

▶▶ **PART ONE**

HWF Survey results:

LABOUR MARKET FLEXIBILITY

Chapter One

►► **HOUSEHOLDS, WORK AND FLEXIBILITY** **Survey Comparative Report** **(Volume 2: Thematic Reports)**

Socio-economic status and patterns of work flexibility

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[Contents]

1. INTRODUCTION [11]

The research question || The actors: the occupational (ISCO) groups

2. 'FLEXIBILIZED' WORK: ATYPICAL FORMS OF WORK [15]

Institutional conditions of work || Occupational portfolio || Flexibility of working time
|| Flexibility of place of work || Civil labour: voluntary and unpaid work

**3. PATTERNS OF WORK FLEXIBILITY AND TENSION BETWEEN WORK
AND FAMILY [29]**

4. CONCLUSION [33]

REFERENCES [34]

[List of tables and figures]

Table 1.	Demographic profile of the occupational groups – regularities in the seven studied countries	15
Table 2.	Shares of ISCO groups that did not obtain any additional income (from activities listed above) in the last year by country	19
Table 3.	Average number of working hours per week of the occupational groups ISCO 1, 5 and 9 by country	21
Table 4.	Working schedule of the ISCO 5 group by country	23
Table 5.	Working schedule of the ISCO 1 group by country	24
Table 6.	Working schedule of the ISCO 6 group by country	24
Table 7.	Working schedule of the ISCO 9 group by country	25
Table 8.	Occupational groups that in significant larger shares perform work in the evenings, nights and weekends by country	25
Table 9.	Shares of ISCO groups that perform voluntary work at least once a month by country	28
Table 10.	Shares of ISCO groups that perform unpaid work at least once a month by country	28
Table 11.	Dominant patterns of flexibility	32
Figure 1.	Distribution of employed people 18-65 years by gender, age category and by country	12
Figure 2.	Employment by occupational groups by country	13
Figure 3.	Four occupational groups (ISCO 1, 4, 5 and 9) and their distribution by type of work contract and by country	16
Figure 4.	Satisfaction towards the type of contract of the ISCO groups by country	17
Figure 5.	Average number of hours worked per week by occupational groups and by country	21
Figure 6.	Satisfaction towards number of working hours by occupational group and by country	22
Figure 7.	Satisfaction towards the place of work by ISCO group and by country	27
Figure 8.	General satisfaction towards the main activity (paid work) by ISCO group and by country ..	29
Figure 9.	Work and family conflict by ISCO group and by country	31

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The research question

“Labour market flexibility has become a political mantra (...). Calls are made everywhere for greater flexibility – or, in other words, that employers should be able to fire employees with less difficulty. Flexibility also means a redistribution of risks away from the state and the economy towards the individual. (...) The upshot is that the more work relations are ‘deregulated’ and ‘flexibilized’, the faster work society changes into a risk society incalculable both in terms of individual lives and at the level of the state and politics, and the more important it becomes to grasp the political economy of risk in its contradictory consequences for economics, politics and society. The picture of society thus changes dramatically under the influence of a political economy of insecurity.” (Beck, 2000: 3). The consequences of the deregulated labour market combine with gender and ethnic inequalities and result in social exclusion, a trend which, if continues into the future, would lead according to the same author, Ulrich Beck, to the ‘Brazilianizations of the West’. Accordingly, he hypothesizes that the main four groups of people in Western societies (Beck, 2000: 106-107) would be:

- The ‘Columbus’ class of the global age (owners of globally active capital and their top managerial executives).
- Precarious employees at the top of the skills ladder (self-employed, employers in high-

paid positions that assume high educational qualifications).

- The working poor (the low skilled and unskilled workers, many working in the informal sector).
- Localized poverty (the socially excluded).

The question we are dealing with in this article is rooted in Beck’s view of the ‘brave new world of work’. Assuming Beck is right, we expect to find the managerial occupations, men and women altogether, as one of the most flexible occupational groups, whilst being at the same time more affluent, with more control over their work conditions – in other words ‘architects of their own fortune’. However, we would also expect this group to be characterized by time-poverty and high conflict between work and family. At the other extreme, the occupational group of unskilled workers are also expected to be flexible, but in a precarious way, in which flexibility is correlated with informality and poverty. They have time in abundance therefore they do not perceive work to be in conflict with family responsibilities.

This paper is an empirical one, based on the comparative data set collected within the research project *Households, Work and Flexibility* (HWF) funded by the European Commission under the Fifth Framework Programme contract no. HPSE-1999-00030.

A survey was conducted in the spring of 2001 using face-to-face interviews or telephone inter-

views. Eight countries (Western EU countries and a range of Eastern European candidate countries) were chosen so that to be illustrative of different policy approaches to work flexibilisation and the work-family balance. In this article we make use of seven of the original countries: Sweden, the

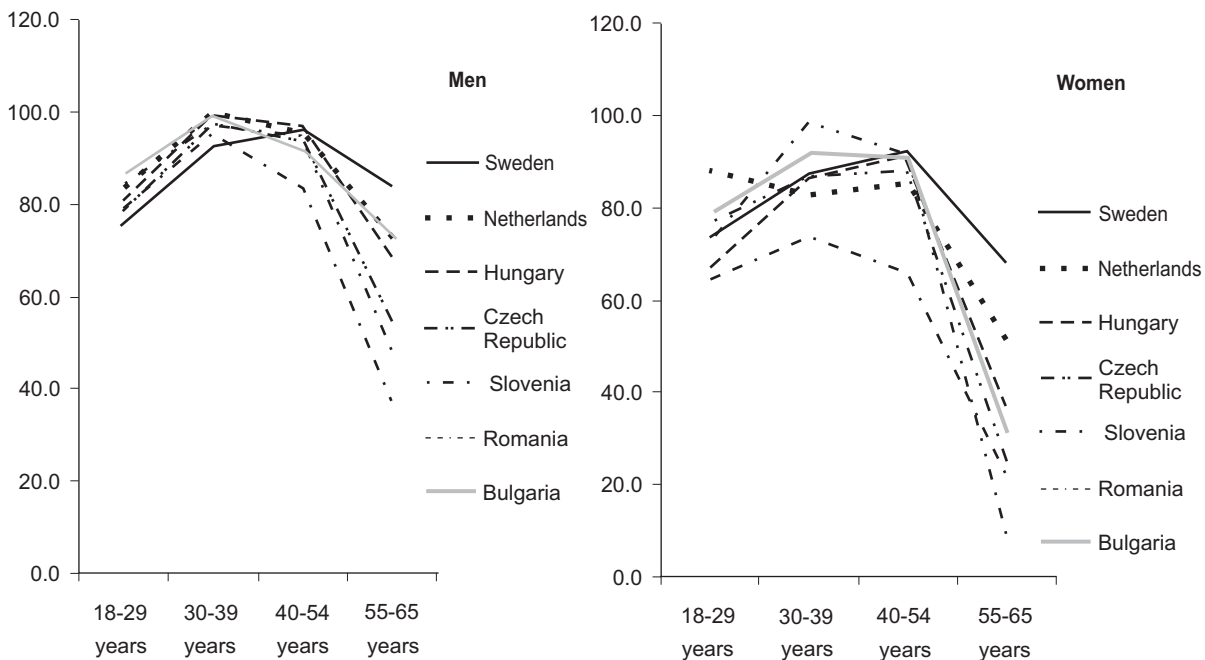
Netherlands, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. Data for the Netherlands and Hungary are weighted. For more information on the HWF questionnaire and survey and for detailed descriptions of the HWF survey in respective countries see Wallace (2003).

1.2. The actors: the occupational (ISCO) groups

In each of the seven countries people selected from their portfolio of income-generating activities the one they considered 'the main current activity' according to their preferences. Depending

on age and gender there are significant differences between countries regarding people in employment (formal or informal, flexible or non-flexible).

Figure 1. Distribution of employed people 18-65 years by gender, age category and by country



Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

The proportion of men/ women of active age in employment reflects the national contexts. The Western countries (Sweden and the Netherlands) but also the Central European countries appear work-abundant in comparison with Romania, where there is the lowest proportion of people in employment regardless of gender and age. The low participation in the labour market by the Romani-

ans is not a matter of choice but a result of the structural transformations from the planned socialist economy to the emerging market economy.

According to the 'sexual diamond theory' (Sheehy, 1974) men and women are most similar in their goals and values at birth and in old age. Between these times, they move in opposite directions. In early life until the midlife crisis, men seek

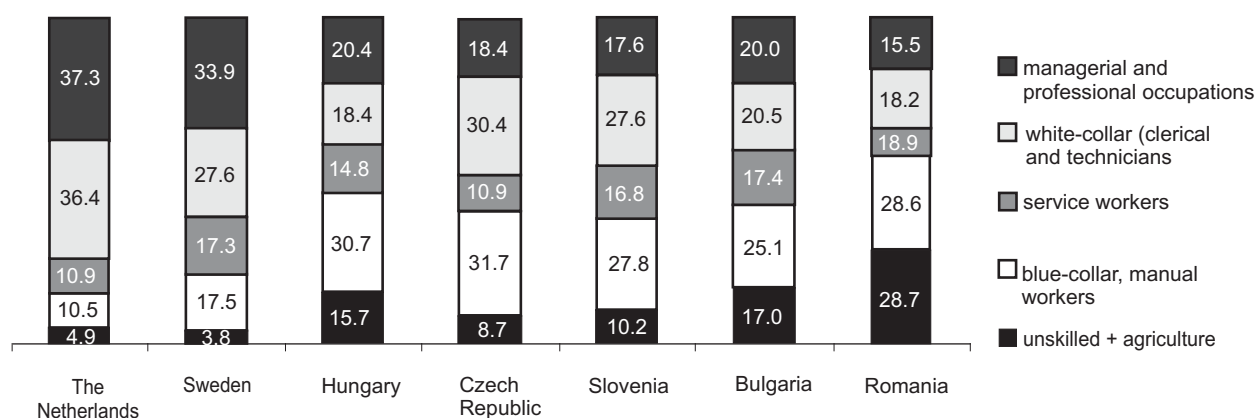
mainly self-actualisation, being focused on work (and career), while women are caught up in family values, being mainly oriented towards family, child bearing and child-caring. Somewhere between ages 35 and 45 (depending on society but also on the individual) most men and women reverse directions. Realizing they 'missed something' men become preoccupied by family togetherness, and women (re-)enter labour market and begin the personal search for actualisation. While at the ages 35 and 45 men and women are farthest apart, they gradually come together over the second half of their lives. The percentages of men in employment seem to reflect the pattern described above: it grows from the ages 18-29 years to the ages 30-39, after which it drops slightly in the forties and sharply drops after 55 years. However, at least in the transitional countries, the drop in employment is associated with the shortage of work available for people over 40 years who have obsolete industrial qualifications and not with a turn from work to family. Another reason for the low levels of labour market participation in Accession Countries is due to the low age of retirement in those countries, especially for particular occupational groups and for women (Wallace, 2002b).

Regarding women, two countries, namely Slovenia and Romania, display a significant drop in the employment of women in their 40s, a fact that contradicts the theory. Again, this can be ex-

plained by the national labour market constraints and not by a lack of personal search for actualisation. Women in their 40s that used to be full-time workers during the socialist regime lost their former jobs and were pushed into the domestic sphere since they are too young to retire and too old to get hired. In the other countries considered here, women's participation in the labour market diminishes during the stage of child bearing and child-caring and slightly increases afterwards until the age of 55 years.

The selected countries differ considerably when it comes to what type of work people perform, namely the occupational groups. In the Western countries (the Netherlands and Sweden) the managerial and professional occupations represent more than a third of all employment, while the corresponding share in the Central and South-East European countries diminishes between 15.5 and 20.4 per cent. In exchange, in Central and South-East European countries the proportion of blue-collar occupations is almost three times higher than in the Netherlands and almost one-and-a-half/two times higher compared to Sweden. Additionally, low-skilled and unskilled occupations (including subsistence agriculture) have significantly larger shares, particularly in Romania where these represent 29 per cent of employment.

Figure 2. Employment by occupational groups by country



Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

The distribution of the occupational groups by completed level of education is similar in the seven countries only for the top and the bottom of the ladder: the majority of managerial and professional groups have completed the highest educational levels (ISCED 5 and 6) and the majority of unskilled workers have lower secondary education (at most ISCED 2). Regarding white-collar workers (clerical, technicians and associated professionals) there are two patterns. In the Netherlands, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czech Republic and Slovenia the majority of white collar workers completed secondary education. In Sweden and Romania, tertiary education is found also among the white collar workers. The great majority of service workers (ISCO 5) have secondary education in five of the studied countries, the two exceptions being Hungary and Czech Republic where low education is specific to service workers (ISCED 2 at most). The share of those who completed secondary education (ISCED 3) among the blue-collar workers (ISCO 7 and 8) varies from one country to another as follows: 18 per cent in Hungary, 21 in Czech Republic, 37 in the Netherlands, 55 in Sweden, 76 in Bulgaria, 77 in Slovenia and 84 per cent in Romania. The rest of the blue-collar workers nearly all completed lower secondary education (ISCED 2) at most and acquired qualifications through experience.

The gender dimension plays a different role with respect to occupation from one country to another. Thus, men are statistically over-represented in the ISCO 1 group (legislators, senior officials, managers and employers) in the two Western countries (one man in five employed men belongs to ISCO 1 group), in the Czech Republic (one man in ten employed), in Bulgaria and in Slovenia. In Hungary and Romania, gender differences play no role with respect to managerial occupations.

ISCO 2 groups include significantly more women only in Bulgaria and the Czech Republic while in the rest of the countries women and men are undifferentiated. In Hungary, Romania and

the Czech Republic ISCO 3 (technicians and associate professionals) are mainly women while in the other four countries the gender differences are not significant. The clerical occupations (ISCO 4 group) are specific to women in all seven countries. A similar situation is found in the case of service workers (ISCO 5), except for Hungary. In contrast, men are statistically over-represented among the manual workers (ISCO 7 and 8) in all countries. Agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO 6 group) appear rather insignificant in the Netherlands (4 cases), Sweden (9 cases) and Czech Republic (17 cases), countries that are therefore excluded for the analysis of the ISCO 6 group. In the other countries ISCO 6 groups are well represented, but only in Bulgaria is the gender dimension significant – namely, that men are over-represented. The unskilled workers (ISCO 9 group) have no gender profile except for in the Netherlands, where women hold a significantly larger share.

Regarding age and occupation the association is lower in comparison with gender and occupation. Nevertheless, a significantly larger share of young (18 – 29 year olds) are grouped among service workers (ISCO 5) in five of the seven countries considered: 13 per cent of young employed in Romania, 16 in Czech Republic, 21 in Hungary, and 25 in Sweden and Slovenia. In the other two countries the Netherlands (14 per cent of young employed) and Bulgaria (21 per cent of young employed) the young (18-29 years) are not over-represented among service workers. The second occupational group with a clear-cut age profile is ISCO 6 group (agricultural and fishery workers). In this group people of 55 or more years are over-represented, particularly in Romania where the share of those employed in this age category reaches 60 per cent.

In conclusion, our analysis of occupational groups in almost all selected countries is meshed with other three dimensions: education, gender and age. The demographic profiles of the nine occupational groups are summarised below.

Table 1. Demographic profile of the occupational groups – regularities in the seven studied countries

Occupational group	EDUCATION	GENDER	AGE
ISCO 1 – legislators, senior officials and managers	ISCED 5, 6	Men except in HU and RO	BG: 55 and over SW: 40-54 years
ISCO 2 – professionals	ISCED 5, 6	Women except in BG and CZ	HU and SI: 30-39 years
ISCO 3 – technicians and associate professionals	ISCED 3	Women in some countries	RO: 18-29 years
ISCO 4 – clerks	ISCED 3 and ISCED 5, 6 in some countries	Women	NL: 18-29 years RO: 30-39 years
ISCO 5 – service workers	ISCED 3 and max. ISCED 2 in some countries	Women except in HU	Young (18-29)
ISCO 6 – agricultural and fishery workers	Max. ISCED 2	Gender-free except in BG	Ages 55 and over
ISCO 7 – craft and related trade workers and ISCO 8 – plant and machine operators and assemblers	ISCED 3 and max. ISCED 2 in some countries	Men	RO and SI: 40-54 years
ISCO 9 – unskilled workers	Max. ISCED 2	Gender-free	Age-free

Note: Abbreviations: BG – Bulgaria, CZ – Czech Republic, HU – Hungary, NL – The Netherlands, RO – Romania, SI – Slovenia, SW – Sweden.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

2. 'FLEXIBILIZED' WORK: ATYPICAL FORMS OF WORK

The description of the atypical forms of work is structured on five dimensions: institutional conditions of work, the occupational portfolio, working time, place of work, and civil (unpaid and volun-

tary) labour. The analysis aims to identify the patterns of flexible work specific to certain occupational groups in all the countries under consideration.

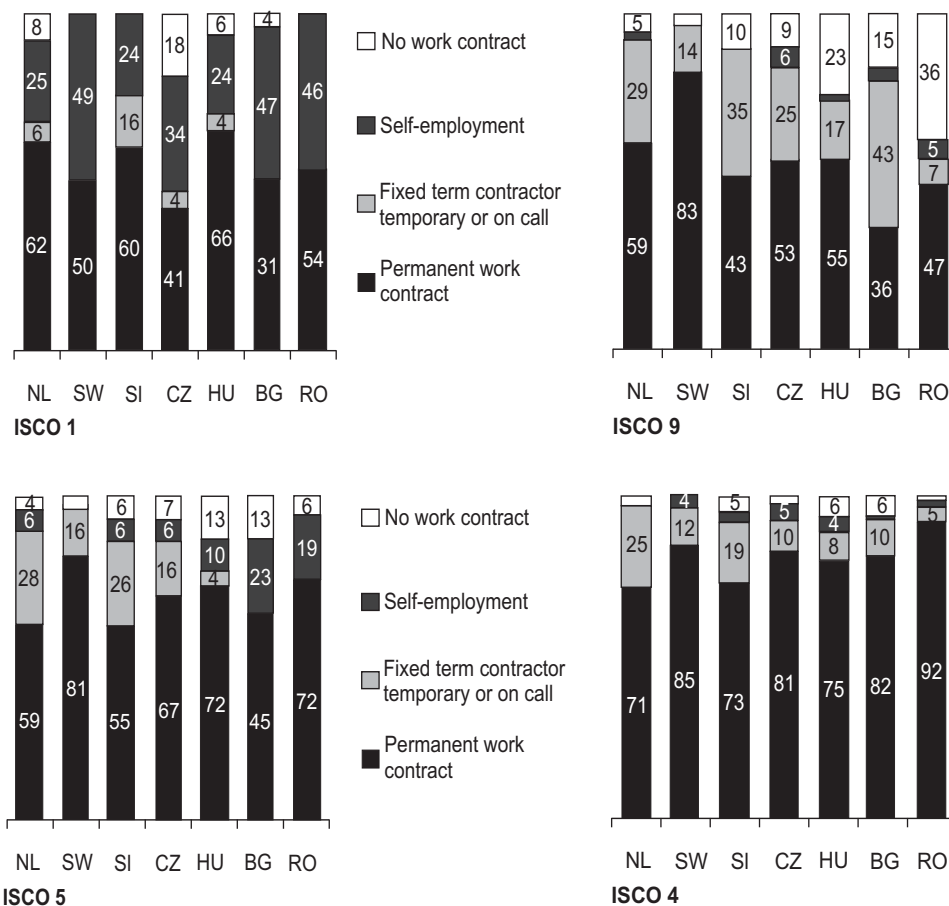
2.1. Institutional conditions of work

With very few exceptions, the permanent work contract is specific to professionals, technicians and associate professionals and to clerical workers (ISCO 2, 3, and 4 groups) in all the countries studied. Manual workers' (ISCO 7 and 8) situation varies from one country to another but this group predominantly holds a permanent work contract. The most flexible forms of work contract are to be

found among those in managerial occupations (ISCO 1), agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO 6), unskilled workers (ISCO 9) and service workers (ISCO 5) to a lesser extent.

The forms of contract and the type of employment for each occupational group are described shall be described below.

Figure 3. Four occupational groups (ISCO 1, 4, 5 and 9) and their distribution by type of work contract and by country



Note: Differences between occupational groups are statistical significant ($p=.000$) in all seven countries. Distribution of the ISCO 4 (clerks group) is almost similar with those of ISCO 2 and ISCO 3 groups in all countries.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Three occupational groups, namely ISCO 2, 3 and 4, are rather non-flexible on the dimension of the institutional conditions of work. The majority hold standard forms of work contract. However, out of these three occupational groups, flexible forms of work contract (on fixed term, temporary or on call) are held only by clerks (a quarter) from the Netherlands and professionals in Romania and Slovenia (8 per cent, 21 per cent respectively) to a greater extent than other professional groups in this category. On the other hand, when the

situation of the same group across the seven countries is compared one finds that professionals (ISCO 2) hold flexible forms of work contract to a significantly larger extent in Slovenia (one in five professionals has a fixed term, temporary or on-call contract) while in the other countries about one in ten professionals is in this situation (12 per cent in Czech and Bulgaria, 10 per cent in Sweden, 8 per cent in Hungary and Romania, and 7 per cent in the Netherlands). Self-employment among professionals is rather rare in all countries, the

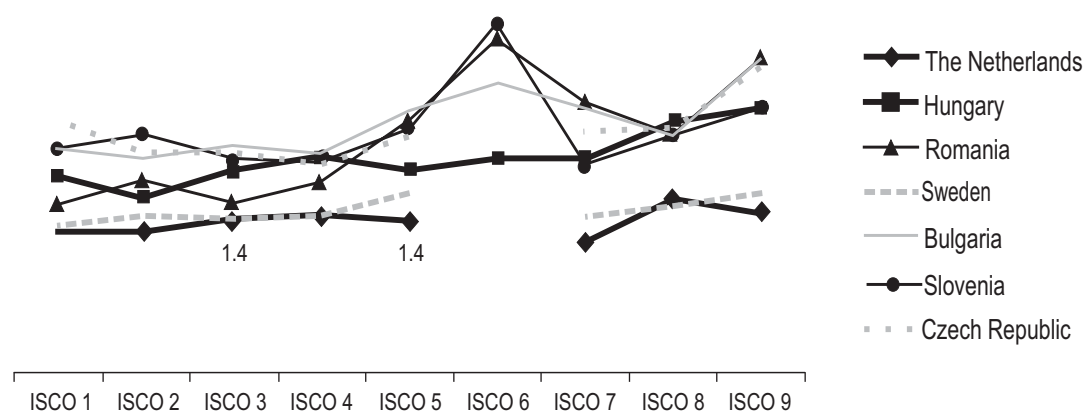
largest share being recorded in the Czech Republic (14 per cent of ISCO 2 is self-employed). Regarding the ISCO 3 group, self-employment is very low (less than 5 per cent in each country) and flexible forms of work contract are more numerous only in Bulgaria (18 per cent of ISCO 3 group) and in the Netherlands (13 per cent). The situation of clerks is somewhat similar to the former group. Self-employment is even scarcer and flexible forms of work contract are available to a significantly larger extent only in the Netherlands (one in four clerks has a work contract which is fixed term, temporary or on-call) and in Slovenia (one in five clerks) while the corresponding share diminishes to 12 per cent in Sweden, 10 per cent in the Czech Republic and Bulgaria, 8 per cent in Hungary and only 5 per cent in Romania.

These three occupational groups are overwhelmingly employed full-time: more than 70 per cent of each group in Sweden and Slovenia, more than 75 in Czech Republic and Hungary, and more than 83 per cent in Romania and Bulgaria. In the Netherlands the permanent work contract is

combined with flexible forms of employment. Thus, regardless the type of work contract, only 69 per cent of professionals (ISCO 2), 56 per cent of ISCO 3 group and only 52 per cent of ISCO 4 are full-time employed.

A standard work contract and full-time employment is associated in all countries with higher satisfaction. In the Central and South-East European countries where work regulations are not yet fully functional ISCO 2, 3 and 4 groups are significantly more satisfied with their type of contract compared to other occupational groups, particularly ISCO 6 and ISCO 9. In the two Western countries, where various work regulations are in place and are upheld by functioning institutions, there are no significant differences between the various occupational groups. Precisely because of the presence of a legal framework and the functioning institutions, satisfaction towards the type of work contract is significantly higher in the Western countries than in the Central and South-Eastern ones, irrespective of ISCO group.

Figure 4. Satisfaction towards the type of contract of the ISCO groups by country



Note: The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. In each country the differences are significant for $p=.000$ except in Czech Republic where $p=.001$ and in Slovenia where $p=.02$. For each occupational group the differences between countries were tested with one-way analysis of variance, which proved to be also significant for $p=.000$.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

More than two thirds of the blue collar worker (ISCO 7 and 8 groups) have permanent work contracts in all seven countries. Flexible forms of work contract are more frequent only in Bulgaria (22 per cent of ISCO 7 group and 27 per cent of ISCO 8) and in the Netherlands (25 per cent of ISCO 8 group). Self-employment represents shares larger than 7 per cent only in the case of the craft and related trades workers (ISCO 7) in Slovenia (17 per cent) and the Czech Republic (16 per cent). In addition, the majority are full-time employed. Part-time employment is very low among the manual workers regardless of country. In case of all the three occupational groups presented above (professionals and white collars) ISCO 7 and 8 groups, standard work contracts and full-time employment result in satisfaction towards the institutional conditions of work (Figure 4).

Service workers (ISCO 5) have more flexible forms of work from the institutional perspective. In Hungary and Bulgaria, 13 per cent of service workers work in the informal sector without a work contract. About one in every four service workers in Bulgaria, about one in five in Romania, and one in ten in Hungary perform the activity as self-employed. In the other four countries, flexible forms of work contract are more widespread among those in ISCO 5 groups: 28 per cent in the Netherlands, 26 per cent in Slovenia, 18 per cent in Bulgaria, and 16 per cent in the Czech Republic.

In contrast with the groups presented above, ISCO 1, ISCO 6, ISCO 9 groups are considerably more flexibilized on this dimension of analysis. Self-employment represents shares between 24 per cent (in Hungary) and 49 per cent (in Sweden) of ISCO 1 groups. In the case of agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO 6 groups) self-employment is combined with high levels of informal work. Thus, a fifth of the agricultural workers from Slovenia, a third of those from Hungary and Bulgaria and more than three quarters of those from Romania are self-employed. Informal work is performed by ISCO 6 groups by more than a half of those workers in Slovenia, more than a third in Hungary and Bulgaria, and 12 per cent in Roma-

nia. In addition, 11 per cent of the ISCO 6 group from Hungary and 20 per cent in Bulgaria hold fixed term, temporary or on-call work contracts. Although both occupational groups (ISCO 1 and ISCO 6) are characterized by self-employment, significant differences are recorded in the satisfaction towards this situation. The institutional conditions of work represent a source of satisfaction for the ISCO 1 representatives, while for ISCO 6 groups, self-employment represents just a salvation niche, an alternative to unemployment, a fact that results in dissatisfaction (Figure 4). Consequently, if flexibilization is for ISCO 1 representatives a choice, those other groups rather retreat into agriculture or have been pushed into forced flexibilization.

Elementary occupations are highly regulated only in the two Western countries. In Sweden and the Netherlands the ISCO 9 groups have, from the type of work contract point of view, situations rather similar to other occupational groups such as service workers or white collar workers. The majority are employed on permanent work contracts while the rest have contracts on a fixed term (29 per cent in the Netherlands and 14 per cent in Sweden). However, significantly larger shares are part-time employed, a fact that shows that their situation is more precarious compared to the other occupational groups (except the service workers). In the transitional countries this occupational group seems the most affected by the economic transformations. In all accession countries, informal work and flexible forms of work contract are over-represented among the unskilled workers (ISCO 9). Ten per cent of the unskilled workers work in the informal sector (without a work contract) in Slovenia and the Czech Republic, 15 per cent in Bulgaria, 23 per cent in Hungary, and 36 per cent in Romania. Work contracts that are fixed term, temporary and on-call are held by 43 per cent of ISCO 9 group from Bulgaria, 35 in Slovenia, 25 in the Czech Republic, 17 per cent in Hungary and 7 per cent in Romania (where these types of work contract are not yet fully regulated). Moreover, in these countries, ISCO 9 groups are

significantly under-represented among those with a stable job (more than five years). Thus, ISCO 9 groups have the most insecure institutional conditions of work within each given country and have

a more insecure situation in the transitional countries compared to the Western affluent ones. These gaps are reflected also in levels of satisfaction with work (Figure 4).

2.2. Occupational portfolio

During one year, people combine various types of activities. In this respect, the HWF questionnaire included questions related to the various types of income-generating activities performed during the last year (spring 2000 – spring 2001): self-employed activities, small scale agriculture on his/her own

plot, seasonal construction or agricultural work for other people or for employers, any unskilled or semi-skilled casual work, and work on short term contract or no contract be it skilled manual, or professional services (such as teaching, consultancy) or agency and distribution work.

Table 2. Shares of ISCO groups that did not obtain any additional income (from activities listed above) in the last year by country

	The Netherlands	Sweden	Hungary	Slovenia	Czech Republic	Bulgaria	Romania
ISCO 1 Legislators, senior officials and managers	74	51	77	68	38	41	45
ISCO 2 Professionals	82	83	76	75	55	66	67
ISCO 3 Technicians and associate professionals	86	90	91	83	69	73	72
ISCO 4 Clerks	87	87	88	81	61	71	75
ISCO 5 Service workers and shop and market sales workers	86	91	87	82	65	56	60
ISCO 6 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	-	-	72	44	-	20	4
ISCO 7 Craft and related trades workers	89	83	90	80	53	65	65
ISCO 8 Plant and machine operators and assemblers	91	86	93	81	75	62	67
ISCO 9 Elementary occupations	88	93	82	66	51	50	42

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Regardless the occupational category, significantly higher proportions of Bulgarians, Romanians and especially Czechs combine more activities over the year than do the Dutch, Swedish and Hungarians. However, if small scale agriculture is the additional income-generating activity specific to Romania (performed by all ISCO groups), in the Czech Republic we find instead self-employment and professional services or short term skilled manual activities. Within the Netherlands and Sweden ISCO 1 groups are more likely to combine different kinds of employment than the other groups. In Hungary we can add the ISCO 1 group to the agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO 6) group. In the other four coun-

tries to the ISCO 1 and ISCO 6 groups are added the unskilled workers (ISCO 9) and only in the Czech Republic ISCO 5 group (service workers). However, in contrast to the ISCO 1 groups that predominantly obtain additional income from self-employed activities, the ISCO 6 groups perform small scale agriculture or informal work in agriculture for other people or for employers, while larger shares of ISCO 9 groups combine a larger palette of activities in every country: seasonal construction or agricultural work for other people or for employers with unskilled or semi-skilled casual work and with skilled manual work on a short term contract or with no contract.

Thus, if we consider that the larger and more complex the occupational portfolio (patterns of work) the higher the work flexibility we find the ISCO 1 and ISCO 9 groups as the most flexibilized

occupational groups in all seven countries. ISCO 6 is flexible too but it is found only in some countries.

2.3. Flexibility of working time

Flexibility of working time is defined according to three dimensions. These are the number of working hours, the variability in working hours, and the working schedule. Various patterns of working time are recorded according to the combination of the three dimensions that range between non-flexible (normal hours, no variation in hours, regular schedule) and highly flexible (long or short hours, varying and irregular schedules).

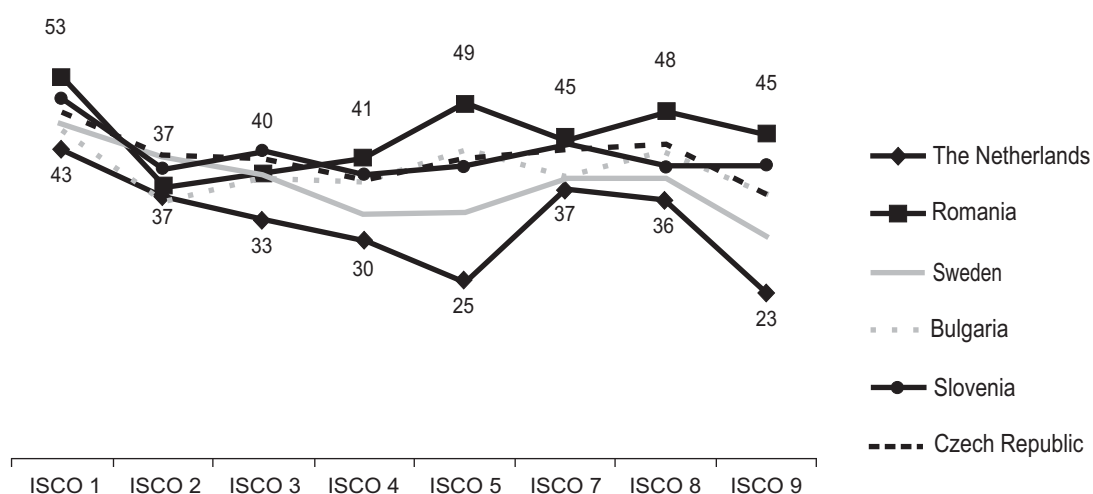
The average number of hours varies considerably from one country to another between a minimum of 33.5 hours per week in the Netherlands and a maximum of 44.3 hours per week in Romania (Wallace, 2003). Within each country there are significant differences between the nine occupational groups. In all the countries studied, those in managerial occupations work on average the largest number of hours per week. At the other extreme, those in elementary occupations (unskilled workers) work on average the lowest or one of the lower numbers of hours per week. Only one country is distinctive, namely Romania, where professionals (ISCO 2 group), technicians and associate professionals (ISCO 3) as well as clerks (ISCO 4) work in average a lower number of hours compared to those in elementary occupations.

Although the rule that ISCO 1 group works on average longer hours than the other occupational groups is valid in each country, there are significant differences from one country to another. Thus, the average number of working hours ranges from 43 hours per week in the

Netherlands and 53 hours per week in Romania. However, the most important discrepancies between countries are for ISCO 5 (service workers) and ISCO 9 (unskilled workers) groups. If in the case of managerial occupations the difference between the minimum and the maximum is of 10 hours on average per week, in the case of service and unskilled workers the Romanians work almost double the number of average hours number of hours compared with the Dutch.

It is worthwhile to mention that unlike ISCO 1 and ISCO 9 groups, there is no general rule applicable to the service workers (ISCO 5) group. These have an average number of working hours that varies from among the longest (as in Romania and Bulgaria) to medium (as in Slovenia and Czech Republic) and to the shortest hours per week (like in the Netherlands and Sweden).

It is not only the number of working hours that we should take into consideration, but also their predictability. In this respect, two aspects were surveyed: whether the number of working hours varies or not and who controls them. The ISCO 1 group of managerial occupations is again a particular case. In all the countries studied, significantly larger proportions (in most cases the great majority) have varying working hours so that work invades their homes, but they are also able to control the hours of work. They decide on their own how many hours to work but as a rule (as we have already shown) they exploit themselves by working long hours that vary every day.

Figure 5. Average number of hours worked per week by occupational groups and by country

Note: Number of working hours in Hungary were estimated in a different way therefore we have excluded Hungary from this figure. However, the general rule – ISCO 1 group works in average the longest hours and ISCO 9 the shortest - remains valid.

The ISCO 6 group was excluded since it is missing in three of the seven considered countries. However, this group works in average a number of hours comparable with the ISCO 1 group.

The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. In each country the differences are significant for $p=0.000$. For each occupational group the differences between countries were tested with one-way analysis of variance, which proved to be also significant for $p=0.000$, except for the ISCO 1 group when $p=0.012$.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 3. Average number of working hours per week of the occupational groups ISCO 1, 5 and 9 by country

	ISCO 1 group			ISCO 5 group			ISCO 9 group		
	Number of cases	Mean	Std. Deviation	Number of cases	Mean	Std. Deviation	Number of cases	Mean	Std. Deviation
The Netherlands	102	43	10	78	25	12	33	23	13
Sweden	139	47	10	174	34	9	29	31	11
Bulgaria	51	46	17	167	43	15	115	37	14
Czech Republic	68	48	17	106	42	13	68	36	17
Slovenia	23	50	13	91	41	12	29	41	5
Romania	27	53	16	70	49	16	66	45	18

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

In a similar situation are the ISCO 6 groups (working long hours which vary mainly according seasons but over which they decide on their own) in all countries where they exist: Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. In addition,

there are large numbers of service workers (ISCO 5) in Sweden and Slovenia, professionals (ISCO 2) in Czech Republic, and machine operators and assemblers (ISCO 8) in Hungary and Czech Republic who work varying hours decided by the

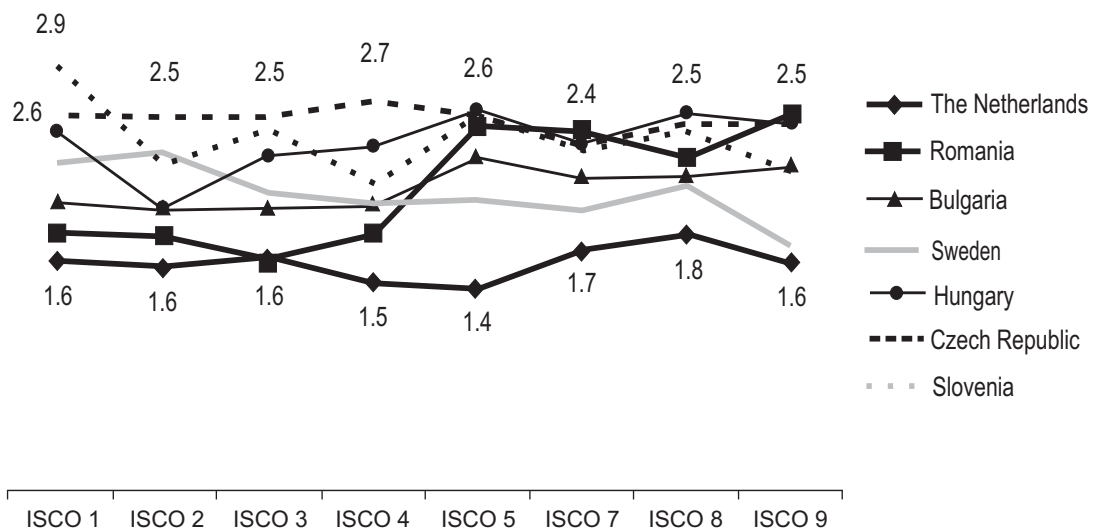
employer. Most often, ISCO 2 and 3 but particularly ISCO 4 groups represent in all countries those with standard number of working hours, perfectly predictable (never varying) upon which the employers decide or, in the Netherlands, it is a matter of negotiation between the employer and the employee.

In three countries (the Western countries and the Czech Republic), the gap in working hours identified at the objective level is reversed at the subjective level: the longer the hours worked per week the larger the group of those that would desire to work less hours; the shorter the effective working hours, the larger the share of those willing to work more hours. For instance in the Netherlands, the share of those in managerial occupa-

tions that would like to work less hours is significantly larger (44 per cent of the ISCO 1 group) compared for instance with the corresponding share from the ISCO 5 group, which is of only 18 per cent. On the other hand, those willing to work more hours are over-represented among service workers (18 per cent of the ISCO 5 group) and unskilled workers (20 per cent of the ISCO 9), which as we have shown above have considerably shorter working hours. A similar situation is recorded in Sweden and in the Czech Republic.

In Hungary and Romania only the ISCO 9 group expresses a desire for working more hours, although the average number of hours worked is rather high. Their desire for longer hours relates mainly to their low earnings.

Figure 6. Satisfaction towards number of working hours by occupational group and by country



Note: Satisfaction was estimated on a scale in five steps, 1 very satisfied and 5 very unsatisfied. The ISCO 6 group was excluded since it is missing in three of the seven considered countries.

The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. In the Netherlands and the Czech Republic these differences are not significant. In Bulgaria the significance is given only by the ISCO 6 group. When this occupational group is excluded the test F is no longer significant. Differences are significant in Romania and Slovenia for p=.000, and for p=.01 respectively in Hungary and Sweden .

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

In the four countries where the ISCO 6 groups are well represented (Hungary, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania), there is a large discrepancy between these and ISCO 1 groups. The two occupational groups have comparable working hours but ISCO 1 representatives are considerably more satisfied compared to the ISCO 6 ones. In fact, the ISCO 6 groups are the least satisfied of all occupational groups.

Overall, people are rather satisfied with their working hours in a range, which stretches from the minimum in the Czech Republic to the maximum represented by the Netherlands. Moreover, in these two countries there are no significant differences between the various occupational groups. Interesting cases are Sweden and Romania. In Sweden the satisfaction with the working hours is significantly lower at the top of the occupational ladder and it increases at its bottom, a fact that is concordant with the relation between effective and desired working hours presented above. In the Romanian case the situation is reversed. The closer the occupational group is to the top of the social structure the more satisfied they are regarding working hours while groups ISCO 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 are less satisfied in this respect.

Let us now turn to the working schedule. Regarding this issue again ISCO 2, 3 and 4 groups

are predominantly non-flexible in all seven countries studied. Specific to these three occupational groups is the regular working schedule either from Monday morning to Friday afternoon or other types of standard schedule. For manual workers (ISCO 7 and ISCO 8) specific is also the regular working program but combined with shift work, particularly in the case of plant and machine operators and assemblers (ISCO 8). In fact shift work is statistically over-represented among ISCO 8 groups (compared to the other occupational groups) within all included countries: 21 per cent of ISCO 8 group in Hungary, 25 per cent in Romania, 28 per cent in the Netherlands, 31 per cent in Bulgaria, 35 per cent in Sweden, 37 per cent in the Czech Republic, and 51 per cent in Slovenia work in shifts. In the Central and South-East European countries there is a second occupational group working in shifts, namely service workers (ISCO 5 groups). In fact, in all seven countries ISCO 5 groups are highly flexible regarding the working schedule. Compared to the other occupational categories within the country, in this occupational group there are significantly larger shares of people working in shifts, working other regular schedules than from Monday morning to Friday afternoons and working irregularly.

Table 4. Working schedule of the ISCO 5 group by country

Working schedule	NL	SW	HU	SI	CZ	BG	RO
Regular working hours: Monday morning to Friday afternoons	30.0	31.0	35.0	49.4	22.6	49.4	28.8
Shift work	6.4	10.3	14.6	26.4	40.9	26.4	24.7
Flexitime		*	*	11.5	5.4	11.5	9.6
Other regular schedule	26.7	29.9	10.9	6.3	6.5	6.3	16.4
Regular working hours (non traditional working week)	8.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular, it varies	28.4	27.6	38.4	6.3	24.7	6.3	20.5
Number of cases	79	174	102	93	109	174	73

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Differences are significant, where significance was established with standardized adjusted residual bigger than 2 or smaller than -2. Chi-square is significant for $p=.000$ in every country.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 5. Working schedule of the ISCO 1 group by country

Working schedule	NL	SW	HU	SI	CZ	BG	RO
Regular working hours: Monday morning to Friday afternoons	49.1	62.1	35.3	40.0	41.4	61.2	37.9
Shift work	*		*	*	*		
Flexitime		*	*	*	28.6	12.2	34.5
Other regular schedule	13.4	10.0	*	*	8.6	*	*
Regular working hours (non traditional working week)	11.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular, it varies	23.2	25.0	50.7	32.0	18.6	20.4	20.7
Number of cases	102	140	74	25	70	49	29

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Differences are significant, where significance was established with standardized adjusted residual bigger than 2 or smaller than -2. Chi-square is significant for $p=.000$ in every country.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 6. Working schedule of the ISCO 6 group by country

Working schedule	HU	SI	BG	RO
Regular working hours: Monday morning to Friday afternoons	31.1	22.7	42.9	3.8
Flexitime		*	19.0	*
Other regular schedule	*	*		*
Irregular, it varies	66.9	63.6	33.3	93.6
Number of cases	38	22	42	156

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Differences are significant, where significance was established with standardized adjusted residual bigger than 2 or smaller than -2. Chi-square is significant for $p=.000$ in every country.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

In concordance with their institutional conditions of work (a predominance of self-employment) and with their managerial positions, the ISCO 1 groups from all seven countries have significantly larger proportions of people with irregular working schedules and, in Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania, with flexitime.

However, the highest shares of people with irregular working schedules are found among the agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO 6).

The working schedule of the unskilled workers varies from a country to another. In the Netherlands and Sweden the numbers in elementary occupations (ISCO 9), as we have already shown,

are larger than in the other occupational groups. Part-time employees with flexible forms of work contract (30 per cent in the Netherlands and 21 per cent in Sweden) have regular working schedules other than from Monday mornings to Friday afternoons. In countries in which large numbers of unskilled workers operate in the informal sector of the economy (with no work contract) an important share of the ISCO 9 groups have irregular working schedules. Thus, in Hungary 38 per cent of ISCO 9 group and in Romania 31 per cent, and in the Czech Republic 19 per cent are in this situation.

Table 7. Working schedule of the ISCO 9 group by country

Working schedule	NL	SW	HU	SI	CZ	BG	RO
Regular working hours: Monday mornings to Friday afternoons	48.3	72.4	55.2	56.7	56.7	54.6	32.1
Shift work	*	*	6.4	33.3	7.5	20.2	19.2
Flexitime					*	8.4	*
Other regular schedule	30.1	20.7		*	10.4	8.4	14.1
Regular working hours (non traditional working week)	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Irregular, it varies	*	*	38.0	*	19.4	8.4	30.8
Number of cases	41	29	74	30	67	119	78

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Differences are significant, where significance was established with standardized adjusted residual bigger than 2 or smaller than -2. Chi-square is significant for $p=.000$ in every country.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 8. Occupational groups that in significant larger shares perform work in the evenings, nights and weekends by country

	NL	SW	HU	SI	CZ	BG	RO
		ISCO 1					
Work in the evening at least once a month	ISCO 1	ISCO 2	ISCO 1	ISCO 1	ISCO 1		ISCO 3
	ISCO 2	ISCO 3	ISCO 5	ISCO 3	ISCO 2	ISCO 1	ISCO 8
Work at night at least once a month			ISCO 8				ISCO 8
	-	ISCO 8	ISCO 5	ISCO 3	ISCO 8	ISCO 3	ISCO 3
Work during weekends							ISCO 3
	ISCO 1	ISCO 1	ISCO 5	ISCO 1	ISCO 1	ISCO 1	ISCO 7
	ISCO 2	ISCO 2	ISCO 6	ISCO 5	ISCO 5	ISCO 5	ISCO 8

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Beyond the differences highlighted above one more needs to be mentioned. In the Netherlands and Sweden, the ISCO 1 and ISCO 2 groups in large proportion have control over their working schedule. Thus, the regular working schedules of the professionals and the irregular ones of the ISCO 1 groups are self-decided. In all other countries the groups with more autonomy are ISCO 1 and ISCO 6 groups while all the others should comply working schedules decided by their employers.

Regarding unsocial working hours, few patterns are recorded. Except in Romania, in all other countries ISCO 1 groups appear as the occupational group that is most likely to work in the evenings and weekends. Between 41 per cent (in Czech Republic) and 64 per cent (in Sweden) of

those in managerial occupations works in the evenings at least once a month; between 36 per cent (in the Netherlands) and 52 per cent (in Slovenia) of ISCO 1 groups work during weekends at least once a month.

Work at night is associated with shifts, thus it is specific particularly to the ISCO 8 groups. As well as ISCO 1, in four countries - Hungary, Slovenia, Czech Republic and Bulgaria - it is the service workers (ISCO 5) who work during weekends. Romania is again distinctive. In Romania, those working unsocial hours are mainly ISCO 7, 8 and 3 (manual workers and technicians) employed in industry.

It is worthwhile to keep in mind that overtime during unsocial hours is mainly a matter which workers decide themselves in the Nether-

lands and Sweden while in the other countries only groups ISCO 1 and ISCO 6 decide on their own. For the majority of those in other occupational groups in the Central and South-Eastern European countries, employers decide overtime.

In conclusion, managerial occupations are highly flexibilized from the time of work perspective. In the Western as well as Central and the South-Eastern European countries studied here, ISCO 1 groups work longer hours that vary, their working schedules are irregular or flexitime and they work at least once a month in the evenings and during weekends. However, on all these aspects (number of hours, schedule, overtime) they have the power of decision over their hours of work and therefore the great majority is satisfied. A similar pattern of time flexibility is found in ISCO 6 group with the difference that in Bulgaria and Romania they are considerably less satisfied with this situation.

In the case of ISCO 5 group (service workers) two patterns of working time are recorded. In

the Netherlands and Sweden, ISCO 5 groups are flexible mainly due to their shorter working hours. In the Accession Countries, apart from Romania, service workers have flexible working times on more dimensions than the number of hours. They work less hours, not varying, decided by the employers. Nevertheless, they would like to work the same number of hours because this satisfies them. They have flexible working schedules (also decided by the employers) and are used to work during weekends (as their employers decide). In a somewhat similar situation are the ISCO 9 groups with the difference that compared to ISCO 5 the share of those willing to work more hours is significantly higher.

All the other occupational groups irrespective of country are predominantly non-flexible or low flexible (work normal hours, not varying, regular schedule, all decided by the employers but it satisfies them) regarding the time of work

2.4. Flexibility of place of work

Non-flexible pattern of place of work (within the locality but not at home) is strongly associated with non-flexible working time. Flexi-place is correlated with flexible working time.

Significantly larger proportions of ISCO 1 and ISCO 2 groups (between 10 and 20 per cent) work at home or combined at home and elsewhere in the Netherlands, Sweden, Czech Republic and Hungary. The second occupational group that works at home or combined at home and elsewhere is ISCO 6 (agricultural and fishery workers): 83 per cent of ISCO 6 group in Slovenia, 71 in Romania, 43 in Bulgaria, and 33 in Hungary. Between these groups (ISCO 1 versus ISCO 6) there are similarities and differences. Similarity refers to the fact that both groups mainly decide the place of work themselves, a fact that distinguishes them from the others. The difference refers to the reasons for which they decide to work at home. People with managerial and professional

occupations choose to work at home in order to spend more time with their families or for other reasons, while the ISCO 6 groups declare that they work at home because 'they could not find another job' in proportions of 69 per cent of ISCO 6 that work at home in Bulgaria, 42 per cent in Romania and 30 per cent in Slovenia. Thus, in the case of the ISCO 6 group, flexibility of place is rather forced more than voluntary.

Manual workers (ISCO 7 and 8) have a different type of flexible pattern of place of work. In significantly larger proportions (between 11 and 28 per cent) they have places of work that are always changing in the Netherlands, Sweden, Slovenia (where also ISCO 3, technicians and associate professionals are added), the Czech Republic and Hungary. In Romania and Bulgaria it is frequently the case that ISCO groups 7 and 8 are commuting: over a quarter of each group in Romania and about a fifth of each group in Bulgaria.

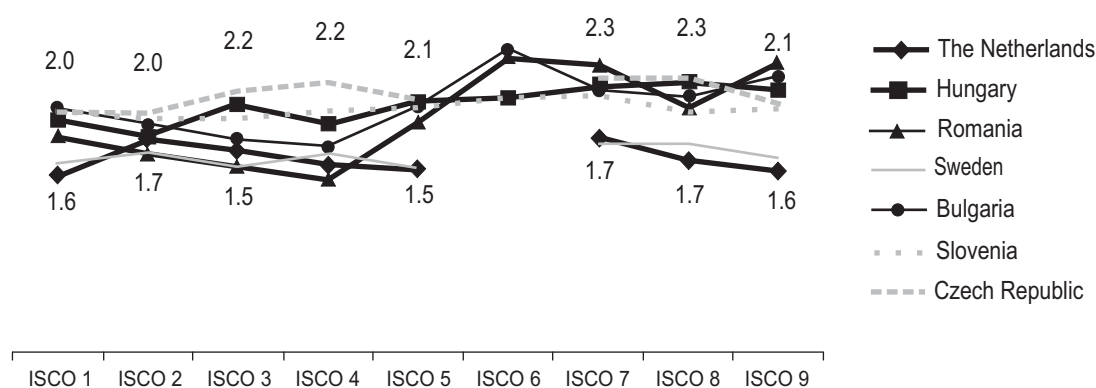
The image changes though when the ISCO 7 and 8 groups are compared across countries. Although commuting is not specific for blue collar workers it is much more widespread (than in Romania and Bulgaria) in Slovenia (about a half of each group), in the Czech Republic (44 per cent of ISCO 7 and 36 of ISCO 8), in the Netherlands and Hungary (more than a third of each group), and in Sweden (more than a quarter of each group). This is a result of the fact that compared to Romania and Bulgaria, commuting is much common for all occupational categories in the other five countries.

Those with elementary occupations (ISCO 9) are over-represented among those with non-flexible places of work (within the locality but not at home) in all countries except for Romania, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic. Comparing this occupational group across countries one finds out

that in Romania ISCO 9 is over-represented among those whose place of work always changing, whilst in Slovenia and the Czech Republic this group are commuting to a greater extent (48 per cent, 44 respectively) and in the other countries they are likely to work in the same locality they live but not at home.

The place of work is a source of satisfaction for the majority of people, irrespective occupation. Significant differences within countries are recorded only in Romania and Bulgaria, where ISCO 6 are significantly less satisfied than the rest. In contrast, if we look between countries we find significant differences, particularly at the bottom skills ladders (ISCO 6, 7, 8 and 9), when the Westerns are substantially more satisfied with their place of work than the Central and Eastern Europeans.

Figure 7. Satisfaction towards the place of work by ISCO group and by country



Note: Satisfaction was estimated on a scale in five steps, 1 very satisfied and 5 very unsatisfied.

The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. Differences between occupational groups are significant only in Bulgaria and Romania. Differences between countries are significant for $p=0.000$.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

2.5. Civil labour: voluntary and unpaid work

Regarding voluntary work, significant differences between occupational groups are recorded only in four countries, namely Sweden, Hungary, Bul-

garia and Romania. In the first three countries, ISCO 1 or ISCO 2 or both of these groups are more likely to perform voluntary work at least once a

month than other occupational groups. Romania is an exceptional case, since those involved in voluntary work are over-represented among the agricultural self-employed (ISCO 6). Most of these are elderly people from rural areas and their voluntary work is church related. However, discrepancies between countries irrespective of occupations are bigger than those between occupational groups. In Sweden and the Netherlands a significantly larger proportion of people (of all occupations except ISCO 6 and ISCO 9) do some voluntary work for non-profit organizations, charity or civil society associations at least once per month compared to the other countries, particularly Bulgaria, where there are significantly lower shares.

There is no difference between the occupational groups with regard to unpaid work. Differ-

ences are significant only between countries. In Slovenia (and for the ISCO 3 group also in Romania) significantly larger shares of all ISCO groups perform unpaid work at least once a month for friends or relatives.

It is worthwhile to mention that unpaid work is more common in the Central and Eastern countries while voluntary work is specific to countries with highly developed civil society organizations. Important shares of people from each country and each occupational group perform activities other than paid work at least once a month, either doing voluntary work for an organization or unpaid work for friends and relatives.

Table 9. Shares of ISCO groups that perform voluntary work at least once a month by country

	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7	ISCO8	ISCO9
The Netherlands	27	31	26	26	26		26	18	15
Sweden	30	36	26	22	18		31	34	*
Hungary	15	20	6	7	3	10	6	0	5
Slovenia	8	26	23	13	23	17	21	17	9
Czech Republic	20	19	11	7	13		9	12	13
Bulgaria	13	7	5	*	*	10	*	*	7
Romania	21	18	10	10	5	18	8	13	5

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Chi-square is significant in Hungary for $p=.000$, in Sweden for $p=.002$, in Romania for $p=.010$ and in Bulgaria for $p=.012$.

Source: HWF Survey 2001– Unified international data collection

Table 10. Shares of ISCO groups that perform unpaid work at least once a month by country

	ISCO1	ISCO2	ISCO3	ISCO4	ISCO5	ISCO6	ISCO7	ISCO8	ISCO9
The Netherlands	16	22	19	24	24		18	20	14
Sweden	28	28	27	27	26		26	24	7
Hungary	21	21	11	19	12	34	22	16	16
Slovenia	60	67	62	53	54	54	58	54	50
Czech Republic	25	33	27	26	28		30	24	16
Bulgaria	33	28	22	15	18	16	23	30	17
Romania	21	24	41	30	27	36	26	28	28

Note: Cells with less than 5 cases. Chi-square is significant for $p=.000$ for each occupational group.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

3. PATTERNS OF WORK FLEXIBILITY AND TENSION BETWEEN WORK AND FAMILY

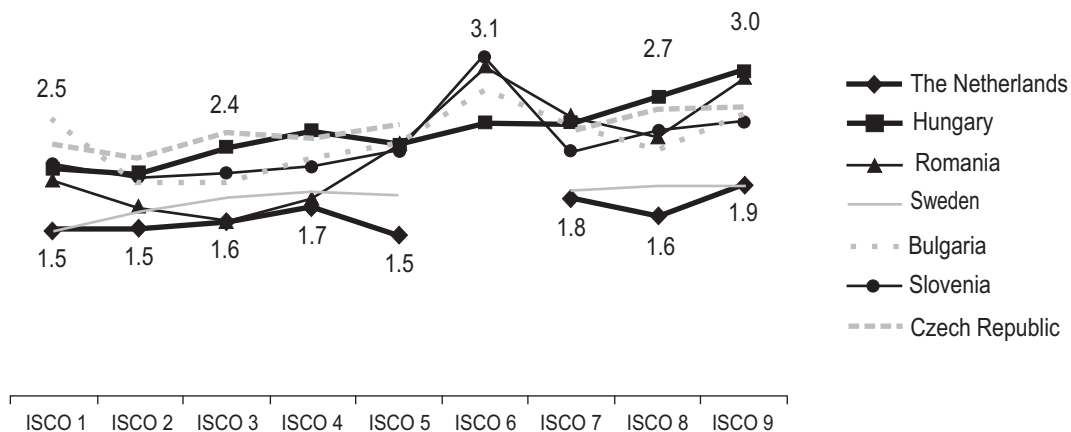
In this part of the paper we combine the major information previously described and identify the few types of work flexibility. We will proceed in such a manner as to build ideal-types of flexibility that can be found either in all the countries studied or in the Accession Countries versus the two Western countries. Thus, we will stress the statistically specific differences between the occupational groups and between countries.

Let us first add information on earnings and general satisfaction toward the main activity. Interviewees were asked to approximate their personal earnings from the main activity that they described with regard to time, place, and institutional conditions of work. Comparisons within countries show that in each studied country the majority of legislators, senior officials and managers (ISCO 1 groups) form part of the highest income quintile. In all countries except Bulgaria, only ISCO 2 groups (professionals) are also over-represented within the highest income quintile but in smaller shares compared to the ISCO 1 groups. At the other extreme of the scale, that is in

the lowest income quintile, ISCO 9 and ISCO 6 groups are statistically crowded, except for Sweden where ISCO 6 group is insignificant and ISCO 9 group is found in a significant larger proportion among those with middle to low income. The other occupational groups (ISCO 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8) are distributed in the middle quintiles of income.

Taking into consideration all the different features of their main activity, people were asked how satisfied were they in general with this. Differences both between occupational groups and between countries are statistically significant. Those higher up the skills ladder (ISCO 1, 2, 3, and 4) are more satisfied than those lower down, particularly ISCO 6 and 9 (agricultural and unskilled workers). The Netherlands is an exception, since differences between the occupational groups are not significant. Westerners are more satisfied towards their main activity than Central and South-Eastern Europeans and the closer to the bottom of the skills ladder the higher the gap in satisfaction between the West and the East.

Figure 8. General satisfaction towards the main activity (paid work) by ISCO group and by country



Note: Satisfaction was estimated on a scale in five steps, 1 very satisfied and 5 very unsatisfied. The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. Except the Netherlands in all other countries differences between ISCO groups are significant for $p=.000$ and $p=.014$ in the Czech Republic. The significance of the difference between countries for each occupational group was tested in a similar way and $p=.000$ in all cases.

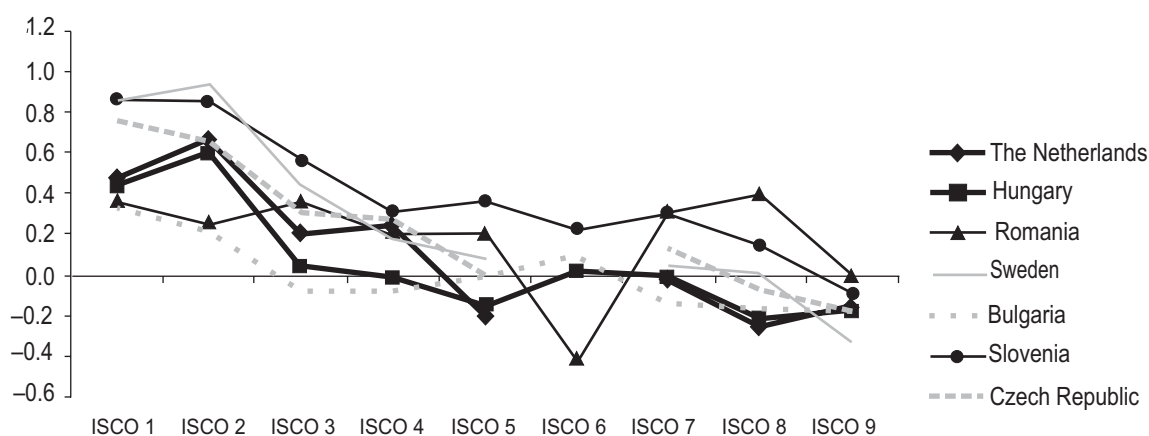
Source: HWF Survey 2001– Unified international data collection

There are clear-cut profiles of work flexibility in only two occupational groups: ISCO 1 in all seven countries and ISCO 6 only in the four countries where these groups are well enough represented. Elementary occupations (ISCO 9) and service workers (ISCO 5) have patterns of flexibility, which vary slightly from one country to another but these categories appear less flexible compared to ISCO 1 and 6 and more flexible than the other groups. All other occupational categories seem rather non-flexible or have only low levels of flexibility (flexible on a few dimensions) in all countries. Among these ISCO 2 (professionals), ISCO 7 and 8 (manual workers) groups appear flexibilized on more dimensions of analysis than the ISCO 3 and 4 groups. A synthesis of the patterns of flexibility is presented in the table below (Table 11).

ISCO 1 group of managerial occupations is the most flexibilized in all seven countries. In the Western as well as in the Central and South-East European countries, the flexibility of ISCO 1 group is associated with power of decision, high incomes and satisfaction towards work. ISCO 1 type of flexibility is also associated with time-

poverty and high tension between work and family (Figure 9). In all studied countries significantly larger shares of ISCO 1 groups (together with ISCO 2 groups) declared that in the last three months they often had to take work home to finish and their work made it difficult for them to do some household tasks or to fulfil their responsibilities towards family or vice versa.

In contrast, flexibility in ISCO 9 and ISCO 6 is specific to the Accession Countries and it is associated with informality and with poverty. With or without power of decision, these two types of flexibilization are rather forced and do not represent sources of satisfaction. Agricultural and unskilled workers are the occupational groups most similar to Beck's working poor. On the other hand, these types of work flexibility do not result in tensions between work and family (Figure 9). Consequently, ISCO 6 and ISCO 9 are in all countries studied are over-represented among those that never took work home in the last three months and their work never made it difficult for them to do some household tasks or to fulfil their family responsibilities.

Figure 9. Work and family conflict by ISCO group and by country

Note: Tension between work and family is estimated with a factor score built with a factor analysis (PC component extraction method, $KMO=0.877$, one factor that explains 95% of the total variance) based on four variables (scales: 0 never, 1 rarely, 2 sometimes, 3 often and 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.

Negative values indicate no tension between work and family (most answers to the four questions included are never), while the higher the value of the factor score, the stronger the tension between work and family.

The significance of the difference between the occupational groups was tested with one-way analysis of variance, using Tukey's-b post hoc multiple comparisons test. In all countries differences between ISCO groups are significant for $p=0.000$. The significance of the difference between countries for each occupational group was tested in a similar way and $p=0.000$ for ISCO 2, 3 and 6, $p=0.001$ for ISCO 5, 7 and 8, $p=0.016$ for ISCO 1. Differences between countries are not significant for ISCO 4 and ISCO 9.

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

Table 11. Dominant patterns of flexibility

	ISCO 1 Managerial oc- cupations	ISCO 2, ISCO 3 and 4 Professional and clerical occupations	ISCO 5 Service workers	ISCO 6 Agriculture and fishery workers	ISCO 7 and 8 Manual workers	ISCO 9 Elementary oc- cupations
Country	Highly flexible in all seven countries	ISCO 2 flexible on a few dimensions in all countries	Flexible in the Central and South-Eastern countries	Highly flexible in the Central and South-Eastern countries	Flexible on a few dimensions in all seven countries	Flexible in the Central and South-Eastern countries
Type of contract	Self-employment	Permanent work contract Full-time employment NL: higher part-time employment	Flexible forms of work contract, informal in HU and RO and self-employment BG, RO and HU	Self-employment Informal	Permanent contract Full-time employment	Informal work Flexible forms of work contract, in the Western countries part time employment
Portfolio	Combination with self-employment	Low combination	Low combination	Small scale agriculture	Low combination	Larger palette of additional activities
Time of work	Long hours, varying hours, irregular schedule and flexitime, work in the evenings and during weekends, self-decision, satisfaction	Normal hours not varying; regular schedules, overtime only ISCO 2 in Western countries, employer decides, satisfaction	From short to long hours, varying in SW and SI. Only in Central and South-Eastern countries shifts and irregular schedule, overtime during weekends	Long hours, varying hours, irregular schedule, self-decision, dissatisfaction	Normal or longer hours not varying, regular schedules, willing to work the same number of hours, employer's decision, satisfaction ISCO 8: shifts and work at night	Shorter hours (except RO), flexible schedules, willing to work more, employer's decision, less satisfaction
Place of work	At home or combined at home and elsewhere by choice	ISCO 2: At home or combined at home and elsewhere by choice	Nothing specific	At home or combined at home and elsewhere because "could not find another job"	Work in the city they live in, commuting, always changing	The least flexible
Civil labour	In SW, SI and BG more participation in voluntary work	ISCO 2: In SW, SI and BG more participation in voluntary work	Nothing specific	More involved in voluntary work only in RO	Nothing specific	Nothing specific
Earnings	High earnings	Medium and high earnings	Medium earnings	Low earnings	Medium earnings	Low, middle-low
General satisfaction with the main activity	Satisfaction	Satisfaction	Satisfaction	The least satisfied	Satisfaction	Less satisfied
Work-family relation	High tension	ISCO 2: high tension	Low tension	No tension	Low tension	No tension

Source: HWF Survey 2001 – Unified international data collection

4. CONCLUSION

The dominant patterns of work flexibility that we identified validate the hypotheses set out at the beginning of the paper. In all seven countries the managerial occupations represent the most flexible occupational group, at the same time more affluent, with more control over their work conditions or in other words they are 'architects of their own fortune'. However, these groups are also characterized by time-poverty and high conflict between work and family. At the other extreme, in the Central and South-Eastern European countries studied, agricultural workers (ISCO 6) and unskilled workers (ISCO 9) are also flexible, but in a precarious way, in which flexibility is correlated with informality and poverty. They have time in abundance and therefore they do not perceive work to be in conflict with family responsibilities.

These findings are concordant with Beck's view. Nevertheless, according to our data Beck's view seems more valid for the Accession Countries than for the developed Western ones.

Transition to the 'post-work society' (Beck, 2000) is accompanied in the Dutch and Sweden cases by 'flexibilization' policies and by 'family friendly' policies (Wallace, 2002 a and 2002 b), which combine in an intended political project of development, aiming to manage the risks of labour flexibility and to turn the shortage of work into time prosperity for people. It might be only partially successful, however it reflects a much

greater political will in this sense than is the case in the Central and South-East accession countries in which both the academia and the political decision-makers pay considerable less attention to flexibilization issue, being focused on economic reforms. Consequently, taking into consideration the specific occupational structure of employment in the two Western countries studied (the Netherlands and Sweden) these are dominated by non-precarious flexibility, the largest share of employment falling into either the 'flexible' category at the top of the skills ladder or in the non-flexible (standard) categories. In contrast, in the Accession Countries, the lack of 'flexibilization' as a political project does not eliminate the danger. Former socialist labour markets, particularly those organized as standard-work-for-everyone (like Romania), in their transition to the market economy do not follow the Dutch or Swedish models. Instead they turn into work-poor and work-deregulated societies in which more and more people have lost their former jobs in socialist enterprises and start working *a' la bresillienne*. Consequently, taking also into consideration the occupational structure of employment, flexibility is predominantly spontaneous, the risks fall almost entirely on the individuals, and it affects to a larger extent those at the bottom of the skills ladders, the working poor group being significantly better represented in these countries, particularly in Romania.

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