

Chapter Twelve

►► HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY Survey Comparative Report

The reconciliation of work and family obligations: A comparison between Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden

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ABSTRACT

The increasing number of working women during the last few decades raises the question of how working life and family can (or should) be combined. The main focus here is on the differences between Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden¹. A critical comparison of welfare states shows that the different approaches in these countries can essentially be narrowed down to five models: the traditional or modified carer model, the egalitarian employment model, the universal carer model, as well as one with reversed roles. As opposed to previous comparisons, it is argued here that no one country can clearly be classified as one of these five types. On the contrary, depending on the research perspective, one will see an extremely complex pattern emerge of how job and family are combined, what kind of political regu-

lations exist, and whether these are in agreement with social values and norms. That is why we need to analyse three different dimensions: First, empirical secondary studies are carried out to trace the employment participation and employment patterns of parents and thus gain an insight into the *practical compatibility* of professional careers and family life. Secondly, maternity/paternity leave and childcare facilities are examined as an important influential factor (*political compatibility*). And finally, it will be necessary to discuss how and to what extent these facts conform to the social values and norms of female employment and child rearing (*cultural compatibility*). Taking these factors into consideration, various contradictions and lags in and between all three countries become quite obvious.

INTRODUCTION

In most European countries the empirical significance of two-income households is growing, even if there are children to be raised. However, this trend leads to the question of how parents can (or should) combine work and family matters in a particular social and political context.

The present comparison of Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden judges the differences between these countries to be higher than the differences between specific groups of people within a country. Although levelling down, as it was done in this case, may certainly be criticized for being inappropriate 'fetishism of the nation state' (cf.

Duncan 1998, p. 224), it is, on the other hand, justified due to the fact that the EU does not have a consistent gender policy (Ostner and Lewis 1995) and that female employment is deeply rooted in a cultural context (Kränzl-Nagl et al. 1998, p. 25; Pfau-Effinger 1998).

In contrast to many other comparisons between welfare states, which try to examine a large number of countries with only a few variables, this one (agreeing with Daly's 2000 plea for few countries and lots of variables) compares only three countries in order to be able to do greater justice to the diversity on a national level. These

three particular countries were chosen because they were considered to be perfect examples for the specific ways women are integrated in the labour market (Esping-Andersen 1999; Galie/Paugham 2000). The Netherlands, a conservative welfare state,² are also well-known for their 'part-time society' (Visser/Hemerijck 2000). In this context, we need to ask to what extent shorter working hours would enable or at least make it easier for mothers to take a job. Sweden, with a socio-democratic, universal welfare regime, stands out for catering to women's interests more than other countries in continental or southern Europe. Known for their generous policy concerning women, the Swedish aim to continually integrate more women into the labour market and obtain equal rights for both genders. By contrast, the gender-specific division of labour in Austria, with its conservative, employment-oriented regime, proves to be rather traditional. Nevertheless, these three EU members also show similarities: In all three of these highly-developed industrial countries it is mainly women who are affected by the compatibility of work and family. But unlike in Great Britain, for instance, this is not exclusively considered to be a 'private matter' (Auer 2002), and people indeed expect a lot from

public support measures for families and working parents (Gisser et al. 1996).

Taking the critical examination of previous typological categorizations as a starting-point, I would now like to introduce five theoretical types describing the different ways to combine work and home: the *traditional breadwinner model*, the *modified breadwinner model*, the *egalitarian employment model*, the *universal carer model*, and *role reversal*.

These types serve as a basis for the comparison of the aforesaid countries and for the examination and categorization of empirical facts. First of all, the different practical ways to combine job and family are analyzed by looking at the employment participation and employment patterns of parents in these three countries. The laws protecting working pregnant women and mothers of newborn babies, the regulations concerning maternity/paternity leave and the availability of childcare facilities will then be examined to provide an insight into the influential factors on a political level. Finally, it is also necessary to consider the ideological background, i.e. the social values and norms that exist in connection with working women and childcare.

1. THEORETICAL MODELS

Based on previous comparisons and typologies focusing on the gender arrangement, a new theoretical framework for analysis is developed. It contains two main parts dealing with the integration of women into the labour market, with socio-historical and socio-political backgrounds and with the effects thereof. The first one, which is generally taken to be structuralist, includes the different types of socio-political welfare states and breadwinner systems (Lewis 1992; Rubery/Fagan 1998). The second, so-called culturalist approach analyzes the gender arrangement by concentrating on the social values and norms that go hand in hand with a gender-specific division of labour

(Duncan 1998, Pfau-Effinger 1998; Blossfeld and Hakim 1996).

The shortcomings of some of these typologies show that it is extremely important that the types used to classify different countries are well-founded, both theoretically and empirically (Prinz 1999, p. 46ff). On principle, country-specific typologies describing the gender arrangement are thus quite different from each other (Bussemaker und van Kersbergen 1994; Duncan 1998; Orloff 1993; Sainsbury 1994). The approaches chosen for this comparison, however, ask very similar questions. The main focus is on women's employment participation and employment patterns and on possible influential factors. Due to the different

aims and research foci the results vary considerably in some cases, but on an abstract level these two approaches do have a few things in common, which are then brought together in five new theoretical types. As most people are familiar with the

two aforesaid perspectives, they will only be described in a few words. This will be followed by a critical examination of the different approaches, on the basis of which new typologies (including the theses that go with it) will be developed.

1.1. Structuralist approach

The comparison of breadwinner systems (Lewis 1992; Rubery/Fagan 1998) plays a major role in welfare state analyses. This comparative method, which is based on empirical fact, originated in a critical examination of Esping-Andersen's (1990) typologies. The main emphasis is on female and male employment behavior, on the connection to political/institutional regulations, and the effects on social security. Welfare states are characterized according to the strength or weakness of the traditional allocation of roles among the two genders

(*very strong, strong breadwinner models; modified systems, weak breadwinner systems*). This gender hierarchy is, among other things, caused by political regulations that give preference to full-time employment over unpaid work (i.e. care) and the compatibility of work and family life. The gender-specific nature of care and the effects of welfare policies on 'citizenship' are examined as well (Boje/Almqvist 2000; for an excellent overview see Daly 2000).

1.2. Culturalist approach

Resource-theoretical, structuralist welfare state typologies often fail to investigate the characteristic *forms* of female employment in individual countries (Duncan 1998, Pfau-Effinger 1998; Blossfeld/Hakim 1997). Pfau-Effinger takes up this particular research question and analyzes the cultural embeddedness of employment-related decisions. She examines the development of part-time work within the context of socio-cultural norms

and institutional frameworks and differentiates between the *male breadwinner/female part-time carer model* (Germany), the *dual breadwinner/state carer model* (Finland) and the *dual breadwinner/dual carer model* (Netherlands). Furthermore, she is focusing on cultural and institutional lags in order to explain the historical modernization paths in each country (Pfau-Effinger 1998: 184).

1.3. Critical review of the typologies

The following critical review of the two approaches will serve as a foundation for the development of a new type of analysis.

The weakness of structuralist welfare state models lies in the fact that they don't always provide sufficient explanation. Even though they take women's socio-economic position and the significance of welfare state policies into account, they don't go beyond mere descriptions (Ellingsaeter 1998). This particularly applies to the category 'gender' (Duncan 1998: 200; Pfau-Effinger 1998: 182). It is also criticized that the analyses of gender-specific dimensions in welfare states are only

limited to the dimension of women's financial and existential independency, rather than understanding it as a chance for women to make their own choices or be emotionally and psychologically independent from their husbands and children. Therefore, as some critics claim, they should also include different options concerning women's right to self-determination (Bussemaker und van Kersbergen 1994: 24).

Welfare state analyses are furthermore known for implicitly overrating the influence of political regulations on social life, culture, and basic economic conditions (Daly 2000: 36), al-

though the causal relationship between these three areas may give rise to criticism and needs to be somewhat relativized (e.g. Gornick 2000).

In contrast to this particular emphasis on politics and economy, Birgit Pfau-Effinger's analysis concentrates on social values and norms as well as on the practical consequences thereof (gender arrangement). It needs to be pointed out, however, that her country typology is not clearly based on the *gender arrangement theory*, i.e. taking into consideration both culture *and* practice, but –

1.4. Compatibility types

A synthesis of the two approaches discussed above leads to various new types, which will cover a wide range of theoretical options with regard to the division of labour among the two genders, including the *traditional breadwinner model*, the *modified breadwinner model*, the *egalitarian employment model*, the *universal carer model* and *role reversal*. These types are different from the structuralist and culturalist approach, insofar as they focus on the compatibility of work and care in partnerships rather than on the integration of women into the labour market. They cover two different dimensions: The employment participation and employment patterns of women and men with childcare responsibilities on the one hand, and the distribution of unpaid work/care among men and women on the other hand.

The weakness of the following typologies is a considerable lack of cross-national reliable studies dealing with the division of the *unpaid* work in households. Comparisons and surveys first of all elaborate employment patterns. Furthermore,

as her classification of the Netherlands as a double breadwinner/double carer model shows – rather focuses only on cultural issues. Regardless of the ideological goal of equality, the distribution of work among the two genders proves to be very traditional in this country. Although the contradictions between practical life and the predominant culture are discussed in detail in the historical review, they are not sufficiently taken into account in the typology.

time budget studies and surveys on the unpaid work focus upon the use of time of *all* men and *all* women and therefore neglect the division within a partnership. Hence, this dimension is only theoretically founded in the following table. An empirical verification would be welcomed in future.

In the *traditional breadwinner model*, the husband or male partner is employed full-time while the woman is (temporarily) unemployed. The compatibility of work and care plays a minor role insofar as women in this case mostly choose to quit their jobs as soon as they have a child, at least for as long as they have to take care of it. After that, they may get a job again. Providing and caring for children is mainly thought to be done in the private household. In this model, children require special individual care, which is generally expected to be given by the mother. This model also includes parents, who receive financial support (e.g. childcare allowance), but mainly the mother is not at the same time gainfully employed.

Table 1. Home-care typologies

New Types	structuralist	culturalist
traditional breadwinner model	(very) strong breadwinner model (Austria)	housewife-breadwinner model (historically widespread)
modified breadwinner model	modified breadwinner model (the Netherlands)	male breadwinner/female part-time carer model (Austria ³)
egalitarian employment model	weak breadwinner model (Sweden)	dual breadwinner/carers model with state carer role (Sweden)
universal carer model	- ⁴	dual breadwinner/dual carer model (the Netherlands)
role reversal model	-	-

Source: Own classification

In the *modified breadwinner model*, flexible working hours or an individual or collective reduction thereof can make it easier for women, who have to work and care for their families, to coordinate and combine professional careers and family-related responsibilities. The male partner has a full-time job, whereas the woman works in a part-time job. This model considers childcare to be a private matter, although some mothers who work part-time may also ask other persons (relatives, acquaintances, friends, specific institutions) to take care of their children.

In the *egalitarian employment model*, full-time work for both partners has precedence over childcare. Here, the question of whether and how it is possible to combine professional and private matters is even more important than in the modified carer model. This model also understands childhood as a stage of life that requires special care and support. However, it is not primarily the families, parents or relatives who are responsible for childcare. On the contrary, from the very beginning of childhood the welfare state essentially provides the necessary infrastructure. One important characteristic is the fact that gainful employment is universalized, but care and housework are not. In this system it is mainly women who carry out unpaid work/home care, which makes it considerably different from the following model.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THESES

Depending on the research approach, the main focus until now has been on employment integration and socio-political regulations (structuralist) or on cultural views, social values and norms and the specific employment types that go with them (culturalist). But, in order to do justice to the presumed strong interaction between practice, politics, and culture, this analysis pays equal attention to all three dimensions.

The theoretical models, which were introduced earlier, serve as a kind of framework that

In the *universal carer model*, both man and woman are gainfully employed. They both invest the same amount of time (for a longer period, which goes well beyond infancy) in their jobs and in housework and childcare. In this kind of model, childhood can be seen quite differently: If both parents have an almost full-time job (about 40 hours), the child will mainly be taken care of by other persons and institutions rather than mother and father. Theoretically, this model would also allow childcare to be an exclusively private matter if parents largely reduce and/or rearrange their working hours (weekend and night work) in order to be able to take care of their offspring – each of them one at a time and for the same amount of time. The social construction of childcare in this model is very open and variable, as it may be possible to find all the above-mentioned types of care, including even a mix of institutional or private care, such as in the modified model. In the universal model, however, the share of women and men carrying out unpaid work is about the same.

In the *role reversal model*,⁵ women spend more time at their jobs than their partners. The husband or partner either works only part-time or doesn't have a job at all (taking care of the household, unemployed, or in training). Just like in the traditional or modified model, only one person is mainly responsible for childcare in this case.

will make it possible to compare the results of the secondary analysis from different perspectives:

From a *structuralist* point of view, one needs to ask how work and family life are combined in Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden. For an abstract comparison of these countries, both employment participation and employment patterns of fathers and mothers with children up to 15 years are examined. The analysis focuses, if possible, on 'household strategies' (Wallace 2002) and/or the division of work in partnerships rather than on the question of how mothers or

single parents reconcile these two areas. This particular perspective was mainly chosen to counteract the existing feminization with regard to the compatibility of work and care and to underline the fact that it is also men who are or should be affected by this problem.

One may assume that political/institutional conditions also have a certain influence on employment participation and specific types of employment. Political compatibility thus raises the question of how often children of different ages are entrusted to the care of professional institutions. Unfortunately, due to the fact that there are also various informal types of care, the answer to this question only supplies limited information about the actual integration of mothers and fathers into the labour market. But, on the other hand, the amount and availability of childcare facilities does inform about the socio-political significance of childcare outside of the family and about the extent of the institutional promotion of or obstacles to female employment.

From a *culturalist* perspective, it is necessary to investigate ideological and/or cultural factors that may have an effect on the compatibility of professional careers and family life. This primarily includes the acceptance of female employment, the division of housework among men and women, as well as the question of who is responsible for the household and for childcare. With

this particular approach, however, one needs to be aware of the fact that, in practice, the compatibility of work and home may very well differ from the ideas and expectations of an optimal practical solution. According to Pfau-Effinger, this could lead to various cultural or institutional lags. It is not clear, though, how practice, politics and social norms influence each other, neither do we know what kind of 'modernization paths' (Pfau-Effinger 1998) are to be expected in the future.

The *synthesis of structuralist and culturalist results* leads to the following *research question*: Can the three countries each act as a protagonist for a particular gender and/or carer regime? What kind of inconsistencies and lags exist between practice, culture, and political strategies if they are categorized by tradition(ality), equality, and universality?

The following thesis can be derived from that research question: Only Sweden can be clearly classified as an egalitarian employment system, while the other two countries don't show a single, dominant pattern. Depending on the research perspective, Austria either corresponds to the traditional model (structuralist) or to the modified model (culturalist). Similar inconsistencies can be observed in the case of the Netherlands, which corresponds to the modified model (structuralist) as well as to the universal model (culturalist) (see Table 1).

3. PRACTICE

The results in this case are essentially based on three sources. The *Family and Fertility Survey (FFS 1996)* allows a comparison of the employment participation of women and the types of employment they choose depending on the age of their children, although it does not provide any information about the employment patterns of their partners/spouses at that time or about decision-making processes within the household. This, however, will be answered by an analysis and evaluation of the *Labour Force Survey (LFS 2000)* called: 'Women and men reconciling work and

family life' (Franco/Winqvist 2002). Unfortunately, the latter survey does leave out Sweden, one of the countries included in the present analysis, which is why additional survey data on Sweden and the Netherlands are taken from this EU project.

The use of older data from the Nineties can be justified by the fact that the typologies mentioned above also relate to this particular period. Besides that, there is also a considerable shortage of current, internationally comparable data on the

employment behavior of parents with childcare duties.⁶

The following paragraphs will discuss the employment participation of mothers based on the age of their children. Although it is disregarded in most general accounts on female employment, it will provide a lot of insight into the compatibility models of each country.

Data from the FFS 1996 imply that in all three countries the employment participation of women tends to increase with the age of their children. Large differences between these countries make it possible to classify them as individual types: Austrian mothers with children between 0 and 2 years show an extremely low level of employment participation (21 per cent). Yet the good financial coverage of mothers during maternity leave cannot explain this traditional pattern sufficiently. Sweden, for instance, also provides very generous benefits, but as many as half of the Swedish mothers with very small children have a job. The employment rate of Dutch mothers with children between 0 and 2 years is comparably high as well (43 per cent). In the latter case, this is mainly due to the lack of financial support in the form of childcare allowance, so that 39 per cent of the gainfully employed mothers almost exclusively work in part-time jobs.⁷ It is characteristic, though, that regardless of their children's age the employment participation of mothers remains relatively constant in the Netherlands. Thus the share of working mothers with children of school

age merely increases to 56 per cent, and mothers there mostly work in part-time jobs⁸ and remain there even as the children grow older. In contrast, part-time work in Austria generally has a much lower significance than full-time work, so that this country shows mostly egalitarian employment patterns and at the same time classifies as a traditional breadwinner model. Nevertheless, employment participation largely grows with the age of the children, increasing to more than half among mothers with children in kindergarten age and up to 62 per cent when they have reached school age. The employment participation of Swedish mothers also rises as their children grow older, whereby in this case the care of small children and children in kindergarten indicates a modified carer model, while the egalitarian model, i.e. full-time employment for mothers, only becomes slightly more significant than part-time work when the children reach school age.

A recent analysis and evaluation of the LFS 2000 with the aim to assess the effect of children on women's employment participation shows that by the year 2000 the number of double-income households, as opposed to single-income households, is now higher throughout the EU than it was in 1992 (Franco/Winqvist 2002). Children influence employment patterns rather than employment participation. Since this survey doesn't provide any data on Sweden, it was necessary to include some results from the study 'Household, Work and Flexibility (HWF 2000)'.

Table 2. Practice of compatibility by age of children

	Austria	The Netherlands	Sweden
Percentage of currently employed women with a youngest child of nursery school age (0-2 years)	21 (thereof 8,7% on part-time) traditional	42,7 (thereof 38,9% on part-time) modified	50,1 (thereof 30,5 on part-time) modified
Percentage of currently employed women with a youngest child of kindergarten age (3-6 years)	53,4 (thereof 26% on part-time) egalitarian	50,1 (thereof 43,1% on part-time) modified	75,2 (thereof 46,8% on part-time) modified
Percentage of currently employed women with a youngest child of primary school age (6-9 years) (for Sweden from 7 to 12 years)	62,3 (thereof 26,6% on part-time) egalitarian	55,5 (thereof 47,5% on part-time) modified	84,7 (thereof 41,6% on part-time) egalitarian

Source: FFS 1996, own calculations and classification according used typology

The following results confirm the tendencies expected within the scope of the FFS 1996. According to this survey, the Netherlands mainly have a modified compatibility strategy: In the majority of couples with children (53 per cent in the LFS and about 66 per cent in the HWF) the woman works less and the man more than 30 hours a week. Compared to that, this pattern is much less frequently found in Austria, with about 28 per cent (LFS), and in Sweden, with about 21 per cent (HWF). In Sweden, both mothers *and* fathers work full-time in most cases (about 75 per cent of the couples according to the HWF). The same pattern can be observed in 39 per cent of the couples in Austria, thus making it the most frequent strategy. Besides that, the traditional breadwinner model, where mothers don't have a job, is also quite common with about 33 per cent (LFS). The situation in the Netherlands is similar, although the results from the LFS (33 per cent) and the HWF (19 per cent) show large differences. In Sweden, the traditional breadwinner model only plays a marginal role with 2,2 per cent (HWF) and has about the same significance as role reversal, in which case women spend more time at their job

than men. So far, it doesn't look as if there were or would be any alternatives to the traditional, modified and egalitarian pattern in any of the three countries.

A universalization of gender roles (universal carer model) doesn't just require equal shares in terms of employment, but also in terms of housework and care. In all three countries, women still bear greater responsibilities than men when it comes to household chores or rearing a child. Compared to the other two countries, Swedish men make the largest contributions to the household (ISSP 1994), but even here – as diary entries have shown – about two thirds of the unpaid work is still carried out by women (Nordenmark 2002). (On the tradition(ality) of roles in Austrian households see: BM 2000; Bacher/Wilk 1996; for the Netherlands: Schippers 1998; Jager 2002; Visser/Hemerijck 1998; for Sweden: Nordenmark 2002; Boje/Strandh 2002; general information: EC 1998; ISSP 1994). Most of the time, childcare seems to enjoy a higher standing than housework: 'Thus, [Swedish] men tend to be child oriented but less motivated to do housework' (Björnberg 1998: 201).

Table 3. Practice of compatibility by employed couples with children under 14 years

own typology	Austria	The Netherlands		Sweden
	LFS 2000	LFS 2000	HWF 2000 (n=281)	HWF 2000 (n=228)
traditional model	32.6	32.7	18.9	2.2
modified model	27.7	52.9	65.8	21.1
egalitarian model	38.8	10.8	12.1	74.1
universal model	-	2.3	1.4	0.4
role reversal model	0.9	1.3	1.8	2.2

Notes: Definition of categories: *Part-time* means here an employment under 30 hours per week, *fulltime*: 30 hours or more. *traditional model*: man fulltime, woman not employed; *modified model*: man fulltime, woman part-time; *egalitarian model*: man fulltime, woman fulltime; *universal model*: man part-time, woman part-time and *role-reversal*: man part-time or not employed, woman part-time or fulltime.

Source comparable data for Austria and the Netherlands are derived from the Labour Force Surveys 2000 (Franco/Winqvist 2002)⁹. Data for Sweden are not available in these surveys of Franco/Winqvist (2002), so that there were made own calculations by the data set of HWF 2000.

4. POLICIES

In the welfare state comparisons discussed above the influence of political factors is essentially only analyzed in two key areas: the regulations on the protection of working pregnant women and mothers of newborn babies and on maternity/paternity leave on the one hand, and the institutional situation, i.e. the availability of childcare facilities, on the other hand. Therefore, these areas will also be discussed in this particular context.

The regulations on maternity/paternity leave and on the protection of expectant mothers or mothers who have recently given birth are quite different in each of the three countries, and in each case they support a specific compatibility model. In Austria, the long (paid and socio-politically promoted) absence from the job conforms to the traditional breadwinner model. In theory, this kind of leave is also available to fathers, but due to the small practical significance of paternity leave, the traditional pattern still prevails. Differences in income between the two genders, however, are only one possible explanation for the fact that it is almost exclusively women who take maternity leave. With its current regula-

tion of childcare allowance, Austria now has the longest period set aside for childcare of all three countries: If the maternity/paternity leave is split up among mother and father, they will receive childcare allowance for up to three years. Unlike the past, childcare allowance is no longer a social security benefit and thus no longer dependent on previous employment. This means that all parents may claim it. Another novelty is the fact that the recipients are now allowed to have a higher additional income: Parents with a gross monthly income of up to EUR 1.134,-- are - in addition to that - entitled to child allowance. That makes it generally possible to have a job during maternity/paternity leave, which means that this policy also somewhat supports the modified model. Even so, the comparably generous financial settlement for families (benefits: average salary of the last few months for 16 weeks; childcare allowance, child benefit, etc.) encourages mothers to give up their jobs for a longer period of time. In contrast to that, Sweden and the Netherlands focus much more on the promotion of continuous employment.

Table 4. Length of paid maternity and paternity leave

	Austria traditional and modified	The Netherlands¹⁰ modified	Sweden egalitarian and universal
protection of mothers	16 weeks	16 weeks	16 weeks
fathers leave	2 days	-	10 days
paternity leave	156 weeks (thereof 26 weeks reserved for the partner)	38 weeks	64 weeks (thereof 8 weeks reserved for the partner)
Part-time leave	130 weeks with a limitation of possible income from employment (or 156 weeks, if partner makes also use of leave)	26 weeks unpaid	statutory right to work 75% of fulltime) until the child is 8 years leave can be taken as 25%, 50%, 75% or full-time.
Sickness leave	each partner 10 days until child is 8. years	-	each parent 30 days until the child's 2 nd year. Parents of children aged under 12 are entitled to 60 days extra leave in case of a child being ill long-term
Source	Austria: AK 2001 (actual regulation of childcare money); the Netherlands: SCP 2001; Sweden: Boje/Almqvist 2000		

The respective regulations on maternity/paternity leave in the Netherlands explicitly aim to make it easier for parents to combine work and care. Up to now, insufficient financial support during childcare has indirectly contributed to a more continuous employment integration (modified model). And indeed, the share of mothers who remain unemployed after their maternity leave is relatively small (about 15 per cent), although more than half of them reduce their working hours after they have a child (Bruningen/Plantenga 1999, 207). The Netherlands also stand out for merely having had part-time maternity/paternity leave in the past, longer full-time leaves have only existed since the end of the Nineties. The continuous contact to the employer during this period corresponds to the modified breadwinner model. In this case, job and family are best combined by reducing one's working hours right from the beginning, all the more so, as only a few professions (in civil service and certain private enterprises) are entitled to financial support in the Netherlands (Jager 2002).

In Sweden, the first country with maternity/paternity leave (starting in 1974), the main political aim of the respective regulations is the equality of men and women on the labour market. This, in turn, enables and supports an egalitarian employment model. One characteristic feature in this case is the high replacement rate amounting to as much as 80 per cent of the previous earnings, which is a great incentive to be gainfully employed before the birth of one's first child. Besides that, Sweden – just like the two other countries – also attaches great value to the private care for small children by their mothers and/or fathers, even though the political strategies to achieve that are somewhat different. However, this social demand should not necessarily be seen as a reaction to the increasing significance of the traditional role of women as mothers and housewives, since

in Sweden women and especially men are encouraged to be gainfully employed *and* responsible for childcare at the same time. The regulations on maternity/paternity leave, for example, include the legal right to part-time work until the child is 8 years old, whereby the maternity/paternity leave may be split up among the parents (modified and universal model). Currently, two months are set aside for the other partner, i.e. for the father in most cases, with the intention to entice him to take advantage of this opportunity as well. But, all in all, paternity leave in Sweden is only limited to a relatively short period, whereas in the Netherlands, for instance, there are much smaller differences between the length of maternity and paternity leave (Bruningen/Plantenga 1999). In all three countries, though, it is mainly women who take up the major part of this period.

In addition to the benefits for expectant mothers or mothers of small children, this analysis also takes a closer look at childcare facilities, which have great influence on the employment situation of mothers as well (Gornick et al. 1997). Sweden, being mainly guided by the principle of universalism, is considered an archetype for exemplary institutional childcare. Every child older than 18 months has a right to institutional care (so far, this has been conditional upon the parents' employment status) and a majority of the children is indeed taken to professional, public care centers. But the fact that these facilities have become more expensive during the Nineties as a result of the budget crisis has increasingly cast doubt on this principle (Anttonen/Sipilä 1996). Even so, the situation is still better than in Austria or in the Netherlands, whereby in the latter case children are frequently taken to private and company kindergartens (de Jong 1998; Groot/Van den Brink 1998; Boje/Strandh 2002) or entrusted to the care of their grandparents (Jager 2002).

Table 5. Percentage of children (by age), who visit a care facility (funded by the state to 75 per cent) in 1997

	children from 0 to 2 years	children from 3 to 6 years	children from 6 to 10 years
Austria	3 ¹¹	75	6
The Netherlands	8	71	5
Sweden	40	96	64

Source: European Commission (1996; 2000) in: SCP (2001); Data for Sweden: Boje/Almqvist (2000)

The institutional infrastructure in Sweden makes it easier for women to remain in a (full-time) job (modified, egalitarian model). A relatively large number of children up to three years are brought to childcare facilities. Compared to that, Dutch and Austrian children of the same age are hardly ever (less than 10 per cent) taken care of in public institutions, which is a sign for the rather traditional pattern in these countries. Although the situation improves for children between 4 years and school age, the Netherlands and Austria are still far away from the Swedish standard.

Institutional care for children who already go to school is much better in the Netherlands than it is in Austria, where the opening hours of schools can often be a real problem. In contrast, Sweden –

although the school days there are even shorter than in the Netherlands – offers much better after-school care for the children.

There may be many different reasons for specific levels of employment participation and employment patterns, but they are not always directly related to the infrastructure. The conditions in educational institutions in Austria prove to be a much bigger obstacle to the compatibility of work and family than they are in the Netherlands. Even so, gainfully employed women in Austria are more likely to work in a full-time job than their Dutch counterparts. Considering this, it seems necessary to pay more attention to informal and private care in future surveys and analyses.

Table 6. Conditions of school institutions

	Austria traditional	The Netherlands modified	Sweden egalitarian
School age	6 years	5 years	7 years
Time of primary school	8.00-12.00	9.00-16.00	8.00-14.00
School closed	partly on Saturday	Wednesday afternoon, Saturday	Saturday

Source: The Netherlands and Sweden see Pott-Buter 1998

5. CULTURE

The equal concentration of both women and men on work and family has been increasingly accepted during the last few decades. In Austria and the Netherlands, women increasingly focus on their professional careers (for the Netherlands, see: Beets et al. 1997; Den Dulk 1999; Drew 1998; Veenis 1998; for Austria: Auer 2000; Kappeller et al. 1999; Lutz 2000), while at the same time Swedish men now concentrate more and more on the

family (Björnberg 1998). Nevertheless, Austrian, Dutch and Swedish parents, and especially mothers, are still faced with many different ideological demands.

Austrians frequently reject the idea of mothers concentrating on both work *and* care as long as they have small children (up to 3 years). Taking a temporary leave from the job after the child is born is considered to be more appropriate than

continuous employment. Compared to that, part-time regulations for mothers with small children are generally accepted in the Netherlands – despite the fact that the predominant social model intends the mother to be the main carer (for the Netherlands, see: Schippers 1998, 169; Veenis 1998, 182; for Austria: Auer 2000). In nominative terms, both Austria and the Netherlands attach great value to the modified breadwinner model. Part-time employment for women and full-time employment for men is regarded as an ideal childcare solution, at least when the children are still very young. It ought to be pointed out, though, that Dutch women mostly get the job arrangement they want, whereas in Austria the desire to find a part-time job is extremely high in all age groups and generally even higher than the frequency with which this particular type of employment is actually chosen (BM 2000). Certainly, one reason for that is the situation on the labour market, i.e. the shortage of part-time jobs where it is possible to work before noon (Kapeller et al. 1999).

In the case of Austria, it is difficult to estimate the ideological acceptance of the egalitarian and universal models. Younger and higher qualified persons are generally more receptive to these models and more likely to be able to afford a reduction of working hours. According to internationally comparable results, the attitude towards female employment and childcare is still rather traditional. Women in Austria are still expected to carry out most of the unpaid work/care, and full-time work is often criticized for having a negative effect on the children and on family life in general (Goldberg 1997; ISSP 1994).

In the Netherlands, the universalization of gender roles is more widely accepted. The results of the ISSP (1994) show that, compared to the traditional views in Austria, the Dutch are much more supportive of the idea that men and women equally share unpaid work/care. According to another survey among young adults (between 18 and 26 years), it is mainly women who would like to see an equal distribution of paid and unpaid

work between the two genders. Men, on the other hand, are inclined to support part-time employment for women, although they are not willing to give up their full-time jobs after the birth of their child (Beets et al. 1997: 470). The high social demands with regard to private childcare provided by the parents (up to the age of five) leads more and more couples to put off the birth of their first child for another few years in order to be able to concentrate on their professional careers for a longer period of time (Jager 2002). The majority of mothers then change to a part-time job, which conforms to the traditional model, even though the equal division of housework and childcare among men and women is considered to be highly desirable on a social level (Large 1998). Various political/ideological declarations of intent during the Nineties also seemed to lead in this direction, i.e. towards a universalization of gender roles: Men were encouraged to reduce their working hours, so that women and men could invest an equal amount of time into unpaid and paid work (Emancipatieraad 1996; Equal Opportunity Council 1996; Task Force on Future Scenarios Redistribution of Unpaid Work 1995 and Task Force on the Daily Timetable 1996).¹² But regardless of these political ambitions, the practical implementation is considered to be an individual matter ('do-it-yourself part-time' (Jager 2002)). One characteristic of Dutch society is the gap between the progressive attitude on the one side and the still traditional distribution of work among men and women on the other side. A lot of emphasis is placed on the voluntary nature of female employment, according to the motto: Women may certainly work if they wish, but they should not have the economic duty to do so. Since the end of the Nineties, however, there have been more and more incentives for everyone who is capable of gainful employment to take a job (Visser/Hemerijck 2000). But, at the same time, people's views about childcare are still traditional: If a woman chooses to have children, then the family and children should be her prime concern (Doorne-Huiskes et al. 1999).

From the perspective of continental European countries, the Scandinavian welfare state has always been regarded as an exemplary, 'women-friendly' welfare state. Both parents there can be gainfully employed while their children are taken care of by public institutions (care as a public responsibility; social reproduction 'going public' or 'public family') (Boje/Strandh 2002; Leira 1998). The Scandinavian welfare state model attaches great value to universalism and egalitarianism (Boje/Strandh 2002). Scandinavian researchers, however, are somewhat more critical. They question equal opportunities insofar, as this is not a new gender arrangement between men and women but rather a 'deal' that women make with the state (Hirdman 1998: 42). After all, an increased integration of women into the labour market does not necessarily change the fact that they are mainly responsible for housework and childcare (Boje/Strandh 2002). That's why Nordic countries are still considered to be ('weak') 'breadwinner systems' (Rubery/Fagan 1998).

According to a Swedish survey (Ellingsaeter 1998), parents in this country clearly prefer full-time employment for both partners: About 55 per cent of the parents are in favor of this model. A reduction of women's working hours for family reasons (modified breadwinner model) is also welcomed by about one third of the parents. But the fact that it is mostly mothers who temporarily reduce their working time to take care of their small children is also one of the main reasons why they continue to be primarily responsible for un-

paid work/care. And this is not likely to change very much when they switch to an egalitarian employment model later on (after the more intensive phase of childcare). Nevertheless, society shows a high regard for the universalization of women's and men's working hours at their jobs and at home. In order to obtain equal opportunities for both genders, it was necessary to provide an institutional framework: a minister for gender equality, the office of the gender equality ombudsman and the gender equality committee, as well as the government division for gender equality (SI 2000).

Swedish people are known for their high demands in view of gender equality and equal partnership. The dissatisfaction observed in some cases is frequently related to these high expectations and to the fact that it is often difficult to translate them into reality. Swedish women, for instance, think that the compatibility of work and family life still leaves a great deal to be desired, as it is still mostly women who are mainly responsible for housework and childcare. Thus, women in Sweden are faced with a serious role conflict (Strandh/Nordenmark 2002). Compared to that, working women in the Netherlands believe that they are more successful in coping with the different demands of gainful employment and family duties (Boje/Strandh 2002).

The social values and norms in connection with working mothers and childcare can be summed up as shown in the Table 7.

Table 7. Culture of compatibility

	Austria	The Netherlands	Sweden
Attitudes towards employment of mothers with children under 2 years	traditional modified	traditional modified	modified universal
Attitudes towards employment of mothers with children older than 3 years	modified	modified	modified egalitarian
Attitudes towards division of housework and childcare	traditional	universal	universal
Source:	Own classification according literature review		

6. COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

So far, structuralist or culturalist comparisons of the gender arrangement in different countries have essentially been based on four models, which will in this case serve as a theoretical framework for analyzing and examining the empirical data.

The synthesis of the structuralist and culturalist approach and the results of the examined data on the compatibility of work and care will be portrayed in the following overview:

According to the *structuralist approach*, each of the three countries corresponds to one specific model: Austria can be classified as a traditional breadwinner model ((very) strong breadwinner system), the Netherlands as a modified breadwinner model (modified breadwinner system), and Sweden as an egalitarian employment model (weak breadwinner system). The inclusion of cultural values and norms in the *culturalist approach* also makes it possible to differentiate between individual types, although the categorization in this case differs somewhat from the structuralist approach: From this perspective, Austria is considered to be a rather modified type, as part-time work is thought to be the best solution for combining family and professional careers in this country. Compared to that, the views on male and female roles in the Netherlands are much more universalized. An equal distribution of work and care is deemed to be socially desirable, which

makes the Netherlands a universal carer model. In Sweden, the results of the structuralist and culturalist approach are very similar: This country mainly shows an egalitarian employment pattern, where the main emphasis is placed on full-time employment for both men and women.

However, the research findings in this context can only partly confirm the classification of a country as a specific type, although they do overlap with the structuralist and culturalist perspectives in some points: Just like in the structuralist approach, Austria shows traditional patterns at all three levels in question – politics, practice, and culture. Yet at the same time, some ambivalences can be observed within and between these three areas (see Table 8 above). Let's first focus on the practical level: Full-time employment for the father and a (temporary) leave from the job for the mother are welcomed as soon as there are children to be taken care of. About 33 per cent of all the couples with children conform to this traditional breadwinner model (LFS 2000). Female employment generally increases with the age of the children (FFS 1996): Women with children who are old enough to be taken to day nurseries only have a job in 21 per cent of the cases, whereas 53 per cent of the mothers with children of kindergarten age and 62 per cent with children of school age are gainfully employed besides childcare.

Table 8. Comparison of countries

types	Two approaches		Comparison of countries		
	structuralist	culturalist	Practice	Politics	Culture
traditional	A	--	A, NL	A	A
modified	NL	A	NL, S	A, NL, S	A, NL
egalitarian	S	S	A, S	S	--
universal		NL	--	NL	NL, S

Source: Own typology

More than half of the working women in Austria have full-time jobs, regardless of their children's age. In the Netherlands and in Sweden, on the other hand, mothers are more likely to be employed part-time than full-time. This trend is also confirmed by a recent survey on 'household strategies': 39 per cent of all the families with children conform to the egalitarian employment model, and only about 28 per cent to the modified model (according to LFS 2000). Contrary to the theses of the structuralist approach, the practical combination of work and care in Austria should thus be seen as both traditional *and* egalitarian.

Even so, the relative significance of full-time employment for mothers has rarely been taken into consideration in Austrian policies so far. The comparably generous financial support for unemployed mothers (long, paid maternity leave, childcare allowance, transfer payments to families) and the shortage of childcare facilities lead them to stay home for short or even longer periods of time (traditional breadwinner model). But there are also some contradictions with regard to political regulations: For instance, the fact that the amount of additional earnings allowed during maternity/paternity leave has been raised clearly points to the modified breadwinner model. Thus mothers and fathers will find it easier to combine work *and* care, even when the child is still small, and they will still receive childcare allowance.

Regardless of the political/institutional situation, Austria – more than the two other countries – shows a clear preference for private childcare by the mother. On the one hand, Austrians are in favor of mothers leaving their jobs, whereas on the other hand they also consider part-time work as the most sensible type of employment for women who need to look after their children. Obviously, this only partly conforms to the results of the culturalist approach.

The situation in the Netherlands is rather inconsistent as well, which also raises the question whether this country can be clearly classified as a modified model (like in the structural approach): More than half of all the couples with children

indeed conform to the modified breadwinner model (53 per cent according to the LFS 2000 and 66 per cent according to the HWF 2000) and this particular way to divide the work doesn't change much as the children grow older: The employment rate of mothers with small children increases from about 43 per cent to 50 per cent when they reach kindergarten age and to 56 per cent when they finally go to school (FFS 1996). The continuous employment integration of mothers is characteristic for the Netherlands, but – compared to Austria or Sweden – it remains on a relatively low level. Apart from part-time employment for mothers, the number of women leaving their jobs, i.e. the traditional division of work among men and women, is similar to Austria: In about 33 per cent of the cases the male partner has a full-time job while the woman stays at home (LFS 2000; only 19 per cent of the couples according to the HWF 2000).

In practice, the fact that mothers are not employed is empirically significant both in Austria *and* in the Netherlands. In contrast to Austria, however, where working women mostly have full-time positions, Dutch women are more likely to work in part-time jobs. In Sweden, on the other hand, both employment patterns are equally important, whereby part-time work is limited to the first phase of childcare, i.e. when the child is still very young.

With regard to the political regulations in the Netherlands one may say that, compared to other countries, the small amount or lack of financial support during maternity/paternity leave often makes mothers remain in their jobs, albeit with fewer working hours. This regulation implies a modified breadwinner model. In addition to that, a better division of unpaid work/care has also been promoted since the Nineties in order to achieve the political objective of equal chances for both genders. Several political forums were set up for this purpose (Task Force on Future Scenarios Redistribution of Unpaid Work 1995; Equal Opportunity Council 1996, etc.). This political aim essentially conforms to the widespread social demand for equal opportunities. From a culturalist

perspective, the Netherlands may thus be considered a universal model. But, just like in Austria, the social expectations also conflict with the real options to combine working life and family duties.

Similar contradictions also exist in Sweden, which has been – both from a structuralist and culturalist point of view – regarded as an egalitarian model. Full-time employment for both parents clearly predominates in this country, applying to more than three fourths (74 per cent) of the couples with children (HWF 2000). The modified model, i.e. part-time employment for mothers, may be found as well (21 per cent), whereas the traditional division of work, i.e. mothers leaving their jobs altogether for the purpose of childcare, has practically no significance (HWF). Considering the results from the FFS 1996, the employment participation among mothers has continually remained on a high level and strongly increases with the age of the children. Only half of the mothers with very young children are gainfully employed, but as soon as the children reach kindergarten age the share of working mothers rises to three fourths and up to about 85 per cent when they reach school age. Part-time employment is of crucial importance to women who have children, more than half of the working mothers in Sweden have part-time jobs. According to the FFS 1996, these numbers are higher than in Austria, but lower than in the Netherlands.

7. SUMMARY

Typologies – a well-trying and widely accepted tool in social research – make it possible to draw abstract pictures of reality, which may in turn be compared, analyzed, and further developed on a theoretical level. The great significance of typologies in welfare state analyses and empirical comparisons is also due to the lack of data that goes way back into the 20th century, although the surveys conducted by the OECD and EU during the last few years have made it much easier to make such comparisons – in spite of the shortcomings that still exist in some of the cases. If the compa-

The political regulations in Sweden and the respective measures can, on the one hand, lead to a temporary modification of the breadwinner model during early childcare and, on the other hand, they also encourage mothers and fathers to be continually working in full-time jobs. After the birth of a child mothers can choose to take a leave from work for a rather short period (compared to Austria) of one to two years. After that, they have the legal right to reduce their working time until the child reaches the age of eight and to return to full-time employment after that. In Sweden, continuous employment for both partners is considered to be the right and obligation of every citizen. And the egalitarian employment model, which is also promoted on a political level, thus provides an opportunity for both genders to equally partake in working life. However, this cannot yet be seen as a guarantee for equality on the labour market, any more than for an equal distribution of unpaid work/care. In Sweden, it is also mostly women who are primarily responsible for the private household. But all things considered, the practical compatibility of work and care generally corresponds to the political regulations on female employment, although the ideological demand for a better, more equal distribution of unpaid work/care has not yet been met sufficiently. Therefore, Sweden cannot be clearly classified as one specific type, either (like in the structuralist or culturalist approach).

rability of the data is further improved, it will also be easier to draw up better, more complex, and more explanatory typologies.

The frequent categorization by traditionality), equality, or universality has proven to be a suitable tool to compare different countries and portray development tendencies and gender arrangements. Possible differences are highlighted by putting the practical compatibility of work and care in contrast with the respective policies and regulations and the existing social values and norms.

Table 9. Consistencies and Inconsistencies within and between the countries

	Practice	Politics	Culture
Austria	traditional and egalitarian	traditional and modified	traditional and modified
The Netherlands	traditional and modified	modified and universal	modified and universal
Sweden	modified and egalitarian	modified, egalitarian (and universal)	modified, egalitarian and universal
Source:	Own typology		

Due to their descriptive character, these typologies merely provide little or no information about how the practical, political, and cultural levels influence each other. They do, however, allow two specific arguments:

First argument: All three countries show some similarities between practice, politics, and culture, but the nature of these similarities is different in each country.

Second argument: Concerning the compatibility of work and care, no one country can clearly be summed up in one specific dominant type. Each country has *one* area that does not coincide with the other two (see Table 9, bold print).

ad First argument: Social values and political measures largely correspond to each other in *all three countries*, but the respective goals with regard to gender mainstreaming are somewhat different in each case. Austrians, for instance, are in favor of a traditional distribution of work and of mothers working part-time in addition to childcare, both of which are also promoted on a political level. As opposed to that, Dutch people largely welcome the employment integration of all persons capable of gainful employment, regardless of childcare obligations. At the same time, however, the importance of full-time employment is called into question. As an alternative, the social and political/ideological universalization of roles, i.e. both parents working part-time, would allow couples with children to share paid and unpaid work. Austria and the Netherlands both stand out for the fact that politics and culture correspond in many different aspects, whereas *Sweden* primarily shows similarities between practice and politics. The compatibility model in this case includes the (temporary) one-and-a-half-income partnership as

well as full-time employment for mothers and fathers, both of which are also applied in practice and supported by political measures.

ad Second argument: In *Austria* and in the *Netherlands*, the practical distribution of paid and unpaid work/care is not in agreement with politics and culture. In Austria, full-time employment for mothers and fathers is neither promoted on a political level, nor is it considered to be socially desirable. The Netherlands, on the other hand, do not have any political regulations or measures (e.g. paid maternity leave) that would encourage mothers to leave their jobs for the purpose of childcare.

In Sweden, the cultural demands in connection with the equal distribution of paid and unpaid work are not sufficiently met on a practical and political level. The high social value of universal gender roles is primarily taken into consideration on the labour market, much more so than in private households, where it is still women who are expected to do most of the work.

Consequently, it is necessary to ask what factors truly affect the compatibility of work and care. The influence of policies (structuralist approach) and culture (culturalist approach) on the practical compatibility of professional careers and family life can only be verified in some cases: In Austria, politics and culture only have a limited effect on the practical level, as an egalitarian pattern, i.e. full-time employment for fathers and mothers, is neither culturally desired nor promoted by political measures. This proves to be quite similar in the Netherlands: The demands for a partial integration of mothers into the labour market and equal work shares largely differ from the actual implementation of these goals in practi-

cal life, which is rather traditional. Only in the case of Sweden can the observed practical combination of work and care be seen as a result of the respective political regulations. There are, however, other discrepancies: The practical compatibility does not entirely conform to what society expects from an equal division of work between men and women at the job and in the private

household. Therefore, the strong influence of social values and norms (like in the culturalist approach) needs to be relativized as well.

The final answer to the question of this article is: Yes, it is possible to identify models for the compatibility of work and home, although these models do not conform precisely to one country.

NOTES

1. This paper is based upon the project „Home-work balance in Austria, the Netherlands and Sweden“ (by B. Haas, E. Steinheimer and C. Wallace) which has been financed by the Austrian Jubilee Fund of the Austrian National Bank (2000-2002).
2. Typologies, however, can be interpreted in various ways: The categorization of the Netherlands, for instance, is by no means clear. The Netherlands are considered to be either a ‘conservative welfare state’ (cf. Strandh/Nordenmark 2002) or the ‘socio-democratic type’ (Pfau-Effinger 2002, whereby both authors make reference to Esping-Andersen (1990) and both of them also focus on the question of gender equality. This shows quite clearly that the use of the aforesaid types as premisses in empirical analyses ought to be taken with caution and that they need to be defined more clearly.
3. Birgit Pfau-Effinger classifies here Western Germany. Austria is not included in her analysis, so that I tried an own classification of Austria according to her categories and dimensions.
4. As the analysis of Jane Lewis is only empirically funded, there is no universal model, which does not exist in the empirical data.
5. One shouldn't assume, though, that ‘role reversal’ automatically leads to an equal share of unpaid work/care. Women may still be responsible for the largest part of it. But in principle, the male partner in this model can take over the traditional female role if he primarily takes care of the household and children. An evaluation of the ISSP 1994, for instance, shows that men's contribution to the household increases as soon as they reduce their working hours (Nordenmark 2003, forthcoming).
6. In Austria and Sweden, for instance, recipients of childcare allowance are counted as employed persons in official surveys, thus making the share of gainfully employed women with children between the age of 0 and 3 disproportionately large. Moreover, not all the EU countries differentiate between the children's ages the same way (Kränzl-Nagl et al. 1998: 13f). On the whole, comparable data are limited to female employment rates (labour force statistics; European Household Panel, OECD). Unfortunately, the Labour Force Survey does not include an explicit category, which would allow conclusions about family duties.
7. According to the FFS, all jobs requiring between 1 and 35 working hours are considered to be ‘part-time’, whereas 36 hours or more are ‘full-time’. Based on this definition, the share of Swedish women with part-time jobs is rather high, since many women work for 31 to 35 hours a week. According to the OECD, on the other hand, ‘part-time’ includes all jobs with less than 30 hours a week, which would clearly reduce the share of part-time workers in Sweden. In addition to that, Sweden also stands out for its comparatively large proportion of ‘involuntary part-time workers’ (Boje/Strandh 2002). Part-time jobs with only a few hours, on the other hand, seem to be typical for the Netherlands (see LFS 2000).
8. ‘The right to part-time work was only regulated in 2000 in the Law on the right to adapt working hours (Wet Recht op aanpassing van de arbeidsduur, 1 July 2000)’ (Jager 2002: 69). In the Netherlands, a part-time job is not considered to be a ‘flexible employment type’, since part-time workers in this country mostly have fixed employment contracts and working hours and also have the same rights (both in terms of labor and social law) as full-time workers (since 1996).
9. Bei der speziellen Auswertung des LFS 2000 handelt es sich um folgende Grundgesamtheit: Paar-Haushalte, in denen mindestens ein(e) PartnerIn erwerbstätig ist, das heißt Single-Haushalte oder Haushalte mit zwei Arbeitslosen sind nicht inkludiert, untersucht wurden Personen im Alter zwischen 20 und 59 Jahren.

10. A new Labour and Care Law is planned (*Wet Arbeid en Zorg*), in order to make family and work more compatible, for example by 'a right to ten days care leave, pregnancy leave and birth leave, adoption leave and baby care leave.' (Jager 2002: 70).
11. If you account not only the state funded facilities but also the private ones, the amount rises to 6% of the children from 0 to 3 years (Hammer 1997).
12. The *Task Force on Future Scenarios Redistribution of Unpaid Work* (commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment) presented in the report 'Unpaid Work Equally Shared' (1995) four future scenarios relating to the redistribution of unpaid caring in 2010: The most desirable is the Combination Scenario (a mix of paid and unpaid work shared by men and women) which is based on the concept of a normal working week of 29 to 32 hours, childcare as a basic facility, individualization of the social welfare and taxation systems, the legal right to part-time work, and an expansion of professional homecare. The *Task Force on the Daily Timetable* was set up in 1996 by the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment with the commission to develop new and creative ideas for combining work and care by a better coordination of (opening) times and locations of facilities (Jager 2002).

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