking at the medium monthly household net income (see Table 1). A major factor contributing to the lower economic well-being in ECE countries is the problem of unemployment, which is of particular salience in Bulgaria, where the total

unemployment rate amounted to about 20% in 2001 (Table 1). Furthermore, the share of unemployed people aged 15-24 as a proportion of the labour force in the same age bracket amounts to 39%. Also in Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Romania, the youth unemployment rate surmounts 15%. Furthermore, long-term unemployment tends to be more severe in ECE countries than in Western Europe. The share of those unemployed for at least a year among the unemployed amounts to more than 50% in most ECE countries as compared to less than a third in the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom. In combination with the lack of long-term benefits and assistance in most of these countries, this results in rapidly growing numbers of families living under the poverty line (Herczog 2000).

Table 1: Indicators of the socio-economic and labour market conditions, 2001

	NL	*SE*	*UK*	*SI*	*CZ*	*HU*	*BG*	*RO*
GDP per capita (EU-15=100 PPS)[1]	111	108	104	67	60	49	25	24
Median monthly HH income (in PPS)[2]	1,207	1,176	1,249	757	673	539	225	210
Total unemployment rate[3]	2.4%	5.1%	5.0%	5.7%	8.0%	5.7%	19.9%	6.6%
Youth unemployment rate[3]	5.5%	11.1%	11.9%	15.7%	16.3%	10.5%	39.3%	17.6%
Long term unemployment share[4]	33.1%	30.7%	27.7%	63.3%	52.9%	44.8%	63.1%	48.6%

1 Sources: Eurostat (2004a; 2004b). The figures take account of differences in price levels between countries by measuring GDP in terms of Purchasing Power Standards (PPS). This is an artificial common currency where differences in prize levels between countries are eliminated by using Purchasing Power Parities (PPP). The figures are in reference to the EU-15 average set to 100.

2 Source: European Foundation (2003). The measures have been adjusted for differences in household size and composition (modified OECD scale) and converted into purchasing power standards (PPS) to allow for comparisons across countries.

3 Source: European Commission (2002). The unemployment rate is defined as the number of registered unemployed % of the labour force (employed and unemployed aged 15-64). The youth unemployment rate is the share of unemployed as % of the labour force aged 15-24.

4 Source: Eurostat (2002). This refers to long-term unemployed population (≥12 months) as a proportion of total unemployed population.

In Eastern Europe there has since long been a tradition of full-time work for both women and men. Because of low real wages, in ECE countries average full-time wages are often insufficient to cover a family's minimum cost of living. Hence, the financial incentives to work for both men and women tend to be rather strong when compared to Western European

countries. In addition, employers are reluctant to provide part-time jobs that are thought to involve too high an administrative burden. For these reasons it is not surprising that part-time work – here, defined as working less than 30 hours per week – is very uncommon among women in most ECE countries, while it is rather wide-spread in the UK and the Netherlands. Sweden, usually described as a country where female part-time employment is of rather strong importance, has similarly low rates of female part-time employment as Romania or Bulgaria when adopting the 30 hours threshold (see Table 2).

Table 2: Working time practices, 2001

	NL	*SE*	*UK*	*SI*	*CZ*	*HU*	*BG*	*RO*
Male part-time rate	3.8%	4.3%	6.7%	6.7%	5.1%	6.4%	12.3%	8.9%
Female part-time rate	50.5%	13.8%	40.5%	10.9%	9.5%	9.2%	12.6%	15.2%
Men working more than 40 hours	38.6%	41.2%	55.8%	51.7%	68.5%	72.1%	39.4%	56.7%
Women working more than 40 hours	9.6%	22.4%	15.9%	32.4%	51.5%	58.8%	32.4%	38.4%

Source: HWF Survey 2001. Part-time rates are defined as the number of male/female workers (dependent employees and self-employed) performing less than 30 hours per week of paid work as a % of all male/female workers. The bottom rows report the number of men/women working more than 40 hours per week, as a % of all workers (working hours are the sum of paid working hours in the main and second jobs).

Conversely, working more than 40 hours per week tends to be more widespread in ECE countries than in most Western European societies. The notable exception is the UK, where among men (but not women) ‘long hours working’ is even more common than in some ECE countries (Table 2). The highest share of working more than 48 hours and hence more than the work hours limit set out in the European Working Time Directive, is found among Hungarian and Romanian men (about 50%), followed by their Czech, British and Slovenian counterparts (about 40% respectively, not shown). The lowest shares are found in Sweden, the Netherlands and Bulgaria.

The policy framework

Sweden is usually described as a state that is actively supporting a dual earner/dual-carer system with generous support for parental leave and encouragement for full-time employment of both men and women through the provision of extensive and affordable child care facilities (e.g. Bjornberg 2002). In the Netherlands it is the promotion of more flexible and especially reduced working hours that is seen as the way to combine work and care

(Cousins & Tang 2004). However, institutional arrangements are not designed to facilitate the combination of parenthood with employment. In the absence of facilities for child care, female part-time employment has evolved as the dominant solution for work-care integration, while men largely continue to work full-time (Visser 2002; Plantenga 2002). Also in the UK, child care is primarily seen as a private problem to be solved by families and/or through market mechanisms with the result that there is a severe lack of affordable child care provision (Dex 1999). Hence, similarly to the Netherlands, part-time work is the dominant strategy for women to combine work and family responsibilities (Cousins & Tang 2004).

In ECE countries, before transition, we found a universal welfare state that supported the full-time labour market involvement of both men and women with the provision of child care facilities that were available almost round the clock. In addition, policies provided for generous child care leave. In the period since 1989, however, these systems have evolved in different directions. Today, Slovenia most resembles Sweden in terms of social and family policies. We find extensive and affordable child care facilities for children of all ages (Sicherl et al. 2003) as well as a generous support during twelve months of parental leave (Stropnik 2001). By comparison, in the Czech Republic and Hungary, the institutional support for working mothers of small children is rather weak. With the intention of tackling unemployment by way of removing women from the labour force (Zöldy-Szita & Hagedus 2000) but also with the aim to foster a more conservative model of the family, a system of extended care leave has been introduced through a child rearing allowance for four years in the Czech Republic and three years in Hungary (Vecernik 2003; Koncz 2002; Herczog 2000). At the same time the provision of nurseries has been severely reduced. However, the provision of care facilities for older children has been much less affected by transition policies. In both countries most children aged above three attend kindergartens (Wallace & Mateeva 2004; Kocourová 2002; Herczog 2000; Koncz 2002). In contrast, Romania and Bulgaria have severely reduced their support to families. The originally highly subsidised system of child care has largely disappeared. As a consequence, the period since 1989 has been characterised by a rapid drop in the availability and use of state-run child care (Meurs & Giddings 2004, Fong & Lokshin 2000).

The gender cultural context

The majority of women in ECE countries worked full-time under communism. However, despite the traditional predominance of such an 'egalitarian' model with respect to labour market involvement, equality in these terms seems to co-exist with rather conservative conceptions of family and gender roles (e.g. Crompton et al. 2005; Robila & Krishnakumar 2004; Siemienska 2000; Herczog 2000). Drawing on cross-country comparable attitudinal data (Table 3), we find an East-West divide in terms of the traditionalism of gender role attitudes. For instance, while in the Czech Republic more than half of the population (strongly) agree with the statement: 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look

after the home and family', this share amounting to 45% in Bulgaria, 40% in Hungary and 30% in Slovenia, the support for a traditional gender role allocation is weaker in the Western European countries under consideration (below 20%), and particularly so in Sweden (8%).

Table 3: Gender role attitudes, 2000/2002

	NL	*SE*	*UK*	*SI*	*CZ*	*HU*	*BG*	*RO*
Traditional gender role allocation[1]	12.3% (2.2)	7.6% (1.9)	17.7% (2.4)	29.4% (2.7)	50.6% (3.3)	39.5% (3.2)	44.8% (3.3)	-
Women's identity as mothers[2]	34.4% (2.2)	40.4% (2.2)	44.3% (2.4)	64.7% (2.8)	60.1% (2.8)	70.2% (3.0)	75.7% (3.0)	85.0% (3.2)
Demand for female breadwinner[3]	37.9% (2.4)	89.2% (3.4)	70.4% (2.8)	91.0% (3.3)	92.7% (3.4)	89.4% (3.4)	91.8% (3.3)	85.2% (3.3)

Source: ISSP 2002 and EVS 1999/2000

1 Agreement or strong agreement with the statement: 'A man's job is to earn money; a woman's job is to look after the home and family' (ISSP)
2 Agreement or strong agreement with the statement: 'A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children' (EVS)
3 Agreement or strong agreement with the statement: 'Both the woman and the man should contribute to the household income' (EVS)
For each of the items, the answer categories range from 1=strongly disagree with 4=strongly agree. Reported are the share of respondents (strongly) agreeing with the respective statement (in %), and the mean value over all answer categories (in parentheses).

This pattern is in line with the literature suggesting that in ECE countries many people including political leaders are now speaking in favour of a return to traditional family roles (Domsch et al. 2000; Hùlkovà 2000). However, in spite of the fact that the family is deemed women's most important sphere of responsibility, most women are strongly involved with the labour market due to the fact that most families are only able to reach an acceptable standard of living when both parents are employed full-time (Domsch & Ladwig 2000). This is in accord with the finding that while a great majority of people in ECE countries hold the opinion that 'A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children', at the same time about 90% (strongly) agree that 'Both the woman and the man should contribute to the household income' (Table 3). In sum, the picture that emerges is that both work and family roles are central to women in these countries with family life given precedence in terms of significance, however. Eastern European women do not so much reject their role as pivotal breadwinners as put their family first. They accept and are proud of their dual role as workers and carers but focus on their family lives as the main source of satisfaction (Hùlkovà 2000; Zöldy-Szita & Hagedus 2000).

Main hypotheses

As described in the previous sections, the countries under investigation differ with regard to the level of institutional support for maternal employment but also with respect to the gender cultural context. Drawing on 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' theories about the potential impact of such national variations on gender employment patterns, we would expect to find the following cross-country differences in the distribution of household employment patterns but also in the ways in which the presence of children affects the division of paid work between the sexes in couple households ('the child effect'):

In Sweden and Slovenia, the two countries with the most family-friendly policies aimed at facilitating the combination of care and paid work, the presence of children should have less of a negative effect on women's labour market involvement than in the UK or the Netherlands, where child care is mainly seen as a private responsibility. As a consequence, we would expect the dual full-time earner model to prevail in Sweden and Slovenia, while in the more gender-traditional societies of Western Europe (the Netherlands and the UK) we would expect the male breadwinner model or its modified version to be quite commonly practised. With view to the gender cultural climate, we could derive very similar hypotheses as less traditional views on gender roles tend to co-vary with the existence of policies that favour maternal employment.

Applying the same set of theories to the less prosperous post-socialist countries (Hungary, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania), we would expect to find high shares of male breadwinners in all of these countries. From a 'structuralist' point of view, we would predict the presence of young children to have a strong negative effect on women's labour market involvement in Bulgaria and Romania, where the state has severely reduced its support of working mothers and even more so in the Czech Republic and Hungary, where generous child rearing allowances encourage mothers of small children to stay home full-time. From a 'culturalist' point of view, we would make similar predictions given the fairly traditional gender cultural background in these countries that favours a female care taker role. However, it seems doubtful whether this theoretical framework is applicable to countries, where it is most often financially not viable to practise single earner models. For this reason, we argue that, when including post-socialist countries, we have to take account of an additional factor, namely the economic necessity for many women to work full-time. Institutional arrangements or gender cultures that encourage couples to practice a male breadwinner model may be undermined in practice due to economic constraints. Consequently, we may expect the 'child effect' to be rather weak and therefore the dual full-time earner model to prevail in these countries despite the fact that work-family integration is neither institutionally nor culturally supported.

The empirical analysis of household employment patterns

In most countries with the notable exception of the Netherlands, the dual full-time earner model is the most commonly practised household employment pattern. The highest shares of dual full-timers are found in Sweden (66%), Slovenia (59%), the Czech Republic (57%) and Hungary (43%). Comparatively low shares of dual full-time earners are found in the Netherlands (26%), Romania (29%) and Bulgaria (32%), where fewer households practise such as model than in the UK (40%). Notably, while in Sweden and Slovenia more couples have a ‘moderate’ commitment, in the Czech Republic and Hungary, full-time work frequently involves more than 48 hours of paid work per week. Conversely, the male breadwinner model is most prevalent in the Netherlands (28%) and Romania (27%), followed by the Czech Republic (23%) and Hungary (22%), while this traditional model of role separation is significantly less common in Sweden (12%). The modified male breadwinner model is most common in the Netherlands (35%) and the UK (26%) and of some importance in Sweden (10%). By contrast, the share of this model is particularly low in all ECE countries. Finally, dual part-time earner couples are of negligible importance in all countries (1% or less), even in the Netherlands despite the fact that the promotion of this model is on the political agenda (Plantenga 2002).

Table 4: Household employment patterns by country (in % of all prime aged couple households), 2001

	male bread-winner	modified male bread-winner	Dual full-time earners			Dual part-times	female bread-winner	Low involvement		Total	N
			dual moderates	high commitment	*SUM*			Single PT earner	no earner		
NL	28% *	35% *	19% *	7% *	*26%*	1% *	3% *	3% *	4%	100%	724
RO	27% *	4% *	15% *	14%	*29%*	1% *	12% *	4% *	23% *	100%	898
CZ	23% *	6% *	27% *	30% *	*57%*	0%	6%	1%	7% *	100%	849
HU	22% *	3% *	15% *	28% *	*43%*	0%	13% *	3% *	15% *	100%	647
BG	19% *	3% *	22% *	10% *	*32%*	1% *	17% *	6% *	22% *	100%	1,215
UK	19% *	26% *	26% *	14%	*40%*	0%	4%	5% *	6%	100%	441
SI	17% *	3% *	36% *	23% *	*59%*	0%	12% *	2%	7% *	100%	447
SE	12%	10%	49%	17%	*66%*	0%	7%	1%	4%	100%	779

Source: HWF Survey 2001

Sample: Couple households excluding same sex couples with both partners in the age bracket 20-60.

*When using Sweden as the baseline in binary logistic regression, the percentage differences within the patterns are significant (p<.05).

Definition of household patterns: *Male breadwinner*: man full-time and woman non-active; *modified male breadwinner*: man full-time and woman part-time; *dual moderates*: both partners full-time neither more than 48 hours; *high commitment*: both partners full-time with at least one of them working more than 48 hours; *dual part-timers*: both partners part-time; *female breadwinner*: woman full-time and man either part-time or non-active; *single part-time earner*: either the man or the woman work part-time while the partner is non-active; *no earner*: both the woman and the man are inactive. Part-time employment is defined as working less than 30 hours per week.

While we expected to find many traditional household arrangements in the Netherlands and the UK, where the full-time involvement of mothers is not facilitated by public policy, on first view, it seems surprising that the share of male breadwinner households is also comparatively high in most ECE countries, despite the economic conditions that make it necessary to have two full wages in order to secure an acceptable standard level of living. In parts, this may be due to high unemployment and hence reflect involuntary arrangements. This contention is supported by the fact that not only the incidence of male but also of female breadwinners is comparatively high in Bulgaria (17%), Hungary (13%), Romania and Slovenia (12% respectively). Even more so, the fact that we find rather high shares of workless households in Romania (23%), Bulgaria (22%) and Hungary (15%), suggests that in these countries high shares of single breadwinner models may be the result of a lack of employment opportunities rather than choice. Nevertheless, it should be noted that while unemployment is also likely to play a role in the Czech Republic, the high relevance of male breadwinner households in this country might furthermore reflect the response to the child raising allowance that encourages mothers to stay home full-time until the child reaches the age of four.

The 'child-effect'

We now consider the impact of children upon the labour force participation of men and women in couple households. Since we expect different household models to prevail depending on the age of the youngest child, we distinguish between children up to 3, between 4 and 6 and between 7 and 14 years of age and set households with no or older children as the baseline. For each country, we run a separate multinomial logistic regression model with the categorisation of household employment patterns as the dependent variable. These include dual full-time earners (reference category), male breadwinner, modified male breadwinner, female breadwinner and low involvement households (defined as households in which none of the partners work more than part-time[2)]. The woman's age in linear and quadratic form, the difference between her and her partner's age, her educational level and the household's geographic location in rural or urban areas are entered as controls. The woman's rather than the man's education is used as it can be expected that it is mainly her characteristics that affect partners' labour supply decisions when there are children to be cared for. For reasons of reverse causation, overall household income is not included as a covariate.[3] However, the woman's educational attainment may serve as a proxy for her

[2] For a definition of these patterns, see p. 3. Due to the fact that we have very few cases in the dual part-time earner category, they are included in the 'low involvement' category instead of treated as a separate model as done in the distributional analysis (Table 4).

[3] Household income is itself strongly determined by the number of earners in a household – the dependent variable.

income potential and due to the well-established homogamy of marriages, partly control for couples' socio-economic status[4].

As expected the impact of children on women's work behaviour differs vastly between countries (see Table 5). In Slovenia and Sweden, where maternal employment is facilitated by institutional care support, the presence of children has little effect: in Slovenia we find no significant effects, while in Sweden, children only slightly increase the chances of practising a modified male breadwinner model. By contrast, the impact of children on household employment patterns is predictably more strongly pronounced in the UK and even more so in the Netherlands. Notably, while in the latter countries children of all ages increase the odds of belonging to some form of male breadwinner arrangement, in the Czech Republic and Hungary only children under school age, and in Bulgaria and Romania only infants up to three years of age, have such effects.

In sum, the 'child effect' turned out to be strongest in rather affluent countries that do not support the full-time employment of mothers (Netherlands and the UK), followed by Hungary and the Czech Republic, where the policy framework favours a 'transitional' female care taker role. A weaker 'child effect' is found in Bulgaria and Romania, where the state does not have the means to support the employment of mothers with small children, but where two full-time wages are needed in order to reach the minimum standard of living. Finally, the least impact is found in rather affluent countries where the state provides for adequate public childcare, namely in Sweden and Slovenia.

Had we restricted our analysis to a sample of couple households in which men work full-time, as is implicitly done in most analyses, this would be the end of the story. We would conclude that less state support for maternal employment results in stronger 'child effects', unless these are suppressed by economic realities (e.g. low wages) necessitating the full-time employment of women. However, this interpretation turns out to be incomplete once we include further household arrangements in the analysis, namely those in which men are out of the labour force. In the countries where workless households are of high empirical relevance, namely in all the ECE countries under consideration (except for Slovenia), the presence of infants increases the odds of belonging to male breadwinner households but at the same time it has a positive effect on the incidence of households in which neither the man nor the woman acts as a main breadwinner in the formal economy. This shows that in prior studies the 'child effect' – often interchangeably used with 'motherhood effect' (Fagan & Rubery 1996) – may have been wrongly interpreted as a move towards a more traditional household arrangement upon birth of a child whilst ignoring the fact that the fathers'

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[4] Ideally we would need a measure of the household income net of the woman's contribution which is not provided in the data, however. At all events, the inclusion of overall household income in the model does not change the results in substantive terms.

probability of employment may also be affected by the presence of children. While this is arguably an issue of greater importance in countries that suffer from high unemployment, it can be expected that men's work behaviour is increasingly shaped by parental status throughout Europe owing to the on-going de-standardisation of male and female life-courses.

Table 5: Multinomial Logistic Regression – Household employment patterns in prime aged couple households, 2001

Compare to dual full-time earners (ref.)[a]		NL	UK	SE	SI	HU	CZ	RO	BG
		Un-standardised regression coefficients							
Male breadwinner	Intercept	-4.67 ***	-3.54 **	-.12	-5.88 ***	-5.90 ***	-6.43 ***	-2.01 **	-.86
	Age of woman	.06	.09	-.09 *	.14 **	.12 ***	.15 ***	.00	.00
	Age² of woman	.05	-.15	.07	-.17 *	-.16 *	-.22 ***	.04	.01
	Age diff. to man	.01	.02	-.01	.00	-.02	-.01	.05	.00
	Presence of children [b]								
	children up to 3	**2.35** *	**1.17**	.43	-.52	**3.31** **	**3.16** *	**1.55** **	**1.04** *
	children 4-6	**1.51** *	.31	.34	-.53	**.80**	**1.00** *	.30	-.02
	children 7-14	**1.47** *	-.12	-.36	-.66	-.30	-.41	.25	**-.62**
	Woman's education [c]								
	Primary	2.52 ***	1.33 **	1.94 ***	1.31 **	1.54 ***	1.61 ***	1.60 ***	1.31 ***
	Secondary	1.35 ***	.26	1.13 ***	.90 *	1.01 **	.71	.85 *	.26
	Geographical location [d]								
	Rural	.32	-.03	.64	.38	.49	.07	.76 **	.03
	Semi-urban	.12	-.12	.20	-.05	.28	-.15	.48	-.22
Modified male breadwinner	Intercept	-3.36	-3.20	-3.30 **	-	-	-	-	-
	Age of woman	.05	.05	.01	-	-	-	-	-
	Age² of woman	.02	-.01	-.01	-	-	-	-	-
	Age diff. to man	.00	.05	-.03	-	-	-	-	-
	Presence of children [b]								
	children up to 3	**2.37** *	**1.78** *	**.70**	-	-	-	-	-
	children 4-6	**1.21**	**1.64** *	**.79**	-	-	-	-	-
	children 7-14	**1.56** *	**1.08** *	**.62**	-	-	-	-	-
	Woman's education [c]								
	Primary	1.93 ***	.52	1.35 ***	-	-	-	-	-
	Secondary	.98 ***	-.04	.77 *	-	-	-	-	-
	Geographical location [d]								
	Rural	.13	.38	.37	-	-	-	-	-
	Semi-urban	-.12	-.23	.21	-	-	-	-	-

	Intercept	-	-	-	-	-6.06	***	-		-1.05		-2.11	*
	Age of woman	-	-	-	-	.13	**	-		-.02		.02	
	Age[2] of woman	-	-	-	-	-.13		-		.04		.01	
	Age diff. to man	-	-	-	-	.08	**	-		.04		.07	**
	Presence of children [b]												
	children up to 3	-	-	-	-	.65		-		.14		-.34	
Female breadwinner	children 4-6	-	-	-	-	-.44		-		**-1.41**		-.48	
	children 7-14	-	-	-	-	-.15		-		-.23		-.05	
	Woman's education [c]												
	Primary	-	-	-	-	.68		-		1.03	*	.32	
	Secondary	-	-	-	-	.31		-		.56		.35	
	Geographical location [d]												
	Rural	-	-	-	-	.72		-		.16		.37	
	Semi-urban	-	-	-	-	-.02		-		.52		-.09	
	Intercept	-	-	-	-	-6.40	***	-8.89	***	-5.20	***	-3.09	***
	Age of woman	-	-	-	-	.13	***	.19	***	.07	**	.05	*
	Age[2] of woman	-	-	-	-	-.15	*	-.25	**	-.03		-.04	
	Age diff. to man	-	-	-	-	.02		.06		.08	**	.01	
	Presence of children [a]												
	children up to 3	-	-	-	-	**2.52**	*	**1.77**	*	**1.33**	[illegible]	**1.45**	*
Low involvement	children 4-6	-	-	-	-	.61		.06		.02		.62	
	children 7-14	-	-	-	-	**-1.13**	[illegible]	**-1.81**	[illegible]	-.39		-.21	
	Woman's education [b]												
	Primary	-	-	-	-	1.54	***	2.11	**	2.31	***	2.34	***
	Secondary	-	-	-	-	.50		1.01		1.08	**	.42	
	Geographical location [c]												
	Rural	-	-	-	-	1.13	**	-.14		1.34	***	.31	
	Semi-urban	-	-	-	-	.33		-.32		.88	**	-.23	
Pseudo R^2 (Nagelkerke)		.31	.23	.16	.28	.32		.33		.27		.22	
N		687	426	769	433	647		835		896		1208	

Source: HWF Survey 2001Sample: Couple households excluding same-sex couples in which both of the partners are in the age bracket 20-60.

a The dependent variable is categorised into: *Dual full-time earners (the reference category)*: both partners full-time; *male breadwinner*: man full-time and woman non-active; *modified male breadwinner*: man full-time and woman part-time; *female breadwinner*: woman full-time and man either part-time or non-active; and *low involvement*: none of the partners works more than part-time (including workless households, single/dual part-time earner couples). Part-time employment is defined as working less than 30 hours per week.

b The reference category: older or no kids in the household, c The reference category: tertiary education, d The reference category: urban – Coefficients are not reported when the case number for the respective household pattern is below 75.

***sig. p<0.001, **sig. p<0.01, *sig. p<0.05

Discussion

Based on theories predominantly used to explain gendered employment patterns, we expected the presence of children to have the strongest depressing effect on female employment in countries, where maternal employment is neither institutionally nor culturally supported. Furthermore, we assumed that the 'child effect' on maternal employment would be the main mechanism driving different distributions of household employment patterns across countries. However, while this explanatory framework was expected to fit fairly well when applied to the affluent countries of Western Europe, we hypothesised that in the less prosperous ECE countries its applicability would be undermined by the economic pressure for both parents to work full-time.

In line with these expectations, 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' arguments were found to accurately predict the 'child effect' in the Western European countries under consideration. The higher the institutional and cultural support for maternal employment, the smaller the effect of the arrival of children on female employment tends to be. In Sweden, where social and family policies as well as favourable views towards mothers' employment encourage continuous female labour market participation, the presence of children has a fairly small impact on household employment patterns. In the UK and the Netherlands, by contrast, less institutional and cultural support for full-time working mothers leads to a higher incidence of non- or part-time working women.

In Slovenia, which resembles Sweden in terms of its support for maternal employment, 'structuralist' theories fit to explain the high incidence of dual full-time earners. This model of explanation is also applicable to the Czech Republic and Hungary, where women's 'transitional' withdrawal from the labour market plausibly owes to the existence of generous care allowances. The applicability of 'culturalist explanations' in these countries crucially depends on how the post-socialist 'gender contract' is evaluated. Gender role attitudes tend to be more traditional in Eastern than in Western Europe. However, at the same time the societal expectation for ECE women is to take on a dual role as primary carers and pivotal breadwinners. What this seems to suggest is that in post-socialist countries, traditional gender role attitudes that define care work as a woman's task are not in contradiction with a strong labour market involvement of women. Rather conservative conceptions of gender roles tend to co-exist with the support and the practice of an 'adult wage earner model'. The high-incidence of female full-timers in ECE countries, and especially in Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovenia, can in parts be explained by the economic necessity for women to work. This is not to say that the financial incentives are the sole reason for why Eastern women are strongly involved in the labour market. However, whether their dual roles as primary carers and pivotal breadwinners reflect a social norm, should be more thoroughly investigated in future research.

While conventional theories have some explanatory power in the West and many ECE countries, Romania and Bulgaria do not fit this explanatory framework. Since in these countries family well being is necessarily based on two full incomes, we expected to find few male breadwinners. Yet, we found similarly high shares of households practicing this model as in the Netherlands or the United Kingdom. Prima facie, this appears to give credence to 'structuralist' explanations that would predict a high incidence of male breadwinners given that Bulgaria and Romania have severely reduced state support to parental employment. However, in contrast to the Netherlands and the UK, in these countries the 'child effect' cannot explain the high incidence of male breadwinner households. The presence of children only slightly increases the odds of practicing a male breadwinner rather than a dual full-time earner model. Interestingly, parents of small children are also more likely to be in 'workless household' than their childless counterparts. Hence, there is good reason to believe that the high incidence of non-working parents in these countries is not due to a lack of state support but rather to a severe lack of employment, affecting both women and men.

Conclusions

Prior studies have largely relied on a variety of existing welfare state typologies to map out institutional configurations for analysing cross-national variations in female employment behaviour. For purposes of understanding the general patterning of institutional structures and breadwinner ideologies across countries, such typologies are undoubtedly useful as a heuristic tool. However, our findings suggest that conventional models of explanation are not applicable in the case of post-socialist countries. First, the analysis showed that in addition to the policy framework and the gender cultural context, we have to take account of the economic necessity for many women in less prosperous countries to work full-time. Second, the high shares of single breadwinners and workless households in countries where families need two full incomes to make ends meet, made it clear that we have to take account of further external factors, namely the availability of employment. We see that not only family policy or societal ideals concerning the gender division of labour but also economic incentives that encourage women and men to work full-time may often be undermined in practice due to a lack of employment opportunities.

Our results strongly suggest that rather than just looking at cross-country differences in the distribution of different household employment patterns, we need to investigate the underlying mechanisms. These analyses have to go beyond the investigation of the impact of children on female employment behaviour and take account of the fact that actual practices may not reflect couples' preferences, especially in economies that suffer from high unemployment. Furthermore, the implicit assumption that parents who are not formally employed act as full-time carers may not be tenable, especially in poorer countries. To ensure the survival of the family, unemployed parents are likely to be engaged in informal employment and/or may pursue subsistence production as a survival strategy (Wallace

2002b). It finally highlights the importance of going beyond the individual level of analysis by looking at the employment behaviour of other persons in the household in terms of the division of paid and unpaid labour.

What we conclude from our analysis is, that if we want to retain the useful heuristic tool of typologies in the aim to explain cross-country differences in gendered employment patterns, such typologies have to be further elaborated. Rather than developing alternative one-country-fits-one-type models, there is the need to develop multi-dimensional models by focusing on the dynamic interplay between different structural and cultural spheres. The characteristics of one set of structures may mediate the effects of another. For instance, the effect of family policy is dependent on a society's level of affluence. Only in countries where individuals have some degree of choice with regard to their labour market involvement, may state interventions that encourage female labour market withdrawal upon child birth be effective (Uunk et al 2005). In sum, the comparative analysis of the division of paid and unpaid work in households can be enriched by the insights provided by various typologies, but these should take into account interrelations between the policy context, economic and labour market conditions, and the gender cultural context rather than just focussing upon one or the other. Furthermore, they should not neglect the real behaviour of households as an outcome.

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Chapter 2: How does flexibility and control affect job satisfaction?

Comparing the relationship between flexible employment and job satisfaction in employer-lead and employee-lead flexibility regimes.

Claire Wallace, Barbara Haas and Margit Hartel

Abstract

In a cross-national comparison the chapter considers whether job satisfaction in the context of flexible employment is affected by the extent to which the employee controls the work conditions. It further considers if gender and family situation (presence of young children) affect the way in which job satisfaction and flexibility interact, testing the assumption that women will be more satisfied with flexible jobs because they are more committed to their family responsibilities than men. Therefore we draw upon a survey carried out in 2001 in eight countries chosen to represent both Eastern and Western Europe, as well as different approaches to flexibility: On the one hand, we investigate *employee-lead flexibility regimes* represented by the Netherlands and Sweden. On the other hand, we look at more *employer-lead flexibility regimes*: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia and UK. The research shows that in the employee-lead regimes the ability to decide over time and place issues is an important factor of increasing job satisfaction, whereas in the employer-lead regimes the fact of earning enough money or having a permanent contract plays a crucial role among both sexes.

Introduction

Since the 1980s flexibility of different sorts - mainly of working time (schedules) and of contracts - has been introduced as a major plank of labour market reform throughout Western and Eastern Europe. Flexibility is thus often seen as the outcome of labour market de-regulation, including the removal of job protection, the restricting of the influence of trade unions and other kinds of regulation. However, de-regulation was not the only method of introducing more flexibility in the labour market (Esping-Andersen & Regini 2000, Lodovici 1999, Regini 2000), because these 'economic pressures' are not necessarily self-evident. They take place in an ideological environment, within economic policy discourse (Bradley et al. 2000, Dex & McCulloch 1997), (author ref). Thus the impact of the flexibilisation process is very different and derive from the social, cultural and economic circumstances of the different countries (Esping-Andersen & Regini 2000). In some countries, policies introduced since the 1980s have aimed to increase the power of employers to promote flexibility (e.g. in the Netherlands), but in others an explicit attempt has been made to promote the power of

employees in encouraging flexibility through individually tailored and à la carte contracts (e.g. in the UK).

In the last twenty years there is a large quantity of theoretical and empirical research on different sorts of flexibility. On the one hand flexibility in the labour market refers to new forms of work organisation and on the other hand it hints at the emergence of new contractual relationships between employers and employees. Flexibility is often used as synonym for de-regulation of the labour market, whereby it is assumed that workers become more flexible with the removal of job protection. However, a high number of temporary workers is not really a good indicator for a flexible labour market, because fixed term contracts are likely to be a response to the *lack of flexibility* in labour regulations rather than their presence (Giesecker & Groß 2004). For example, in the USA and the UK, usually considered among the most de-regulated labour markets, relatively few people have fixed term contracts as long as they can be easily dismissed.

Based on the debate about flexible work hours and/or flexible contracts and job satisfaction, we focus on the perspective of the employees and ask whether flexibility takes place only at the employer's behest and does not necessarily benefit the employee or whether it is embraced positively by workers. Given the differing flexibility policies, differing forms and extent of trade union coverage and differing gender regimes across an enlarged Europe, we assume the determinants for job satisfaction to be varied a lot. The countries covered in our representative sample are the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (Western European) and Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia (East-Central Europe or shortly called ECE-countries).

The theoretical Framework

In an era of globalising competition, there is a substantial pressure towards more flexibility in the labour market. Employers but also governments have mainly argued in favour of using more atypical forms of employment (e.g. part-time work, annualised hours, job sharing, fixed term contracts) in order to respond to variations in demand and to remain competitive by cutting costs. Furthermore, greater functional flexibility (e.g. multitasking, more self responsibilities) and productive, geographical flexibility (subcontracting, use of freelance labour) are addressed as kind of economic necessities in rapid changing markets with strong global interdependencies. Indeed, these fundamental restructuring of formerly-dominant 'Fordist' type industries and the constant rise of the service sector have impacted upon a range of work related aspects, the employee-employer relationship, the working time organisations, the sorts of employment contracts, the place of work and the work content.

The diversity of models of flexibility depends on whether the focal point is the working conditions, the contract of employment, the strategies adopted by companies or the

functional work organisation. Building on these different practices covered by the word flexibility, we find one strong similarity, namely the erosion of the normal biography and the regular work context which was characterised by a permanent contract of employment, full-time, in the service of a single employer, characterised by a high degree of subordination (Vielle & Walthery 2003). Some researchers always hinted at the fact that these normal biographies mainly applied to a male trajectory of life but did not really reflect female work (e.g. Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1993; Beck-Gernsheim 1992).

Another research strand highlights the flexibilisation over the life course which affects men and women differently. Here flexibility is not only analysed as static phenomenon which is reflected in cross-sectional statistics about the prevalence of atypical employment in different countries, but it is tackled as a longitudinal feature throughout the professional careers. Recently, women as well as men are subject to flexible employment as well as flexible careers. All in all, there is a growing awareness in the debate that we need a new organisation of time over the whole life span (Anxo & Boulin 2006; Torres et al. forthcoming).

When it comes to *explain* greater flexibility in the labour market, mainly three different reasons are cited. First, the flexible use of labour by employers is seen as an adaptation to a more competitive environment, to achieve rationalisation and cost-cutting. Secondly, the increase of flexible employment becomes also a trade union strategy to reduce working time in order to secure employment in an era of widespread unemployment. And thirdly, reduced work hours should attract more women and older workers to participate more continuously in gainful employment. Increased flexibility should lead to a (theoretically) better work-life balance and is thus related to the employees' own preferences. It is obvious that mainly women opt for a part time solution or temporary employment in order to be able to reconcile work and care. This fact cannot only be interpreted as a 'preferred' solution, but as a 'structural solution' against the background of women being overburdened with unpaid work responsibilities (Vielle & Walthery 2003).

In sum, to assess the individual and societal consequences of the flexibilisation processes is a difficult task. Hitherto, the debate tends to divide between those who see flexibility as something positive, as a way of integrating home, work and life (Hörning et al. 1995, Spoonley & Firkin 2002, Tietze & Musson 2002) and those who see it as negative, as something which erodes working conditions, introduces insecurity and feelings of guilt (Beck 2000, Bradley et al. 2000, Dex 1997, Standing 1999). Reduced and flexibilised working hours, indeed, entail a lot of disadvantages such as social insecurities and long-term wage penalties, missing training and career prospects and a lack of influence through associational boards. Furthermore coordination, synchronisation and health risks may arise with the transition from stable, collective, and at least partly societally synchronised normal working hours to flexibilised and individualised working time (Hildebrandt 2006). We also witness a growing awareness in many countries about possible mismatches between increased international competitiveness and increased insecurities for the employees. The

debate about *flexicurity* (Kronauer & Linne 2005; Wilthagen 1998, Vielle & Walthery 2003) has emerged as a need to reconcile the flexibility required by the new economy with the legitimate job security interests of employees.

Cross-national differences: Employee-lead versus employer-lead flexibility regimes

National disparities in working time regulations have significant implications on employees' job satisfaction. Employee-lead flexibility regimes are characterised by a regulatory framework mainly based on statutory regulation (uiniversal citizen rights) and/or collective agreements covering large parts of employees. 'In countries like Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands, the regulation of working time options results from negotiated compromises where both the public authorities and social partners play a crucial role in shaping households' and companies' time management' (Anxo & Boulin 2006, 327). In the Netherlands, flexibility aimed to be employee-lead with rights to choose different kinds of flexibility introduced in the context of strong union recognition and job security. One important consequence was to increase the labour market participation of women through part time work and to reduce the working week (Visser 2002). In Sweden, flexibilisation took place also under economic pressure, but was integrated into the forms of life-course flexibility enabling movement in and out of the workplace according to family and other needs. However, even in these employee-lead countries, there was nevertheless a section of the workforce, mainly young people, lower skilled and women, who found themselves on short term contracts as disadvantaged flexible labour (Wallace 2003).

Western European countries differ in their extent of control: Social Democratic countries (Sweden and the Netherlands[5]) are characterised by high rates of co-determination at the work place (Vogel 2003) and labelled as employee-lead flexibility regimes as opposed to the liberal UK employer-lead one. Politicians in the UK pride themselves on governing what they claim is one of the most flexible countries in Europe, yet flexibilisation in the UK has been undertaken in the context of a particular tradition of labour market reform, one based upon de-regulation, upon bypassing trades union involvement and upon eroding job security. The United Kingdom is characterised as a liberal and market oriented country where both the government and social partners are less involved in developing working time options and where these options are mostly initiated and regulated at the company level (Anxo & Boulin 2006, 328; Cousins & Tang 2004). Although the UK and the ECE labour markets vary a lot, the recent economic and political development in the Eastern European countries under

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[5] The Netherlands and Sweden are characterised also by solidarity (rejection of discrimination of women, elderly and immigrants), retraining opportunities, much larger union membership rates, and finally an intrinsic work value orientation (in contrast to instrumental work orientation, i.e. work for pay) compared to other European countries (Vogel 2003, 372).

consideration show a tendency towards an employer-lead flexibility regime. Until 1990, enterprises had been largely protected against the impacts of world markets through centrally organized production and distribution. Labour markets were strongly regulated so that workers enjoyed very high employment security and job stability. However, the opening up of the national economies to global competition has forced domestic enterprises to adjust to market demand. Moreover, persistent unemployment remains a major problem throughout the region. In the early 1990s, it was broadly accepted by policy-makers that full employment and the relatively generous previous social protection systems could no longer be maintained. Introducing employment flexibility and lowering social protection were in most cases offered as the sole means with which to transform labour markets in new market conditions. Amended labour legislation, newly established public employment services and labour market policies have facilitated these changes by reducing high employment protection inherited from the previous regime. More recently, especially with Accession to the EU, more emphasis is placed upon the provision of employment services, income support and active labour market programmes. However, the weaknesses of labour market institutions and collective bargaining, combined with poor law enforcement, have contributed to a high level of real as well as perceived job insecurity among workers (Cazes & Nesporova 2003) which might affect their job satisfaction.

The debate about job satisfaction

Despite the long tradition of studies on job satisfaction by psychologists, the analysis of job satisfaction by sociologists is more sporadic (Requena 2003; Rose 2003). More recently, however, there has been some attention to the relationship between satisfaction and flexibility (Bardasi & Francesconi 2004, McGovern et al. 2004), but the topic has not been extensively sociologically investigated. One possible explanation is that the variable 'job satisfaction' has been criticized for being not a valid measure (in general only a small percentage, about 10% are really dissatisfied about their conditions) (Alber et al. 2004, Hakim 1991, Rose 2003, Vogel 2003).

Sociologists have concentrated upon the 'satisfaction paradox' meaning that those who have good objective living conditions may have a bad subjective well-being (Dissonance) and that those workers with poor objective working conditions might nevertheless have high job satisfaction (Adaptation) (Noll 2002, Zapf 1984). This paradox applies for both some manual workers (Goldthorpe et al. 1968) and/or some women (Crompton & Harris 1998, Hakim 1998). Comparative studies of these aspects are rare, fragmented and scattered between many sources, but some key indicators are included in the major comparative surveys[6] although hitherto analysis has focused mainly on Western European countries. From these

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[6] ECHP, ISSP, WVS; European Quality of Life Survey and Eurobarometer.

studies we know that job satisfaction depends on several aspects of employment, especially on instrumental work orientation ('work for pay') and intrinsic work orientation ('an important aspect of a life') as well as the level of labour union enrolment (Vogel 2003). Also Rose (2003, 506, 527) distinguishes between extrinsic factors (job security, pay or promotion) on the one hand and intrinsic factors (relations with managers, scope for initiative, and the nature of work itself) on the other hand. He concludes that affectivity and intrinsic rewards do matter, but less than sometimes assumed, once a greater range of influences of objective effects of the employment relationship (earnings, job security, hours worked) is introduced.

Contrary to the studies by Rose[7], we argue that the wage gaps and gender inequalities in the labour market should point to a gender-specific explanation of job satisfaction. The work of Catherine Hakim provides one such gendered theory of job satisfaction (Hakim 1998, Hakim 2000). In her 'preference theory' she argues that female part-timers have lower expectations of work, because their main concern is in other life domains than employment. Two dominant factors are responsible for the higher satisfaction of women: 'the convenience factor of being able to comply with husbands´ preferences regarding work' and 'convenience factors allowing a job to be fitted in with other life priorities' (Hakim 1991, 107f). Thus, Hakim concludes that the job satisfaction of secondary earners is determined by convenience factors and the degree of fit between workers and jobs and not by job quality in terms of pay, job security, fringe benefits, opportunities of training and promotion. But women are a more heterogeneous group (Hakim 2000); some women are as career-oriented as men and thus do not differ in their job satisfaction from male counterparts. Hakim shows, that the differences between gender recording the work commitment and job satisfaction 'only disappear in higher-grade, male-dominated professional and managerial occupations which normally require a major investment in skills, experience, and full-time work.' (Hakim 1991, 109) So the exclusion of part-timers should lead to the disappearance of the gendered differential in job satisfaction. In our investigation therefore, we analyse whether the part-timers are in fact more satisfied (but there might be a high share of involuntary part-timers).

Research hypotheses

To explore the effects of flexible elements of employment (schedule, work hours and place) and/or non-permanent labour contracts upon job satisfaction, we address the following hypotheses:

First of all, we expect that the effects upon job satisfaction differ vastly between the investigated countries which reflect strong contrasts in flexibility regimes across an enlarged Europe. In the employee-lead flexibility regimes, exemplified here by the Netherlands and

7 But Rose did not go into greater details because in the regression model dummies for gender exert minor effects which have also been examined by others (Clark 1997; Sloane and Williams 2000).

Sweden, there are high standards in social security through legal or collective arrangements and strong labour regulations also exist for atypical workers (e.g. part-timers). As a consequence, temporal and contractual flexibility should not significantly lead to dissatisfaction with the job as a whole. This is in contrast to the situation in Eastern European countries and in the UK. Since the atypical sorts of employment are mainly determined by economic constraints and necessities and do not so much reflect employees' preferences these countries have been characterised as employer-lead flexibility regimes. As a result, the use of flexible elements of employment – that is, those that distinguish the regular worker from Monday to Friday on a full-time basis with a permanent contract from others – is expected to decrease job satisfaction among employees. Moreover, the negative effects of flexibility should predominate in those Eastern European countries where a full-time employment is often needed to make ends meet and where there is a high propensity to a permanent contract against the background of high unemployment rates.

Taking into account in more detail gender differences, we assume that some of the factors that make women's work worse than men's are those associated with flexibility: short term contracts and shorter working hours (Dex & McCulloch 1997, Perrons 1998, Standing 1999). It is well known that balancing work with other work activities (unpaid housework or childrearing) is still a women's domain in every day lives. Therefore, we assume that temporal flexibility - meaning short or excessive long work hours and/or with a work schedule differing from the standard norm - does affect job satisfaction among female employees but not so much among male counterparts. Furthermore, we assume the presence of children to have more of an effect upon the job satisfaction of women than of men. However, there are different traditions in how to combine work and care responsibilities in Eastern and Western European countries which are reflected in the following hypotheses: In the Western European countries that we are considering, part-time jobs are common among women as a way of increasing their labour market participation and as a way of combining work and care. In the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom women working less than 30 hours a week, especially (British) secondary earners with dependent children, are assumed to be more satisfied than women working more than 29 hours. However, reducing work hours is only a way of reconciling work and family when they have sufficient incomes to cover this eventuality (Haas et al. 2006; Uunk et al. 2005). In the ECE countries, by contrast, there is no tradition of part time work in this sense and flexibility is seen mainly as a way of eroding previously secure full time employment. Most women are strongly involved in a full-time job which is necessary to reach an acceptable standard of living (Hanjá 2000, Hùlkovà 2000, Zölky-Szita & Hagedus 2000). Hence, irrespective of having children or not women in ECE countries working less than 30 hours a week are less satisfied than female full-timers.

Finally, we address another important issue in the flexibility debate. Previous studies (e.g. Gallie et al. 1998) hint at the current importance of increased responsibilities and project-based work, sometimes termed 'empowerment' for organizational involvement. The extent of control and 'structuring' of flexibility can be important in determining whether it is in the

employee's interests or not (Perrons 1998) and this is partly a result of the trend towards increased individualisation (Beck & Sopp 1997). Although these studies have already stressed the fundamental importance of workplace influence, most of them are carried out in one country or context and yet there is surprisingly little empirical evidence in a cross-national perspective.[8] Furthermore, the overly positive evaluation of the change 'from orders to negotiation' (Naegele et al. 2003, Voß & Pongratz 1998) is to be avoided. Increased personal responsibility for drawing the line between work and non-work may also be a burden and induce feelings of guilt and failure. Nevertheless, we assume that, overall, employees who may control their work hours, schedule and place are more satisfied than those whose working conditions are determined externally.

Data

The dataset we are using for our investigation was surveyed in 2001 within the scope of the project called 'Households, Work and Flexibility' (HWF) funded by the 5th Framework Programme of the European Commission. The population that we are investigating were employees, because self employed persons have the decision making authority over their working time, working place, as well as over their income and they have no contract. This dataset comprises altogether 10,123 respondents of whom 734 are self employed persons. From 9,389 not self employed persons 5,847 persons mentioned that they worked more than one week in their main activity. Furthermore, the analysis about job satisfaction is restricted to the main activity of respondents. Overall 3,705 respondents gave information about the variables in which we are interested.

Operationalisation

In quantitative surveys the overwhelming majority are (very) satisfied with their main job. Therefore, the single question about job satisfaction is not sufficiently valid and '(…) it seems highly probable that a composite measure of overall job satisfaction based on numerous job-facet measures will always produce more reliable and valid summary scores than a single-item measure. (…) A composite variable produces a scale that can be treated as close to interval level, greatly increasing its statistical versatility.'(Rose 2003, 510f). Similarly to Rose, we use an additive index including 4 variables about the subjective satisfaction referring to the main job. The people were asked: 'How satisfied are you in general with …the duration of your contract?', '…your hours of work?', '…your location of work?' and '…your earnings?'.[9] The satisfaction index with a Cronbach's Alpha = 0.69 is just about sufficient for measuring

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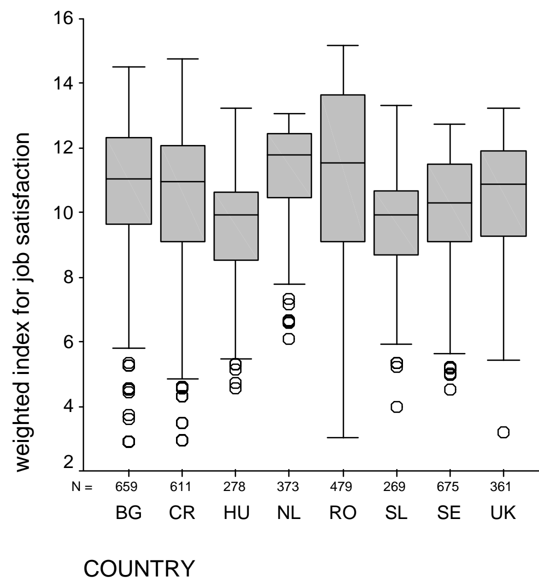
8 For instance, Rose (2003) considered the degree of workplace influence based on occupational level data only for Great Britain.

9 With the scale: very satisfied=4, somewhat satisfied=3, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied=2, somewhat dissatisfied=1, very dissatisfied=0

four extrinsic job content factors, whereas three of them belong to the most often mentioned factors of job satisfaction (earnings, job security, hours worked and work itself) by employees (Rose 2003, 511). Furthermore the satisfaction index of each country is weighted. Explorative factor analyses of these four satisfaction variables for each country produce in each case one factor whose factor loadings were used as country-specific weights of the variables by summing them up for the additive index (Bortz & Döring 2003, Kubinger 1996). This procedure gives consideration to the different meanings of the four extrinsic job aspects (hours worked, contract, location, earnings) in each country.

Table 1: Country specific weighted index of job satisfaction by country



Source: HWF Survey 2001; Sample: Employees (without self employed persons identified by a variable concerning the sort of contract);

The next issue was to create a variable for flexibility given that we had a range of questions on this topic. First of all, people were asked if they had a regular (full time) working schedule (the definition of which varies from country to country) and then looked at deviations from this schedule including shift work, flexitime and other regular (annualised hours, job sharing, term time working) or irregular schedule. Then we looked at the number of hours people actually worked on this activity, which were categorised as: less than 30, 30-40 and more than 40 hours per week. Flexibility of contract indicates the stability of the contract, either permanent or not. Flexibility of place indicates where a person works (at home, at a workplace, various places). To what extent employees are able to decide on their working conditions can be measured by another additive index, which includes the own decision (one point) or the decision together with the employer (half point) on number of working hours,

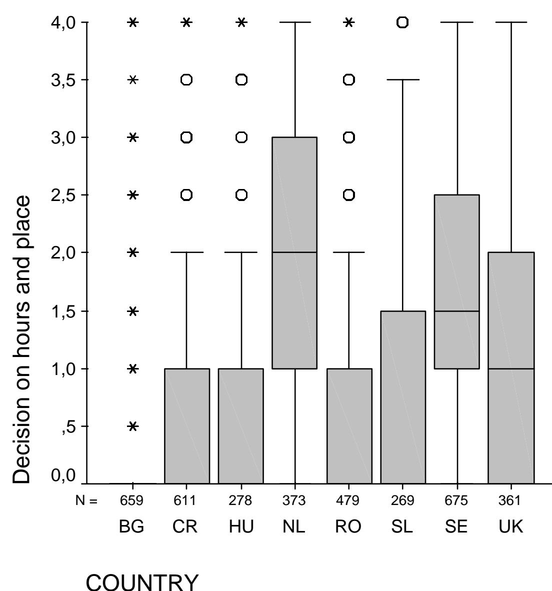
schedule, overtime and work place. The index of decision possibilities produces an 8 point scale (reaching from 0 to 4 with half points in between).

In order to test the assumption of Hakim that female secondary earners are the most satisfied employees, we distinguish between primary and secondary earner. We thus use the variable indicating whether the respondent or his/her partner provides the most important income[10]. Furthermore we distinguished between people with care responsibilities for children, using the age of the youngest child up to 3, between 4 and 6, 7 and 14 years in comparison to those with children older than 14 years or without children.

Results

Our descriptive analysis confirms the previous assumptions that in the ECE countries and in the UK workers have less influence upon working time and place than in the Netherlands and Sweden.

Table 2: Decision on hours and place by country



Source: HWF Survey 2001; Sample: Employees (without self employed persons identified by a variable concerning the sort of contract); Table 3 indicates the variations in degrees of control over hours of work and place of work in an additive scale ranging from 0 to 4 with half points in between.

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10 Question wording: 'Which person in the household mainly brought in this income (=household income)'.

Using linear multiple regression, to test our hypotheses about the effects upon job satisfaction, we see an interesting pattern. In the following countries: Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Romania, Slovenia and the United Kingdom income and flexible contract have priority insofar as higher earnings increase whereas a fixed term contract decrease job satisfaction. In Hungary, only income is on the top of the ranking list. In the Netherlands and in Sweden it is mainly and nearly exclusively the ability to decide over work hours, over schedule and over place issues which increases job satisfaction. Meanwhile, in the ECE countries the decision is of minor importance and is outbalanced by the strong impact of income and job security. This pattern leads to the conclusion that in employer-lead flexibility regimes financial aspects and permanent contracts explain to a high extent the subjective well-being in the job. This is in contrast to employee-lead regimes where the decision about working conditions predominates job satisfaction. Beside contractual flexibility, temporal work aspects influence job satisfaction as well. Long working hours, more than 40 hours per week, lead to dissatisfaction in Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia and Sweden. Only in the UK, employees working part-time are more satisfied than full-timers.

Table 3: Summary of country-specific multiple regression

BULGARIA	**CZECH REPUBLIC**	**HUNGARY**	**ROMANIA**	**SLOVENIA**
n=659, ad R^2=.26, p=.000	n=611, ad R^2=.08, p=.000	n=278, ad R^2=.04, p=.046	n=479, ad R^2=.21, p=.000	n=269, ad R^2=.26, p=.000
flexible contract (-) high income mid income tert. edu (-), rural area decision woman, sec. edu (-), more than 40 hours (-)	high income sec. earner (-) flexible contract (-) decision rural area woman	high income woman flexible schedule (-)	high income mid income high professional occupation flexible contract (-), more than 40 hours (-) decision	high income mid income more than 40 hours (-) flexible contract (-) child 4-6 (-), child 0-3 (-) decision flexible work place (-)

Bulgaria *Men*	Bulgaria *Women*	Czech Rep. *Men*	Czech Rep. *Women*	Hungary *Men*	Hungary *Women*	Romania *Men*	Romania *Women*	Slovenia *Men*	Slovenia *Women*
n=325	*n=334*	*n=313*	*n=298*	*n=128*	*n=150*	*n=232*	*n=247*	*n=141*	*n=128*
ad R^2=.32	*ad R^2=.20*	*ad R^2=.07*	*ad R^2=.07*	*ad R^2=.01*	*ad R^2=.09*	*ad R^2=.21*	*ad R^2=.22*	*ad R^2=.30*	*ad R^2=.24*
p=.000	*p=.000*	*p=.002*	*p=.002*	*p=.400*	*p=.032*	*p=.000*	*p=.000*	*p=.000*	*p=.000*
flex. contract (-) high income mid income rural area high prof. occ. decision more than 40 (-)	flex. contract (-) high income mid income tert. edu. (-), sec. edu. (-), rural area, decision	high income sec. earner (-)	flexible contract (-) decision	n.s.	high income mid income decision (-)	high income sec. edu. flexible contract (-) more than 40 (-) child 7-14 (-)	high income mid income high prof. occ., tert.edu. (-) more than 40 (-) decision flexible contract (-)	high income mid income age, flexible contract (-) more than 40 (-)	high income more than 40 (-) sec. earner, child 4-6 (-) flexible schedule (-) decision

NETHERLANDS	**SWEDEN**	**UNITED KINGDOM**
n=373, ad R^2=.04, p=.020	n=675, ad R^2=.11, p=.000	n=361, ad R^2=.08, p=.000
decision	decision flexible contract (-) more than 40 hours (-)	flexible contract (-) less than 30 hours, child 4-6 (-) mid income

Netherlands *Men*	Netherlands *Women*	Sweden *Men*	Sweden *Women*	United Kingdom *Men*	United Kingdom *Women*
n=196, ad R^2=.13	*n=177, ad R^2=.001*	*n=345, ad R^2=.12*	*n=330, ad R^2=.10*	*n=154, ad R^2=.02*	*n=207, ad R^2=.07*
p=.001	*p=.448*	*p=.000*	*p=.000*	*p=.275*	*p=.027*
decision sec. earner (-) flexible contract (-)	n.s.	decision flexible contract (-) sec. earner	decision flexible contract (-) more than 40 (-) high income child 4-6 (-)	n.s.	less than 30 hours mid income child 4-6 (-) flexible contract (-)

Source: HWF Survey 2001
Sample: Employees (without self employed persons identified by a variable concerning the sort of contract); variables ranking by the standardised coefficient to identify the strongest significant influence on job satisfaction
ad R^2 … adjusted R^2
(-) … negative influence on job satisfaction
, between variables means almost the same influence
n.s. … not significant
sec., tert. edu. … secondary, tertiary education level
prof. occ. … professional occupation

Table 4a: Multiple Regression Analysis by country and by gender

	BULGARIA n=659 ad r=,25 p=,000	**MEN n=325 ad r=,32 p=,000**	**WOMEN n=334 ad r=,20 p=,000**	**CZECH REPUBLIC n=611 ad r=,08 p=,000**	**MEN n=313 ad r=,07 p=,000**	**WOMEN n=298 ad r=,07 p=,000**	**HUNGARY n=278 ad r=,04 p=,046**	**MEN n=128 ad r=,01 p=,400**	**WOMEN n=150 ad r=,09 p=,032**	**NETHER-LANDS n=373 ad r=,04 p=,020**	**MEN n=196 ad r=,13 p=,001**	**WOMEN n=177 ad r=,001 p=,448**
(Constant)	10,67 **	10,41 **	11,21 **	10,35 **	10,11 **	11,05 **	8,98 **	10,01 **	8,96 **	11,14 **	11,40 **	11,89 **
Flexible schedule	-0,27	-0,11	-0,46	-0,19	-0,11	-0,25	-0,46 *	-0,18	-0,52	-0,13	0,19	-0,49
Less than 30 working hours	-0,36	-0,33	-0,24	-0,41	-0,31	-0,46	-0,02	-1,30	0,49	0,39	0,16	0,29
More than 40 working hours	-0,45 *	-0,56 *	-0,36	-0,36	-0,32	-0,30	0,26	0,63	0,19	-0,39	-0,31	-0,77
Flexible contract	-1,81 **	-2,10 **	-1,50 **	-0,93 **	-0,64	-1,39 **	0,53	0,52	0,51	-0,31	-0,65 *	-0,18
Flexible work place	-0,46	-0,95	0,09	-0,06	-0,43	1,22	0,09	-0,63	1,15	0,56	0,65	0,43
Decision on hours and place	0,36 **	0,30 *	0,45 **	0,33 **	0,25	0,41 *	0,01	0,04	-0,32 *	0,22 **	0,26 *	0,15
Mid income	0,98 **	1,36 **	0,92 **	0,07	0,08	0,02	0,58	-0,01	0,95 *	-0,03	-0,15	0,09
High income	1,59 **	1,98 **	1,32 **	0,79 **	0,85 *	0,70	0,94 *	0,20	1,41 **	0,48	0,35	0,25
second earner	0,31	0,39	0,18	-0,77 **	-0,88 *	-0,63	-0,15	-0,79	0,01	-0,23	-0,72 *	-0,23
Youngest child 0-3	0,15	-0,03	0,67	-0,10	-0,12	-0,28	0,20	0,01	0,02	-0,03	-0,10	0,32
Youngest child 4-6	-0,21	-0,27	-0,08	0,34	0,68	0,03	0,30	0,07	0,49	0,26	0,73	-0,07
Youngest child 7-14	-0,12	-0,36	0,08	0,47	0,31	0,52	-0,19	-0,01	-0,34	0,15	0,18	0,09
Woman	0,50 **			0,52 *			0,53 *			0,32		
High professional occupation	0,40	0,75 *	0,08	0,15	0,52	-0,18	-0,10	0,41	-0,46	-0,08	-0,07	-0,11
Secondary education	-0,49 *	-0,26	-0,85 *	-0,12	-0,10	-0,16	0,26	-0,16	0,56	-0,21	-0,47	0,00
Tertiary education	-1,02 **	-0,63	-1,28 *	-0,09	-0,25	0,04	0,44	0,39	0,50	-0,46	-0,17	-0,70
Age	-0,01	-0,01	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,00	-0,02	0,01	0,00	-0,01	0,00
Semi-urban area	0,03	0,03	-0,14	-0,22	-0,05	-0,36	-0,44	-0,65	-0,45	-0,30	-0,38	-0,18
Rural area	0,90 **	0,85 **	0,89 **	-0,68 *	-0,55	-0,73	0,02	-0,15	0,36	-0,08	0,50	-0,51

Source: HWF Survey 2001; Sample: Employees (without self employed persons identified by a variable concerning the sort of contract);

Table 4b: Multiple Regression Analysis by country and by gender

	ROMANIA n=479 ad r=,21 p=,000	**MEN n=232 ad r=,21 p=,000**	**WOMEN n=247 ad r=,22 p=,000**	**SLOVENIA n=269 ad r=,26 p=,000**	**MEN n=141 ad r=,30 p=,000**	**WOMEN n=128 ad r=,24 p=,000**	**SWEDEN n=675 ad r=,11 p=,000**	**MEN n=345 ad r=,12 p=,000**	**WOMEN n=330 ad r=,10 p=,000**	**UK n=361 ad r=,08 p=,000**	**MEN n=154 ad r=,02 p=,275**	**WOMEN n=207 ad r=,07 p=,027**
(Konstante)	9,07 **	8,65 **	10,10 **	10,19 **	10,82 **	9,43 **	10,32 **	10,10 **	10,62 **	11,16 **	12,08 **	10,72 **
Flexible schedule	0,15	0,49	-0,21	-0,25	-0,03	-0,67 *	-0,13	-0,01	-0,24	-0,14	-0,26	-0,03
Less than 30 working hours	-0,59	1,85	-1,16	-0,33	-0,63	-0,35	-0,06	-0,77	0,12	0,68 *	0,03	0,83 *
More than 40 working hours	-1,11 **	-0,92 *	-1,26 **	-0,79 **	-0,56 *	-0,91 *	-0,40 *	-0,34	-0,60 *	-0,02	0,05	-0,20
Flexible contract	-1,66 **	-1,88 **	-1,62 *	-0,72 **	-0,91 **	-0,31	-1,17 **	-1,56 **	-0,99 **	-0,84 **	-0,73	-0,79 *
Flexible work place	-0,44	-0,21	-1,36	-0,66 *	-0,61	-0,80	0,05	0,06	-0,05	-0,53	-0,34	-0,73
Decision on hours and place	0,40 **	0,34	0,43 **	0,20	0,17	0,29 *	0,33 **	0,36 **	0,31 **	-0,05	-0,15	0,01
Mid income	1,42 **	0,78	1,93 **	0,80 **	0,85 **	0,61	-0,01	0,02	-0,06	0,67 *	0,44	1,02 *
High income	2,18 **	1,83 **	2,52 **	1,69 **	1,71 **	1,34 **	0,13	-0,14	0,61 *	0,63	0,42	0,79
second earner	0,46	0,21	0,46	0,29	-0,20	0,78 *	-0,05	0,51 *	-0,23	-0,07	-0,24	-0,22
Youngest child 0-3	-0,10	-0,31	0,14	-0,84 *	-0,98	-0,90	-0,26	-0,12	-0,34	0,00	0,32	-0,13
Youngest child 4-6	0,22	-0,44	0,61	-0,91 **	-0,57	-1,31 **	0,04	0,55	-0,64 *	-1,19 **	-1,06	-1,12 *
Youngest child 7-14	-0,48	-1,01 *	-0,03	-0,15	-0,19	-0,39	0,02	0,04	-0,07	0,41	0,48	0,40
Woman	0,16			0,16			-0,02			0,40		
High professional occupation	1,42 **	1,36	1,44 **	-0,02	-0,50	0,49	-0,06	0,00	0,00	-0,08	0,00	-0,12
Secondary education	0,69	1,62 *	-0,17	-0,31	-0,51	0,03	-0,17	-0,27	0,01	-0,04	0,26	-0,19
Tertiary education	-0,49	0,73	-1,71 *	-0,37	-0,07	-0,65	-0,36	-0,36	-0,35	-0,39	-0,09	-0,45
Age	-0,01	-0,01	-0,02	-0,02	-0,03 *	0,00	-0,01	0,00	-0,01	-0,02	-0,04 *	0,00
Semi-urban area	-0,61	-0,93	-0,31	-0,14	-0,06	-0,17	0,07	0,14	0,00	0,22	0,04	0,29
Rural area	0,44	0,24	0,52	0,14	0,27	0,05	0,29	0,50	0,17	0,17	-0,19	0,47

Source: HWF Survey 2001; Sample: Employees (without self employed persons identified by a variable concerning the sort of contract);

Exploring the gendered effects of flexible work hours upon job satisfaction, we cannot confirm Hakim's thesis that Western women working less than 30 hours are more satisfied than female full-timers. There is a notable exception: British women are likely to prefer part-time jobs. Since, Hakim is working mainly in a British context, this perhaps reflects a certain amount of cultural bias (although she did consider her thesis cross-nationally too). We further assumed that in the ECE countries reducing work hours would decrease job satisfaction of women since a full-time job is necessary to make ends meet. Nonetheless, in our survey, ECE female part-timers are not significantly more *dis*satisfied with their job than full-timers. On the one hand, these part-timers might afford living without long hours. On the other hand, these women could be satisfied with having at least a part-time job instead of having no job or they, in fact, work longer hours by accumulating jobs (also informal ones). In any case, when they work excessively long hours – more than 40 hours – they are less satisfied with their job. This applies to women in some countries (Romania, Slovenia, and also in Sweden). This result reflects the difficulties to combine work with other responsibilities when work hours are excessively long. The presence of children has a negative effect upon job satisfaction only in three countries: British, Slovenian and Swedish women are more dissatisfied with their jobs when children are aged between 4 and 6 years. In the United Kingdom this result could partly reflect the lack in formal care institutions whereas it is not an explanation for Sweden with its high institutional care support. The dissatisfaction among Slovenian women might be connected to the imbalance between work and care against the background of a long hours work tradition. This interpretation is underlined by the result that Slovenian women being secondary earners are more satisfied with their job than being primary earners. Contrary to our hypothesis, it is not the Western women, but only the Slovenian female secondary earners who are more satisfied than the primary earners.

Conclusions

The principle aim of this paper was to investigate cross-national and gender differences in job satisfaction with different forms of flexible working conditions. Our main contribution to the flexibility debate is to show that in employer-lead flexibility regimes high income and a permanent contract did have the strongest positive impact upon job satisfaction. In the more employee-lead regimes, by contrast, the effective options to decide over when, where and how long to work made employees more satisfied with their job than those who lacked control over work conditions.

Temporal and contractual flexibility affected the subjective well-being with the job in various ways. There was a tendency that long hours of work (e.g. in Bulgaria, Slovenia, Romania and in Sweden) decreased job satisfaction, whereas a flexible work schedule or work place was of minor importance. In contrast to Hakim's conclusions about the lower work commitment of female part-timers in Western countries, this applied only to British female part-timers. Moreover, the arguments of Hakim that those Western women who perform

their paid work as kind of secondary earners are more satisfied than those who are more involved in paid labour were not borne out by our empirical data. In addition, rather to our surprise, the existence of caring responsibilities had an effect upon job satisfaction only in three countries (Slovenia, Sweden and United Kingdom). Hence, we could not explain gendered job satisfaction mainly with reference to the family situation, as Hakim has claimed. The preference theory about women's work and family commitment mainly helps to understand job satisfaction in the UK or probably in other wealthier Western European countries with a male breadwinner system. But, when including also Eastern European countries it turns out to be inappropriate.

Additionally, we were justified to take into account the importance of being able to determine the working hours, the schedule or/and the place of work which increased satisfaction among many different types of employees. In principle, the control over work increased our understanding of job satisfaction in the employee-lead flexibility regimes, in the Netherlands and Sweden. Hence, the most recent EU legislation, which offers greater possibility for workers to determine their own working schedules, will likely be welcomed almost everywhere. This form of empowerment is important for women as well as for men and might be one way to raise the employment rates of women and at the same time accommodate working hours to personal needs (and family needs) - policy aims that might otherwise prove contradictory in the Lisbon strategy. Our study did not yet include any Southern European countries, where personal needs and the kinds of jobs offered on the labour market might be most in conflict. This is something that should be addressed in future studies.

As a result, an overly simplistic evaluation of flexible employment is to be avoided. On the one hand temporal and contractual flexibility may lead to deteriorating working conditions for employees in employer-lead flexibility regimes where mainly external economic constraints and employers are determinant. On the other hand, flexibility could be life-enhancing for those who can control their working time, schedule and place conditions and who have social security in cases of social risks. The extent of self-responsibilities and decision is more of a factor in employee-lead flexibility regimes where income and contract do not make any difference among employees. Hence, we should empower employees to decide themselves about when, where and how long to work in order to make work more compatible with other responsibilities. For the employer-lead flexibility regimes, a challenge to be tackled would be to make work pay and to increase social insurance in case of high risks of job instability.

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Chapter 3: Employment patterns from a life course perspective in an enlarged Europe.[11]

Is it possible to identify national 'life course employment regimes'?

Nadia Steiber and Barbara Haas

Abstract

This paper addresses the issue of employment participation from a cross-national and a life-course perspective. Adopting Esping-Andersen's classification of welfare state regimes and based on official data from EUROSTAT and the OECD, we describe major cross-national differences in Europe with regard to employment and unemployment rates. The focus is on the general institutional background framing employment patterns in three distinct life course phases. Beginning with the phase of labour market entrance, we investigate in which European countries people start their working career early or late. Next, we analyse the main working phase (the 'rush hour of life') when most individuals combine paid work with other life domains. Finally, we draw our attention to the fact that there are strong cross-national differences with regard to when employees leave the labour market. The principle aim is to provide an overview of different employment patterns in 25 Eastern and Western European countries. This description provides a basis for future research on the explanation of country differences in this regard.

Introduction

For EU policy-makers the strongest incentive for the promotion of new policies with a life course orientation is the realisation of the Lisbon strategy and hence the achievement of the employment targets set for 2010, namely an overall employment rate of 70%, a female employment rate of 60% and of 50% for workers aged 55-64. Hence, analysing employment participation over the life course is of growing relevance for several reasons: Policy-makers agree on the need to increase the labour market participation of working-age people in the aim to make future welfare states sustainable. The aim of life course policies (Krieger, 2005) is to make sure that over the course of their lives people are enabled and encouraged to spend more time in employment, i.e. to enter earlier, retire later, and have fewer employment

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discontinuities across the life course. However, rather than for 'simple' activation policies, there is the need for an integrated policy which necessitates knowledge about the current state and developments in life course dynamics of employment patterns with a strong path-dependency on the architecture of welfare state policies.

We witness a growing academic interest in the life course perspective as an analytical framework that focuses on the dynamics in human life trajectories. Recent comparative studies focus more on the dynamic aspects in individual lives and show how the life course is embedded within the larger institutional framework, for instance, how the transition from school to work, family formation, retirement behaviour and other life course outcomes are shaped by the organisation of policies and institutional structures (Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2002; Blossfeld et al., 1998; Nazio and Blossfeld, 2003; Shanahan, 2000). The general message is that part of the cross-country variation in employment patterns may be ascribed to institutional factors such as the design of family and social policies, the education and training system, the availability and costs of child care facilities, labour market conditions, working time regimes and the income structure. Actually, life course research is highly fragmented with most studies focusing on specific transitions, a small set of countries and dealing with a very specific set of institutional structures as explanatory factors. The present study aims to contribute to current debates on whether it is possible to detect national 'life course regimes' (Mayer, 2004), or in other words, whether national patterns of life course trajectories exist and whether their different logics can be argued to reflect the overall institutional structure.

Hitherto, international comparative studies mainly referred to cross-sectional data and have shown that particular institutional arrangements are related to national variations in the extent and form of men's and women's labour market involvement. So even when nations face similar challenges (globalisation, individualisation and flexibilisation), cross-country differences are still huge[ns1]. Based on comparative official data for 25 European countries, we provide a descriptive overview about cross-national differences in employment patterns in the 'old' EU countries (except Luxembourg), the new member states (NMS without Cyprus) and candidate countries (CC-3 Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey). This has the advantage that we can draw on a wider range of countries than has previously been done with the aim of linking specific dimensions of institutional structures to life course patterns.

In a first step, we set out our analytical approach to the study of employment patterns over the life course. We focus on three distinct stages in the life course: the 'labour market entrance and pre-parental phase' (in short: 'entrance phase') when there are no caring responsibilities; the 'main working and parenting phase' typically termed the 'rush hour of life' (Groot and Breedveld, 2004; Naegele et al., 2003) in which the time demands of family and work life may conflict; and the 'empty nest and pre-retirement phase' (in short 'exit phase') when children have left the home and people start to retire from the labour market. Then we give an overview of the actual (un)employment patterns and assess the influence of the

societal context on gendered labour force participation over the life course. Finally, taking inspiration from Mayer's typology of 'life course regimes' (Mayer, 2004), we look at different regime types and aks whether they exhibit distinct life course regimes.

Employment patterns in the different stages over the life course

The countries are categorised mainly by their geographical location which is more or less in line with Esping-Andersen's (1990, 1992) 'worlds of welfare capitalism'. This categorisation of countries is still relevant to map different institutional conditions across Europe especially when dealing with the characteristic of welfare states and labour markets and the diverse patterns of female labour market participation in Western countries. We differentiate between Nordic Social Democratic, the Anglo-Saxon Liberal, the Continental Christian Democratic and the Mediterranean 'sub-protected regimes'. Hitherto life course research has mainly focused on the EU-15 countries. Hence, there is a lack of comparative studies but an increasing interest in the New Member States of the EU and the three candidate countries. These are included in our analysis grouped into two clusters: The New Member States and the Candidate Countries. Although these countries differ vastly from each other, they are often simply labelled as Post-socialist countries.

The overview is structured according to the three main life course phases and transitions: Starting with the 'labour market entrance and pre-parental phase', we look at country-differences in the educational system and particularly at enrolment rates in higher education as well as youth (un)employment rates. Second, we look at the paid work involvement of men and women in their 'main working and parenting phase'. In more detail, we look at average weekly work hours, overall and part-time employment rates as well as unemployment rates for workers in their core working age. Furthermore, in order to be able to explain cross-country differences specifically with respect to parental employment, we assess national levels of support for parents' and in particular mothers' continuous employment. Third, we look at the employment patterns among those in the 'empty nest and pre-retirement phase' focusing on cross-country differences in retirement behaviour and unemployment risks for older workers.

Entrance phase: Labour market entrance and pre-parental phase

In recent decades we witnessed a rapid educational expansion across many European countries. This had a great impact on how the transition from school to work tends to be organised. There has been a trend towards prolonged periods of time spent in the educational system. Hence, we may, as frequently argued, speak of a trend towards the up-skilling of labour market entrants. However, at the same time youth unemployment emerged as one of the major problems of many contemporary European societies. As a result, the transition from school to work has also become more risky and less predictable. Drawing on

official data to understand the way in which the education, training and labour market systems interact to shape the transition from school to work in Europe, we summarize the main trends in different welfare regimes (see Table 6 for overview):

Nordic regimes (Denmark, Finland, Sweden):

We find a comparably high youth employment rate, especially in Denmark and Sweden but less so in Finland, where due to the problem of youth unemployment labour market entrants tend to have stronger difficulties with finding a job than people in the core-working age. The duration of initial education tends to be long in all three Nordic countries. However, it is common practice for the Nordic youth to combine their studies with paid work, especially in Denmark, where we find a dual education system with occupation-specific training.

Continental regimes (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands):

While in some Continental European countries young persons enter employment at an early age (Austria and especially in the Netherlands), in others such as East Germany, Belgium and France labour market entry is more strongly postponed. Low youth employment rates in the latter may be ascribed to a relatively high youth unemployment rate. The initial education phase tends to be somewhat shorter in Continental Europe than in the Nordic regimes but longer than in Liberal or Mediterranean countries. In Germany, the Netherlands and Austria, which operate (dual) systems of occupationally-specific training at the secondary level, it is common that students combine initial education and training with employment.

Anglo-Saxon regimes (Ireland, United Kingdom):

The United Kingdom and Ireland are characterised by a high labour market participation of young people. This is due to a relatively low level of youth unemployment but also to the relatively short duration of initial education when compared to the Nordic countries. However, the transition from school to work is less smooth in the liberal than in many of the co-ordinated market economies of Continental Europe. First labour market entrants are less successful in accessing stable jobs in the primary labour market – they often experience excessive job hopping at the start of their career (Gangl, 2000).

Mediterranean regimes (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain):

The South of Europe is characterised by low youth employment rates, especially in Greece and Italy. This is rather than due to a long duration of initial education, mainly the results of a severe lack of employment opportunities for young people. In the South of Europe young people and also the better educated among them face great difficulties with entering the labour market. With the notable exception of Portugal, the youth unemployment rate amounts to about a quarter of those aged below 25.

New Member States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia):

Similarly as Greece and Italy, the New Member States are characterised by an exceptionally low youth employment rate that amounts to 30% or less among those aged below 25. In many countries this may be ascribed to the problem of youth unemployment that is most severe in Poland, Slovakia and Lithuania. However, in the Baltic countries, Poland and Slovenia also the comparatively long duration of initial education adds to the explanation of low youth employment rates.

Candidate Countries (CC-3) (Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey):

Also in the candidate countries, youth employment rates are rather low. This is due to high youth unemployment (especially in Bulgaria where the under 25-year olds face an unemployment rate of almost 40%) and is the case despite the fact that people tend to leave the educational system at a comparatively early age. The share of 25-year olds who are still in education (less than 45%) is lower than in any other European country.

The country comparison of youth employment rates shows that the proportions of young employees are much lower in Southern and Eastern than in Northern European countries. Southern European countries are generally characterised by high youth unemployment rates (Breen and Buchmann, 2002; Couppié and Mansuy, 2001). However, it has to be mentioned that Portugal differs from the other Southern European countries in that young people suffer a much lower risk of unemployment. Among the post-socialist countries it is Bulgaria and Poland which stand out as the countries with the highest youth unemployment rates in Europe. In these countries, young people faced difficulties in moving from education to work because the education and training system does not yet supply the skills needed in the market economy with employers often unwilling to bear the costs of on-the-job-training and seniority rules protecting older workers (Nesporova, 2002 cited from Bovenberg, 2005).

Table 6: Structural context for youth

	Youth employment rate (<25 years)*	Youth unemployment rate (<25 years)*	Pupils/students aged 15-24 as % of the corresponding age population**	Expected duration of initial education after age 5 in years***	Share of population aged 25-29 in education****
Denmark	59.4	9.8	62	18	40.2
Finland	38.5	21.6	68	19	27.1
Sweden	45.0	13.8	65	20	22.8
Austria	50.7	7.5	51	16	12.5
Belgium	27.1	19.0	65	19	8.9
France	24.1	20.2	61	17	18.6
Germany	42.4	10.6	63	17	17.9
Netherlands	68.4	6.6	63	17	6.2
Ireland	45.8	7.6	53	17	4.8
UK	59.8	11.5	54	20	15.0
Greece	26.3	25.1	56	16	6.9
Italy	26.0	26.3	48	17	15.6
Portugal	38.4	14.6	52	17	11.7
Spain	36.8	22.7	57	17	15.4
Czech Republic	31.4	17.6	52	16	3.0
Estonia	27.1	24.5	62	18	
Hungary	26.7	13.4	52	17	12.6
Latvia	29.0	22.9	59	17	
Lithuania	22.9	30.9	65	17	
Poland	19.6	43.0	63	17	17.3
Slovakia	27.6	33.1	46	15	2.6
Slovenia	30.3	15.7	63	17	
Bulgaria	21.0	39.3	44	15	
Romania	32.7	17.6	42	15	
Turkey	30.5	20.5	n.a.	n.a.	3.7

*Source: (OECD, 2005b) data are for 2003; for Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovenia data are from the national LFS and refer to the second quarter of 2001 (Eurostat, 2003b).
**Source: Eurostat - Education statistics (UOE) for 2000/01. Refers to ISCED level 1-6 except for Germany, Italy, where data excludes ISCED level 6. - Greece: Reference date for population is 1 January 2000 (Eurostat, 2003a).
*** Source: Eurostat, UOE and population statistics: school expectancy is an estimate of the number of years a typical 5-year-old child can expect to be enrolled in the education system during his or her lifetime if current enrolment patterns remain unchanged. See: http://www.eurydice.org/Documents/cc/2005/en/FrameSet.htm
****Source: (OECD, 2005a), data for 2003 except for the Netherlands and Italy (for 2002)..

Main working phase: the ‘rush hour of life’

The main problems and questions during the ‘rush hour of life’ include the management of the conflicting demands of work and family; between furthering ones career, investing in lifelong learning and taking care of children and other dependants such as elderly relatives. This is argued to be increasingly problematic in the light of the ever increasing participation of women in paid employment and the decline of the ‘male breadwinner female full-time carer’ model (e.g. (Blossfeld et al., 1998; Ellingsaeter, 1999). On account of different institutional, economical and cultural contexts (Uunk et al., 2005), employment patterns and the extent to which they are gendered vary considerable across Europe. It is well-established in the literature that female employment rates tend to be higher in countries that actively support maternal employment through the provision of a subsidised publicly financed

childcare system that makes it possible for parents to conciliate paid work with family commitments (e.g. the Nordic countries). In many European countries, however, mothers of small children lack such support with the result that the presence of children still has strong depressing effect on female labour supply. Labour markets institutions facilitating women's exit and entry in the labour market not only lead to higher female employment but also to higher fertility rates. Especially in Southern European countries (Bovenberg, 2005) and some Eastern European countries fertility dropped drastically.

Let us briefly outline the main differences across welfare state and working time regimes (Burgoon and Baxandall, 2004; Esping-Andersen, 1990; Stier and Lewin-Epstein, 2001). The Nordic Social Democratic regimes foster female labour market participation by the provision of state support for maternal employment (e.g. extensive child care services). They have a long tradition of work time reduction and exhibit high levels of overall labour market participation. Liberal regimes, by contrast, have traditionally abstained from regulating working time, hence exhibit a 'long hours culture' as well as deeply gendered working time practices with men working particularly long hours and women often being confined to short part-time jobs due to a severe lack of public care services. Christian Democratic welfare regimes resemble the Social Democratic regimes in their tradition of work hour reductions and the presence of a highly developed system of social security. However, employment rates tend to be lower, especially among the female population. This is due to the fact that Christian Democratic regimes have characteristics that lend themselves to the preservation of the traditional model of the family with a strong focus on male breadwinner full-time employment. Similarly, the 'sub-protected' welfare regimes of Southern Europe exhibit a lack in caring institutions to enable a work-care balance which heavily depends on family and friendship networks. There is a strong duality between those women who constantly stay in employment and those who permanently exit the labour market after child birth and there are few opportunities to reduce work hours. In the ECE countries, as well, there is no tradition of part time work, this kind of labour market flexibility being seen mainly as a way of eroding previously secure full time employment. Most women are strongly involved in a full-time job which is necessary to reach an acceptable standard of living (Hanjá, 2000; Hùlkovà, 2000; Zölky-Szita and Hagedus, 2000).

In the following, we give an overview of the main working time practices during the 'rush hour of life' and the structural factors that are likely to impact on gendered employment patterns. We look at the availability of employment for those in their core working age (employment and unemployment rates for those aged 25-54) as well as at the patterns of gendered labour market integration that vary considerably across Europe (e.g. female part-time rate). Furthermore, to give us a better understanding of maternal employment we look at indicators of child care coverage in publicly funded child care.

Table 7: Structural context for core working age

	Employment rate (25-54 years)*		Unemploy-ment rate (25-54 years)*	Average weekly work hours of full-timers (15-64 years) **	Part-time employment (subjective declaration) in % of total employment (15-64 years) **		Part-time employment (<30 hours) in % of total employment (15-64 years)***	
	m	f			m	f	m	f
Denmark	88.0	78.9	5.0	40.3	10.5	10.5	10.5	21.9
Finland	83.3	78.8	7.3	40.6	8.0	8.0	8.0	15.0
Sweden	85.3	81.7	4.9	40.8	7.9	7.9	7.9	20.5
Austria	90.1	76.7	4.2	41.5	3.2	3.2	3.2	26.1
Belgium	84.4	67.7	7.0	41.3	5.9	5.9	5.9	33.4
France	87.0	71.6	8.1	40.7	4.7	4.7	4.7	22.7
Germany	84.2	72.0	9.1	41.0	5.9	5.9	5.9	36.3
Netherlands	90.7	74.0	3.1	40.6	14.8	14.8	14.8	59.6
Ireland	87.0	65.1	3.9	40.9	7.5	7.5	7.5	34.3
UK	87.6	74.1	3.8	43.7	9.6	9.6	9.6	40.1
Greece	89.3	56.6	8.3	44.3	2.9	2.9	2.9	10.2
Italy	86.5	54.9	7.2	40.5	4.9	4.9	4.9	23.6
Portugal	88.0	74.2	5.7	41.6	5.9	5.9	5.9	14.9
Spain	86.0	56.5	10.2	41.6	2.5	2.5	2.5	16.5
Czech Republic	89.7	73.5	7.0	43.1	1.6	1.6	1.6	5.3
Estonia	79.5	72.2	11.5	41.6				
Hungary	80.1	67.4	5.3	41.4	2.1	2.1	2.1	5.1
Latvia	76.8	75.1	12.1	43.8				
Lithuania	74.6	76.4	15.3	39.4				
Poland	73.0	62.1	17.3	43.4	7.1	7.1	7.1	16.8
Slovakia	80.5	71.5	15.1	41.0	1.3	1.3	1.3	3.6
Slovenia	87.5	80.0	4.6	42.6				
Bulgaria	69.3	66.8	17.6	41.3				
Romania	83.5	71.7	6.3	41.8				
Turkey	79.9	27.4	8.7	n.a.	3.6	3.6	3.6	12.3

* Source: (OECD, 2005b), data are for 2003, employment rate defined employment/population ration, i.e. as persons aged 25-54 in employment divided by the corresponding age population; unemployment rate defined as persons aged 25-54 in unemployment divided by the corresponding aged labour force. For Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovenia data are from the national LFS and refer to the second quarter of 2001 (Eurostat, 2003b).
** Source: Eurostat (see URL: http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int) [accessed Dec 2005]. The average number of hours corresponds to the number of hours the person normally works. This covers all hours including extra hours, either paid or unpaid, which the person normally works. It excludes commuting time and meal beaks. The distinction between full-time and part-time work is made on the basis of a spontaneous answer given by the respondent.
*** Source: (OECD, 2005b); part-time employment refers to usual work hours of < 30 hours per week in the main job.

Nordic regimes (Denmark, Finland, Sweden):

The Nordic regimes tend to exhibit high employment and low unemployment rates. Work-time policies favour work hour reductions, so that compared to other countries, there is a very low incidence of long hours working. Most full-timers have a standard work week of 40 hours. The female part-time rate is at a medium level but tends to involve longer hours than the part-time work typically performed in Continental Europe and especially in the Netherlands and the UK. Female labour-market participation is fostered through flexible and generous parental leave systems coupled with a highly subsidised and extensive publicly

financed childcare system. As a consequence, employment rates of mothers are high. This 'success story' of work-care balance also adds to the explanation of why fertility rates are among the highest in Europe. Finland differs from Denmark and Sweden in that mothers are less likely to be in paid work when children are less than three years of age.

Continental regimes (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands):

In Continental Europe we tend to find employment rates in the core working age which come close to the level found in the Nordic countries. Especially in conservative welfare regimes, long parental leave, high income taxes on secondary earners and a lack of child care institutions lead to high female part-time rates but generally to low maternal employment rates. Part-time work, which tends to inolve shorter hours than in the Nordic countries, is a common form of female labour-market participation, especially in the Dutch part-time society but also in West Germany, Belgium and Austria. However, due to differences in the public provision of care the gender polarisation of working time is clearly higher in Germany and in the Netherlands when compared to France. France provides for more extensive public child care and female part-time work is, though rising in importance, less common than in other Continental European countries. Especially in conservative regimes, the take-up of part-time work entails the risk of poverty because in these regimes social insurance systems are oriented towards the principle of equivalence. The risk of becoming unemployed differs vastly between countries; it is high in (East) Germany and very low in the Netherlands.

Anglo-Saxon regimes (Ireland, United Kingdom):

Employment rates in Anglo-Saxon countries are comparable to those in continental Europe. However, these regimes are characterised by a relatively low unemployment rate. We find a higher gender polarisation of working time; with many men working long full-time hours and women confined to marginal part-time jobs (see also Anxo and O' Reilly, 2002). We find a severe lack of child care facilities with the result that mothers of children under school age are less often in employment than their Nordic counterparts. When children reach school age, employment rates significantly rise, at least in the UK, while in Ireland maternal paid work involvement still remains at a very low level when children grow older.

Mediterranean regimes (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain):

Compared to the Nordic and continental or Anglo-Saxon countries, Southern European countries exhibit a much lower employment rate among the core age group and a higher unemployment rate peaking at 10% in Spain. Working hours are especially long for Greek full timers, but vary around the 40 hours in all other Mediterranean countries. We find relatively low female employment rates and – with the exception of Italy - a low incidence of part-time work among women. The residual welfare regimes of Southern Europe exhibit the highest incidence of the traditional male breadwinner model. Whereas younger women or

single women without children tend to work full-time, a high share of women permanently leaves the labour market upon the arrival of children. As the public provision of childcare facilities is low, there is a strong reliance on the family and especially on women as homemakers and primary care providers. However, Portugal stands out as the country with exceptionally and in this sense for Southern Europe atypically high maternal employment rates, a fact that can be explained by specific historical reasons like the colonial war (1961-1974), among others (Torres et al., 2006).

New Member States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia):

Employment rates in the NMS are highest in Slovenia and the Czech Republic (above 80%) and lowest in Poland (68%). Due to economic restructuring during the transition period, unemployment remains a problem in most of these countries with the exception of Slovenia, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Some European countries are characterised by very long working hours of full timers. This concerns the Czech Republic, Latvia, Poland and Slovenia. In Lithuania, by contrast, the average weekly working hours are at a similarly low level as in the Nordic countries. What all New Member states have in common, though, is the low relevance of female part-time work. In terms of reconciliation policies, the former socialist countries differ strongly from one another. While in Slovenia, policies are strongly supportive of maternal employment (Stropnik, 2001), Hungary and the Czech Republic encourage a 'transitional' model (Haas et al., 2006) providing generous support for the home care of children up to the age of three or four, while the majority of children above this age are cared for in kindergartens allowing for the full-time employment of mothers (Herczog, 2000; Koncz, 2002; Stropnik, 2001). Finally, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland stand out as the countries which provide least support for maternal employment in terms of care facilities.

Candidate Countries (Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey):

Bulgaria and Turkey are characterised by low employment rates in the core working age group. In Bulgaria this is mainly due to the problem of high unemployment, while in Turkey this can partly be ascribed to high unemployment but is also strongly connected to the exclusion of women from the labour market. In Romania people have higher employment rates as they face a relatively low risk of unemployment. In Bulgaria and Romania female employment rates by far surpass what we find in Southern Europe, despite the fact that the state provides little support for maternal employment when children are still young (Kovacheva, et al. 2003, Stanculescu, et al. 2003). This is not the case in Turkey, however, where only about one quarter of women in the working-age is in gainful employment. Turkey is characterised by a strong exclusion of all women from the labour market, and there is an exceptionally high fertility rate.

Table 8: Structural context for parental labour market participation

	Proportion of young children who use day care facilities by age of children 1998/99*		Total fertility rate of women 2003**	Maternal employment rates by age of youngest child 2002 ***		
	0-3 year	3- mandatory school age		<3	3-5	6-14
Denmark	64	91	1.76	71.4	77.5	79.1
Finland	22	66	1.76	32.2	74.7	85.3
Sweden	48	80	1.71	72.9	82.5	77.4
Austria	4	68	1.38	80.1	70.3	69.8
Belgium	30	97	1.64	70.4	67.4	68.6
France	29	99	1.89	66.2	63.2	67.5
Germany West	2	60	1.34	56.0	58.1	64.3
Germany East	16	87				
Netherlands	6	98	1.75	74.2	68.2	70.1
Ireland	-	56	1.98	51.1	52.3	51.1
UK	-	60	1.71	57.2	56.9	67.0
Greece	3	46	1.28	47.9	50.9	53.5
Italy	6	95	1.28	54.4	51.7	49.4
Portugal	12	75	1.44	75.3	81.9	76.3
Spain	5	84	1.30	51.7	50.3	47.7
Czech Republic	1	85	1.18	16.8	36.5	69.2
Estonia	19	85	1.37			
Hungary	11	86	1.27			
Latvia	13	52	1.29			
Lithuania	10	42	1.26			
Poland	5	48	1.22			
Slovakia	46	90	1.20			
Slovenia	29a	71a	1.20			
Bulgaria	10	65	1.23			
Romania	1	80	1.27			
Turkey	-	-	2.20			

*Source: (OECD, 2005b); For Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania: (UNICEF 1999) (data for 1997); For West and East Germany: (Engelbrech, et al. 2001); for under 3 year olds, no comparable figures for Ireland and Slovenia (in the latter 29% of 1-2 year olds are covered). Slovenian data for 3+ olds from N. Stropnik (Slovenian expert)
**Source: Eurostat (see URL: http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal,) [accessed April 2006]; estimated value for the EU-25, the UK and Turkey and provisional value for Ireland and Slovenia.
***Source: (OECD, 2005c)

Exit phase: empty nest and pre-retirement phase

Demographic trends such as longer educational phases, low fertility rates and longer life expectancy put enormous pressure upon the sustainability of social security and welfare systems. However, in most European countries, governments have favoured definitive outflows from the labour force for older workers since the 1970s or 1980s, when early labour market exit has often been used to adjust to social and economic pressures (OECD, 2005b). Hence, early retirement has become more widespread in many European countries during the last decades. The effective average age of retirement in OECD countries stands far below the statutory age of 65 in most countries. Among European countries, bad performers

in terms of employment rate of older workers (aged 55-64) are Austria, Bulgaria, Belgium, France, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia (employment rates around 40% or below), while Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and the UK reach employment rates of 60% or more. This is mainly due to differences in the extent that the policy framework sets incentives for early exit. However, in some countries the low employment rate of older workers may be ascribed to the problem of unemployment (e.g. in Bulgaria, Slovakia and Poland) and to the difficulties to find new jobs as long as they lack skills and training opportunities (Gallie, 2002).

Cross-national differences can be summarized as follows:

Nordic regimes (Denmark, Finland, Sweden):

Denmark and Sweden manage to retain older workers longer in the labour market than other European countries (e.g. through options for phased retirement). This is less the case for Finland, however, where unemployment for older workers is more of an issue.

Continental regimes (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands):

In Continental Europe, the pressure to introduce pension reforms was particularly acute given rising old age dependency ratios and pension costs. Until yet, such reforms did not bring about hoped-for changes in activity levels. With the exception of the Netherlands, the employment rates of workers aged 55-64 are among the lowest in Europe.

Anglo-Saxon regimes (Ireland, United Kingdom):

Ireland and the UK both exhibit comparatively high employment and low unemployment rates for older workers. Interesting to see is also, that although Great Britain faced less pressing old age dependency and lower expenditures, the first policy decision to raise the statutory pension age occurred here to induce further privatisation of pensions (Ebbinghaus, 5-7 May 2003).

Mediterranean regimes (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain):

In Southern Europe a lower proportion of the 55-65 aged are still working than in the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic countries. However, Greece, Portugal and Spain (but not Italy) exhibit higher employment rates of older workers than many Continental European countries. With the notable exception of Portugal, we find very low employment rates among elderly female workers. Interestingly, Portuguese and Greek men tend to stay longer in the labour market than what the mandatory retirement age prescribes (OECD, 2005b)).

New Member States (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia):

In some of the New Member States such as Slovenia, Poland and Hungary employment rates among elderly workers between 55-64 years are very low, amounting to less than 40% for men. Only in Poland, however, this can be accounted for by unemployment risks for this age group. In the Czech Republic and Estonia, we find employment rates in this age group which are comparable to what we find in Southern Europe (almost 60% for men).

Candidate Countries (Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey):

In the Candidate countries employment rates of older workers tend to be low. Less than half of men aged between 55 and 64 still work, this figure dropping to less than a quarter for Bulgarian and Romanian women in this age group.

Table 9: Structural context for elderly workers

	Employment rate (55-64 years)*		Unemployment rate (55-64 years)*		Average effective retirement ages**	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Denmark	67.3	52.9	5.9	5.3	65.3	62.1
Finland	51.0	48.3	8.9	9.2	60.8	59.8
Sweden	70.8	66.3	5.2	6.0	63.5	62.0
Austria	40.4	20.8	4.7	4.0	59.6	58.9
Belgium	37.8	18.7	8.4	7.6	58.5	56.8
Germany	48.2	31.6	10.1	8.2	60.9	60.2
France	40.9	32.9	10.5	8.6	59.3	59.4
Netherlands	56.7	31.8	3.9	3.5	61.0	59.1
Ireland	64.6	33.1	4.2	4.9	65.2	66.2
UK	64.8	46.3	4.3	5.5	63.1	61.2
Greece	58.7	25.5	15.0	6.2	62.4	60.9
Italy	42.8	18.5	11.3	6.5	61.2	60.5
Portugal	62.1	42.4	7.2	5.4	65.8	63.5
Spain	59.2	23.3	16.0	8.4	61.6	61.3
Czech Republic	57.5	28.4	9.9	6.2	62.0	58.3
Estonia	58.9	47.3	9.9	10.5		
Hungary	37.8	21.8	5.5	6.0	57.8	56.0
Latvia	51.3	38.8	10.6	10.1		
Lithuania	55.3	36.7	13.1	12.3		
Poland	35.2	19.8	20.0	18.6	60.9	58.8
Slovak Republic	41.0	11.2	17.8	17.2	59.4	56.1
Slovenia	33.2	14.6	7.0	6.0		
Bulgaria	40.5	21.0	13.2	13.9	60.1a	57.5a
Romania	43.5	33.3	6.3	7.2	62.6a	62.9a
Turkey	45.4	22.1	10.1	10.7	62.5	61.9

*The employment rate is calculated by dividing the number of persons aged 55 to 64 in employment by the total population of the same age group. Unemployment rates represent unemployed persons as a percentage of the labour force. Source: Eurostat (see: http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal) [accessed Dec 2005]
**Source: (OECD, 2005c), data for Bulgaria and Romania from Eurostat (see: http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/portal)

Conclusion

The following Table 5 gives a summary of the most central life course transitions in different countries allocated to five different country clusters. As can be seen, this does not lead to a neat scheme that would allow for developing causal hypothesis about life course outcomes of different institutional contexts. Countries allocated to the same regime types tend to differ substantially in terms of labour market outcomes. Hence, Table 5 should be taken as an overview, while keeping in mind that life course outcomes are in effect the result of national specificities. For instance, educational systems in continental Europe differ substantially from one another: while there is a dual education and training system in Austria, Germany and the Netherlands and therefore we fnd a rather smoth transition from school to work, in France and Belgium, the more general education system in combination with the problem of youth unemployment leads to considerably lower youth employment rates. Also the pattern of maternal employment behaviour differes within country and welfare state regime clusters: Portugal does not follow the Southern patter with its exceptionally high maternal employment rates, while France differs from other Continental European countries with its pattern of continuous full-time female participation over the life course for the majority of women. Another example can be drawn from the retirement phase: Denmark and Sweden manage to retain older workers longer in the labour market than other European countries, while this is much less the case for Finland, where unemployment for older workers is more of an issue. Thus, contrary to Mayer's (2004) approach, it seems doubtful that we could develop a meaningful typology of institutional systems that would have the power to explain country differences in life course patterns, especially when we look at the whole life course rather than at specific transitions between different life stages. The life course consists of a series of distinct phases and transitions, each of which is shaped by a specific set of interplaying institutional structures and may, due to the varieties of institutional structures and the way they are interrelated require an explanation that is eventually country-specific.

We generally conclude that the Nordic countries and especially Denmark and Sweden exhibit characteristics that are favourable toward the goal of high continuous employment over the life course: comparatively early entry into the labour market of well trained young entrants, continuous high female participation coupled with fairly high fertility rates and late exit from the labour market. In contrast, in Southern Europe, we find a late and difficult transition from school to work, a common pattern of withdrawal from the labour market upon motherhood and an early exit from the labour market, especially in Italy. Furthermore, we were able to compare life courses of Northern, Western and Southern Europe with the New Member States and Candidate countries. The picture in the latter two groups of countries is very mixed. In some but not all we find a severe problem of unemployment for all age groups; in some we find a continuous pattern of female employment, while in others we find a complete and permanent withdrawal from the labour market upon motherhood. Finally, in some we find an early exit pattern from the labour market, while in others employment rates of older workers are at a higher level than in many Western European countries. Hence,

what the present study can provide is an illustration of the variety that exists in Europe in terms of time use patterns over the life-course. In which ways national life course variation reflects the national differences in the institutional set up, is a highly interesting area for future research.

Table 5: Life-course transitions in Europe

		Nordic	Continental	Liberal	Mediterranean	New Member States & Candidate Countries
Entrance phase	Leaving home*	Early	Early (AT, DE, FR) Medium (BEL, NL)	Early	Late	Early (LT, SI) Late (PO, HU, CZ, LV)
	Leaving school/training	Late	Late (stratified)	Medium	Early (stratified)	Early (BG, RO) Late (PO, SI)
	Labour market entry	Early (but part-time, i.e. combination of school/ training with employment)	Medium (combination of studies with employment in DE, AT & NL, smooth transition to employment except for FR & BE due to unemployment)	Early (difficult transition to employment - low unemploy-ment but often stopgap jobs for low skilled entrants)	Late (problem of youth unemployment especially in Italy, Spain and Greece but less so in Portugal)	Mixed (generally problem of youth unemployment, esp. in PL and BG, in the Baltic countries and Slovakia)
	Youth employment	High: DK,SE Medium: FI	High: AT, NL Medium: DE Low: FR, BE	High	Medium: PT, ES Low: EL, IT	Medium: CZ, SI, RO, TU Low: all others
Rush hour of life	Female work	High continuous: SE, DK High, but interruption for small children: FI	Moderate continuous: FR, BE Low traditional: WG, NL Moderate interruption: AT, EG	Low traditional: IE Moderate interruption: UK	High continuous: PT Moderate traditional (FT or exit): IT, ES, EL	High continuous SI, LV High but interruption: EE, LT, SK, CZ, BG Moderate interruption: HU, RO Moderate traditional: PL
	Fertility	Medium	Low: AT, DE, Medium: FR, BE, NL	Medium	Low: IT, EL, ES Medium: PT	Very low: CZ, LT, LV, SI Low: EE, HU, PL, SK, BG, RO High: TU
Exit phase	Retirement	Late	Early Medium: NL	Late	Medium: EL, PT, ES Early: IT	Early: HU, PL; SK, SI, BU, RO, TK Medium: CZ, EE, LT, LV

This classification takes inspiration from Mayer (2004) but is adapted to include other life course phases, indicators and country clusters *Source: Billeri et al. 2001

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Chapter 4: Female labour market participation over the life course in an enlarged Europe[12]

Nadia Steiber and Barbara Haas

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to address cross-national differences in *female* labour market participation over the life course in an enlarged Europe. Drawing on the Eurobarometer Surveys on Time Use (EB 60.3 and the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer, CCEB 2003), we find huge variations in paid work hours among women in Eastern and Western European countries. We find seven major life course models of female labour market integration over the life course, which cut across welfare state regime types and geographical location.

Introduction and analytical approach

In the light of the ever increasing female labour market participation and the decline of the 'male breadwinner female full-time carer' models (Blossfeld and Drobnic, 2002; Ellingsaeter, 1999; Lewis, 2002), the main working phase can be seen a the 'rush hour of life' for workers with caring obligations. The main problems and questions during this period of increased time squeeze include the management of the conflicting demands of work and family; between furthering ones career, investing in lifelong learning and taking care of children and other dependants such as elderly relatives. However, on account of different institutional, economical and cultural contexts (Uunk, 2005), the work-care 'solutions' differ considerable across Europe and are reflected in specific female employment patterns over the life course.

Cross-national comparative studies on female labour market participation have shown that particular institutional arrangements (Lewis, 2002; Stier and Lewin-Epstein, 2001; Uunk et al., 2005) and cultural beliefs (Pfau-Effinger, 1998) contribute to our understandings of huge national variations in employment patterns. These studies heavily rely on welfare state regimes proposed by Esping-Andersen (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 2002, 2002) and their further elaboration with a focus on gendered aspects of women's employment. Recent research stresses the importance of the dynamic aspects in individual lives and shows how the life course is embedded within the larger institutional framework, for instance, how the

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transition from school to work, family formation, retirement behaviour and other life course outcomes are shaped by the organisation of policies and institutional structures (Blossfeld et al., 1998; Nazio and Blossfeld, 2003; Shanahan, 2000). The general message is that part of the cross-country variation in the patterns of time use over the life course may be ascribed to institutional factors such as the design of family and social policies, the education and training system, the availability and costs of childcare facilities, labour market conditions, working time regimes and the income structure. Due to the complexity of the ways in which interplaying institutional structures may shape individuals' life courses and the fact that the life course consists of a series of distinct phases and transitions, each of which is shaped in different ways by a different mix of institutional structures, it is almost impossible to construct a typology of institutional systems that can adequately explain the variation in the patterning of life courses across countries. However, our principle aim here is a descriptive analysis of prevalent patterns of female labour market involvement over the life course across Europe and to develop an empirically deduced typology of female life courses.

Referring to the life course approach, we distinguish three main phases: the entrance phase, when the transition form school to work takes place, the main working and parenting phase, frequently called the 'rush hour of life', and the later phase, when the children have already left the home and people start to retire from the labour market.

Entrance phase: The number of paid work hours among the young generation (here defined as aged up to 35) is mainly shaped by two factors: the duration of initial full-time education and the level of youth unemployment. The effect of long periods of initial training on youth employment rates will, however, be mediated by the characteristics and the education and training system. In countries, where students tend to combine their initial training with employment (dual education and training system) youth employment rates tend to be higher.

Rush hour of life: In countries, where policies support the continuous employment of mothers (e.g. Nordic countries), the paid work hours of women should vary less over the life course than in countries, that do not support the continuous employment of mothers (e.g. West Germany) or where only mothers of older children are encouraged to re-enter the labour market (e.g. in Hungary and the Czech Republic). In the less prosperous countries such as in Southern Europe but also in the former socialist countries we may also expect high maternal labour market involvement irrespective of whether maternal employment is actively encouraged through the provision of child care facilities (Uunk et al., 2005). This is due to the fact that in these countries families tend to require two full-time wages to make ends meet.

Exit phase: In countries that discourage early retirement, or indeed encourage later retirement we expect to find a lesser drop in paid work hours among the 50+generation (e.g. Sweden and Denmark) than in countries where early exit from employment is rather common (e.g. Germany, the Netherlands and France and some of the new member states and candidate countries).

Data and Method

Studies that take a life-course approach typically draw on longitudinal data with event history analysis being one of the most popular methodological applications for the dynamic analysis of entry and exit processes in reference to patterns of transitions. However, while longitudinal data is required for some types of life course analyses, for the aim of our paper this is not necessarily the case. Drawing on cross-sectional data, namely the Eurobarometer Surveys on Time use EB 60.3 and CCEB 2003, we perform an analysis of time use according to a *stylised life-course typology*, which serves as a heuristic tool to identify cross-country differences in the patterns of paid work hours over the life course and to assess the influence of the societal context on the prevailing employment patterns in different societies.

One needs to bear in mind the limitations of cross-sectional analysis and in particular the impossibility of adopting a vertical life course perspective analysing life-cycle phases not in isolation but within the context of preceding and subsequent life phases. However, cross-country comparative panel data (e.g. the European Community Household Panel) typically do not involve as many waves as to cover the entire span of a life course. As a result, even in the event that we could draw on such data, as done in previous studies (Anxo and Boulin, 2004), we would have to perform cross-sectional analyses. In sum, our methodological approach of using a stylised life course typology for the analysis of time use represents the current state of the art in cross-country comparative studies in this field of research. We construct a *stylised life course typology*, which classifies households according to important life course phases. The classification used is a variant of the family cycle model developed by Glick (Glick, 1947) and is in many ways similar to what was proposed by Apps and Reese (Apps and Rees, 2005) or Anxo (Anxo and Boulin, 2006). Using information on age, partnership and cohabitation status, number of children under age 14 in the household and the age of youngest child, we focus on four different stages along a typical life-cycle: childless women aged up to 35 , mothers in cohabiting union with a partner and with children aged below the national school starting age[13], mothers in cohabiting union with a partner and with children aged above the national school starting age but below 14 in the household[14] and, finally older women aged 51-65 without children below age 14 in the household[15].

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[13] The national school starting age is 6 in most countries. However, children start school as earlier (at the age of 5) in Great Britain and the Netherlands. Later starting ages (at the age of 7) are found in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria.

[14] We know whether or not there are children in the household and how old the youngest of them is. Strictly speaking, however, the data does not tell us whether the children in the household are own children or not. Instead they may be siblings or grandchildren. If respondents would have been below the age of 15 when the youngest child was born, this was taken to indicate that children in the household are siblings. For couples with children, the data allows us to control whether the reported children in the home are own children or grandchildren, instead.

[15] For the analysis of time-use in paid work we excluded single parents and childless respondents aged between 36 and 50, because these categories do not fit in a stylised life course. Totally excluded from the analysis are those aged above 65; this is due to a serious bias in sample composition. .

Using the comparative survey data, we look at time used for paid work by calculating the work hours per week that respondents spend per week. The wording of the question is: 'On average, how many hours per week do you personally spend on paid work? (Including overtime and second jobs, but excluding travelling to and from work). b) And your partner?. The fact that for the hours spent on paid work we have information from respondents on their own and their partner's hours is utilised to increase the sample size in the following way. Female hours spent on paid work are assessed drawing on information from female respondents on their own work hours as well as their partners. The same was done with answers of male respondents on themselves and their female partners' work hours.

In this way we arrive at 10,926 responses on female work hours in the EU-15. Only drawing on respondents' report of own work hours we would only be able to retrieve 8,293 responses for female work hours. In the 13 post-socialist countries analysed, we arrive at 8,381 responses on female work hours (instead of 6,663). This procedure was necessary to increase sample sizes. However, we acknowledge the problem that self-reports concerning time use may differ from information indirectly gained from partner's information.

The outcome variable of interest is the average number of hours spent in paid work per person allocating zero hours of paid work to those who are non-working. In this way we have a cross-country comparable measure of the average amount of time dedicated to paid work in a society as a whole that can be used to look at how far time use in the paid work domain changes across the life course in different societies. Doing so necessarily complicates the picture as low average hours spent on paid work may be the result of low average working hours and/or a high share of people not being in gainful employment for different reasons (e.g. education, full-time home-making, maternity leave, unemployment, illness, etc.). However, it is among the main aims of this report to provide for the substantial interpretation of results based on the comparative analysis of cross-country differences in employment and unemployment rates, part-time rates and usual working hours among full-timers.

Empirical Analysis of Paid Time Use over the Life course

Entrance Phase

In the analysis of time use over the life course we focus on common stages in the life-cycle that people tend to run through. They ideal-typically start off as young singles, then enter the family formation stage (partnership formation/parenthood) and finally reach the empty nest and pre-retirement phase. Table 5 displays the average number of paid weekly work hours performed by women.

Table 5: Mean weekly hours of paid work, women

	Young Childless (up to age 35)	Couple with pre-school age child	Couple with school-age child	Older childless (aged 51-65)
NORDIC COUNTRIES	18	24	32	21
Denmark	15	29	32	(-)
Finland	20	19	31	23
Sweden	20	26	33	27
CONTINENTAL EUROPE	23	16	21	15
Austria	28	12	24	13
Belgium	22	23	23	16
France	19	22	26	(-)
Germany East	27	12	24	12
Germany West	24	9	15	15
Netherlands	21	14	16	14
LIBERAL COUNTRIES	22	12	18	13
Great Britain	24	13	21	16
Ireland	21	12	13	9
MEDDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES	21	19	22	13
Greece	18	15	18	12
Italy	22	16	22	16
Portugal	20	28	30	12
Spain	23	17	20	11
NEW MEMBER STATES	20	20	32	17
Czech Republic	20	17	36	(-)
Estonia	22	19	32	22
Hungary	23	15	26	17
Latvia	29	27	38	19
Lithuania	17	22	31	19
Poland	15	16	22	10
Slovakia	15	14	34	15
Slovenia	19	32	37	15
CANDIDATE COUNTRIES	18	11	16	9
Bulgaria	19	16	30	14
Romania	24	15	23	8
Turkey	13	7	6	3

Source: EB 60.3 and CEEB 2003, weighted averages (inactive women coded as working 0 hours)
(-) no reliable data available due to low sample sizes

Looking at young childless women aged up to 35, we find some countries with work hours that are on average lower than 20 hours per week. In others, this average amounts to just below 30 hours per week. Such country-differences in the young childless stage can, on the one hand, be explained by national variations in the education system given that a large share of this category is made up of students. However, also problems with the availability of employment for labour market entrants have to be taken into account. In the countries where we find comparatively long average hours of paid work among young women (e.g. in Austria, Germany and Britain) this is mainly due to high employment rates, stemming from a low share of full-time students and a low youth unemployment risk. In these countries we also find substantial shares of students combining their studies with paid work (Couppié and

Mansuy, 2001). In contrast, when we find comparatively short average hours of paid work (e.g. in the Nordic and many post-socialist countries), this is mostly due to a long duration of initial education and/or a high youth unemployment risk. A lack of employment opportunities is the most powerful explanation for a low paid work involvement among young women in Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Lithuania, where youth unemployment is at a very high level. Also in many other countries where we find comparatively short average hours of paid work among young women (e.g. France or Greece) youth unemployment is quite high. Denmark, however, does not fit into this explanatory framework. Despite high employment rates, we find short average hours of paid work performed by young women due to the fact that many students combine their studies with part-time work.

In sum, while in some countries a low work involvement of young childless women is best explained with reference to the problem of youth unemployment, in others the reason is a long duration of initial education. Furthermore, we can see that the patterns of youth activity cut across the classical regime types. In Continental Europe, it is France which stands out as the country with the lowest paid work involvement of young childless women, while in Southern Europe, it is Greece. In both countries this is due to high youth unemployment. Finally, among the post-socialist countries, where we tend to find low youth employment rates, Latvia stands out with exceptionally long average hours performed by young childless women, despite a high unemployment rate for those aged below 25. However, the Latvian youth is characterised by a steep rise in employment after age 25 and long average hours among young people who manage to find a job. (Couppié and Mansuy, 2001).

Rush hour of life

As we cannot generalise maternal employment patterns across regime types, patterns of maternal paid work involvement were established by way of empirical cluster analysis that seeks to identify subgroups of countries with minimum within-groups variation but maximum between-group variation. This analysis was based on country-averages in terms of the hours of paid work performed by a) mothers of children that have not yet reached the mandatory school age and b) mothers of older children who already attend school. We identified seven country clusters, or ‘life course models of female labour market involvement’, which are described in detail below and are graphically illustrated in Figures 1-3.

First, there is what we call the ‘continuous model’ of women’s paid work involvement. In the countries that fall into this category (Denmark, Slovenia, Sweden, Latvia, and Portugal), we find a high and continuous participation over the life course involving long part-time or full-time hours. In Denmark and Sweden we find high employment rates among mothers, a significant share of whom are working long part-time hours, however. In contrast, in Portugal, Slovenia and Latvia employed mothers generally tend to work full-time. France and Belgium also show a continuous model of women’s paid work involvement. However, they fall into a separate country cluster because maternal labour market involvement is though continuous

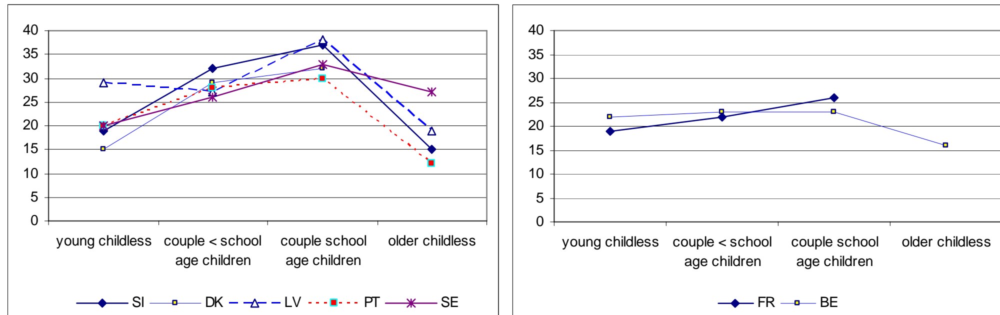
on a somewhat lower level. This is because while the majority of employed mothers work full-time, among lower qualified women motherhood is still associated with a withdrawal from the labour market (Fagnani, 1999). Hence, we find a 'continuous model with an exit or full-time component'. The countries which exhibit a continuous pattern of high female work involvement do not form a homogenous group neither in terms of state support for maternal employment nor in terms of people's attitudes towards maternal paid work involvement. While in Sweden, Slovenia and Denmark, child care facilities are extensive, this is much less the case in Portugal and Latvia, where mothers often work out of financial necessity even in the absence of a formal child care infrastructure. In France and Belgium we find fairly good child care infrastructure. However, provisions are less extensive than in the Nordic countries.

Second, there is what we call the 'traditional model' of women's paid work involvement to be found in West Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands. In these countries, women severely reduce their work hours upon the arrival of children and do also not tend to increase them when their children already go to school. The norm for mothers is either to stay out of paid work altogether or to work short part-time hours, also when children already go to school. Countries that do also exhibit a fairly traditional model of maternal paid work involvement are Italy, Spain, Greece and Poland. In these countries we find a very low female employment rate. However, employed mothers typically work long full-time hours. Finally, the most 'traditional' pattern is found in Turkey, where we find an exceptionally low average number of paid hours performed by women. In sum, there are three different variants of the 'traditional model': the 'exit model' found in Turkey, where most mothers are out of the labour force, the 'exit or part-time' model found in West Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands, and the 'exit or full-time model' model found in Italy, Spain, Greece and Poland.

Finally, we can distinguish a group of countries which exhibit what we call a 'transitional' model of women's paid work involvement. Women strongly reduce their work hours when they have pre-school aged children but then again significantly increase their work involvement when children start going to school. We differentiate between two variants of the transitional model. In Finland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Slovakia, women work considerably reduced hours as long as their children have not reached school age, but substantially increase their paid work involvement when their children start going to school (to a level that is comparable to what we find in Sweden). Hence, we find a 'transitional model of high maternal paid work involvement'. In contrast, in Austria, Britain, East Germany, Hungary and Romania, women decrease their level of paid work involvement upon the arrival of children to a similarly low level as Dutch, West German or Irish women; and then, when their children reach school age, they tend to increase their hours to a level that is similar to what we find in France or Belgium. Hence, we find a 'transitional model of moderate maternal paid work involvement'. The different 'life course models of female labour market involvement', are illustrated in Figures 1-3 (note: Turkey forms a separate cluster but for reasons of space is plotted in the same Figure as the countries exhibiting a traditional model of 'exit or part-time'.)

Figure 1 Continuous models of female labour market participation

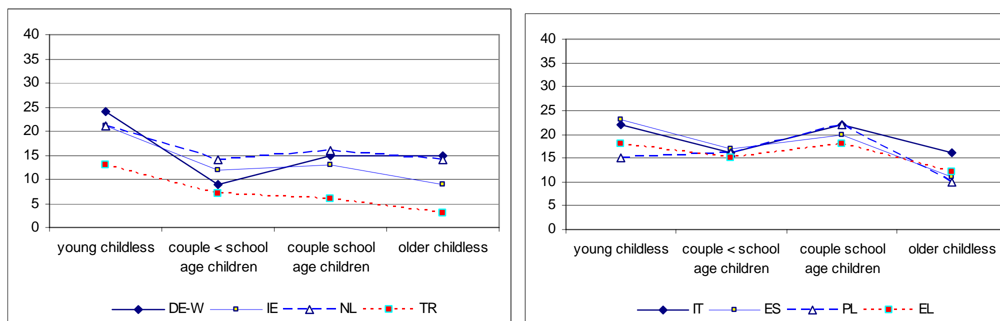
(left: high continuous; right: moderate continuous with full-time or exit pattern)



Source: EB 60.3 and CEEB 2003, weighted averages

Figure 2 Traditional models of female labour market participation

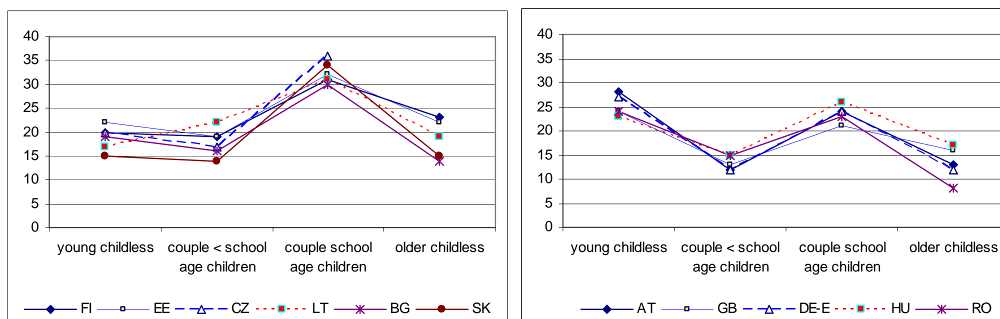
(left: low traditional with exit or part-time pattern, right: moderate traditional with full-time or exit pattern)



Source: EB 60.3 and CEEB 2003, weighted averages

Figure 3 Transitional models of female labour market participation

(left: transitional with strong involvement; right: transitional with moderate involvement)



Source: EB 60.3 and CEEB 2003, weighted averages

Due to the fact that sample sizes in the Eurobarometer are too low as to allow for a distinction between young childless singles and couples on country-wise basis, we were forced to combine these two groups for the analysis displayed in Figures 1 to 3. This somewhat distorts the picture of women's paid work involvement over the life course, because the paid work involvement in the pre-parenting phase tends to be significantly lower among singles than among couples who are less likely to still be in education. For this reason, we pooled the countries according to the six clusters identified in terms of maternal employment in order to estimate the average number of paid work hours of childless singles, on the one hand, and couples, on the other. Figure 4 provides a summary picture of the 'life course models of female labour market involvement' identified. In the traditional and transitional models of female work involvement, the amount of paid work hours strongly declines upon motherhood, more strongly than what is suggested in Figures 2 and 3. Figure 4 suggests that in the continuous patterns of high female employment (type I, e.g. Sweden), hours remain stable or even increase when children are born, while already in the continuous pattern of moderate female employment (type II, e.g. France), hours appear to decrease upon motherhood. This drop in average paid hours upon the arrival of children is most marked in traditional and transitional patterns of female work involvement. Indeed the data suggests that it is most strongly pronounced in Austria, Britain, East Germany, Hungary and Romania, i.e. in the countries that form the transitional model of moderate female labour market involvement, due to the fact that in the childless stage the comparatively longest hours are worked as a result of an early exit from full-time education.

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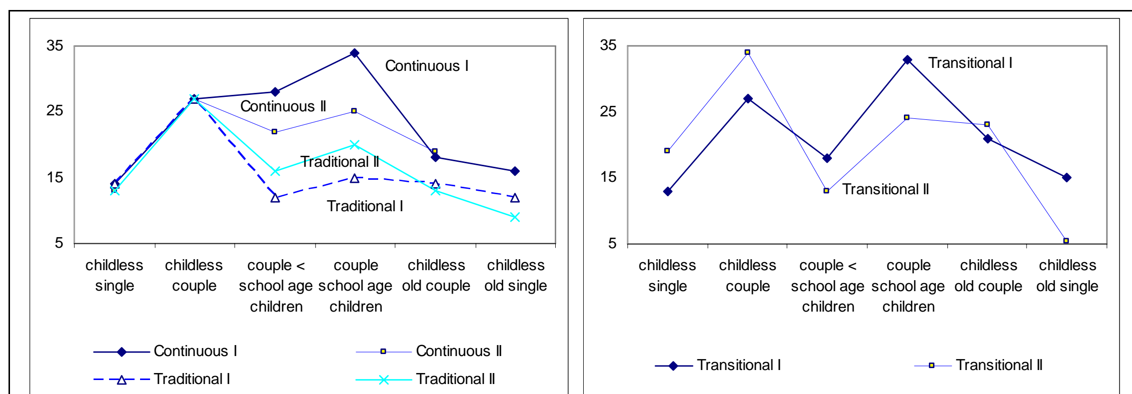
[16] This would lead to *long* average paid work hours in Austria, Germany and Britain, where full-time education and parental homes are left relatively early, and in contrast, to shorter average hours in many post-socialist and Southern European countries, where a lack of employment opportunities for young people leads to a postponement of own household formation.

Figure 4 Life course models of female labour market participation



Source: EB 60.3 and CEEB 2003, weighted averages

Continuous I: Sweden, Denmark, Slovenia, Latvia and Portugal (high continuous)
Continuous II: France and Belgium (moderate continuous with FT or exit pattern)
Traditional I: West Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands (excl. Turkey) (low traditional with exit or PT pattern)
Traditional II: Italy, Spain, Poland and Greece (moderate traditional with FT or exit pattern)
Transitional I: Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Czech Republic and Bulgaria (transitional with strong inv.)
Transitional II: Austria, Britain, East Germany, Hungary and Romania (transitional with moderate involvement)

In sum, with respect to the child-rearing phases, we find huge country-differences. Mothers generally, that is irrespective of the age of their youngest child, tend to work very few hours in Turkey, West Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands. In contrast, Swedish, Danish, Latvian, Slovenian and Portuguese women tend to work relatively long hours. Finally, we find a range of countries such as Slovakia, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic where mothers of children under school age tend to work relatively few hours, while mothers with school age children work hours that are on average equally long as in Sweden, for instance. Hence, it appears that the classical regime types add little to the explanation of maternal employment patterns. Not even the Nordic countries seem to form a homogenous group of countries, with Sweden and Denmark showing a continuous female employment patterns in which mothers generally perform a level of paid work that is significantly above the EU-average, while Finland shows a transitional pattern of labour market withdrawal of mothers with children under age 3. Another example would be Portugal which differs in important ways from the ‘exit or full-time model’ found in all of the other Mediterranean countries.

Exit phase

Finally, we look at the paid work involvement of women in the ‘empty nest and pre-retirement phase’ (childless women aged 50-65). What we find is that in the Nordic and the Baltic States, older women tend to be more strongly involved in paid work when compared to most other countries. Long average hours align with comparatively high employment rates of

women aged 55-64 in Sweden (66%), Denmark (53%), Finland (48%) and Estonia (47%) (see OECD 2005). Due to the fact that it is the Nordic countries and the Baltic States where older women are most likely to be in employment after age 50, the average paid work involvement of older women also tends to be higher in the continuous and transitional models of high female paid work involvement than in traditional and transitional models of moderate female work involvement. However, one has to be cautious with making generalisation across country clusters that were formed based on measures of maternal paid work involvement as we find a high internal variability in terms of the work involvement of older women (e.g. in Slovenia belonging to the model of continuously high female paid work involvement, older women are largely excluded from the labour market, see OECD 2005).

Conclusions

Due to important national differences in the structural (e.g. educational system, family and social policy and childcare facilities) and cultural context (‘cultures of motherhood’), we find cross-national variation in women’s paid work involvement over the life course. Investigating the average number of weekly hours spent on paid work by women, we identified the following life course models of female labour market involvement:

The *‘continuous model’* of women’s paid work involvement is characterised by a high and continuous participation over the life course involving long part-time or full-time hours. Countries that fall into this category include Denmark, Sweden and Portugal, where we find a high employment rate among mothers, as well as Slovenia and Latvia, where female participation rates are somewhat lower but where employed mothers tend to work full-time. Two countries that also show a continuous model of women’s paid work involvement are France and Belgium. However, in these two countries maternal labour market participation is, though continuous, still on a somewhat lower level than in the above mentioned countries. Countries in which we find a continuous pattern of high female work involvement considerably differ with respect to institutional support for maternal employment. While in Sweden, Slovenia, Denmark, and to a somewhat lesser extent, also in France and Belgium childcare facilities are extensive, this is much less the case in Portugal and Latvia.

In the *‘traditional’ model*, women severely reduce their work hours upon the arrival of children and also do not tend to increase their number of work hours when their children already go to school. However, we identified three different variants of the ‘traditional model’: the ‘exit model’ found in Turkey, where most mothers are out of the labour force, the ‘exit or part-time’ model found in West Germany, Ireland and the Netherlands, and the ‘exit or full-time model’ model found in Italy, Spain, Greece and Poland.

In the *‘transitional’ model* of women’s paid work involvement women strongly reduce their work hours when they have pre-school aged children but then again increase their work

involvement when children go to school. We can distinguish two variants of the transitional model. In some countries, women strongly increase their paid work hours when children reach school age (e.g. Finland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Slovakia), while in others, this increase in hours is less pronounced (e.g. Austria, Britain, East Germany, Hungary and Romania).

Several reasons can contribute to explain why in some countries motherhood does not imply giving up paid work while in others it seems impossible to conciliate the presence of small children with paid work. Diverse factors like the type of welfare state and gender regime, the existence of maternal employment supportive policies or cultural reasons have been the most pointed out by different researchers (Crompton and Harris, 1998; Esping-Andersen et al., 2002; Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Pfau-Effinger, 1998; Sainsbury, 1996). Supporting mothers' employment entails a lot of advantages for individuals but also for the socio-economic development of welfare states and is thus a major aim of life course policies. Positive effects of increased female employment rates involve a more favourable income situation of women and hence increased independence from a male provider, the mitigation of the problem of child poverty and the sustainability of welfare states in ageing societies.

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Summary

Dealing with the topic work-care balance is of great importance to politicians as well as to social scientists, since supporting mothers' employment entails a lot of advantages for individuals but also for the socio-economic development of welfare states. Positive effects of increased female employment rates involve a more favourable income situation of women and hence increased independence from a male provider, the mitigation of the problem of child poverty and the sustainability of costly welfare states in ageing societies. Prior studies have largely relied on a variety of existing welfare state typologies to map out institutional configurations for analysing cross-national variations in female employment behaviour. Several reasons can contribute to explain why in some countries motherhood does not imply giving up paid work while in others it seems impossible to conciliate the presence of small children with paid work. Diverse factors like the type of welfare state and gender regimes, the existence of family friendly policies such as universal and affordable childcare facilities and cultural reasons have been the most pointed out by different researchers (Crompton and Harris, 1998; Esping-Andersen et al., 2002; Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Pfau-Effinger, 1998; Sainsbury, 1996). For purposes of understanding the general patterning of institutional structures and breadwinner ideologies across countries, such typologies are undoubtedly useful as a heuristic tool. However, our findings suggest that conventional models of explanation are not applicable in the case of post-socialist countries.

The analysis of the first chapter, entitled **'Household employment patterns in an enlarged European Union**', showed that in addition to the policy framework and the gender cultural context, we have to take account of the economic necessity for many women in less prosperous countries to work full-time. The high shares of single breadwinners and workless households in countries where families need two full incomes to make ends meet, made it clear that we have to take account of further external factors, namely the availability of employment. We see that not only family policy or societal ideals concerning the gender division of labour but also economic incentives that encourage women and men to work full-time may often be undermined in practice due to a lack of employment opportunities.

In the chapter '**How does flexibility and control affect job satisfaction**' we witness, rather to our surprise, that the existence of caring responsibilities had an effect upon job satisfaction only in three countries (Slovenia, Sweden and United Kingdom). Although Hakim's conclusions about the lower work commitment of female part-timers in Western countries applied fairly well to British female part-timers, we could not explain gendered job satisfaction mainly with reference to the family situation in general terms. The preference theory about women's work and family commitment probably fits primarily to understand job satisfaction in wealthier Western European countries with a male breadwinner system, but, when including also Eastern European countries, it turns out to be inappropriate.

In line with other authors we point to the gendered complexity of welfare state regimes in the chapter '**Employment patterns from a life course perspective in an enlarged Europe**.' As a result, we see that differing state support for maternal employment does not follow previous welfare state typologies: For instance, we find stronger support in France and Belgium than in Germany or the Netherlands, although they are often mentioned as being representatives of the Continental welfare state regime. Hence, aggregating countries in welfare regimes does not lead to a neat scheme that would allow for developing causal hypothesis about life course outcomes of different institutional contexts. Contrary to Mayer's (2004) approach, it seems doubtful whether we can develop a meaningful typology of institutional systems that would have the power to explain country differences in employment patterns, especially when we look at the whole life course rather than at specific transitions between different life cycle stages. The life course consists of a series of distinct phases and transitions, each of which is shaped by a specific set of interplaying institutional structures and may, due to the varieties of institutional structures and the way they are interrelated, require an explanation that is eventually country-specific. However, in order to provide an overview for a great variety of countries in an enlarged European Union, it still is helpful to draw the lines between different regimes because socio-historic and socio-economic developments are more similar within than across regimes.

In the final chapter, '**Female labour market participation over the life course in an enlarged Europe**', we found different life course models of female labour market integration by investigating the average number of weekly hours spent on paid work by women. The general classification entails the 'continuous', the 'transitional' and the 'traditional model' of women's paid work involvement, further distinguished into various sub-types. The 'continous model' is characterised by a high and continuous participation over the life course involving long part-time or full-time hours. In the 'traditional' model, women severely reduce their work hours upon the arrival of children and also do not tend to increase their number of work hours when their children already go to school. Finally, in the 'transitional' model women strongly reduce their work hours when they have pre-school aged children, but then again increase their work involvement when children go to school. These models represent a heuristic tool to gain an overview about how female labour market participation varies across Europe. Marked cross-national differences point to the fact that women's and particularly mothers' paid work is not really a matter of 'genuine choice' (Hakim, 1996, 1998, 2000), but shaped by economic, political and societal structures, i.e. by specific sets of constraints such as a lack of child care facilities and (part-time) employment opportunities.

What we generally conclude from our analysis is, that if we want to retain the useful heuristic tool of typologies in the aim to explain cross-country differences in gendered employment patterns, such typologies have to be further elaborated. Rather than developing alternative one-country-fits-one-type models, there is the need to develop multi-dimensional models by focusing on the dynamic interplay between different structural and cultural spheres. The characteristics of one set of structures may mediate the effects of another. For instance, the

effect of family policy is dependent on a society's level of affluence. Only in countries where individuals have some degree of choice with regard to their labour market involvement, may state interventions that encourage female labour market withdrawal upon child birth be effective (Uunk et al 2005). In sum, the comparative analysis of the division of paid and unpaid work in households can be enriched by the insights provided by various typologies, but these should take into account interrelations between the policy context, economic and labour market conditions, and the gender cultural context rather than just focussing upon one or the other. Hence, what the present study can provide is an illustration of the variety that exists in Europe in terms of couple-household employment patterns, in terms of structural factors shaping job satisfaction and in terms of the institutional settings affecting paid work hours over the life-course. In which concrete ways national life course variation reflects the national differences in the institutional set up, is a highly interesting area for future research.

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