

Chapter Ten

►► HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Survey Comparative Report

The work-family balance for couples in Europe. A comparative analysis on combination pressure in six European countries

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INTRODUCTION

Today all kinds of people are busy and feel hurried. Modern life means stress and more misbalance between work, care and leisure (Ester, Vinken & Van Dun, 2002). In the United States people seem to have been troubled by subjective time pressure for a longer time now (Schor, 1992,1998). Employers expect more and more commitment from their employees, making it less easy to balance work and care. Based on American figures Schor (1992) confirms in her study the 'Overworked American', that American citizens face serious distortions in the allocation of time over paid work and the private sphere and Hochschild (1997) argues that in the USA work has become home, and home has become work. But it is also believed that the 'stress' society is no longer anymore a truly American phenomenon (Schor 1998).

At least in the western part of Europe, men and women increasingly experience time pressure (Garhammer 2002, Allan & Grow 2001, Peters 2000). Although Gershuny (2000) argues that over the last 50 years in western societies there has been an increase in leisure time, it feels as if we are constantly running out of time. On the other hand, other sources show that the perceived increase in time pressure has a factual base. For example figures from the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) show that between 1995 and 2000 the total amount of obligations in work, care and household increased by 1.3 hours per week (Breedveld & Van den Broek, 2001).

Both men and women are busier, meaning that for both the total amount of obligations has increased. But this is slightly more the case for women, since they now perform more paid labour than in the past (Breedveld & Van den Broek, 2001). In particular, people who combine work and care are busier than those who can concentrate on only one of these tasks. In 1998 dual earners - the 'tasks-combiners' pre-eminently - formed 56 per cent of the households in the Netherlands - which is an increase of 26 per cent compared to 1986 (Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000).

Being busy is one thing; feeling busy is another. Working partners have to make the most of their time, and experience more and more time pressure (Lewis and Cooper 1989, White, Cox and Cooper 1992, Groenendijk, 1998): Some of them feel tired, stressed, or even exhausted and complain about burn out. Working couples struggle with their time, and experience pressure on account of having a tight schedule. When the job cannot be finished at the office and work has to be taken home, resulting in the feelings of pressure and the invasion of the private sphere by work.

Combining different tasks and the need to constantly plan and arrange things gives many people the feeling of being 'over-organised' (Spaans & Van der Werf, 1996, Breedveld, 2000). Research shows that many working mothers feel burdened by organising the combination between work and care (Groenendijk, 1998).

The combination of different tasks not only demands energy and time, but the attention and concentration of people is also divided over different life spheres. This contributes to feeling 'busy, busy, busy'. Moreover, many people find the experience of the disappearing border between work and private unpleasant (Koopmans & Stavenuiter, 2001, Ester, Vinken & Dun, 2002, Ester & Vinken, 2000, Van Veen & Van Stolk, 2002).

Nevertheless, Garhammer (2002) describes this as the time-pressure-happiness-paradox. Following modernisation theory, he argues that the expectations of life satisfaction and an improved quality of life are rising along with living standards. It is exactly this change that accelerates the pace of social life. Hence, the negative effects of growing stress are counterbalanced by the rewards of modernisation resulting in a pattern of 'hard earned' satisfaction.

For the eastern part of Europe it is more difficult to say whether this kind of pressure is widespread. It might be that we are facing here a typical western phenomenon, feeling stressed, facing pressure might be related to the fact that men and women explicitly strive for double career families. It is true that in the former communist regimes, women used to have a full time paid job and due to their household obligations, they were at least as busy as their western counterparts (Van der Lippe 2001). However, women entered paid work out of economic necessity and had support from employers, the state and extended family. Nowadays they still have fulltime paid jobs. Men, although not very much engaged in household tasks, still have fulltime jobs with long hours of work. However, we do not know whether some kind of pressure is also actually felt by men and women in the eastern part of Europe.

In this paper we focus on a specific aspect of this pressure, namely the *experienced balance between work and care* or - to put it the other way

round - *combination pressure*. Our contribution will focus on the experienced balance of men and women in different countries in Europe. We aim to offer more insight into the way men and women nowadays experience the multiple claims on their time; and to try to understand the differences between European countries therein. We compare three EU-member states - Sweden, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom - and three accession countries - Slovenia, Hungary, Czech Republic.

First of all, expectations of how work related and home related factors influence the experienced balance of work and care are constructed at an individual level. Since we are looking at the experience of balancing work and care, we focus upon people with paid jobs. In our data we selected all respondents with paid work and having one partner, because in these cases people have to deal with both their own work-family balance as well as negotiating with their partner about how the cards are played in the total family system (see also Appendix 1). The selection was restricted to couples of the opposite sex. Gender differences are especially interesting since previous research has clearly shown that the balance between work and care is very different for men and for women (Hochschild, 1997, Keuzenkamp & Hooghiemstra, 2000). Although we realise that leisure time is an important aspect in people's time-calendar, we have no data on this subject.

Finally, expectations are constructed at the institutional level. The different policies and backgrounds of countries influence the way men and women experience the balance in work and care. In explaining differences between countries we reach beyond our own empirical data. We draw heavily on the input of our European partners in the 'Household, Work and Flexibility' project (Wallace, 2002, Wallace, 2003).

1. THEORIES AND HYPOTHESES

1.1. Individual level

Although the experienced balance between work and care is analysed, it is necessary to distinguish between the work and care related factors in the explanatory analysis. Both factors may influence the experienced balance in different ways (Voyadanoff, 2000). We should first note that factors can be additional, i.e. working independently from one another. Secondly, the household situation in general could be a mediating factor upon the experience of work and the work-care balance. Thirdly, an interaction effect may occur as the household situation strengthens or weakens the influence of the working situation. In this paper we will only analyse the additional and the interaction effects, the proposed mediating effect is not analysed.

It is important to realise that the balance between work and care may vary over time – it may even differ from day-to-day. Pittman, Kerpelman and Solheim (2001) show that for example work or private related stress varies from day-to-day, which might lead to a day-to-day difference in the balance between work and care. In this paper we discuss the average balance people had experienced over the last three months, since measuring fluctuations requires a totally different approach and explanation.

Working situation

First we analyse whether the working and household situation separately influence the combination pressure experienced.

Since a day 'only' has 24 hours and time is a scarce resource, we assume that the longer the working hours, the less time remains for care and leisure. In sociological research this is called the 'availability' hypothesis (Coverman, 1985; Hiller, 1984; Van der Lippe, Tijdens & De Ruijter, 2003). We would expect to find a gender difference in this respect. Working long hours will lead to more time pressure for both men and women. Yet paid work is still more common for men and therefore we expect less effect of the time spent at work on

the combination pressure experienced by men than by women (Groenendijk, 1998).

Furthermore it is interesting to see whether the flexibilisation of labour in all its possible manifestations is helping men and women to cope with multiple claims on their time. In this respect, it is not only the time spent at work that is important, but also whether people do overtime, and if they do, at which points in the day or the weekend they are working. Varying work schemes and work at non-standard times may be a threat to a stable partnership at home and therefore to the balance between home and work experienced (Presser, 2000). Incidental overtime work may cause immediate pressure because it interferes with family plans. Control over working hours is considered in general to be a positive aspect of flexible work in this respect and should lower the combination pressure (Koopmans & Stavenuiter, 2001). We would not expect to find a gender difference in the effect of overtime or irregular work.

What effect do we expect from other aspects of work flexibilisation? The first important factor is whether being employed on a flexible basis is a chosen option (Kops, 1993). We expect that people do not accept contracts with low certainty willingly, but do not have a clear idea what the effect of this on combination pressure will be. Having a job with poor conditions may result in more time spent on job search, but it may also result in withdrawal from pressing ambitions of work.

Siegers (1997) concludes there is a dual relationship between flexibilisation and the combination of work and care. When flexibilisation means a higher uncertainty for people, then flexibility will harm the opportunities to combine work and care. On the other hand when it implies the differentiation of for example working time, it is possible to enlarge the possibilities to combine work and care (In: Faber & Schippers, 1997). So flexibilisation in its different forms can be seen as either a threat or

an opportunity in relation to the combination of work and care (Schippers & Plantenga, 2002).

Household situation

The more care the family needs the more time will be invested in household tasks, as is stated by the 'demand' hypothesis (Coverman, 1985). Not only children demand care, but partners do also. Previous Dutch research (Keuzenkamp en Hooghiemstra, 2000) shows that having a partner means a lighter household burden for men, although for women the time spent on household tasks increases.

The need for care is especially high if there are young children in the household. Parents may experience conflicts between time spent at work and time spent with the children. According to Groenendijk (1998) working women experience more time pressure as a result of having small children than working men. We would expect that

women in couples take the main responsibility for this additional demand and that the gender differences will thus increase in the case of (small) children.

Interaction effects

Secondly, the interaction between working situation and household situation is analysed. The hours in paid work are expected to affect the experienced balance especially when young children are present in the household. Consequently, the effect of paid hours on the balance of work and care will be strengthened. Furthermore, the effect of paid work is expected to be stronger when either the man or woman is mainly responsible for domestic work in the household.

Finally, we assume that the effect of paid work will be less strong if people have less disagreement with one another and live in harmony. No gender differences are expected in this respect.

1.2. Country context effects

Combination pressure is likely not only to depend on work and household related factors, but also on the country where people live. The different policies and backgrounds of countries will influence the way men and women are able to balance their work and family life and also the way they experience this balance. In the following we focus on three aspects: social policies directed to family affairs, social policies directed to flexible working arrangements and the prevailing ideology towards combining work and family life or gender equality in general.

Social policy concerning family affairs

A social policy context with family friendly policies designed to ease the pressure from the labour market or from the family should result in less combination pressure than a social policy context that does not (Strandh & Nordenmark, 2003). The Netherlands and the UK are comparable in this respect. In both countries the government has been working in the past few years to extend fam-

ily friendly policies (e.g. The Labour and Care Act in the Netherlands), but these countries are nevertheless lagging behind Sweden and Slovenia. Both the Netherlands and the UK have the highest proportion of part-time working women in Europe and in both countries pregnancy leave and parental leave are relatively short. Furthermore childcare facilities are not adequately available in both countries. In the UK childcare services are left to the free market, the result being that professional facilities are too expensive for many people, as is the case in the Netherlands too (Cousins & Tang, 2003).

Sweden represents a welfare model with a strong state intervention aimed at enhancing the individual's independence from the market and the family. The ideology of social policy is strongly directed to gender equality. Already in the 1960's policy measures were taken to support the labour participation for both fathers and mothers. In addition it is important to underline the importance of the collectivisation of care,

which is the result of the conceptualisation of care as a public responsibility (Boje & Strandh, 2003). Combining work and care became standard for the Swedes. Nevertheless, in practice Swedish women predominantly make use of the right to extensive parental leave and the universal right to work part-time during the first seven years of a child's life.

The candidate countries also have extensive facilities and related measures aimed at the participation of parents in paid work, although in practice many of these have been eroded during the course of the transition. Slovenia seems to have avoided most of this erosion, enjoying a rise in prosperity since the mid-1990s, leading to it being dubbed 'the Sweden of the South'. Socialist state policies including ample measures directed to enabling people to work full-time have been preserved to a great extent there. State subsidised childcare arrangements are at a very high level as well (Sicherl & Remec, 2003).

The economic conditions halfway through the 1990's in Hungary and also in the Czech Republic were worse than in Slovenia and led to more erosion of former rights to state provisions. However by now the regulations – in any case in Hungary – have been to a limited extent expanded again. These provisions are not so much motivated from an emancipation view, but they rather build on old communist policy oriented of full participation on the labour market (Vecernik, 2003, Sik, 2003). In neither of these candidate countries is there a state policy directed to new forms of balancing work and care. Nor are employers inclined to think in terms of the potential positive outcomes that would come of meeting the family needs of their employees – despite the fact that the conflict between family and work is recognised at least in Czech society according to Vecernik & Stepankova (2002).

Flexicurity and private solutions

Next we want to introduce as a relevant aspect in the country context whether and to what extent people have the possibility to lighten their combination pressure by adapting their working hours

or working schedule. We refer to these possibilities as private solutions: it is to a great extent a personal choice to sacrifice pay for time or to tolerate the intrusion of the job into the private sphere in order to gain flexibility. Social policy may ease the choice by reducing the consequences.

In this respect social policy in the Netherlands departs from policies in the UK. The big difference between these countries is the level of protection of employees in the labour market. In the last decades in the UK, economic risk has been transferred increasingly from employers to employees, through shortened job tenure and lowering job security and remuneration. There is hardly any protection against dismissal any more. In the UK, geographical concentrations of long-term unemployment and inactivity persist, with an unequal distribution of jobs among households (Cousins & Tang, 2002). Part-time work in the UK is common but is seen as supplementary work for women offering less benefits and rights than full time work and thus enabling them to care for their families through their own (private) labour. Part-time work differs a lot from the long working hours of especially male full-time workers. In the Netherlands part-time work is also common. However, in the Netherlands equality of treatment between full-time and part-time work is the rule. It was arranged by law in 1996 and in 2001 followed the law on the right to adapt working hours. In this respect labour market security even in flexible work ('flexicurity') in the Netherlands resembles much more the situation in Sweden (Jager, 2002, 2003, Strandh & Boje, 2002).

Social policy in the accession countries does not facilitate these 'private solutions'; part-time work and labour market flexibility are not stimulated by policies. In all transition countries the high level of income tax and of social security and health contributions as well as the often fixed payments employers have to provide for each employee, discourage the introduction of part-time work (Vecernik, 2003, Sik, 2003, Medgyesi, 2002). Since regulations are rigid, part time work

mostly is an individual strategy under exceptional circumstances such as illness, handicaps or partial retirement.

We assume that people – households – are less easily induced to adapt their working situation in order to reduce combination pressure when conditions are bad and changes will have profound effects. Therefore we expect a positive effect on the balance of work and care in policy contexts that facilitate either public or private solutions to combination pressure as in Sweden or the Netherlands, without jeopardising work security. In other words flexicurity – possibilities for flexible work under good conditions – should make private solutions to combination pressure more accessible.

Gender ideology

In the last decades there has been a development – at least in the three Western European countries under study – towards equality in the extent men and women engage in paid and unpaid work labour. Non-traditional attitudes towards male and female roles are quite common in policy and among individual people in Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK. Men and women are engaged in both employment and household matters to a larger extent (Strandh and Nordenmark, 2002) than some decades ago. Generally speaking the trend is towards women becoming more active on

the labour market and men becoming more involved in the household.

On the other hand people in the Czech Republic and especially in Hungary have traditional gender attitudes (Strandh & Nordenmark (2002) used data from the gender ideology index ISSP 1994 to elaborate on the gender ideology). Unfortunately we have no information from Slovenia on this matter. But we know that the Slovenian participation rates for women are almost as high as in the Scandinavian countries. Moreover, female students form the majority at the universities. However, this is less because of the influence of emancipatory feminist politics than because of the legacy of the gender ideologies of the previous regime which promoted equal participation of women in the workplace as full time workers but failed to address the division of labour in the home.

Thinking through this concept of gender equality – meaning that differences between men and women in their work or household roles will diminish – we hypothesise: the more egalitarian the gender ideology, the less men and women will differ in what increases or decreases their combination pressure.

The differences between country contexts are tentatively summarised Table 1. The values in the table are relative values.

Table 1. Country contexts

| | Netherlands | UK | Sweden | Slovenia | Czech Republic | Hungary |
|---|-------------|----|--------|----------|----------------|---------|
| Family policies oriented on labour market participation | - | - | ++ | ++ | + | + |
| Flexicurity | ++ | - | + | - | - | - |
| Gender equality | + | + | ++ | ? | -- | -- |

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

What effects do we expect from these country contexts?

A social policy context that facilitates the balance between work and care via family friendly policies (collectivisation of care as for example in Sweden) leads to less combination pressure.

Furthermore, a social policy context that facilitates private solutions for households (e.g. be-

ing able to work part-time) for combining work and care will lead to less combination pressure.

Thirdly, a county context with a strong focus on gender equality (in policy or/ and in people's attitudes) leads to less differences between men and women in explanations for combination pressure.

In Table 2 all hypotheses are summarised.

Table 2. Summary of hypotheses of the likely effects of combination pressure

| | Effect on combination pressure | |
|---|--------------------------------|--------|
| | Men | Women |
| Working situation | | |
| Longer working hours | + | ++ |
| Working overtime | + | + |
| Varying work schemes and work at non-standard times | + | + |
| Control over working hours | - | - |
| Type of contract | ? | ? |
| Flexibility - higher uncertainty | + | + |
| Flexibility - differentiation | - | - |
| Household situation | | |
| (Young) children | + | ++ |
| Interaction effects | | |
| Working hours * (young) children | + | + |
| Working hours * Main responsibility for domestic work | + | + |
| Working hours * agreement | - | - |
| Country context | | |
| Family policies oriented on labour market participation | - | - |
| Social policy that facilitates private solutions | - | - |
| Gender equality | Differ | Differ |

Note: +: heighten, -: lower, differ: different explanations for combination pressure

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

2. HWF SURVEY DATA AND ANALYSIS

2.1. The HWF-data

The data used in the comparative analysis of the balance between work and care were collected in the international research project 'Households, Work and Flexibility' (HWF), funded under the Fifth Framework Programme of the European Union. The project started in April 2000 and continues until 2003. This EU-project aims to look at

how changing forms of flexibility affect work and family life. Data collected from eight² partner countries provide a comparison especially between Eastern and Western Europe and show consequences of different social policies.

The main research instrument of the project is a representative sample survey, which was car-

ried out in the spring of 2001 in each of the partner countries using face-to-face interviews or telephone interviews (see Appendix 1). In this survey people between 18 and 65 were asked to describe their own experiences with different kinds of employment, along with those of other members of their households. The questionnaire considers paid work as well as unpaid work and the strategies through which households approach these different kinds of work. The survey also considers the attitudes and values of the respondents with regard to work and family life. For more information on the HWF questionnaire and survey (per country) see Wallace (2003).

Operationalisation

We constructed a scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.73$) measuring the experienced balance between paid work and family life – in the past three months – from the following propositions (see Scheme 1). The scale-items consider both the influence of work on family life and vice versa.

The working situation comprises several features. Firstly, the actual number of hours in paid work³; secondly the overtime people do in their job. Since working (over)time was treated differently in most countries, country specific variables were created⁴. In our first analyses one variable 'overtime' is entered for each country separately. Since it is interesting to see on which points of the day or week working (overtime) is causing combination pressure, we further analysed the relationship between combination pressure and

working (overtime) in the weekend and working (overtime) during the evening.

The third feature of the working situation is a scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$) representing the control people are able to exercise over their working hours. In the questionnaire people were asked who decides on the numbers of hours they work, on their general working schedule and the overtime they work (ranging from 1 'It is outside our control', via 'Employer decides' and 'Employer and I decide together', to 4 'I decide').

The working schedule is also part of the model; a regular working schedule of 5 days a week, another regular schedule, shift-work and an irregular schedule. People could also opt for 'working flexitime', meaning that within margins they can decide what time they begin and end. However, in the analysis 'working flexitime' and working schedule are treated as separate variables⁵. The type of contract is also included in the model. Here a distinction was made in contracts with most security through to high uncertainty⁶.

The household situation also consists of various items. As has already been said, only respondents with one partner from the opposite sex were included. The household situation is further measured using the following variables:

- The presence of children younger than 7 years old
- The presence of children between 7 and 14 years old

Scheme 1. The experienced balance of work and family life – combination pressure (range 0 to 4)

How often have you experienced the following in the last three months (range 0 (never) to 4 (always))?

1. My work makes it difficult for me to do some of the household tasks that need to be done
2. My work makes it difficult to fulfil my responsibilities towards my family and other important persons in my life
3. My responsibilities towards my family and other important persons in my life prevented me from doing my work adequately
4. I have to take work from my employment home to finish

Furthermore, additional family variables have been used. Firstly, the hours of paid work by partners are added to our model⁷. Secondly, the person responsible for domestic work in the household, based on who is mainly taking care of cooking, cleaning the house, washing the laundry and the daily shopping. The care for children was not taken into account, since not everyone has children. The existing answer categories were recoded into: mainly done by the respondent, equally shared⁸ and not done by the respondent.

Thirdly a scale (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.74$) was constructed representing the (dis)agreement

within the household (ranging from 1 'always disagree' to 5 'always agree') and consisting of items on household finances, allocation of household (domestic) tasks, the amount of time spent together and the amount of time spent at work (in employment). These questions were not directed specifically to the partner, so answers could refer to other members in the household. In our analysis we assume that answers mainly concern the partner. Finally, age and educational level are included in the analyses as well.

2.2. Analysis

Using a General Linear Model (GLM), we examined the relations between all described independent variables and the dependent variable 'combination pressure' for each country separately. For this analysis SPSS provides a procedure (GLM Univariate procedure) in which both regression and analysis of variance are combined into one procedure. Thus, relations between both categorical and continuous independent variables on the one hand and the dependent variable on the other hand can be analysed simultaneously. A backward procedure was used: for each country

separately we dropped one by one non-significant variables ($\alpha > 0.1$) from the general model until only significant variables remained. For this reason the reduced models (may) differ for each country. Table 4 and Table 11 show the reduced models. Results will be discussed further on.

Working overtime includes several aspects (see ⁴). We further analysed the specific relations between combination pressure and working (overtime) in the weekend and during the evening. Since these last two variables are mutually associated, partial correlations were computed.⁹

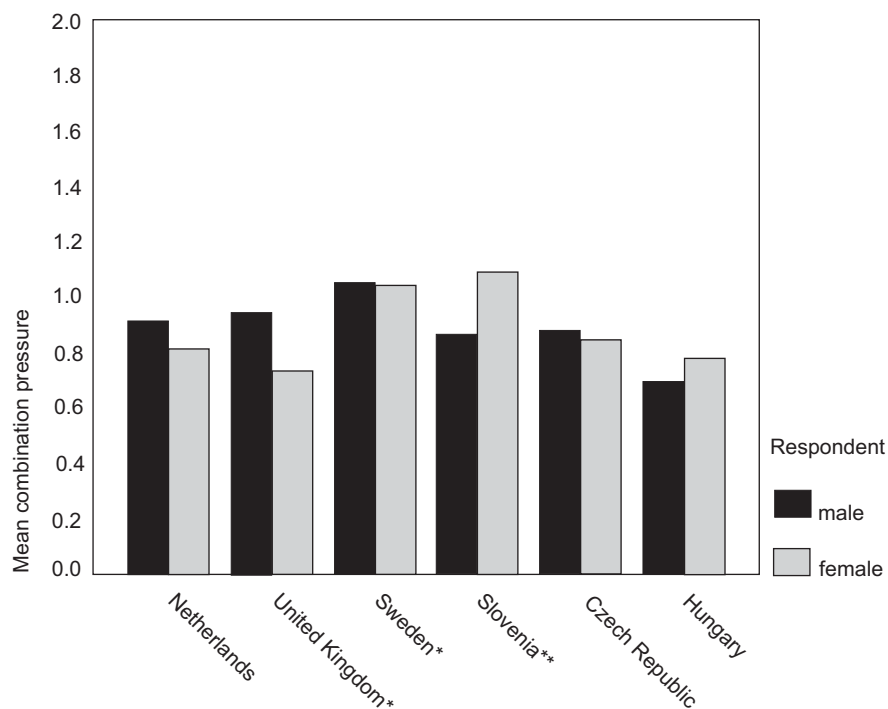
3. RESULTS

3.1. Description

presents the average combination pressure men and women experience in six different European countries. Only in the UK and Slovenia men and women differ significantly in their evaluation of the extent work-family interference: Slovenian women even experience the highest pressure of all men and women in the analysed countries; British male respondents judge their situation as more pressed than British women do. Combination pressure for couples is highest in Sweden and Slovenia, although the difference between Slovenia and the other countries, except for Hungary, is not significant (see Table 8, Annex 2).

Table 3 presents the results in more detail. Both men and women mostly support the proposition 'My work makes it difficult for me to do some of the household tasks that need to be done' in nearly all countries. On the other hand a proposition as 'My responsibilities towards my family and other important persons in my life prevented me from doing my work adequately' is not very often affirmed. In general, for all four propositions there are significant differences between countries.

Figure 1. Combination pressure for men and women in Europe



Note: Significant differences between men and women within countries are marked **p<0.01; *p<0.05; The values of combination pressure rate between 0 (never) to 4 (always), meaning the higher the score the more combination pressure.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 3. Combination pressure in detail compared for men and women (per cent)

| | | Netherlands | | UK | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Rep. | | Hungary | |
|---|-----------|-------------|--------|------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| My work makes it difficult for me to do some of the household tasks that need to be done | Never | 30.8 | 37.8 | 42.9 | 49.3 | 33.0 | 26.9 | 47.2 | 26.7 | 35.3 | 34.8 | 44.6 | 35.7 |
| | Sometimes | 52.5 | 46.9 | 33.5 | 31.4 | 44.1 | 45.0 | 41.5 | 53.3 | 50.4 | 52.7 | 41.3 | 49.3 |
| | Often | 16.6 | 15.3 | 23.5 | 19.3 | 22.8 | 28.1 | 11.3 | 20.0 | 14.3 | 12.5 | 14.0 | 14.9 |
| My work makes it difficult to fulfil my responsibilities towards my family and other important persons in my life | Never | 44.9 | 50.9 | 51.2 | 60.5 | 37.1 | 34.7 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 35.8 | 38.9 | 48.8 | 49.8 |
| | Sometimes | 47.6 | 44.4 | 37.1 | 27.4 | 47.6 | 49.0 | 54.4 | 54.5 | 53.1 | 53.7 | 38.8 | 43.0 |
| | Often | 7.4 | 4.7 | 11.8 | 12.1 | 15.3 | 16.3 | 13.8 | 17.6 | 11.1 | 7.4 | 12.4 | 7.2 |
| My responsibilities towards my family and other important persons in my life prevented me from doing my work adequately | Never | 69.5 | 71.1 | 67.1 | 80.9 | 70.3 | 72.2 | 68.0 | 63.2 | 61.5 | 62.8 | 73.2 | 73.3 |
| | Sometimes | 29.9 | 27.8 | 28.2 | 15.5 | 27.9 | 26.4 | 30.4 | 35.0 | 37.1 | 35.1 | 24.3 | 25.3 |
| | Often | 0.7 | 1.1 | 4.7 | 3.6 | 1.7 | 1.3 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 1.3 | 2.0 | 2.5 | 1.4 |
| I have to take work from my employment home to finish | Never | 60.1 | 69.1 | 64.1 | 73.6 | 49.8 | 59.6 | 68.6 | 67.5 | 66.8 | 65.2 | 81.5 | 69.3 |
| | Sometimes | 26.8 | 19.6 | 19.4 | 15.5 | 33.2 | 27.9 | 24.6 | 20.9 | 23.6 | 24.0 | 11.8 | 19.7 |
| | Often | 13.1 | 11.3 | 16.5 | 10.9 | 17.0 | 12.5 | 6.8 | 11.7 | 9.5 | 10.8 | 6.7 | 11.0 |

Notes: ** p<0.01 + p<0.10 Chi-squares. Sometimes = rarely and sometimes. Often = often and always

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

The high score on combination pressure for British men might be explained by their relatively high score on the item stating that their responsibilities towards their family prevent them from doing their work adequately. Slovenian as well as Swedish women have more trouble in meeting household needs than their fellow countrymen.

Description of the working situation

People in the candidate countries work the longest hours, whilst women in the UK and in the Netherlands have the shortest working week. In all countries men work on average longer hours than women do. People in Sweden do overtime most often and in the UK they do the least. In all countries women do significantly less overtime compared to men, in general, in the evening and in the weekend, the latter except for the Netherlands and Slovenia. In Hungary and Slovenia women work less during unusual hours than do men.

The least control over the number of working hours, their general working schedule and the overtime they do, is experienced by people in the candidate countries and in these countries (and Sweden) women have less control than men. Dutch people exert most control and work flexi-time most frequently¹⁰. Gender differences exist in Sweden and in the Czech Republic, where men have more flexi-time opportunities.

Swedish employers most frequently guarantee their employees certainty by means of a regular contract. However gender differences exist; in Sweden as well as in Slovenia and the Netherlands more men have contracts which reflect more certainty. In Hungary a regular working schedule

of 5 days a week is least common, especially for Hungarian men. The latter gender difference also exists in the Czech Republic. Dutch and English women more often have some kind of other regular schedule (mostly part-time work on fixed days) compared to their fellow country-men.

Description of the household situation

Partners in Hungary work the longest hours, while in the Netherlands and in the Czech Republic partners work the least. Not surprisingly, in all the countries female partners work shorter hours than male partners. The average number of working hours of partners slightly differs from the average working hours of the respondents. Probably people know better their own working hours than those of their partner. The 'low' estimation of working hours of female partners by the male respondents in the Czech Republic is remarkable in this light, compared to the average working time that Czech female respondents report.

In general spouses rather agree with one another on household matters. However, some differences between countries exist; couples in Slovenia and the Czech Republic agree least. No distinctions between men and women were found (except for Slovenian couples at the 10 per cent level).

In general – in all countries – women still mainly perform the domestic work. Especially in Hungary and the Czech Republic the differences between men and women are big. The least differences between men and women are found in the Netherlands and in Sweden.

3.2. The influence on combination pressure for couples

The overall results of the GLM univariate procedures are discussed below. Of the variance in combination pressure 17 per cent to 36 per cent can be explained by the factors in the model of analysis. Additional tables are included in Annex 2. A detailed description per country is given in Annex 3.

People are busy, doing paid work, domestic tasks, taking care for the children, participating in social events. We asked them specifically how difficult it is to manage the balance between work and care. Only one out of nine respondents experienced a more than moderate combination pressure¹¹ in the past three months: i.e. 11 per cent

of all respondents mentioned they sometimes, often or always experienced it. Which means that 89 per cent of the people in the past three months did not experience a severe violation of their work obligations by family responsibilities or vice versa. Quite contrary to our expectations men and women do not differ significantly in their experienced balance (except for British men and Slovenian women who were relatively more pressed than their fellow country (wo)men). One way or another, most people are able to reconcile both life spheres. We can not conclude that these people do not experience time pressure at all. Our items are specifically focused on the interference of both life spheres and stated quite firmly.

Further on we will elaborate on how country regimes help people in (or prevent them from) reconciling life spheres and whether they make their choices within less or more constraints. First we take a look at our data-model to identify the main stressors in maintaining the work-care balance (see Table 4, Table 11 and Table 5).

In the analysed models for six countries we find ample evidence supporting the availability hypothesis: working long hours is a stable factor in explaining combination pressure and so is doing overtime (or working at unusual hours), especially for women. In the Hungarian model we do not find support for the hypothesis that women experience more pressure from working longer hours. Swedish and Slovenian women are markedly more pressed by working long hours than their fellow countrymen.

Doing overtime in the late afternoon/evening is in general more pressing than overtime at the weekend (Table 5). Only in the Netherlands does a sharp difference in the appreciation of evening and weekend overtime work in relation to combination pressure occur between men and women: for men, weekend work is more pressing than evening work; for women it is vice versa. This

gender difference might be indicating that the balance in jeopardy for men is mainly a balance between paid work and leisure or social activities and less between paid work and care at home. Doing overtime at the weekend puts the time spent with partner and/or children under pressure. Maybe men view weekend work as personal time, knowing that family life continues without their active interference. Dutch women still have to gain space for themselves, at least by allowing themselves to engage in activities without the family.

The results on factors concerning the level of flexibilisation are confusing. To our surprise positive factors such as having control over working times, working schedules and so on had only an effect on Czech women and Hungarian men. Being able to choose when to begin and end the working day has no influence at all. We do not have an explanation for it yet. In this context, the observations of Elvin-Nowak (1998, in Strandh & Boje, 2003) based on a small scale study of working mothers may help to shed some light. Elwin-Nowak found that a high degree of flexibility and control was coupled with feelings of guilt (= combination pressure, note from the authors) because of the increased individual responsibility to the demands of work and family. Salmi (1997, in Strandh & Boje, 2002) showed in line with this finding that men working at home organise their work very much in the same linear ways that paid labour is normally organised. Women, however, arranged their workdays more freely and adapted them to fit their children's schooldays. However, in our models we do not find support for a gender difference in flexitime-attitude or practices.

Other factors related to flexibilisation, such as type of contract and working scheme either do not have a significant effect, or apply to very small groups and can not be unequivocally interpreted (see Annex 3).

Table 4. General Linear Model per country per gender – unstandardised b-coefficients

| | Netherlands | | United Kingdom | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Republic | | Hungary | | |
|--|---|----------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|-------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | |
| Model | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Continuous independent variables (covariates) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours per week | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.01 | |
| Working (over)time | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.03 | | 0.03 | 0.05 | | 0.03 | |
| Control | | | | | | | | | | 0.05 | 0.06 | | |
| Working hours partner | | -0.01 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Dis)Agreement | -0.08 | -0.05 | | | -0.06 | -0.04 | -0.05 | -0.06 | | -0.07 | -0.08 | -0.07 | |
| Domestic work | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.01 | |
| Categorical independent variables (factors) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Working Flexitime</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Contract | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 no certainty | -0.05 | | | -0.01 | | | | -1.45 | | | | 0.08 | |
| 2 low certainty | -0.71 | | | 0.16 | | | | 0.20 | | | | 0.13 | |
| 3 fixed certainty | 0.28 | | | 0.98 | | | | -0.077 | | | | 0.55 | |
| 4 max certainty (ref.) | 0 | | | 0 | | | | 0 | | | | 0 | |
| <i>Working schedule</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 regular schedule, 5 days a week | | -0.03 | | | | | | | | | | -0.42 | |
| 2 other regular schedule | | 0.22 | | | | | | | | | | -0.81 | |
| 3 shift work | | -0.44 | | | | | | | | | | -0.25 | |
| 4 Irregular, it varies (ref.) | | 0 | | | | | | | | | | 0 | |
| <i>Children 0-6</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No | -0.17 | -0.21 | | | -0.19 | | | | -0.34 | | | 0.29 | |
| Yes (ref.) | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | | 0 | | |
| <i>Children 7-14</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No | | | -0.42 | -0.30 | -0.17 | -0.21 | | | | | | | |
| Yes (ref.) | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | | |
| <i>Educational level</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0 Pre-primary education | | | | | -0.59 | | | | | -0.92 | | -0.57 | -0.77 |
| 1 Primary education | -0.43 | -0.25 | | -0.039 | -0.38 | -0.49 | -0.26 | -0.05 | -0.49 | -0.60 | -0.59 | -0.67 | |
| 2 Lower secondary education | -0.47 | -0.46 | | -0.39 | -0.17 | -0.47 | -1.22 | -0.53 | -0.39 | -0.61 | -0.54 | -0.58 | |
| 3 Secondary education | -0.17 | -0.32 | | -0.33 | -0.15 | -0.36 | -0.85 | -0.61 | -0.20 | -0.46 | -0.46 | -0.41 | |
| 4 Post-secondary education | | | | -0.19 | -0.24 | -0.32 | | | -0.56 | -0.28 | | | |
| 5 First stage tertiary education | 0 | 0 | | 0.18 | -0.01 | -0.25 | -0.48 | 0 | 0.20 | -0.77 | 0.24 | 0.10 | |
| 6 Second stage tertiary education | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | |
| <i>Interaction effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours*agreement | | -0.00 | 0.00 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours* children 0-6 | | | | | 0.02 | | | | 0.04 | | | | |
| Working hours* children 7-14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours* responsibility for domestic tasks | 0.01 | | | | | | | | | -0.01 | | | |
| <i>Adjusted R Squared</i> | 0.25 | 0.32 | 0.24 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.29 | 0.22 | 0.28 | 0.17 | 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.22 | |
| Note: | p < 0.01 | p < 0.05 | p < 0.10 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Source: | HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Table 5. Partial correlations per country per gender¹²

| Partial Correlations | Netherlands | | United Kingdom | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Republic | | Hungary | |
|---|-------------|--------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| combination pressure *(over)time evening (controlled for weekend) | 0.22 | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.24 | 0.28 | 0.21 | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.30 | 0.23 | 0.13 | 0.20 |
| combination pressure *(over)time weekend (con- trolled for evening) | 0.12 | 0.30 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.10 | 0.04 | -0.02 | 0.18 | 0.02 | -0.04 |

Note: p<0.01 p<0.05 p<0.10

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Remarkably, having the main responsibility for domestic tasks does not add to combination pressure as such in any of the participating countries. It does in interaction with long working hours, but only for the small group of Dutch men and for Czech women. The presence of small children does matter for Swedish men and Czech and Slovenian women and for both Dutch men and women. Swedish men and Slovenian women are relatively more pressed by the presence of small children when they are working long hours (see interaction effect).

Contrary to our hypothesis we did not find support for gender differences in the Netherlands and in Sweden. The opposite effect occurs, probably because most of the time mothers adapt their working hours in the way that Swedish law allows for.

Having children between 7 and 14 only significantly adds to the combination pressure of British and Swedish men and women. In Sweden the right to adapt working hours ceases when children become 8 years old. When both parents return to full-time work it is quite conceivable that pressure increases. In the UK men work very long hours, women only work part-time, since the lack of affordable childcare facilities compels them to. Maybe, as in Sweden, British women return to full-time jobs spreading the increased pressure in the family.

A strong factor, especially in the Netherlands and in Sweden (and remarkably not in the UK), is the level of agreement between partners about household matters. For Dutch and Swedish men it is the most important factor in explaining the lessening of combination pressure. Slovenian and Hungarian couples too are more able to cope with combination pressure in case of agreement. Czech women suffer extra heavy burdens when they disagree with their partner.

Dutch and Swedish women living in harmony with their partner experience less stress from long working hours (interaction effect). On the other hand, British men seem to have more pressure in this case from long working hours, probably since they already usually work very long hours.

Higher educated people in general experience more combination pressure. Older people in the Czech Republic and in Hungary are more relaxed.

This might have to do with expectations: higher educated people, younger people and those in Western countries are the products of 'modernisation', resulting in a desire for more fulfilling work as well as for more fulfilling partnerships.

3.3. Country context

Does a social policy context that facilitates the balance between work and care via family friendly policy lead to less combination pressure? We were inclined to think so. However, quite to the contrary analyses show a number 1 position for Sweden on combination pressure; Swedish couples are relatively most stressed and so are Slovenian women. People in Hungary are least pressed. So the presence of a family friendly policy is not a guarantee for a better combination of work and care, at least as far as people's perceptions are concerned. There must be more to explain the Swedish position; if it were only for family friendly policies we would expect the UK and the Netherlands on opposite poles of the scale to Sweden.

Secondly we assumed a positive effect on combination pressure of policy contexts that facilitate private solutions. Although people in the three Western-European countries have more control over working times, working schedules than people in the accession countries have, these variables have no effect on combination pressure. Furthermore, as concluded before other factors related to flexibilisation do not have a significant effect, or apply only to small groups and cannot be unequivocally interpreted.

One other aspect is the option of doing work part-time. Social policy in the accession countries does not facilitate these 'private solutions'; part-time work and labour market flexibility are not

stimulated by social policies. And the lack of it might rather well explain why the pressure of Slovenian women is relatively high. The absence of these possibilities is also reflected in our data; people in the candidate countries work long hours, significantly more than people in the three Western-European countries do.

Men in the UK, the Netherlands and Sweden on average work more hours per week than women do. Dutch and British women solve the tension of having a 'second shift in their household work' by withdrawing partially from the labour market. Swedish women do so to a much lesser extent, although they (and their partners) have the possibility to work part-time when their children are young. About 40 per cent of the Swedish women exercise this right to part time work. However, three out of each eight part-time working women have a job of more than 30 hours and only one of five works less than 20 hours (in the Netherlands the share of such 'small' jobs is 30 per cent, in the UK approximately a quarter, see Strandh & Boje, 2002). Our data shows that about a quarter of the Swedish women work 30 hours or less per week, in contrast with Swedish men of whom less than 4 per cent opt for this. Along with the availability of good childcare facilities, this might be an explanation for why the combination pressure of Swedish women is not affected by the presence of small children.

Table 6. Satisfaction with working hours by country and gender (per cent)

| | Netherlands | | UK | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Republic | | Hungary | |
|-------------------|-------------|--------|------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| Very dissatisfied | 1.7 | 0.4 | 7.0 | 4.4 | 0.9 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 4.9 | 5.5 | 3.9 | 3.2 |
| Dissatisfied | 5.7 | 2.2 | 10.5 | 7.5 | 10.0 | 9.3 | 17.1 | 8.9 | 15.4 | 19.3 | 12.1 | 11.5 |
| Neither - nor - | 7.7 | 5.1 | 11.7 | 3.1 | 19.1 | 18.2 | 16.6 | 17.8 | 14.3 | 16.9 | 21.1 | 19.3 |
| Satisfied | 27.8 | 20.6 | 40.4 | 33.2 | 38.4 | 34.1 | 60.6 | 59.2 | 50.5 | 39.3 | 47.8 | 48.6 |
| Very satisfied | 57.2 | 71.7 | 30.4 | 51.8 | 31.7 | 36.6 | 3.6 | 12.4 | 14.9 | 19.0 | 15.1 | 17.4 |

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

In spite of the proportion of part-time jobs with relatively long hours, Swedish women still feel troubled about their choice for working in less than a full-time job; approximately one third of the Swedish women in part-time work consider this type of employment as involuntary. The proportion of Dutch and British women expressing to work part-time involuntarily are very low (Boje & Strandh, 2003). Dutch flexicurity leads to happy employees: men but especially women are very satisfied with their working hours (Table 6). And even under the worse circumstances in the UK, women are relatively happy with the length of their working week. Furthermore, the variable 'working hours' has less effect in explaining combination pressure for women in the UK and the Netherlands.

We hypothesised that a country context representing a strong focus on gender equality leads to less differences between men and women in explanations for combination pressure. People in Sweden seem to have the most gender liberal attitudes of the countries included in this study (see Strandh & Nordenmark, 2002), although the differences with the Netherlands and the UK are rather small in this matter. However, the social policy context in Sweden most strongly supports the realisation of such an ideology in comparison with the two other countries (Strandh & Nordenmark, 2002). Looking at the analysed models for Swedish men and women we do indeed conclude that the models resemble each other. It is not so easy to formulate one dimension ranking the country models from most to least differences between men and women, but taking into account both the variables included in the various models and the explained variation, the Swedish models for men and women are the best candidate for integration between the sexes.

One element in the models for Swedish men and women however is so strikingly different that it requires some additional explanation: Swedish women score extremely high on attributing combination pressure to long working hours although, on average, they work significantly fewer

hours than Swedish men do. And the effect of working hours is even getting stronger when there is lack of agreement within the household on household finances, allocation on domestic tasks, the amount of time spent together and the amount of time spent at work. And although they have ample opportunities to work part-time for at least eight years whilst the children are small, most women opt for part-time jobs with very long hours, as we mentioned before.

We follow Strandh and Nordenmark (2002) in their tentative explanation of this phenomenon. They state that a gap may exist between the values of women and men in West European countries and the actual distribution of labour, both paid and household work. According to Strandh & Nordenmark (2002) the unequal division of household labour among Czechs and Hungarians is more in line with the gender ideology of the individuals (including women). It is possible that the less accentuated gap between attitudes and the division of labour explains why women in these countries do not experience a higher degree of role conflicts.

Women in paid labour in the three Western-European countries, who hold relatively liberal gender attitudes, might perceive the uneven distribution of labour as unfair, unequal and problematic. Our data also shows that in the UK, the Netherlands and Sweden domestic work is still mainly performed by women, although the gender differences are not as big as in the Slovenian, Czech and Hungarian case. Additionally, Swedish women work longer hours compared to women in the UK and the Netherlands. Moreover, Table 3 shows that Swedish women most often experienced that their work makes it difficult to their household core compared to Swedish men but also compared to all other women in the UK, the Netherlands and the accession countries as well. Therefore we conclude that the tentative explanation concerns the Swedish women in particular. It might also apply as an explanation for the experienced combination pressure of Slovenian women

as well who may have a growing consciousness of the inequality in the division of labour.

The effect of gender equality attitudes on combining work and family life for men is considered to be less. Men still perform far fewer chores in the household than women do and moreover in all studied countries men work significantly more hours per week.

However, looking at our data we see some evidence that in particular Swedish and Dutch men are influenced by an egalitarian view as well; they perform household chores the most in comparison with men in the other countries. Moreover, men in Sweden and in the Netherlands

work significantly fewer hours per week than their equivalents in the other countries. And last but not least, agreement within the household on matters such as the allocation of household tasks and the time spent at work, is the most important variable in explaining combination pressure for both men in the Netherlands and in Sweden. The more men are in harmony with their partner, the lower their combination pressure. This at least assumes that these men feel justly addressed on their own role within the process of finding private – household – solutions in dealing with combining work and private life.

4. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Conclusions from the study

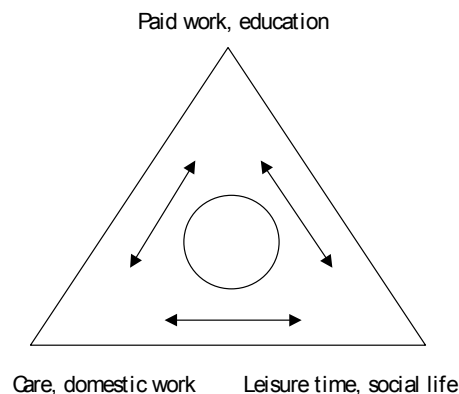
We started our paper with describing some typical dilemmas of modern life; pressure and misbalance between work and home. Garhammer (2002) speaks about the time-pressure-happiness-paradox to feature modern Western-Europe societies. Along with the Danish, the Dutch and the Swedish probably are the happiest people in the world in this research. Progress in life, mobilising resources, and being active as features of modern society, all help to generate happiness and here the Danish, Swedish and Dutch people score highly. Time pressure is the other side of this. According to Garhammer (2002), the feeling of being rushed through simultaneous tasks and role overload as well as the sense of stimulation associated with novel experiences is common in the lives of people in Western Europe.

In assessing combination pressure as a feature of modern society in which life spheres of work and private life are more and more interwoven, one might expect higher pressure for all Western-European countries, or at least lower pressure for the candidate countries. Our data do not support a clear east-west distinction, at least not on the level of combination pressure. However, we find evidence for the time-happiness

paradox in the sense that the Swedish – considered to be one of the happiest people in the world – experience the highest combination pressure. Perhaps thanks to their family friendly policy, the availability of childcare facilities and their liberal gender attitudes Swedish men and especially women on average work long hours in paid labour. Moreover, Swedish women also perform most of the household chores. But men also do more within the household compared to men in other countries. Consequently, they experience trouble in combining their different life spheres. Speaking in terms of Schippers (2001) their 'life sphere- triangle' is not in balance.

The triangle represents the weekly hours that can be divided over three life spheres of paid work and education, leisure time and social life and the care for children and others. A person who spends little time in one sphere and more in others, is in the corner. People who are in the middle spend the same amount of time in every life-sphere. People in Sweden, and probably the Slovenian women as well, spend too much time in at least two corners (although we have only analysed paid work and family life).

Figure 2. Life sphere triangle



Source: Schippers, 2001.

According to Garhammer (2002) people in modern societies learn to cope with time pressure. We assume this applies to combination pressure as well. Roughly speaking, the British and the Dutch have found better solutions to deal with combination pressure than the Swedish – or at least they have found solutions that better match their expectations or attitudes to combination pressure – otherwise combination pressure would be higher in these countries as well. Compared to Sweden, more women in both countries work part-time; also Dutch men work shorter hours than men in other countries. Moreover, we think the Dutch differ from the Swedish in respect that they do not translate a liberal gender ideology into a strict equal share of everything; it is easier not to. They resemble the Swedish in translating an egalitarian view into a desire and a need for harmony in the family situation. This leads to the assumption that although there is a strong relationship between combination pressure and the actual circumstances people are in (in particular the time spent at paid work) there might even be a stronger relation between combination pressure and people's

subjective attitudes – coloured by the cultural context – which leads them to make certain decisions.

The model of Schippers (2001) is much more applicable to the situation in the Western-European countries than for the candidate countries, since the three life spheres are more interwoven with each other in Western Europe. In the pre-accession countries the traditional role model is much more common; men are usually responsible for paid work, and women are mainly responsible for work within the household. There is no trade-off of tasks between partners – men and women – within the household. Private solutions – as in the Netherlands where people individually or as partners choose a certain trade off – are far from possible or not even thought of in these countries. However, on the other hand finding a solution for the combination dilemma in Western-European households is still mainly in the hands of women as they work fewer hours and are primarily responsible for the domestic work. A situation that does not correspond with the preferred distribution as for instance described by Bielski et al (2002).

4.2. Epilogue: Balancing work and care in the future

Bielenski et al. (2002) investigated the current and preferred distribution of paid work and working time of individuals and of couples in all fifteen EU-countries plus Norway. In all countries the preference is for a less unequal distribution of working time between the partners. Only 15 per cent of the questioned couples preferred the single (male) breadwinner model (in practice this still represents 35 per cent of the population), 32 per cent favoured the modified form of the male breadwinner model with one partner in full-time and the other in part-time employment (21 per cent in practice). Approximately one third of the couples prefer a household with two full-time workers (32 per cent of households in reality). A new 'standard' mode of distribution could emerge out of the combination of two part-time jobs (currently 2 per cent, but preferred by 16 per cent).

Both in countries with a dominance of the male breadwinner model (Greece, Spain, and Italy) and in countries favouring the universal breadwinner model with two full-time jobs (Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Belgium) a tendency towards preference for the modified single/male breadwinner model occurs.

According to Bielenski et al. (2002) in 'traditional' countries this preference reflects a form of transition from the non-participation of women towards a higher rate of female labour market participation. The tendency in the Nordic countries is not so much towards new traditionalism, but must be interpreted as a step towards the new model of two (large) part-time jobs. In the Nether-

lands the majority of men and women already favour the modified model, in an adapted form: paid work is to be divided on a 4 to 3 basis between men and women (Schippers, 2001). In comparison to other countries the Netherlands has its own pathway to a more equal distribution of paid and unpaid labour between men and women. The Dutch one-and-a-half income family sometimes is viewed as a bit old-fashioned, a bit snug, as still far from a real emancipated society. But if we take into account the general preferences in Europe, the positive signals even our data show when it comes to the participation of men in household and caring tasks, the satisfaction with working hours and the overall scores on happiness, maybe a third way 'forward' could be more of an example than it was until now.

We have no similar data for Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary on this matter, although the HWF data shows that approximately a third of people analysed in this study prefers to work fewer hours. This might be an indicator for a possible transition to, or tendency towards, preference for the modified single/male breadwinner model, as in other countries with a dominance of the male breadwinner model. For certain these societies are changing and converging in many respects with the Western-European societies. This suggests that new balances for the combination of work and family life need to be found in the future. It will be interesting which way 'forward' will begin to predominate there in future.

NOTES

- 1 Annet Jager (Stoas Research) is the main researcher of the Dutch HWF-team. Yvonne Kops (Stoas Research) is project leader for the HWF project in the Netherlands. Tanja van der Lippe (Utrecht University) is associate professor in Sociology.
- 2 Our analysis in this essay is restricted to data from Sweden, the Netherlands, UK, Slovenia, Hungary and Czech Republic. Besides those countries Romania and Bulgaria are partners in the project. The selection of the countries was based on the applicability of the country data on the model for analysis
- 3 For Hungary travelling time is also counted into people's working hours.
- 4 In general people were asked how often (never (1), only few times in a year, only seasonal, at least once a month, at least once a week (5)) they work (overtime).
In the Dutch questionnaire people were asked whether they now and again work overtime (overtime is working more hours than usual, deviant from the work schedule). Subsequently those who answered affirmatively were asked how often they work overtime in the afternoon, the evening, the weekend.
In the UK survey the categories 'in the afternoon and 'evening' were merged.
In Sweden only the people in employment were asked how often they work overtime.
The Slovenian survey questioned how often people work in their main activity in the afternoon, in the evening, in the night and in the weekend. For those who are employed the questions related to working overtime.
In the Czech survey all people who claimed to have an income earning activity were asked how often they work overtime.
The overtime expression was not used in the Hungarian version of the questionnaire. People who reported to have income from employment were asked how often they perform their main activity in the late afternoon or evening (merged into one), in the night and in the weekend.
- 5 In the Netherlands 'working flexitime' was considered a separate question and likewise a separate variable in the first place
- 6 No through high certainty, ranging from 'no contract', via 'on a fee only basis, on call, contract with reduced or no working time, on call contract, subject to performance, zero hours contract or a min/max contract', via fixed contracts like 'a fixed term contract, with a temporary work agency, on a work experience project' to 'self employed, permanent contract'.
- 7 For Hungary travelling time is also counted into people's working hours.
- 8 For the Netherlands the option not equally shared was also included.
- 9 This procedure computes the linear relationship between two variables while controlling for the effects of a third variable.
- 10 Flexi-time was questioned slightly different from the way it was asked in the partner-countries. Therefore this result might be an artifact. However, we did put more effort in a more elaborated question because of our assumption that flexi-time work is quite common in the Netherlands.
- 11 A score up or above the scale mean. Meaning the answer categories sometimes, often, always.
- 12 This procedure computes the linear relationship between two variables while controlling for the effects of a third variable.

ANNEX**I. Sample characteristics****Table 7. Number of respondents**

| | male | female | total |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Netherlands | 301 | 279 | 580 |
| United Kingdom | 171 | 228 | 399 |
| Sweden | 465 | 454 | 919 |
| Slovenia | 196 | 170 | 366 |
| Czech Republic | 377 | 296 | 673 |
| Hungary | 242 | 221 | 463 |
| Total | 1752 | 1648 | 3400 |

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Respondents from the Netherlands more frequently live in households with very young children compared to respondents from Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Furthermore, there are differences between man and women as well. Male respondents from the Netherlands, Czech Republic and Hungary more often have very small children than the female respondents. For Slovenia the opposite is true.

People from the Dutch sample have least children aged 7-14 (in comparison with the Czech Republic).

The women in this European sample are somewhat younger than the male respondents - except for the UK. People from the Netherlands and from Sweden are somewhat higher educated than others. No differences between men and women have been found, except for the UK. Women in the UK sample are somewhat lower qualified than English men are.

II. Tables

Table 8. Means of all variables per country

| | Netherlands | UK | Sweden | Slovenia | Czech Rep. | Hungary |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------|---------|----------|------------|----------|
| Combination pressure | 0.87 bc | 0.83 bc | 1.04 a | 0.97 ab | 0.86 bc | 0.74 c |
| Working hours per week | 33.06 c | 35.02 c | 40.03 b | 43.22 a | 43.77 a | 44.81 a |
| Working (over)time ⁽¹⁾ | 8.93 | 6.96 | 10.13 | 9.14 | 9.18 | 7.38 |
| - evening ⁽²⁾ | 3.44 | 2.90 | 2.96 | 2.07 | 2.20 | 3.04 |
| - weekend | 2.43 | 2.30 | 2.26 | 2.45 | 2.29 | 2.57 |
| Control ⁽³⁾ | 9.69 a | 8.63 c | 9.27 b | 7.68 d | 7.74 d | 7.55 d |
| Working flexitime ⁽⁴⁾ | 0.53 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.16 | 0.02 |
| Contract ⁽⁵⁾ | 3.73 | 3.55 | 3.93 | 3.73 | 3.70 | 3.62 |
| Working schedule ⁽⁶⁾ | 63% | 62% | 72% | 56% | 61% | 52% |
| Working hours partner | 34.36 c | 39.40 b | 39.76 b | 41.45 b | 36.35 c | 45.18 a |
| (Dis)agreement ⁽⁷⁾ | 16.41ab | 15.90 b | 16.62 a | 15.16 c | 15.18 c | 16.18 ab |
| Children 0-6 ⁽⁸⁾ | 0.29 a | 0.25 ab | 0.25 ab | 0.25 ab | 0.20 b | 0.19 b |
| Children 7-14 | 0.28 b | 0.35 ab | 0.32 ab | 0.36 ab | 0.36 a | 0.32 ab |
| Domestic work ⁽⁹⁾ | 2.04 a | 2.24 a | 2.08 a | 2.01 ab | 1.79 b | 1.99 ab |
| Age | 40.99 b | 42.04 ab | 41.65 b | 41.96 ab | 41.36 b | 43.44 a |
| Educational level ⁽¹⁰⁾ | 3.64 b | 2.91 d | 4.04 a | 3.25 c | 2.97 cd | 2.97 cd |

Notes:

Countries with the same letters do not differ significantly.

(1) Since working overtime was treated differently in each, differences between countries are not analysed. (Never through at least one a week: range 4 (3) - 20 (15)). See also 4.

(2) UK and Hungary afternoon/evening. Working (over)time evening and weekend: Never through at least one a week range 1-5.

(3) 'Outside our control' through 'I decide' ; range 3-12.

(4) No certainty through high certainty; range 1-4. See also 6.

(5) Yes (1) - No (0).

(6) % a regular working schedule, 5 days a week.

(7) 'always disagree' through 'always agree'; range 4-20.

(8) Presence of children in the household; Yes (1) No (0).

(9) Not done by respondent (0) through mainly done by respondent (4).

(10) Educational level; range 0-6.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 9. Means of all variables per country per gender

| | Netherlands | | UK | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Rep. | | Hungary | |
|------------------------|-------------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|----------|--------|------------|--------|---------|--------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| Combination pressure | 0.92 | 0.81 | 0.9 | 0.74 | 1.05 | 1.04 | 0.87 | 1.10 | 0.88 | 0.85 | 0.70 | 0.78 |
| Working hours per week | 41.14 | 24.34 | 45.1 | 27.42 | 42.98 | 37.00 | 45.59 | 41.49 | 45.96 | 40.98 | 47.31 | 42.07 |
| Working (over)time (1) | 10.14 | 7.63 | 7.9 | 6.21 | 11.05 | 9.17 | 9.85 | 8.28 | 10.15 | 8.02 | 8.34 | 6.34 |
| - evening (2) | 3.77 | 3.01 | 3.3 | 2.60 | 3.29 | 2.61 | 2.31 | 1.78 | 2.54 | 1.78 | 3.28 | 2.77 |
| - weekend | 2.57 | 2.24 | 2.6 | 2.04 | 2.36 | 2.15 | 2.56 | 2.32 | 2.54 | 1.99 | 2.91 | 2.20 |
| Control | 9.73 | 9.64 | 8.7 | 8.55 | 9.48 | 9.08 | 7.94 | 7.36 | 7.98 | 7.44 | 7.89 | 7.19 |
| Working flexitime | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.02 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.21 | 0.09 | 0.02 | 0.01 |
| Contract | 3.79 | 3.67 | 3.58 | 3.52 | 3.96 | 3.89 | 3.79 | 3.66 | 3.67 | 3.74 | 3.63 | 3.61 |
| Working schedule (3) | 69 | 56 | 61 | 62 | 77 | 66 | 58 | 53 | 61 | 60 | 45 | 59 |
| Working hours partner | 25.70 | 40.96 | 32.2 | 44.01 | 36.84 | 42.69 | 39.48 | 43.74 | 29.42 | 45.14 | 42.37 | 47.83 |
| (Dis)agreement | 16.52 | 16.30 | 16.18 | 15.69 | 15.56 | 16.67 | 15.41 | 14.86 | 15.13 | 15.25 | 16.34 | 16.01 |
| Children 0-6 | 0.33 | 0.24 | 0.25 | 0.25 | 0.27 | 0.23 | 0.20 | 0.30 | 0.23 | 0.17 | 0.23 | 0.14 |
| Children 7-14 | 0.27 | 0.30 | 0.36 | 0.35 | 0.35 | 0.28 | 0.34 | 0.38 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.29 | 0.35 |
| Domestic work | 1.14 | 3.00 | 0.8 | 3.26 | 1.30 | 2.88 | 0.77 | 3.43 | 0.40 | 3.54 | 0.39 | 3.68 |
| Age | 42.26 | 39.62 | 42.20 | 41.92 | 42.62 | 40.66 | 43.83 | 39.81 | 42.51 | 39.90 | 44.96 | 41.78 |
| Educational level | 3.71 | 3.57 | 3.1 | 2.73 | 4.05 | 4.02 | 3.23 | 3.26 | 3.00 | 2.95 | 2.96 | 2.97 |

Note:

p < 0.01 p < 0.05 p < 0.10

(1) The overtime expression was not used in the Hungarian version of the questionnaire. the overtime in Slovenia was only used for the employed

(2) UK and Hungary afternoon/evening

(3) % regular, 5 days a week

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 10. Differences in combination pressure per country per gender

| Combination pressure | Netherlands | UK | Sweden | Slovenia | Czech Republic | Hungary |
|----------------------|-------------|---------|--------|----------|----------------|---------|
| Men | 0.92 ab | 0.95 ab | 1.05 a | 0.87 ac | 0.88 bc | 0.70 c |
| Women | 0.81 | 0.74 | 1.04 a | 1.10 a | 0.85 | 0.78 |

Note: Countries with the same letters do not differ significantly.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 11. General Linear Model per county per gender - F-values

| | Netherlands | | United Kingdom | | Sweden | | Slovenia | | Czech Republic | | Hungary | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female | male | female |
| Model | F (df) 9.1 (11) | F (df) 10.7 (12) | F (df) 12.7 (4) | F (df) 6.9 (12) | F (df) 15.7 (11) | F (df) 18.8 (10) | F (df) 7.8 (7) | F (df) 4.7 (13) | F (df) 8.5 (9) | F (df) 13.8 (12) | F (df) 5.8 (12) | F (df) 8.3 (8) |
| <i>Continuous independent variables (covariates)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours per week | 15.3 | 15.5 | 5.1 | 5.8 | 18.7 | 30.6 | 4.0 | 10.5 | 12.5 | 3.1 | 4.2 | |
| Working (over)time | 7.1 | 12.0 | 8.3 | 11.6 | 19.8 | 21.6 | 8.2 | | 12.0 | 31.9 | | 7.1 |
| Control | | | | | | | | | | 9.6 | 12.8 | |
| Working hours partner | | 3.4 | | | | | | | | | | |
| (Dis)Agreement | 27.9 | 12.7 | | | 29.8 | 20.20 | 9.1 | 7.3 | | 26.7 | 14.0 | 20.1 |
| Domestic work | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | | | | | 7.9 | 8.3 | 6.9 | 3.6 |
| <i>Categorical independent variables (factors)</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working Flexitime | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Contract | 2.3 (3) | | | 2.9 (3) | | | | 4.4 (3) | | | | 3.0 (3) |
| Working schedule | | 3.5 (3) | | | | | | 2.7 (3) | | | | |
| Children 0-6 | 4.1 (1) | 4.3 (1) | | | 6.1 (1) | | | 6.7 (1) | | 6.7 (1) | | |
| Children 7-14 | | | 9.0(1) | 6.9 (1) | 5.5 (1) | 8.5 (1) | | | | | | |
| Educational level | 6.9 (3) | 5.1 (3) | | 4.4 (6) | 2.8 (5) | 5.3 (5) | 5.2 (4) | 5.2 (3) | 3.3 (6) | 6.0 (5) | 3.2 (5) | 7.0 (5) |
| <i>Interaction effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Working hours*agreement | | 4.3 | 5.5 | | | 4.9 | | | | | | |
| Working hours*children 0-6 | | | | | 4.3 | | | 4.1 | | | | |
| Working hours*children 7-14 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Responsibility for domestic tasks*Working hours | 4.2 | | | | | | | | | 4.4 | | |
| Adjusted R Squared | 0.25 | 0.32 | 0.24 | 0.26 | 0.26 | 0.29 | 0.22 | 0.28 | 0.17 | 0.36 | 0.20 | 0.22 |

Note: $p < 0.01$ $p < 0.05$ $p < 0.10$
F-values are presented. Degrees of freedom are given for the total model and categorical variables.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

III. Results of the model per country

The Netherlands

Longer working hours cause higher pressure for both cohabiting men and women. The number of working hours is even the most important covariate for women. Working overtime adds to the experienced pressure for both sexes: women experience working overtime in the weekend as the main disrupter and men mainly doing overtime in the evening (overtime in the weekend is significant at the 10 per cent level in the 'male' model).

Having some kind of control over working hours, working schedule or working overtime, or being able to work 'flexitime' doesn't seem to have an effect on the experienced pressure for both genders. Other factors in the working situation only effect small groups. Men with low certainty contracts (working on fee basis, on call, zero hours contract or a min/max contract, N=3) and women working in shifts (N=10) relatively experience the lowest pressure.

Looking at the household situation, analysis reveals that partner's (number of) hours in paid work do not effect men's experienced balance in work and care but they do matter for women. Longer working hours of the partner cause lower pressure for Dutch women. Having the responsibility for domestic work does not add to pressure, for neither women nor men. Probably a skewed division of tasks is not a problem per se, at least if it's agreed upon. Agreement within the household (on several matters) is leading to much less pressure for both men and women (agreement is the most important covariate in the analysed model for men). Apparently, it is easier to deal with the balance in work in care if one is in balance with his or her partner as well.

Small children (aged 0-6) effect both men's and women's balance. No effect has been found for the presence of older children.

Higher educated men and women (and the small group of lowest educated women, N =6) relatively experience the highest pressure. No effect for age has been found.

We found some interaction effects. The number of working hours and disagreement in the household both add to the experienced pressure of women, but they also do in interaction. So, if women work long hours disagreement leads to relatively more pressure than in the case of a shorter working week. The responsibility for domestic tasks only leads to significantly more combination pressure in the case of men working long hours.

United Kingdom

Working long hours and working overtime cause pressure for both cohabiting men and women. For women working overtime is the most important covariate, especially doing overtime in the afternoon/evening.

The type of contract is the only other characteristic of the working situation with an effect on experienced pressure, be it only for women. Contracts that assure a higher level of certainty surprisingly add to their experienced pressure.

Children (aged 7-14, no effect for smaller children!) disturb the balance for both men and

women. Agreement within the household does not influence the experienced pressure in English households to a significant degree, nor does having the responsibility for domestic work. English women with only pre-primary education relatively experience lower pressure compared to higher educated women. No effect for age has been found.

Surprisingly the interaction between number of working hours and agreement has a positive effect: when the couple agrees on household matters working longer hours increase the pressure for men!

Sweden

In Sweden most factors having an effect on combination pressure contribute to men's as well as women's (im)balance. The number of working hours is the main cause for pressure for women, even getting worse when there is lack of agreement in the household (interaction effect); for men disagreement within the household is the most important factor causing pressure.

Working overtime - both in the evening and in the weekend - causes pressure for both sexes as well. None of the other characteristics of the working situation effect combination pressure significantly.

The presence of small children has a significant effect on the experienced pressure for men. And having small children even has a worse effect on pressure when men are working long hours (interaction effect). Both men and women experience time pressure from having children in the age 7-14.

In general higher educated women relatively experience the highest pressure compared to other women. Swedish men with primary education or post-secondary education relatively experience the lowest pressure. No effect for age has been found.

Slovenia

In Slovenia too working longer hours implies higher pressure for both cohabiting men and women. But in the Slovenian sample doing overtime or working at unusual hours - in the evening - only disturbs men's balance.

On the other hand other work variables as type of contract and working schedule (significant at 10 per cent level) do influence the experienced pressure of Slovenian women. Women with no contract (n=3) and women with regular working schedules relatively experience the lowest pressure compared to other women.

Having some kind of control over working hours, working schedule or working overtime, or being able to work 'flexitime' doesn't have a significant effect on the experienced pressure for both genders.

Again we've found that agreement within the household is leading to much less pressure for both men and women. Furthermore, the presence of small children is only causing more pressure for Slovenian women and even more so when they work long hours (interaction effect).

Higher educated men and women relatively experience the highest pressure. No effect for age has been found.

Czech Republic

Analysis for the Czech Republic shows that working longer hours causes higher pressure for cohabiting men and in lesser sense women (the latter effect is only significant at the 10 per cent level). Working overtime - in the evening - is also disturbing for both genders. Working overtime during the weekend only seems to be problematic for women.

Control over working hours, working schedule or working overtime surprisingly adds to the experienced pressure for Czech women. Being responsible for domestic work is not a pressing factor as such, but it turns into one for women working long hours (interaction effect).

Household characteristics do not have an effect on the experienced pressure for men. The presence of small children only influences the experienced balance of women, but in an unex-

pected way: having no small children implies more time pressure!

Disagreement within the household only for women significantly contributes to the experienced combination pressure.

In general higher educated men and women relatively experience the highest pressure. Older people relatively are more in balance than younger men and women.

Hungary

Work influences the experienced work-life balance differently for Hungarian men and women. Analysis shows that working longer hours only causes higher pressure for cohabiting men. Working at unusual hours is in general only disturbing for the Hungarian women, but doing overtime in the afternoon/evening adds to pressure for both genders.

Having more control over working hours, working schedule or working overtime causes higher pressure for men (see also Czech women).

Men who have a fixed term contract, or who work in a work experience project (n=15) relatively have the highest pressure compared to men who work on another kind of contract. Working flexitime and people's working schedule do not affect the experienced balance.

The analysis on the Hungarian data reveals that agreement within the household too is leading to much less pressure for both men and women. No other household variable has a significant influence.

Interesting is that Hungary is the only country where the presence of children in the household does not have an effect on the experienced combination pressure neither for men, nor - surprisingly - for women.

In general higher educated men and women relatively experience the highest pressure. Just like in the Czech Republic older people generally are relatively more in balance.

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