



FAMNET
Scientific Report

September 2007 – August 2008

Coordinator
Chiara Saraceno

Index

Introduction	p. 3
Papers presented at EQUALSOC Conferences	p. 4
Thematic Group Reports	
Children and Time Use in European Families (CTUEF)	p. 6
Intergenerational relationships in family and society	p. 12
The Division of Household Labour: A European Comparison	p. 27
Reconciling Work and Family Life Research Group	p. 31
Unstable Careers and Family Formation in Different Institutional Contexts	p. 37
Child care responsibilities and continuing training participation in Europe: A cross-national comparative study	p. 45
Measuring social networks	p. 49

Introduction

This document reports on the activities of the FAMNET research group in the third year. The activities have been of two kinds: workshops of the whole group with presentation of papers and specific thematic projects involving smaller groups.

In this third year of activity, work has focused within the thematic groups, some of which have reached a publication stage, while others have just started. Members of FAMNET have presented papers at the semiplenary sessions of the April 2008 EQUALSOC Berlin conference, where also a FAMNET session was held.

In the following the papers presented in this occasion will be listed. The specific reports of the thematic subgroups will follow. These include both groups exclusively based in Famnet and cross-thematic ones. They are:

FAMNET only

- 1) *Children and Time Use in European Families (CTUEF)* : in the third year
- 2) *Intergenerational relationships in the family and society*: in the third year
- 3) *The division of household labour. A European comparison* : in the second year

FAMNET/EMPLOY

- 3) *Reconciling work and family life*: in the third year
- 4) *Unstable careers and family formation in different institutional contexts*: in the third year
- 5) *Childcare responsibilities and continuing training participation in Europe*: in the second year

FAMNET/SOCCULT

- 6) *Measuring social networks* in the second year

Relevant publications based on EQUALSOC supported work will be mentioned within each thematic group report.

Papers presented at EQUALSOC Conferences

Papers presented at the FAMNET session at the EQUALSOC mid-term conference:

- *The private-public mix in childcare. How do policies help parents to cope?* J. Ghysels, K. Rombaut, G. Verbist, E. Van Vlasselaer
- *The changing South European Family.* M. Naldini, T. Jurado

Papers presented by FAMNET members to the semi-plenary sessions at the EQUALSOC mid-term conference

- *The golden age of gender equality? A cross-national analysis on couples' allocation of homework in Post-industrial societies.* Mariajose Gonzalez, Manuela Naldini
- *Combining marriage and children with paid work: changes across cohorts in Italy and Great Britain.* Cristina Solera
- *Work Timing of Parents in Europe: a comparison of Dutch, Flemish and Italian parents.* Renzo Carriero, Joris Ghysels, Chris Vanklaveren
- *Family policy institutions and reconciliation of work and family in Europe.* Monika Mischke
- *Does cohabitation provide weaker intergenerational bonds than marriage? A comparison between Italy and the United Kingdom.* Tiziana Nazio, Chiara Saraceno
- *Changing Impact of Divorce – Parental Divorce and Adult Psychological Well-Being in Sweden 1968-2000.* Michael Gähler, Anna Garriga
- *Living with your adult children: solution or cover-up of poverty? Household formation and poverty among the elderly in EU countries.* Karel van den Bosch
- *The intergenerational transmission of home ownership and the reproduction of the familialistic welfare regime.* Teresio Poggio
- *Men's involvement in childcare and fertility decisions: A European comparison,* Pau Baizan
- *Who Benefits from Parental Leaves in Spain? A Life Course Analysis of the Baby-boom Cohort.* Irene Lapuerta, Pau Baizan, Mariajose Gonzalez
- *An analysis of the effect of women's employment on first births in Germany.* Jette Schroeder, Josef Brüderl
- *The Effects of a Non-standard Child on Parental Labour Supply when the Infant is Very Young.* Cecile Wetzels

Thematic Groups Reports

Children and Time Use in European Families (CTUEF)

Coordinators: Joris Ghysels and Cecile Wetzels

Aim of the project

This research project aims at insights regarding the effect of (early) parental employment and time use of both parents on child wellbeing.

Furthermore, it provides first indicators to analyze the effects of different welfare states in Europe and the according social policies on the welfare of children.

The interdisciplinary teams (sociologists/economists) currently involved will actively engage in looking for an extension of the country coverage of the group. This depends in the first place on latent interests residing in other EQUALSOC partners (e.g. ESRI and/or Esping-Andersen's link with Danish research on time use and child outcomes).

The CTUEF project comprises two research tracks: one on the coordination of parental time use and another on child outcomes.

The aim of the *time coordination analysis* is to replicate the methodology elaborated by Van Klaveren on Belgian (Flemish) and Italian data. More specifically three questions were answered:

1. How is work time overlap influenced by certain household and personal characteristics?
2. Can partners coordinate their working schedules such that work times fit their 'personal' situation better or is the observed work time overlap simply the result of having certain characteristics or not?
3. If partners coordinate their work schedules, then which partners (de-) synchronize their work times more (i.e. which partners have more work time overlap as a result of work time adjustment)?

In the period starting in March 2007 the earlier analyses of parental time allocation will be linked to the use of non-parental care. More specifically, it will be investigated if the parental ability to coordinate work schedules is used by parents as a substitute for childcare services. If so, this substitution will be characterised in detail. Preliminary results on Flemish families show, for example, that 18% of families with children younger than 16 do not use childcare services but rely entirely on the coordination of the working time of both parents.

Furthermore, a more explicit analysis of policy measures regarding the time allocation of parents is also within the scope of this project (working time flexibility, parental leave schemes, support for childcare services, actual supply of places in childcare, ...). It relies on the cross-national and regional variation in the data.

The aim of the analysis of child outcomes in a cross country European perspective focuses on definitions of child outcomes (indicators of child outcomes by age group) and on the relation between child outcomes and the parental home situation in Western societies.

There are two reasons why it would be important to choose for a cross country comparative European perspective. Firstly, since child care availability (and affordability) differs among countries and actually in most countries children do not have an individual right to a child care space, children may become a vulnerable group in society after the pregnancy and parental leave ends. These leave arrangements differ across countries. Secondly, the well-being of young infants is simply never researched in connection with parental time use, perhaps since there are no cognitive measures at hand, and therefore we do not know whether children's wellbeing is positively or negatively affected by parental time use and social policies when the infant is young.

The focus on cross-country comparative analysis on child outcomes limits the age group of the children we may include in our research and the precise child outcome that is available in the nationally collected data on parents and children, but it gives opportunities to link social policies and labor markets to children's outcomes, and compare data sets that have not been used for cross country comparative purposes. It leads us to focus on child outcomes that are little researched before (such as non-cognitive measures).

The availability of suitable cross country comparable micro data on both parents and children turned out to be extremely limited. During the EQUALSOC year 2006-2007 we provided one of the first comparative descriptions of data sources and literature including the measurement of children's characteristics and the time-use within households within the European context and the US (See State of the Art report). It turned out that similar measurement of child characteristics is not readily available in household data sets, also not for children in the same age groups. Moreover, also in the time use data used by Chris van Klaveren (SEO) and in the data used by Renzo Carriero (TURIN) there is no information on child characteristics. And there is also no other data source giving this information in Italy.

As a result, we had to work with data sources that were in the process of collection (data on Flanders) and the relatively unexplored data in the US that had to be merged with the more well-known US household data (PSID) and with newly collected data in the Netherlands in 2003-2004 on public health and link these data to household information. We learned about the Belgian data collection (CSP) that we will use in the work proposed for 2007-2008.

Working with the relatively new data sets turned out to be rather time consuming but offers potentially new results. The choice of CDS linked with PSID gives opportunities to compare the US and the Dutch data on public health. In many ways, the most common used US data set, NLSY, is better because it is more "longitudinal" than the PSID-CDS so you can look at kids over time. But the PSID-CDS has time diaries and much more detailed information on child outcomes than the NLSY. We could not find as much information on child health problems at birth in the NLSY, and in our comparison with the Netherlands the longer period of observation cannot be used yet. Furthermore, the CDS data (US data) are far less researched than the NLSY, and they did not become publicly available immediately after collection. (Although the US data were collected earlier the PSID-CDS the 1997 data was only made publicly available in 1999 and the 2000 in 2000/2001).

The research on child outcomes aims at scientific contributions in two main projects:

1) One project focuses on young infants' outcomes and their parents' parental work in the US and in the Netherlands, which will be extended to Flanders (Belgium). The research on this particular age of the child is related to the Dutch data source which has information on children who are one year or younger.

The age of the young infant is interesting from the perspective of change in time use arrangements, since mothers in the US and in The Netherlands have to start work for pay when the baby is 3 months old. Two main differences between the Netherlands and the US as regards the decision to participate in paid work is 1) that in the Netherlands fathers are more likely nowadays to reduced work hours to care for their baby, whereas in the US this is not the case. 2) Secondly the pregnancy leave around the birth of the child in total 16 weeks in the Netherlands is paid 100% of earnings, whereas in the US this is not. In a next step we wish to analyze whether difference healthcare insurance systems in the US and the Netherlands possibly affects the choice of (full-time) paid work when children need medical care (if health insurance is linked to paid work).

Our review of child outcomes for young infants has resulted in analyzing health related factors of children (weight, illness, hospital treatments and disability).

During the first year, it was possible to prepare datasets of two countries and have precise information on both the parental time use and the children's outcomes such as weight, increase in weight, excessive crying behavior, disability, and hospital treatments but also diseases that would need additional care time compared to standard children

We started to analyze the comparable household panel data in the US and the Netherlands to describe the changes in parental time use around the birth of children and connect this to different child characteristics such as sex of the child and definitions of non-standard children as regards health problems and serious types of disabled children. Three key questions have been selected taking account of the gender of the parent for further analyses:

- (1) Do parents decide on their paid work arrangements after the birth of the child independently of child characteristics?
- (2) How do both parents arrange for their paid work arrangements as compared to the before birth situation across countries?
- (3) Do children appear to have a higher level of well-being when parents share the parental paid work?

In a later stage we will explore the following question:

- (4) To what extent does the quality of early parenting influence children's later cognitive outcomes?

To analyze these questions time was invested to make the US data comparable to the Dutch data, which implied to connect waves from the panel data on individual and household level and connect this information to the data collected on children in the US, and to connect public health data on pregnant women and their partner to health data collected at birth of the child and during the child's first year. Since we wished to analyze the change in time-use of both parents before compared to after child birth we had to find the father information as well.

To analyse questions 1-3 we had to extend the files created in January 2007 in order:

1) to find some measure of income or wage and to make it comparable. A possibility that we considered was to use a crude measure that sets the relative poverty level of each respective country (i.e. standard deviations above or below the country specific poverty level);

2) to explore the use of different definitions for disability: care time intensive and financially demanding;

3) to select the appropriate estimation procedure. We started with a replication as closely as possible of the existing studies on the US, using Powers' estimation procedure as described in the following table. ¹

Elizabeth Power's study on children's health and mother's employment: source and measures

SIPP panel US	*11,141 families without disabilities *btwn 303-406 families with disabilities depending on definition *children of all ages	3 measures: age, age sq, some emphasize physical while others learning disabilities for # of kids in age categories), welfare participation, state employment rate	education, race, health, age of youngest child, number of kids (plus dummies for # of kids in age categories), welfare participation, state employment rate	*Static work (cross sectional): probit, tobit and conditional OLS *Dynamic (transition into work over 1 & 2 year span): OLS of changes in hours; Pro- bit of positive change in hours, begin work * Separate analysis by marital status	*Static Model: negative effect and always larger for single moms (magnitude of effect = effect of having a young child) *Dynamic: stronger effect for single moms but mostly insignifi- cant *Definition of disability that effects children's ability to do schoolwork seems to have the most significant effect
------------------	---	---	--	---	--

Thereafter, we estimated more complicated models and now we are dealing with the issue of selection. Amy Hsin set up a meeting with Moshe Buchinsky, who chaired the session on child disability and work at the 2005 PAA.

A paper has been submitted for publication to a refereed journal.

Furthermore, in an extension of this project (and paper) we aimed at more countries in the cross country analyses starting with Belgium and possibly Denmark from September 2007 onwards.

(II) The second project within the child outcome research focuses on the Belgium data and explore the outcomes of older children in comparison to Denmark possibly Sweden and the US.

¹ Powers, Elizabeth T. 2003. "Children's Health and Maternal Work Activity: Estimates under Alternative Disability." *Journal of Human Resources* 38(3):522-556.

Report on Activities

Between September 2007 and August 2008 we held few meetings and mainly kept in contact through e-mails. As a result of this the time coordination analysis of Chris Van Klaveren was further tested on Italian and Flemish data (which brought about a long e-mail discussion about further refinements of the procedures). Moreover, ideas were exchanged about joint analyses of the well-being of children and a comparative analysis of Dutch and US-data is elaborated.

In the past project period, the actual meetings were: the Mid-Term Conference of EQUALSOC in Berlin (April 2008) and a meeting parallel to the ESPE-conference in London (June 2008).

Output

(1) The time coordination analysis

In a first move to produce comparable indicators, the Antwerp and Turin team looked into the synchronisation of working time within couples. The datasets for Flanders and Italy contain a weekly work schedule for every parent resident in the household. In the week schedule respondents were asked to indicate the exact timing of every employment episode over a period of seven days. Matching the schedules of partners thus enables a perfect view of the overlap in job time and/or the relative lack of overlap. Results on the co-ordination of parental employment in Italy, Flanders and the Netherlands were presented at the Barcelona conference of EQUALSOC (September 2006) and the Berlin FAMNET-workshop (January 2007). These results included descriptive analyses of working time overlap (WTO) and its determinants.

At the Berlin workshop, discussions were intensified and a clear plan was drawn for a joint paper to be finalised by the summer of 2007. However, the actual writing of the paper took more time than planned and a final version was only ready by early 2008, after which it was submitted to the European Sociological Review (ESR). In May 2008 a favourable first appraisal was given by three referees of the ESR and by July 2008 a revised version of the paper was elaborated and submitted.

Furthermore, the paper was presented at the Berlin conference of EQUALSOC in April 2008:
Work Timing of Parents in Europe: a comparison of Dutch, Flemish and Italian parents, Renzo Carriero, Joris Ghysels, Chris Vanklaveren

Also presented at the Mid-Term Conference were the preliminary results of work on the supply of childcare:

The private-public mix in childcare. How do policies help parents to cope?
J. Ghysels, K. Rombaut, G. Verbist, E. Van Vlasselaer

This paper provides supportive evidence for the second phase of CTUEF, in which childcare considerations are taken into account more explicitly (see aims of the project). Beginning July 2008, Chris Van Klaveren and Joris Ghysels have started preparing an analysis of the division of childcare between parents and others and its influence on the scheduling of parental employment efforts.

(2) The child outcome analysis

A draft paper by Amy Hsin (UPF) and Cecile Wetzels (AIAS) was presented in Berlin January 25, "The effect of child disability and mother's return to work after childbirth: a comparative analysis of the United States and the Netherlands will be available at the end of October 2007. The paper analyzes the effects of parental paid work around the birth of a child for "standard infants" and "non standard" children. The question is whether parents will adjust their time use in paid work differently in the Netherlands and the US when the child is non-standard as regards time needed for care and financial resources. The paper required more work since the US data show a considerable number of missing on education. Furthermore, the comparability of the data and the modeling required detailed study. At the Berlin workshop, discussions were intensified and a clear plan was drawn for a joint paper to be finalised by the summer of 2007. The paper will be circulated between the team members and other EQUALSOC groups and within research groups on demography, child development, gender and the labour market, child care in Europe and the US. Furthermore, the final paper will be distributed using IZA Bonn discussion paper series, and other distribution channels will be explored.

Over the most recent project period, the child outcome strand of the CTUEF-project suffered from the loss of several of its members. Evelien Van Vlasselaer (Antwerp) left academia and Amy Hsin (Barcelona) was not able to co-operate in EQUALSOC-activities anymore. Moreover, we were not able to motivate new members to join in the team. In the end Harold Munk of SFI (Denmark) and Estonian colleagues could not manage to spend time on the CTUEF-project. This is partly due to the lack of research funding and the particular employment situation of the persons involved, but is also to be linked to the lack of comparable data on child outcomes. Consequently, the output of the child outcome strand relies heavily on the analysis of national datasets.

Paper presentation:

The Effects of a Non-standard Child on Parental Labour Supply when the Infant is Very Young. by Cecile Wetzels at the EQUALSOC Midterm Conference

Publications:

Wetzels, Cecile (2008) *First born in Amsterdam: the changing mother-child setting* in Leira, Arnlaug and Saraceno, Chiara (editors) *Childhood: changing contexts* (Comparative Social Research, volume 25), Emerald, pp 193-238.

Belloni, Carmen, Carriero, Renzo, *Childhood: A Homogeneous Generational Group?* in Leira, Arnlaug and Saraceno, Chiara (editors) *Childhood: changing contexts* (Comparative Social Research, volume 25), Emerald, pp. 293-324.

Ghysels J. and Van Vlasselaer E. (forthcoming) *Child well-being in Flanders: a multi-dimensional account* in *Social Indicators Research* already published through 'OnlineFirst' in December 2007

Intergenerational relationships in family and society

Coordinator: Chiara Saraceno

Participants: Agnes Blome (WZB), Wolfgang Keck (WZB), Kairi Kasearu (Tartu), Teresio Poggio (University of Trento), Sebastia Sarasa (UPF – Barcelona), Marco Albertini (UPF, Barcelona), Sunnee Bilingsley (UPF – Barcelona), Tiziana Nazio (Nuffield College, Oxford) Claudine Attias-Donfut (associate expert), Matthijs Kalmin (associate expert)

The aim of this project was to analyze the working of intergenerational relationships in aging families and welfare societies. In particular, on the basis of existing empirical data sets, it aimed at analyzing on the one hand whether different welfare regimes and modes of family formation had an impact on intergenerational relations, on the other hand, the impact of intergenerational relations on the reproduction of social inequalities.

The overall work has focused on five themes:

- a) patterns of intergenerational solidarity in the context of diversified welfare regimes;
- b) the impact of new family forms and of marital instability on intergenerational relationships;
- c) the three generational kin-networks: grandparenthood and grand-childhood;
- d) the intergenerational transmission of inequality;
- e) intergenerational relationships among migrants.

During the second year, the work of the group has been mainly focused on preparing the chapters of book edited by C. Saraceno, *Families, ageing and social policy. Intergenerational solidarity in European welfare states*, Edward Elgar, 2008. This book contains some of the, thoroughly revised, papers presented at a conference of the group where also other relevant scholars in the field participated. The book, therefore, represents the final deliverable of the group. The introduction to that book may be read as a synthesis of the results of the joint work.

Introduction to C. Saraceno (ed.) *Families, ageing and social policy. Intergenerational solidarity in European welfare states*, Edward Elgar, 2008.

Premise

Intergenerational relations in society and in families are at the core of both continuity and change in the sense that successive generations and cohorts enter social and family systems that have been shaped by preceding generations, and then in their turn reshape them. Intergenerational relations in families are a crucial vehicle for the reproduction of norms and social values. They are also a crucial vehicle for the reproduction of social stratification. Thus, intergenerational relationships should be an important focus of sociological analysis, bridging the micro level of family interactions with the meso and macro levels of social institutions and change.

Intergenerational relationships in families have gained the attention of European sociology research only relatively recently, notwithstanding pioneering studies, such as those of Willmott and Young (1964) in the UK and Agnes Pitrou (1977) in France, that showed the importance of kinship ties. Interest in intergenerational relationships as such developed earlier and more systematically in the US, where the focus on the experience of the elderly offered a critical and contrasting view of the family to that shaped by the Parsonsian vision of the isolated nuclear family (e.g., Sussman and Burchinal 1962). As early as 1993, Bengtson and Achenbaum's important compiled volume mapped out some of the most salient issues posed by ageing societies with regard to intergenerational relations in families and societies.

For the past two decades, European research has been catching up, however, and from a very early stage has adopted a comparative perspective. This has been accompanied by the development of comparative databases such as the EU-funded OASIS, SHARE and KASS programmes, and the Gender and Generation programme financed by the UNECE. In fact, the existence within Europe of both a variety of longstanding "kinship regimes" (see Reher 1998) and of distinctive welfare regimes raises the issue as to how these are affected by population and kinship ageing and, vice versa, how different kinship regimes and types of welfare state shape the cultural, normative and practical context in which intergenerational relationships take place. Welfare states can, in fact, be understood in part as a kind of social contract between social generations that runs parallel to the intergenerational contracts within families and kin. Actually, welfare state policies are to a large degree not only policies of age and of obligations between social generations, e.g. through the pension and the school systems. They are also forms of regulating obligations within family generations, through measures concerning maternity and parental leaves, child benefits, access to education, to social assistance and social care, and through legal definitions of "family obligation" (on this last aspect see, e.g., Millar and Warman 1996). They therefore frame the context in which intergenerational relations are embedded. Conversely, country-specific cultural expectations concerning intergenerational obligations within families may act as an incentive or, on the contrary, a disincentive to the development of specific forms of welfare arrangements – or indeed may act as a buffer when these are lacking. Both of these kinds of contracts – the social and the family – differ across European countries.

The link between (both emotional and practical) intergenerational contracts in the family and in society is bi-univocal and is also strongly embedded in ideas of family and conceptions of

citizenship. These influence each other reciprocally and are far from static. Moreover, the two forces— in addition to globalisation and changing balances in world economies – that have impacted most on welfare states and specifically on the conditions of their implicit (social) intergenerational contracts, namely population ageing and the increase in women’s labour force participation, also impact on family intergenerational contracts. Women’s labour force participation, in fact, in affecting the implicit gender contract that supports both the social division of labour between families and society and the family division of labour between earning and caring, has an impact on fertility and on the availability of family care-givers at a time when increased life expectancy is also bringing about an increase in the number of frail elderly people requiring care. And population ageing not only affects the age structure and the interaction of age groups within societies, but also reshapes relations and generational positions within families and kin, rendering the intergenerational structure of families more complex: more generations are living for longer periods within the same time span and more generational roles are available over the life course and even simultaneously (in the sense that one can simultaneously be, e.g., a daughter, a mother and a grandmother); each generational role is lasting longer than ever before. At the same time, something similar to what happens to the age structure of populations is also occurring in the generational structure of families and kinship networks. Fewer people now occupy the same generational positions at the bottom, particularly those of young child, young parent, young sibling or cousin. Conversely, more people than ever before occupy the top generational positions, particularly that of grandparent. In 1900, the number of children in Western Europe aged 0 to 14 was about five times higher than the number of persons aged 60 and over. In 2000, there were over 1.5 times more elderly people than children (European Data Service 2007; Flora et al. 1987). A child is likely to grow up having more grandparents than siblings and cousins, while his/her grandparents’ siblings may still all be alive.

Overall, vertical, intergenerational relations are becoming more numerous than horizontal ones. Whether they are also becoming more important is open to research and discussion and is partly the subject matter of this book. Certainly, this important change in the human resources context of family relationships should not be overlooked when analysing changes in the family. As a matter of fact, it is a change which is just as important, but is even more generalised, than the phenomena that are usually focused on when looking at changes in family patterns: marital instability, cohabitation replacing marriage, mothers’ labour force participation. At the same time, this last group of changes interacts with the lengthening and complexification of intergenerational relations. Separation and divorce may strengthen relationships with one parent and her family line, but weaken relationships with the other parent and his family line. Re-partnering by parents may add another set of intergenerational relationships as well as half-siblings and step-siblings. Cohabitation instead of marriage may also weaken intergenerational ties, given that cohabitation is generally believed to be at higher risk of breakdown than marriage.

This verticalisation of family ties may be a crucial asset in ageing societies as a means of developing social cohesion and easing social change. It may also represent a counterbalancing element in what many analysts define as the issue of intergenerational (in-)equity in public patterns of redistribution. The jury is still out in the debate on intergenerational accounting at the societal and specifically welfare-state level (for contrasting evaluations, see, e.g., Binstock and Guadagno 2001; Brady 2004; Esping-Andersen and Sarasa 2002; Walker 1993). But this debate concerns only the public intergenerational contract, ignoring the private one that occurs between generations in families. As many studies – including those in this volume – show, redistribution of income and services within families follows a quite different pattern to

that which observers assume occurs through the public contract – sometime compensating, sometime integrating it. Analysing intergenerational relations in families, therefore, helps to explain why intergenerational conflict – although it is the object of many political and economic debates – does not mobilise social generations and age groups as such at the societal level, not even in countries, such as Italy and the southern European countries in general (the so-called pensioners’ welfare states; see, e.g., Ferrera 1996), where redistribution is more evidently than elsewhere heavily skewed towards the older cohorts. What Sarah Arber and Claudine Attias-Donfut (2000) have called “the myth of generational conflict” (also see Achenbaum 2004; Alber and Kohler 2004) can be explained by the existence of a private contract between generations within families. Of course, balances between public and private contracts, and therefore also patterns of interdependence between generations within families, differ across countries, and this mainly depends on the functioning of the public contract.

The strength and relevance of intergenerational, vertical ties for individuals’ quality of life and life opportunities for long life spans and at different stages of the life course may however crystallise social inequalities across generations (for a discussion see Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2000b, Künemund et al. 2005). The stronger vertical ties may also introduce new forms of social inequality. Young and adult children belonging to poor families have a smaller family capital to count on when entering into adulthood; working mothers of young children with no mother or mother-in-law available to help out may find it more difficult than those who do have such support to manage the daily act of balancing work and family obligations. Childless, frail elderly people, or frail elderly people whose children have migrated and live far away or with whom they do not have a good relationship, may risk social isolation. Divorce may rupture more than a couple’s relationship – its consequences may also spread to the generations who were not yet born when the divorce occurred. These differences and inequalities are idiosyncratic to some degree and depend on the biography of each individual and each family. They are, however, also partly socially shaped. In countries where the family is the only or is the main resource a young person can count on when entering into adulthood or that an elderly person can depend on when he/she becomes frail, the impact on social inequality and on the adequacy of support may be greater than in societies where individual entitlement to support is less familialised. Regulations that in cases of break-ups favour one parent (usually the mother) over the other reinforce the risk – already present in the gender division of parenting labour – of weakening the father-child relationship well into adulthood.

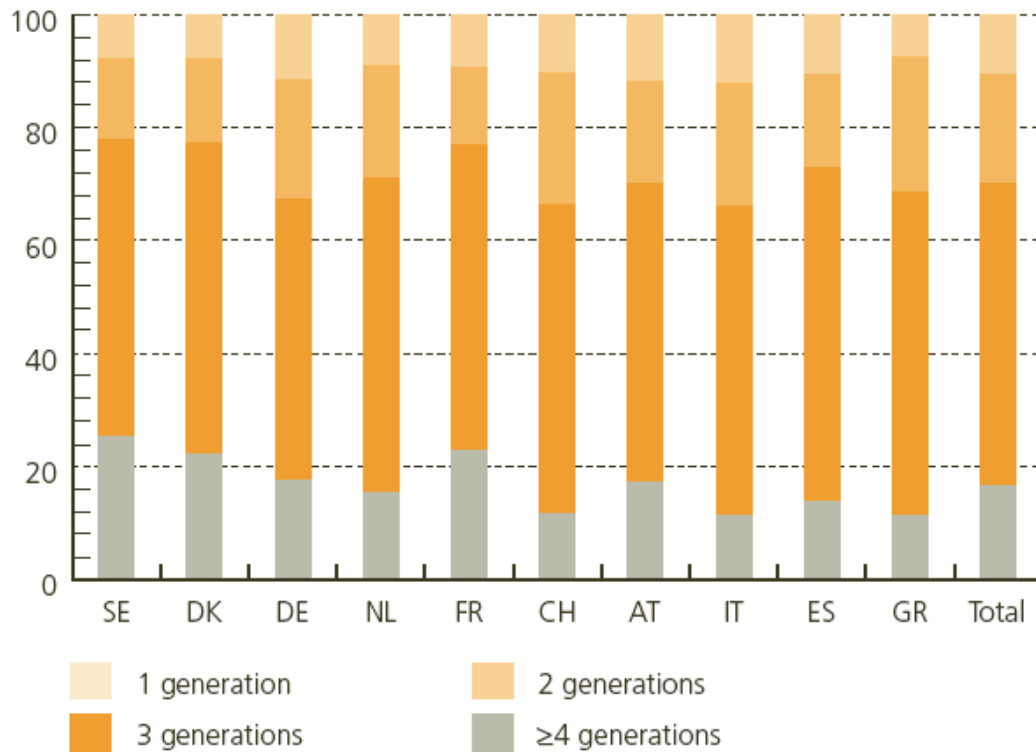
In the following pages, I will briefly discuss these different issues, many of which are specifically addressed in the various chapters.

Tall and lean: multigenerational family patterns

Since the early 1990s, various authors have used the metaphor of the “beanpole” family to point out that, due to the combination of rising life expectancy and low fertility, kinship networks in developed countries are becoming “tall and lean”. Notwithstanding, in fact, the increasing nuclearisation of households and even the growth in one-person households, families, in the sense of close kinship irrespective of cohabitation, have become increasingly complex along generational lines. The divergent trends of nuclearisation of households and complexification of families and kin are made more visible by increasing life expectancy. Bertram (2000) has offered an apt definition of this contemporary multigenerational family as a “multigenerational-multilocal” family.

The timing and intensity of the phenomenon of the verticalisation and slimming of kinship differ substantially, however, across countries in the developed world, because they depend on the interplay between various factors, which in turn have a different history and timing in each country (Coleman 2005): when and to what degree life expectancy started to increase; when and to what degree, at what speed and for how long patterns of fertility started to decrease; age at marriage and age at first birth, and so forth. Italy, in this perspective, has long been considered a special case because its fertility rate started to drop later than in most Western developed countries, but then at a much faster rate and to unprecedented low levels. The ageing and slimming of the Italian kinship structure, therefore, has been more evident and drastic than elsewhere. However, given the historically comparatively high marriage age and age on the birth of one's first child in this country, the chances of becoming a great-grandmother (and even more so a great-grandfather), therefore of being part of a four-generation family, are lower than, for instance, in Sweden. The Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) – a study on the over-50s (Börsch-Supan et al. 2005) – found a quite varied distribution of three- and four-generation families in 11 European countries, as shown in Fig. 1 and as it is more fully discussed by Gunhild Hagestad in her chapter. They are more common in Scandinavia and France than in Italy, Greece or Germany. Meaningful cross-country differences had also been found previously in an analysis of cross-sectional data from the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) covering five European countries (Austria, West Germany, the UK, Hungary and Italy) and the US and Australia: an individual adult was more likely to have both a surviving child and a surviving parent in the US than in any of the five European countries considered (Farkas and Hogan 1995). This finding was later confirmed for the UK by Grundy (1999). A study of contemporary grandchildhood in Germany and Italy (Keck and Saraceno 2008), taking the perspective of the young generation, found that, although the chances of having a living grandparent are similar and fairly universal in the two countries both among young children and the under-35s in general, the number of living grandparents available to grandchildren is lower in Germany than in Italy due to the different impact the two World Wars had on men's chances of survival. Demographic processes linked to fertility and mortality are, in fact, not all that is responsible for the changes in the shape and size of intergenerational chains: wars and migration flows in the past and present centuries are also powerful causes of change.

Fig. 1 Multigenerational families in 11 European Countries



Source: Börsch-Supan et al. (2005)

Two further reflections are evoked by these findings. In the first place, the incidence of multigenerational families, and the size of each generation within them, may differ depending on the generation that it is taken as the focal one (Hagestad 2006). The incidence of multigenerational families may be higher when considering older people than when considering children. The families of older people, in fact, by definition contain only those who have survived to become, at least theoretically, grandparents or great-grandparents; the families of children also include children whose grandparents, and even more so great-grandparents, have died. In the second place, and for the same reason, even in ageing societies, families are not permanently three- and even less so four-generational. From both an individual and a family life-course perspective, the presence of three and, particularly, four generations occurs in specific phases of the individual and family life course. Most individuals and families experiment the three-generation phase one or two times over the life course (once when a child or a young family, once when old), and also for some length of time; a much smaller number of individuals and families experiment a short four-generation phase. But at any point in time, three-generation families account for less than half of all families, while and four- (or more) generation families account for only a very small percentage of all families. According to Farkas and Hogan's (1995) estimates for seven countries, the latter accounted for less than 3% of all families in the mid-1990s, considering the situation of all age groups and not only that of those who are well into mature or old age.

The real novelty, therefore, appears to be the semi-universality and duration of grandchildhood. Attias-Donfut and Segalen (2001) have suggestively defined the twentieth century as the *Siècle de grandparents*. Yet, we might also speak of the century in which grandchildhood has become a virtually universal role and a relatively long life stage, while the actual number

of grandchildren has shrunk drastically. More parents are living to become grandparents of fewer grandchildren. But this also means that, on the one hand, the majority of children have the possibility of growing up with all or most their grandparents alive; on the other hand, this is an experience that they share with few, if any, other children in their family network. In this perspective, it is somewhat puzzling that a large deal of research on intergenerational relationships in ageing societies and on kinships is still focused only on the parent-adult child relationship, overlooking the three-generational dimension, that is, what Gunhild Hagestad in her chapter in this book calls the book-ends generations. It is true that the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is strongly mediated by the middle generation of those who are both children of the former and parents of the latter. But it cannot be reduced to this mediation and should be analysed on its own. Furthermore, it cannot be reduced simply to the issue of grandparents caring for their grandchildren when they are little. The presence of grandparents in principle offers opportunities for transmission and sharing across a long time span. In societies where everything seems focused on the present, the presence of the elderly within families offers a longer time perspective to the young, while relationships with the young may offer the old the opportunity to keep in touch with social change.

An extended duration and combination of generational roles

One of the reasons why much research focuses on the two-generational relationship between adult children and their parents is that the duration of both the parental and the child role has lengthened substantially. In principle, this relationship may last for over 60 years. For these two generations one might speak of a process and experience of co-ageing, in so far as they spend many years during which they both are, and grow, old. All generational roles may be understood as veritable careers in Elder's (1985) definition, with their phases and turning points. But those of child and parent are the longest and therefore those that are more open to strong differentiation over the life course.

The prolongation of roles occurs in both generations, but its impact on the overall balance of emotional investments, feelings of loyalty and practical obligations is probably higher for the children than for the parents. As children and parents age, after a period in which there may be a lightening of the burden of intergenerational obligations for both generations, these obligations may later increase over a long period of time – longer for the children than it had been for parents. Middle-aged children of elderly parents may at the same time be parents of young adults who are starting their own families and grandparents of grandchildren. If their parents become dependent, adult children's emotional attachments, feelings of loyalty and perceived moral obligations along the generational line may enter some kind of tension, if not contradiction, at the very moment in which they are called upon to redefine the child's role into one more similar to a parental, caring role. This is not only a practical shift. It may also involve the breaking down of boundaries of intimacy that are deeply entrenched in intergenerational roles, and more generally may entail a symbolic realignment of memories and emotional biographies. While in the past the main turning points for a child included leaving the parental household and then becoming a parent, now there is this additional passage of becoming, to a greater or lesser degree, a semi-parental figure for one's own parents. The present cohort of 50-60 year-olds is the first to experience this transition as an almost normative passage in the life course.

This lengthening and transformation of generational roles de facto also becomes a learning environment for the younger generation, and the impact of this has not yet been studied. Children learn that families involve more than a two-generational relationship and in fact include a complex generational stratification that may span almost a century of relationships and –

sometimes contested – memories. These long chains of living generations may help bridge differences in experiences at the private and collective level caused by long intergenerational spacing. Since generations have a long “common time”, in fact, cultural changes do not happen only in one generation; they involve all co-living generations and are also mediated by communication between and interest in each other across generations. In this perspective, patterns of proximity between generations might offer an important – and differentiated – context for mutual socialisation across generations. Grandchildren living close to grandparents and interacting frequently with them may grow up in a somewhat different socialisation context than those who do not have grandparents, or have only very sporadic contact with them. And elderly people without grandchildren or grandnieces or -nephews may feel more estranged from the younger generation and cohorts.

On the other hand, through their parents’ experience, children see that the child role and generational position is seemingly a never-ending one. This experience interacts with their own as children in a historical period in which, for different reasons – lengthy education, growing labour market insecurity, overall delay in traversing all the passages that once marked entrance in adulthood – children remain dependent on their families for longer and delay setting up their own households, therefore also maintaining for longer periods the status of somewhat dependent child, in what has been called an extended, or post-, adolescence. How those who are now in the position of prolonged social (not fully autonomous) childhood – while also witnessing their parents’ experience of demographically long childhood – view their future in the continuation of the generational chain, and whether their experience will affect their decisions as to whether to have their own children or not, remains to be explored. Some data – such as cross-country differences in leaving the parental home and having one’s first child – however, suggest that where welfare-state arrangements lighten the burden of long family dependencies for the young, these are more willing to set up their own households and to enter the parental role than in countries where family dependencies are more exclusive and last longer.

Support and transfers between generations

A large share of the studies on intergenerational relations within families, including those in this volume, focus on patterns of solidarity and therefore on various forms of support. Support and solidarity, however, are far from being univocal concepts. In the so-called theory of intergenerational solidarity (see, e.g., Bengtson 2001; Bengtson and Roberts 1991), which has had an important influence in intergenerational studies, solidarity is a broad concept that has both emotional and cognitive dimensions. The chapter by Anja Steinbach and Johannes Kopp, focused on Germany, continues this rich tradition, exploring the different dimensions of intergenerational relations. Many authors, however, including many in this book, adopt a more circumscribed notion of support and distinguish between contacts and support, restricting the latter to practical (financial or other) help that is either given or received. The focus on solidarity and support, whatever the definition used, and even the conceptual limitation of a perspective that frames all intergenerational exchanges in the language of support, has the merit of documenting how intergenerational relations within families also maintain an important solidaristic role in increasingly individualised and welfare-state societies.

All studies indicate that financial transfers flow downwards from the older to the younger generations through inheritance, but also through gifts and *inter vivos* transfers (Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2000a, 2000b, Albertini, Kohli and Vogel 2007). This downward direction is also apparent in countries – such as the US and the UK – that do not have specific norms concern-

ing inheritance (Finch 2004; Kohli 1999, 2004). A prevalence of upward (from the middle generation) financial transfers is found only in countries with high levels of poverty among the elderly and weak pension systems that do not offer adequate universal coverage, or among social groups, particularly migrants from developing countries, in which the elderly have little access to resources of their own. The chapters by Claudine Attias-Donfut and François-Charles Wolff, Helen Baykara and Ulla Björnberg, and Hans Ekbrand on natives and immigrants in France, Germany and Sweden, respectively, illustrate this. Care/time transfers, by contrast, flow both downwards (from parents to children and grandchildren) and upwards (from mature adult children to frail elderly parents). For this reason, the middle generation, particularly in the case of women, is sometimes called the sandwich generation, caught between the dual demands of support (mostly care) coming from above and from below (e.g., Grundy and Henretta 2006). At the comparative level, the pattern seems to have a north-south gradient (e.g., Ogg and Renaut 2005), with more people providing support in the northern countries than in the southern ones. But the gradient is the opposite when frequency is considered, with many more helpers providing help regularly and frequently in the southern countries than in the northern ones. This finding confirms the criticism levied by some authors (see, e.g., Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2000a; Attias-Donfut et al. 2005; Knijn and Komter 2004; Kohli 1999; Künemund and Rein 1999) against the so-called crowding-out hypothesis, according to which generous welfare states crowd out private intergenerational solidarity. It is less clear whether the findings support the opposite hypothesis of “crowding in”, in so far in the more generous welfare states private intergenerational solidarity is more diffuse, but less intense. What emerges clearly is that where private intergenerational solidarity is more exclusive and more necessary, generations within families are more dependent on each other, which delays the financial autonomy of the young and even their ability to form their own families (Albertini 2007; Dalla Zuanna 2001; Saraceno 2004), but also renders the frail elderly heavily dependent on the care of their adult children/daughters (Sarasa and Mestres 2007).

The role played by intergenerational solidarity in addressing the needs of adult children is the focus of two chapters in this book. Martin Kohli and Marco Albertini, on the basis of SHARE data, analyse the impact of life “crises” (parenthood and loss of a partner) in children’s life on parental support in four countries characterized by different welfare and family arrangements. By considering the overall support “package” parents may provide to individual children, they find not only that type of need matters, but that mode, rather than intensity, of parental support change across countries. Teresio Poggio, focusing on access to housing, shows how the intergenerational reproduction of home ownership is a specific pattern of intergenerational interdependence in the Mediterranean welfare states, involving long term support expectations and exchanges between generations.

Three chapters in this book address specifically the crowding out/crowding in debate from different perspectives. Harald Künemund discusses critically the conceptual and theoretical assumptions behind the two opposing crowding out/crowding on hypotheses, the empirical evidence available in support of each of them, the research strategies employed so far and those which would be further necessary in order to fully test them. The other two chapters are based on the SHARE comparative data set. Sebastia Sarasa and Sunnee Billingsley focus on the interplay between social stratification, social norms, including gender norms, and welfare regime in affecting the amount of family care provided by adult children to their frail elderly parents. Wolfgang Keck analyzes whether recourse to forms of publicly provided care affects the relationship between the frail elderly and their adult children when the latter do not provide care. He finds that relationships are negatively affected not when there is provision by

services, but when there is provision by a sibling of a non caring child, suggesting that in this case there is the feeling that some norm of justice and fairness is broken.

The direction of transfers may be similar across countries and most social groups, but the reasons for giving may differ, depending on the norms and expectations governing both who, within a family, should give what, and who, within a family, deserves what kind of support (Finch and Mason 1993, Finch 2004, Kohli and Künemund 2003). The chapter by Ulla Björnberg and Hans Ekbrand on Sweden explores precisely the different moral logics guiding intergenerational support within various groups in that country. In the same vein, particularly in the case of care for frail elderly parents, studies have shown that normative values and feelings of affection and reciprocity, although mutually reinforcing, do not belong to the same logic nor act at the same level. Care might be provided out of a feeling of normative obligation even in cases where affection is lacking and individual relationships are bad (e.g., Walker 1993). A comparative study (Lowenstein and Daatland 2006) found that norms are more prescriptive in the southern European countries than in the northern ones. In the latter countries, intergenerational exchanges appear more open to negotiation. The relevance of (socially structured) normative values and their different weights in motivating behaviour once again indicate that intergenerational relationships are not shaped only by individual and family-level factors (e.g., the quality and the history of the relationship), but also by social determinants. This also helps to explain gender differences in the provision and receipt of support.

Intergenerational relations in the context of changing family forms

The debate around the crowding-in as opposed to the crowding-out hypothesis and the possible impact on the intergenerational transmission of inequality concerns the micro-macro link between private and public intergenerational contracts. But the private intergenerational contract may also be affected by changes at the micro level, for example in the patterns of family formation.

While increasing life expectancy offers the opportunity for unprecedented marriage durations, other social and cultural forces have substantially weakened marriages. Marital instability and cohabitation without marriage concur in reducing the role of marriage not only as the normal form of adult living, but also as a means of connecting generations. Does this affect the strength of intergenerational relationships themselves?

In the case of marriage instability, the answer is twofold, depending on the generational perspective. Children, particularly daughters, who divorce can often count on their parents' and siblings' support (Dykstra 1997, Kohli 1999, Attias-Donfut and Wolff 2000b, Kohli and Albertini this volume). On the contrary, in all countries, divorce has a negative impact on long-term intergenerational relationships, affecting not only the parent-child relationship but also, as a consequence, the grandparent-grandchild bond (Dykstra 1997). As the comparative chapter by Mattijs Kalmin and the mainly Italy-focused chapter by Marco Albertini and Chiara Saraceno show, the phenomenon is, however, strongly skewed: it is the father-child relationship, and therefore the paternal intergenerational chain, that is most negatively affected, while the maternal line is not or is only weakly affected – due not only to the gender division of parenting responsibilities but to the legal and practical patterns of child custody that were prevalent in all countries in the recent past and are still prevalent in many of them. Divorced fathers, therefore, risk remaining isolated and without family support in older age more than do both widowed fathers and divorced and widowed mothers. And children whose grandparents have divorced risk having fewer contacts with them than children whose grandparents

have remained married to each other. We have to wait until a generation of children who have experienced joint custody have grown up and formed their own families to see whether this asymmetrical weakening will change and, if so, in what direction. What is clear is that, at least until now, the couple's relationship is still the main factor connecting generations – mostly through the kin work of women.

But does this connecting role work in the same way for marriage and for cohabitation without marriage? Here the research data are less systematic and rich than those concerning the impact of divorce. They also offer less straightforward evidence, first of all because they rarely distinguish between different forms of cohabitation (Harper 2004; Kiernan 2000), particularly between those entered as a temporary relationship and those entered as a form of stable life alternative to marriage. This lack of distinction results in an overrepresentation of cohabitation as more prone to dissolution than marriage, therefore involving all the negative consequences for intergenerational relationships of marital instability.

Divorce and couple separation, like widowhood, open the possibility of forming a new couple, therefore in theory offering children (and adults) forms of intergenerational relationships other than those based on blood. There may be step-grandparents and grandchildren, step-aunts/uncles and step-nieces/nephews. Some studies have started to explore to what degree step-families create their own intergenerational chains (e.g., Bornat et al. 1999). The results are not yet fully conclusive, although they seem to indicate that blood ties tend to prevail. Moreover, some studies on the impact of remarriage indicate that re-partnering, instead of enlarging the possibilities for intergenerational relationships beyond the mediation of blood ties, actually risk weakening blood-based relationships (e.g., Albertini and Saraceno in this volume and De Jong Gierveld and Peeters 2003). Both remarried mothers and remarried fathers in fact have fewer contacts than married and widowed parents with their adult children, and therefore also with their grandchildren.

Theo van Tilburg and Suzan van der Pas in their chapter in this book offer a complex forecast of the impact of family changes on the persistence of intergenerational relationships from the perspective of the Dutch context. While in the short term these relationships seem to remain strong, taking a longer view they appear more vulnerable to childlessness, marriage instability, increasing cohabitation without marriage and so forth.

The persisting prevalence of vertical blood ties in shaping intergenerational relationships in families leads to some concern with regard to the growing group of the childless, particularly when they become old and frail (e.g. Bengtson and Achenbaum 1993). Studies of the childless elderly are just being developed in intergenerational relationship research (see the two 2007 issues of *the Journal of Family Issues* devoted to this topic). Childless people may maintain more systematic bonds with the extended family, both horizontally and vertically, and even develop some kind of fictive kin relationships with friends. The shrinking of kinship, however, due to the decline in fertility, might render these options less available in the future – particularly the possibility of bonds with extended kin. The present middle-aged childless have fewer siblings than their parents and also fewer nephews and nieces. Whether this shrinking of kinship may be replaced by elective kinship remains a question to be explored, although in general men appear more vulnerable than women to the risk of isolation due to childlessness (Dykstra and Hagestad 2007). They might, therefore, be the first beneficiaries of policies aiming at integrating age groups, and particularly the young and the old, such as those advocated by Hagestad in the conclusion of her chapter.

Conclusion

Two partly overlapping debates are driving contemporary research on intergenerational relationships in families. One concerns the relationship between public and private intergenerational contracts and particularly the impact of welfare-state arrangements on intergenerational solidarity within families. The other concerns the impact of both ageing and changing family forms on the quality and intensity of intergenerational relationships within the family. The first debate may be synthesised as that between the crowding-out versus the crowding-in hypothesis. Most studies seem to support the latter rather than the former phenomenon, citing evidence that relationships remain strong. The second debate seems more open. While there is ample evidence of the negative impact of marital instability, even in countries where divorce has been widespread and common for over two generations, other aspects of family change, such as cohabitation instead of marriage, homosexual families and childlessness, require further exploration.

These two debates have developed mostly from within research focusing either on country-specific or comparative cross-country data. Migration and international mobility, however, are reshuffling country boundaries in many ways, including those concerning patterns of family formation, family culture and intergenerational relations. Whether family patterns are becoming increasingly similar across Europe, as Segalen (1997) and Murphy (2004) argue, or the longstanding differences are persisting, as Reher (1998) maintains, is still an open question. But Europeans cross borders and so – even more so – do migrants from non-European countries. They take with them their specific family cultures but, at the same time, by the very act of moving, they disrupt at least partly the very conditions that supported those cultures and the resulting expectations. Furthermore, as paid care workers, migrants sometime substitute both welfare state and kinship care work within the host countries, thus interfering with local intergenerational relationships at the societal and family level. As mentioned above, three chapters in this book look specifically at how intergenerational relationships are affected by migration and how they compare to those prevalent in the host country. Taken together, they offer a threefold comparative perspective: between migrants and natives, between different groups of migrants, and between different migratory contexts. All three of these studies show the strong resilience of intergenerational relations even when distance and economic difficulty put them under great strain. They also show that the (economic, but also cultural) constraints under which these relationships occur may present – particularly for the poorer groups and those who have greater responsibilities towards those left behind – specific risks of widening inequalities in the younger generations. More studies, as well as differentiated research strategies, are needed to further monitor how these trends differ across migrant groups and migratory circumstances, to examine whether welfare regimes play a role, and to see what happens among second- and third-generation migrants.

Depending on the perspective one takes, intergenerational relationships today seem to represent a new form of stability in an otherwise very dynamic and changing family, or a relationship dependent on precarious circumstances. This precariousness is to a large extent the consequence of individual choices. But social policies also play an important role – not because they may act as a substitute for missing or ruptured ties, but because they can make them more or less viable.

References

Achenbaum, Andrew W. (2004), 'One happy family? Sources of intergenerational solidarity and tension as contemporary US ages', in S. Harper (ed.), pp. 53-63.

- Alber, Jens and Ulrich Kohler (2004), *Health and Health Care in an Enlarged Europe*, Dublin, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working. Quality of Life in Europe.
- Albertini, Marco (2007), *Il contratto generazionale e la disuguaglianza in Italia. Un conflitto tra le generazioni?*, paper presented at the conference “Esplorare la coesione sociale: teorie, ipotesi, modelli, tecniche di analisi dei dati”, Italian Sociological Association, Trento, Facoltà di Sociologia, 28-30 June.
- Arber, Sara and Claudine Attias-Donfut (eds) (2000), *The Myth of Generational Conflict*, London, New York, Routledge.
- Attias-Donfut, C., J. Ogg and F.-C. Wolff (2005), ‘European Patterns of Intergenerational Transfers’, in *European Journal of Ageing*, vol. 2, pp. 161-173.
- Attias-Donfut, Claudine and François-Charles Wolff (2000a), ‘Complementarity between private and public transfers’, in: S. Arber and C. Attias-Donfut (eds.), pp. 47-68.
- Attias-Donfut, Claudine and François-Charles Wolff (2000b), ‘The redistributive effects of generational transfers’, on: S. Arber and Attias-Donfut (eds), pp. 22-46.
- Attias-Donfut, Claudine, and Martine Segalen (eds) (2001), *Le Siècle De-Grand Parents*. Paris. Editions Autrement.
- Bengtson, Vern L., and Andrew W. Achenbaum (eds) (1993), *The changing contract across generations*, New York, Aldine de Gruyter.
- Bengtson, V. L. (2001), ‘Beyond the Nuclear Family: The Increasing Importance of Multigenerational Bonds’, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 63, pp. 1-15.
- Bengtson, Vern L. and Neal E. Cutler (1976) ‘Generations and Intergenerational Relations: Perspectives on Age Groups and Social Change’, in Binstock, R. H. and Ethel Shanas (Ed.). *Handbook on Aging and the Social Sciences*, New York. Van Nostrand Reinhold, pp. 130-159.
- Bengtson, V. L. and R. E. L. Roberts (1991), ‘Intergenerational Solidarity in Aging Families: An Example of Formal Theory Construction’, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53, pp. 856–870.
- Bertram, Hans (2000), ‘Die verborgenen familiären Beziehungen in Deutschland: Die multilokale Mehrgenerationenfamilie’, in Kohli M. and Szydlik M. (eds), *Generationen in Familie und Gesellschaft*, Opladen, Leske+Budrich, pp. 97-121.
- Binstock, Robert H. e Guadagno, Jill (2001), ‘Aging and Politics’, in *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, Robert H. Binstock and Linda K. George (eds.), San Diego, Academic Press.
- Bornat, J., B.n Dimmock, D. Jones and S. Peace (1999), ‘Step-families and older people: evaluating the implications of family change for an elderly population’, in *Ageing and Society*, 19, pp. 239-61.
- Börsch-Supan, Axel, Agar Brugiavini, Hendrik Jürges, Johan Mackenbach, Johannes Siegrist, and Guglielmo Weber (Ed.) (2005), *Health, ageing and retirement in Europe: First results from the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe*, Mannheim. MEA.
- Brady, D. (2004), ‘Reconsidering the Divergence between Elderly, Child and Overall Poverty’, *Luxembourg Income Study Working Paper Series*, n. 371.
- Coleman, David (2005), ‘Facing the 21st century: new developments, continuing problems’, in Miroslav, Macura, Alphonse, L., MacDonald, Werner, Haug (eds.), *The new demographic regime. Population challenges and policy responses*, Geneva, United Nations, pp. 11-44.
- Dalla Zuanna, G. (2001), ‘The banquet of Aeolus. A familistic interpretation of Italy’s lowest low fertility’, in *Demographic Research*, vol. 4, article 5.
- De Jong Gierveld, J., and A. Peeters (2003), ‘The interweaving of repartnered older adults’ lives with their children and siblings’, *Ageing and Society*, 23, pp. 187–205.

- Dykstra, P. A. (1997). 'The Effects of Divorce on Intergenerational Exchanges in Families', *The Netherlands Journal of Social Sciences*, 33, 2, pp. 77-93.
- Dykstra, P.A., G. Hagestad (2007), 'Childlessness and Parenthood in Two Centuries: Different Roads_Different Maps?', *Journal of Family Issues*, 28, 11, pp. 1518-1532.
- Elder, Glen Jr. (ed.) (1985), *Life Course Dynamics: Trajectories and Transitions, 1968–1980*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. and Sebastia, S. (2002), 'The Generational Contract Reconsidered', in *Journal of European Social Policy*, vol. 12, pp. 5-21.
- European Data Service. 2007. Eurostat Online Database.
<http://www.eds-destatis.de/de/database/estatonline.php>.
- Farkas, Janis I., and Dennis P. Hogan (1995), "The demography of changing intergenerational relationships", in Vern Bengston, K. Schaie and L. Burton (eds.), *Adult intergenerational relations*, New York, Springer, pp. 1-8.
- Ferrera, M. (1996), 'Il Modello Sud-Europeo di Welfare State', *Rivista Italiana Di Scienza Politica*, 26, 1, pp. 67–101.
- Finch, Janet and Jennifer, Mason (1993), *Negotiating Family Responsibilities*, London, Routledge.
- Finch, J. (2004), 'Inheritance and intergenerational relationships in English families', in S. Harper (ed.), 99, pp. 164-175.
- Flora, Peter, Franz Kraus, and Winfried Pfenning (1987), *State, Economy, and Society in Western Europe 1815–1975*, Frankfurt: Campus.
- Grundy, E. and J. C. Henretta (2006), 'Between elderly parents and adult children: a new look at the intergenerational care provided by the 'sandwich generation'', in *Ageing and Society*, 26, pp. 707-722.
- Grundy, Emily (1999), 'Household and Family Change in Mid and Later Life in England and Wales', in Susan McRae, (ed.), *Changing Britain: Families and Households in the 1990s*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.201–228.
- Hagestad, G. (2006), 'Transfers between grandparents and grandchildren: The importance of taking a three-generation perspective', *Zeitschrift für Familienforschung*, 3, pp. 315–332.
- Harper, Sarah (2004), 'The challenge for families of demographic ageing', In S. Harper (ed.), pp. 6-30.
- Harper, Sarah (ed.) (2004), *Families in Ageing Societies. A Multi-Disciplinary Approach*, Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Journal of Family Issues* (2007), two special issues on 'Multiple Meanings of Childlessness in Late Life—Findings for Seven Societies', vol. 28, nn.10,11.
- Keck, Wolfgang and Chiara Saraceno (2008), 'Grandchildhood in Germany and Italy. An exploration', in Arnlauß Leira and Chiara Saraceno (eds.), *Childhood: changing contexts*, Oxford, Elsevier, pp. 135-166.
- Kiernan, Kathleen E. (2000), 'European perspectives on union formation', in Linda, G. Waite, Christine, Bachrach, Michelle, Hindin, Elizabeth, Thompson, and Arland, Thornton (eds), *Ties that bind: perspectives on marriage and cohabitation*, New York, Aldine de Gruyter, pp. 40-58.
- Knijjn, Trudie and Aafke Komter (eds) (2004), *Solidarity Between the Sexes and the Generations: Transformations in Europe*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.
- Kohli, M. (1999), 'Private and Public Transfers between Generations', *European Societies*, 1, 1, pp. 103-122.

- Kohli, Martin (2004), 'Intergenerational Transfers and Inheritance: A Comparative View', in Merrill, Silverstein, (ed.), *Intergenerational Relations Across Time and Place*, New York, Springer, pp. 266-289.
- Kohli, Martin and Harald Künemund (2003), 'Intergenerational Transfers in the Family: What Motives for Giving?', in Vern L. Bengtson and A. Lowenstein (eds), *Global Ageing and Challenges to Families*, New York, Aldine de Gruyter, pp. 123-142.
- Kohli, M., H. Künemund, and J. Lüdicke (2006), 'Family Structure, Proximity and Contact', in Axel, Börsch-Supan, Agar Brugiavini, Hendrik Jürges, Johan Mackenbach, Johannes Siegrist, and Guglielmo Weber (eds), *Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe*, Mannheim. Mannheim Research Institute for the Economics of Aging (MEA).
- Künemund, H. and M. Rein (1999), 'There is more to receiving than needing: theoretical arguments and empirical explorations of crowding in and crowding out', *Ageing and Society*, 19, pp. 93-121.
- Künemund, H., A., Motel-Klingebiel, and M. Kohli (2005), 'Do Intergenerational Transfers from Elderly Parents Increase Social Inequality Among their Middle-aged Children? Evidence from the German Aging Survey', *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 60, pp. 30-36.
- Leisering, Lutz (1992), *Sozialstaat und demografischer Wandel*, Frankfurt/New York, Campus.
- Lowenstein A. and S. O. Daatland (2006), 'Filial norms and family support in a comparative cross-national context: evidence from the OASIS study', in *Ageing & Society*, 26, pp. 203-223.
- Millar, Jane and Andrea Warman (1996), *Family Obligations in Europe*, London, Family Policy Studies Centre.
- Murphy, Mike (2004), 'Models of kinship from the developed world', in S. Harper (ed.), pp. 31-52.
- Ogg, J. and Renaut, S. (2005), 'Le soutien familial intergénérationnel dans l'Europe élargie', *Retraite et société*, 46, pp. 30-59.
- Pilcher, J. (1994), 'Mannheim's Sociology of Generations: An Undervalued Legacy', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 45, 3, pp. 481-495.
- Pitrou, A. (1977), 'Le soutien familial dans la société urbaine', in *Revue Française de Sociologie*, XVIII, pp. 45-84.
- Reher, S. D. (1998), 'Family Ties in Western Europe: Persistent Contrast', *Population and Development Review*, 24, 2, pp. 203-234.
- Saraceno, Chiara (2004), 'The reproductive paradox of 'weak' and 'strong' families in contemporary Europe', in H. Kaeble, Günther Schmid (eds.), *Das europäische Sozialmodell*, WZB-Jahrbuch 2004, Berlin, Edition Sigma, pp. 347-374.
- Sarasa, Sarasa and J. Mestres (2007), 'Women's employment and the adult caring burden', in Gøsta Esping Andersen (ed.), *Family formation and family dilemmas in contemporary Europe*, Bilbao, Fondation Bova, pp. 185-222.
- Segalen, Martine (1997), 'Introduction', in Marianne, Gullestad and Martine Segalen (eds.), *Family and Kinship in Europe*, London, Pinter.
- Sussman, M.B., and L. Burchinal (1962), 'Kin-Family Networks', in *Marriage and Family Living*, XXIV, pp. 231-240.
- Walker, Alan (1993), 'Intergenerational relations and welfare restructuring: the social construction of an intergenerational problem', in Vern Bengtson and Andrew W., Achenbaum (eds), pp. 141-165.
- Willmott Peter, and Michael Young (1964), *Family and Kinship in East London*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

The Division of Household Labour – A European Comparison

Coordinator: Magnus Nermo, SOFI

Participants:

Katarina Boye (SOFI), Renzo Carriero (University of Turin), Lorenzo Todesco (University of Turin), Maja Debacker (CSB), Rickard Eriksson (SOFI), Joris Ghysels (CSB), Katarina Gröndahl (SOFI), Marie Evertsson (SOFI), Chris van Klaveren (University of Amsterdam), Javier Polavieja (UPF), Evelien vanVlasselaer (CSB), Cecile Wetzels (University of Amsterdam)

Introduction

Analyzing what determines the division of household labour is an important topic in both economics and sociology. However, so far, most research performed has been parallel, in the sense that there exist very little close collaboration between economists and sociologists. The overall purpose of the first stage of this project is to actively engage both economists and sociologists interested in cross-national studies of housework. An inter-disciplinary approach and a comparative perspective provide a solid basis for new important research in this field. Below follows a short review of Sociological and Economic theoretical perspectives of relevance for the project and a brief report on project activities. The report is ended by a description of future plans and project outcome.

Sociological and Economic Theories on the Division of household labour

Increasing female labour force participation rates in Europe has made dual earner couples more common in Europe. As a consequence, the division of roles as regard housework in European families has become more blurred than earlier (c.f. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Today, the division of household work between the household members is to a greater extent the outcome of implicit and explicit negotiations.

According to a sociological *Relative Resource Perspective* the outcome of these negotiations depends on the spouses' relative access to resources. The more resources an individual have, in relation to his/her partner, the greater the possibilities of negotiating away the housework (cf. Blood and Wolfe 1960). A considerable amount of sociological research has been undertaken to test this relative resource or bargaining perspective (e.g., Presser, 1994; Bianchi et al., 2000; Bittman et al., 2003; Evertsson and Nermo, 2004; Halleröd 2005). The most common result is that the smaller the resource gap between the spouses is, the more equal the division of housework (e.g. Presser, 1994; Brines 1994; Greenstein 2000; Bianchi et al., 2000). In practice, women generally do the majority of the household chores independent of the spouses' relative access to resources in terms of earnings educational attainment, and the presence of young children in the household, at least until the point where her resources are equal to his. After that point (i.e. when her resources exceed his), empirical findings are not so clear-cut. In other words, the relation between relative earnings and housework can be non-linear (Bittman et al. 2003).

This in turn makes an additional sociological perspective interesting, the so called "*Gender display*" or "*Doing gender*"-perspective (Fenstermaker Berk 1985; West and Zimmerman 1987). The starting point is that economic dependency as well as performing household work has a symbolic value as markers of gender, and assumes a non linear association between men's and women's housework and the degree of economic dependency. The division of

housework is thereby most equal when the spouses contribute equally to the household income, but the man perform less housework than the woman independent of him supporting or him being supported by her.

In economics, decision-making within the family is dealt with in two overriding ways. The first approach is summarized as *the common preference perspective*. The most well-known version of this perspective is Gary Becker's altruistic or unitary model (1991). The unitary model views households as single (selfish) individuals even though these households may be multi-person households. The restrictions imposed on household behaviour by the unitary model are, first that household income is pooled. Secondly, the marginal compensated wage changes of the two partners must have the same effect on each other's labour supply. Furthermore, the model implicitly assumes that household members have similar preferences, which is especially problematic when the division of household work is seen as the outcome of an implicit bargaining process, since there is no bargaining process going on, other than that each household member specializes in either paid labour or household work. Currently, there are many papers that reject the underlying assumptions of the unitary model (For references see Van Klaveren, Van Praag & Maassen van den Brink (2005)

A second, more recent approach, among economists is the so-called *cooperative bargaining model* (see Manser & Brown 1980, McElroy & Horney (1981) and Lundberg & Pollak (1996)). In these bargaining models spouses can bargain with each other in order to profit from the gains that can be obtained by the fact that they are married. An example of a gain can simply be the company of each other. Another beneficial consequence of marriage is that individuals are more flexible in allocating their time, which gives them specialization 'advantages'. However, if an agreement is not reached then they both receive their reservation utility. The reservation utility is often referred to as a threat point or disagreement point.

Compared to the unitary model, income pooling is not assumed. However, an empirical problem is that the theoretical refinements of bargaining models often result in under identified models. Finally, the question arises how to define the threat point? Thus, should they be viewed from an internal point of view (i.e. the level of public household goods that each individual provides is equal to the level that is provided in an intact but non-cooperative marriage) or from an external point of view (i.e. the utility that can be obtained outside the marriage).

A third approach, mostly used in the current economic literature, is the collective model, which merely assumes that the outcome of the household decision process should be a Pareto-efficient outcome. It does not assume income pooling of household members and individual preferences are considered by means of the individual utility functions. An advantage to bargaining models is that, besides the fact that nothing is assumed about the household decision process, there is no threat point present in the model. The household utility function can be seen as the weighted sum of the individual utility functions and the weight is assumed to depend on prices (or in the time allocation literature on individual wage rates).

Analyzing what determines the division of household labour is an important topic in both economics and sociology. However, so far, most research performed has been parallel, in the sense that there exist very little close collaboration between economists and sociologists. The only purpose of this preparatory project was to actively engage both economists and sociologists interested in cross-national studies of housework in one common project. During the project period, March 2007 – August 2008 we therefore had a two-day workshop in August 2007 in Stockholm and one follow-up meeting in Berlin April 2008. The purpose of these meetings was to present ongoing work by members of the project, initiate new collaborations, and finally to write a joint EQUALSOC project proposal (see below).

Project activities

In the project period we have had two meetings:

1) Workshop in Stockholm August 27-28, 2007

Besides presentations of ongoing research we had open discussions on new project ideas. The main conclusion was that it is unwise to restrict participants at this stage to one project idea. We also decided to investigate the possibility of using the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS)

Presentations:

After a quarter of a century: Turin 1979-2003. Men's and women's daily life from industrial to post-industrial society, Renzo Carriero

The individual propensity to marital instability in Italy, Lorenzo Todesco

What do people really want? The dictatorial viewpoint, Joris Ghysels

Economic models on household behaviour, Chris Van Klaveren

A test of household models using stated preferences, Rickard Eriksson

(for more details see last year FAMNET report).

2) Follow-up meeting in Berlin April 11, 2008

In Berlin we had an open follow-up meeting in connection to the network conference. At this meeting the discussion on relevant research topics in the field and new project ideas continued. As noted earlier many researchers were interested in cross-national time use data. We were therefore especially pleased that Jonathan Gershuny, Director of Centre for Time Use Research, Oxford University) attended the meeting and declared that it would be possible to access the Multinational Time Use Study MTUS.

Presentations:

Work and well-being in a comparative perspective – the role of family policy, Katarina Boye (SOFI)

State of the Art. An overview of Italian research on the division of household labour, Carmen Belloni (University of Turin)

What do people really want? (revised), Joris Ghysels (CSB)

Project outcome and plans for the next period

The overall aim of the first stage of this project is fulfilled since it has initiated new interdisciplinary research to further increase our understanding of the underlying mechanisms governing the gendered division of household work in Europe. Another important progress is that members of the project have access to Multinational Time Use Study MTUS. Currently, project members are using both cross-national and national datasets. Examples of ongoing research topics are:

i) Change in public policies and gender differentiation in time use: The main objective of this study is, to examine possible influences of different policy instruments on domestic division of labour and child care. Research questions include: i) Can we attribute cross-national variations in time use to policy instruments?, ii) How do different care arrangements effect parental time?, iii) Are there any identifiable effects of national childcare regimes?, and iv) How do changes in policies effect gender differences in time use patterns?

ii) Gender and the Division of Housework in Europe: Macro and Micro Effects: The aim of this study is to investigate the micro and macro-level factors affecting the distribution of household labour in European couples. We focus on how different social settings affect the impact of individual-level variables on the division of housework.

iii) Outsourcing, “vertical” differences in the division of housework and their Cross-National Patterning: Building on Esping-Andersen’s ideas of regime-specific “post-industrial trajectories”, we expect both the levels and the distribution of outsourcing to vary between welfare regimes. For instance, it is plausible that the distribution of outsourcing is particularly unequal in the liberal regime, since high inequality levels guarantee both an ample supply of low-wage workers as well as a sizable group of well-off that can afford to buy it. The main focus of this study is the association between women’s absolute earnings and their housework in a cross-national perspective.

iv) Time Use, Household Division of Labour and Fertility in Negotiating Families: Time use and the division of household labour are often interpreted as a result of bargaining between the spouses. More recent studies focusing on fertility decisions adopt the same approach, stating that fertility is also bargained. A recent study by Brodmann et. al. comparing Denmark and Spain found that husband’s involvement in childcare is a central predictor for having a second child. The purpose here is to study to what extent the association between father’s involvement in childcare/housework and the decision to have a second child is related to cross-national variation in welfare state arrangements.

v) Household Labour Supply and the Demand for Child Care: A Collective Approach: The objective of this study is to examine the relationship between labour supply and child care for a sub-sample of two-earner households with children. Here we use the theoretical framework of the *Collective Model* of household behaviour to examine the relationship between labour supply and child care. Our contribution is i) a country comparison of individual preferences that go along with the estimated individual utility functions and the utility weight, ii) a study of how changes in child care subsidy by the government affect labour supply of women.

Publications related to the project

Changing Resources and the Division of Housework: A longitudinal study of Swedish Couples, Evertsson, M and M. Neramo (2007), *European Sociological Review*, 23(4)

A public good version of the collective household model – A comparison of native Dutch and immigrant households in the Netherlands, van Klaveren C. (2007), Tinbergen Institute Discussion Papers

Work and well-being in a comparative perspective – the role of family policy, Article in K. Boye, ‘Happy Hour? Studies on well being and time spent on paid and unpaid work’, Dissertation series No 74, Boye, Katarina (2008), Swedish Institute for social research, Stockholm University

Reconciling Work and Family Life Research Group

Coordinators: Fran McGinnity & Helen Russell, Economic and Social Research Institute
Dublin

Aim of Research Group

Reconciling work and family commitments has become a critical issue in European societies, against a backdrop of globalization and rapid technological change, an ageing population and concerns over labour market participation and falling fertility (OECD, 2004; Jacobs and Gerson, 2004). Within the European Union the ‘reconciliation of work and family’ has become a core concern for policy and encouraged national-level debate and policy intervention. As an indicator of quality of life, work-life balance has gained both academic and policy currency. Work-life conflicts are seen to potentially have a detrimental impact on personal effectiveness and well-being, marital relations, child-parent relationships and child development (Gornick and Meyers, 2003; Allen et al., 2000).

Across Europe changing demographics and household arrangements have led to greater demands on citizens to combine both caring and employment roles. Increased time pressures and strains are also thought to arise within the workplace. For example is considerable evidence of increased work intensity throughout Europe (Thirion et al., 2007). Yet while many EU countries share common features, there are also differences. The shape and nature of employment is different: for example in the prevalence of part-time work and the employment rates of mothers. Policies vary too: for example the way in which working patterns are structured by regulation and employers - working hours, annual leave entitlement, availability of flexible working arrangements. Family leave rights and benefits and support for childcare, as well as the overall tax-benefit regime also vary. Many countries in the newly enlarged EU had decades of communist family and labour market policy, in contrast to the democracies, albeit in differing forms, of the West. All of these factors may influence individuals’ ability to combine work and non-work demands

The existence of so much variability, against a backdrop of commonality, motivates the work of the research group. In the collection of articles, to be published in the special issue of the journal *Social Indicators*, we investigate whether, if and how work-life conflict varies cross-nationally. Our focus is perhaps less on overall variation in work-life conflict, but whether the processes and factors associated with work-life conflict vary across countries. To investigate this question, all the articles use a high-quality data source with identical indicators for each country, the European Social Survey, which has a specially designed module on work-life balance and is cross-nationally representative. This special module on family, work and well-being (2004) is excellently suited to examining country variation and in work-family balance in a wide range of countries, in many of whom this topic has not been previously investigated. The papers focus on a range of themes and select varying numbers of countries for the analysis but they are all comparative, and all use ESS data. The articles offer readers new insights into the interface between work and family life in the new European Union, touching on recent changes in forms of employment and family forms, changes in work intensity, upskilling, debates on time poverty and busyness, on social class, on social comparison, job allocation, gender and motherhood wage penalties and gender differences in the distribution of paid and unpaid labour.

Output from Research Group

The primary output from the research group is a special issue of the journal *Social Indicators Research* due to be published in 2009. The special issue is edited by Frances McGinnity and Christopher Whelan and is entitled *Reconciling Work and Family Life: Comparing Evidence from European Countries using the European Social Survey*. The papers have been subjected to external peer review and are currently being revised following referees' reports. Eight papers are included in this process these are:

- *Reported levels of time-based and strain-based conflict between work and family roles in Europe. A multilevel approach*, Naida Steiber
- *Work-Life Balance and Working Conditions in Western Europe*, Duncan Gallie and Helen Russell
- *Work-life Conflict and Social Inequality in Western Europe*, Frances McGinnity and Emma Calvert
- *The effect of union type on the division of labour and work-life conflict in five European*, Kairi Kasearu
- *Sacrificing their Careers for their Families? An Analysis of the Family Pay Penalty in Europe*, Vanessa Gash
- *Domestic Supply, Job-Specialization and Sex-Differences in Pay*, Javier G. Polavieja
- *Relatively different? How do gender differences in well-being depend on paid and unpaid work in Europe?*, Katarina Boye
- *The Social Consequences of Insecure Jobs*, Stefani Scherer

Meetings during 2007 – 2008

Each of the papers was presented at a workshop held in Dublin in November 2007, at which discussants and participant provided feedback on the analysis and interpretation of results, which was used in the preparation of the final drafts.

Members of the research group also held a meeting at the EQUALSOC conference held in Berlin on 11th April 2008.

Findings

All eight papers are comparative and draw on the ESS special module to provide insights into the issue of reconciling work and family life. The number of countries in each paper varies from four to 25.

One issue in work-life conflict debates has been whether the sources of work-life conflict lie in the workplace or in the family. Duncan Gallie and Helen Russell, exploit the excellent data on both work and family characteristics in the ESS to examine this question in seven West European countries – Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands and France. They find that working conditions have a strong influence on the level of work-family conflict, measured as a composite index, in all seven countries. Work pressure has the most nega-

tive impact and the authors conclude that the marked rise in levels of work pressure in European countries since the early 1990s has contributed substantially to greater strain in managing work and family life. Rising skills levels in these countries may also have contributed, given that higher skill levels are associated with heightened work-life conflict. Gallie and Russell find that family characteristics have a much weaker influence on work-life conflict than work. This is consistent with earlier research which finds work has a stronger influence on work-to-life conflict than family-to-work (Byron, 2005).

National differences point to the distinctiveness of the Northern European societies for male employees. Men had the lowest level of work-family conflict in Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Denmark, a finding the authors attribute to shorter working hours and greater flexibility in assigning those hours. For female employees, no distinct pattern emerges and the authors argue that the origins of work-life conflict in the workplace may partly explain this. In the Scandinavian countries, where care/parental supports facilitate high employment among women, this is associated with longer working hours and higher levels of work pressure. In Britain and the Netherlands, family pressures are absorbed due to the fact that many mothers work part-time.

Three papers address different debates in the work-life conflict literature. Picking up on measurement debates, Nadia Steiber argues that it is useful to distinguish time-based and strain-based conflict, and uses the ESS indicators to do so in her contribution, which is based on 23 countries. She also distinguishes the impact of work *demands*, like work hours, unpredictable work hours, evening/night/weekend work, from work *resources* like skill, time autonomy, job autonomy (control) and career prospects. The expectation is that work demands should exacerbate work-life conflict, while work resources will reduce it.

In general Steiber finds interesting gender differences in the factors associated with work-life conflict. While work demands such as long, unsocial and unpredictable working hours as well as work pressure show strong effects, increasing work-life conflict, for both men and women, caring responsibilities only increases time-based conflict for women, and job insecurity only increases strain-based conflict for men. Using 23 countries allows Steiber to apply multi-level modelling to ESS data to formally model cross-country variation. She finds that residual country effects, controlling for work and family characteristics are small.

The next paper considers the supposition that work-life conflict is all part of a new West European culture of 'busyness'. Drawing on debates from the time-use literature that busyness is a privileged position and that much time poverty is 'yuppie kvetch' or complaining (Hammermesh and Lee, 2007), Frances McGinnity and Emma Calvert explore the relationship between work-life conflict and social inequality in 8 West European countries: Germany, France, Spain, UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, Denmark and Sweden. To what extent is work-life conflict a problem of the rich and privileged professional classes, and is this true across countries?

The authors find higher work-life conflict among the professional classes in all 8 countries. Some of this is explained by the fact that professionals work longer hours and experience more work pressure than other social classes, though the effect remains even after accounting for these factors. Country variation in the phenomenon is modest, though class differences in work-life conflict are not as pronounced in Sweden. The authors reflect on other explanations of why work-life conflict is higher among higher earners, and the policy implications of their findings, given recent European debates on why welfare states cannot afford to lose high-skilled female labour if they are to enhance competitiveness and reduce poverty.

Boye examines the role of gender attitudes in the association between work and well-being. She investigates both the overall impact of gender attitudes (traditional, egalitarian) and also consistency of gender attitudes (whether there is consistency in attitudes and the division of labour). In general she finds a weak effect of attitudes, and consistency between attitudes and behaviour is not associated with significantly higher well-being than inconsistency. However, egalitarian women may benefit more from paid work hours than traditional women, even after accounting for the hours of housework each do.

Two other papers focus on changing employment forms (temporary contract) and changing family forms (cohabitation) and their association with work-life conflict.

Research has proliferated on the labour market and wage impact of fixed term contracts, but much less is known about their 'social consequences'. In her contribution, Stefani Scherer investigates the impact of having a fixed-term contract on the interface between work and family life in 16 West European countries. There is great variation in both the extent and nature of fixed-term contracts in these countries, ranging from 24% of total employment in Spain to 7% of total employment in Switzerland. Scherer takes a broader view of the interface than simply work-life conflict, and outcomes investigated include fertility plans, job worries, life satisfaction, income worries and health problems, in addition to work-life conflict indicators. She proposes two mechanisms for the negative effect of fixed-term contracts on quality of life: the overall worse working conditions and subjective job insecurity often associated with these contracts.

The author finds that fixed-term contract employment is associated with negative effects for a range of social and family outcomes, and these differences cannot be fully explained either by working conditions or subjective job insecurity. In addition Scherer argues that overall, subjective job insecurity plays a greater role than working conditions in understanding the impact of fixed-term contracts on quality of life.

A changing social form which has received much academic attention in the US, to a much lesser extent in Europe, is cohabitation. Cohabitation has become more widespread throughout Europe, but with rather different histories and social consequences. Taking a selection of countries where cohabitation has very different social significance, Kairi Kasearu considers whether the division of labour and work-life conflict is different between married and cohabiting couples and how this varies in four countries - Britain, Sweden, Estonia and Germany. She finds a more egalitarian division of labour among cohabiting couples: men do more housework, women do less than married counterparts. However, this difference is completely explained by differences between married and cohabiting couples in terms of age and presence of children, education, household size, duration of partnership, household composition, working hours and work conditions, couples' decision making and gender role attitudes.

Work-life conflict, measured as a composite index, is somewhat lower for cohabiting men than married men, though there are no differences in work-life conflict between married and cohabiting women. And when Kasearu accounts for household composition, working conditions, housework and gender ideology, there is, again, no difference between married and cohabiting men and women in the extent of work-life conflict. The key take home message, once we account for other differences between cohabiting and married men and women, is that the division of labour and work life conflict do not differ between the two in any of the four countries. The author suggests that cohabitation may be more similar to marriage in the European countries studied than in the US.

The final two papers from the research group focus on wages and how they are related to work-family concerns. Javier Polavieja develops a rational action model of job allocation and

explores its consequences for wages. He argues that the division of housework, job-specialisation requirements and imperfect information generate an incentive structure for individuals, which leads to gender differences in job allocation and wages. These incentives can be influenced by 'macro level' welfare policies and services, which may reduce the economic pay-offs of a traditional gender division of labour. Polavieja tests this model using ESS data on couples in 12 countries, fully exploiting the wide range of theoretically relevant variables on the dataset. The key finding is that gender differences in job specialisation and housework can explain the effect of occupational sex-composition on wages. This is true even after accounting for gender differences in sex-role attitudes and personality traits.

The paper then investigates how incentive structures vary across welfare regime clusters: *Conservative* (respondents from Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Spain and West Germany); *Social-democratic* (respondents from Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland); *Liberal* (United Kingdom) and *Post-Communist* (Czech Republic, Poland and the former East Germany). Polavieja finds that the association between housework and earnings is much weaker in societies with higher levels of decommodification (state/social policy allows independence from the market) and defamilization (state/social policy allows independence from the family), particularly the Scandinavian welfare cluster, to a lesser extent the post-communist cluster.

Vanessa Gash investigates cross-national variation in the employment of mothers and the motherhood wage penalty in countries with very different supports for the employment of mothers: Finland, Denmark, Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Spain. Do mothers select into 'family friendly' jobs, and how does this influence their wages? Gash uses the idea of compensating differentials to argue that mothers trade wages for favourable, family-friendly working conditions and this helps us understand the motherhood wage penalty. She also proposes that women do this to a greater extent in countries with low support for combining caring and employment. She uses ESS data, supplemented by data from the European Community Household panel, to test the hypotheses.

The literature on work-life conflict is growing rapidly in volume and complexity. This collection of articles aims to contribute to these exciting developments on a number of fronts: by broadening the range of countries considered; by using a wide range of quantitative indicators associated with work-life conflict from an excellent, dedicated survey and by assessing the impact of the changing nature of work on the interface between work and life.

The most striking finding of the volume concerns the impact of work on work-life conflict. Long working hours, variable work schedules, fixed-term contracts and in particular high work pressure all exacerbate work-life conflict. Long hours and high pressure are features associated with professional/managerial jobs, and partly explains why professionals experience more work-life conflict than other classes. This suggests that policies to reduce full-time working hours will facilitate work-life balance, though not if associated with highly variable work schedules.

There is no general trend that women experience more work-life conflict than men, as is often thought to be the case - though they do in some countries. This is partly because women have already reduced their working hours to accommodate their family commitments.

Our expectations were of variation in work-life conflict across countries. In fact, these papers find that residual cross-country variation in work-life conflict is low. This is controlling for working hours and conditions, family composition and gender role attitudes, which are partly a product of current or past policies, so it is through these factors that country context has an impact. These factors do operate in a remarkably similar fashion across countries.

The findings from the Nordic countries have interesting policy implications. Work-life conflict is lower for men in the Nordic countries, and this, it is argued, is related to collective reductions in working time and more flexibility to assign those hours. This is not the case for female employees, which may be linked to the origins of work-life conflict in the workplace. In the Scandinavian countries, where care/parental supports facilitate high employment among women, this is associated with longer working hours and higher levels of work pressure. Policies to increase maternal employment may promote gender equality but do not necessarily reduce work-life conflict. The fact remains that in other European countries, while many mothers work, much of this is part-time.

Unstable Careers and Family Formation in Different Institutional Contexts

Coordinators: Maria José Gonzalez and Manuela Naldini

Participants: Sonia Bertolini, Post Doc (University of Turin), Manuela Naldini, Associate Professor (University of Turin), Cristina Solera, Post Doc (University of Trento), Pau Baizán, Assistant Professor (UPF – Barcelona), María José González, Assistant Professor (UPF – Barcelona), Irene Lapuerta, Post Doc (UPF – Barcelona), Serena Pattaro, PhD Student (Nuffield College), Teresa Martin, Post Doc (UPF-Barcelona), Gerrit Bauer, PhD Student (University of Mannheim)

1. Description of Activities

The project aimed to study the link between, on the one hand, de-standardisation of work patterns and unstable employment and occupational trajectories and, on the other hand, the process of family formation (leaving home, forming a partnership, having children). The research proposal (and the papers prepared by the research group members) have been focused especially on Southern European countries (Italy and Spain as representatives of Southern countries), although Continental and Northern European countries, when possible, have been taken as contrasting case.

During the period under consideration (1 September 2007-31st August 2008) the activities of the research group were focused mainly on:

1. Discussing the opportunity to organize a final conference, as planned, while at the same time considering the possibility to do it jointly with the other Employ/Famnet Cross-group. At the end we realize that to balance the organization of the conference with our teaching and academic tasks was impossible for us, while to organize a joint workshop was not the best solution for the other Employ/Famnet Cross group. Taking in to consideration that most of the papers we have been working on addressed the issue of reconciliation issue using different data sets we decided that the best would be to present our papers to Berlin Conference and to publish as much as possible in different Journals and Volumes.
2. Preparing papers to be presented mainly to the Berlin Conference. Most of us were participating to the conference presenting several papers (see the full list of paper below). Some of the papers presented to Berlin Conference, although based on National data archive (i.e. ILFI e BHP) were comparing at least two countries, while others using National data archive (Spanish LFS) focused on a single country (but different institutional contexts within the country). Finally, other papers presented at Berlin Conferences and/or in other Conferences were comparative work because using comparative data archive (ESS and FFS). Most of the papers prepared by the research group members have tackled more the issue of “Unstable careers, fertility decision and conciliation issues” than the issue of “de-standarization of work pattern and family formation”. This results has to be seen in relation to the information available on the data sets used. As a matter of the fact, among the data sets explored only Labour Force Surveys allow to have information on the type and duration of work contract,

but these Surveys (both at National level, and even more at the Eu level) do not contains crucial information on family decisions (especially missing are information on: leaving home, the type and duration of partnership, cohabitation vs marriage) and those on parental decisions, and parental leave are not easily comparable.

Some of the papers prepared by the research group members have been published while other are going to be published (see below).

During the meeting of the research group, we discussed the opportunity to ask a research assistant for helping us to make possible to compare the Italian and Spanish Labour Force Surveys in order to conclude a paper on “Childcare and women’s employment decisions in Spain and Italy: A multilevel perspective” (with Italian and Spanish LFS) (see below).

As far as the potentiality of the data sets is concerned, we can observe that cross-national data sets now available in the EQUALSOC Network, mainly, the ones on which we had last year a contract for access and use (EU Labour Force Survey, and ECHP), do not allow us to answer some of our research questions, especially those related to the debate around preferences vs constraints. Therefore, we think that in future the best for exploring this topic would be to look at the micro-macro link by very specific case studies that combine both quantitative and qualitative type of data.

In the next year, the work done by the single research group member on this topic will continue in some ways through participation to new research group proposals, such as, that on “reconciliation of elderly & work” and that on “household allocation of time”.

Main research findings

- The analysis based on the ‘Spanish Sample of Working Life Histories’ (SWLH-2006) shows that a significant part of the female population does not form part of the labour market during the first years of maternity as a result of which they are totally excluded from the use of parental leaves schemes, in accordance with Spanish law. Put another way, a proportion of the potential users, which probably coincides with the most vulnerable employees, leave the labour market either during pregnancy or just before giving birth. Data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) reveals that only 48% of Spanish women with children of less than 3 years of age had a right to a parental leave in 2006. This indicates the inadequacy of the current parental leaves system, generous in terms of time but scarce in financial assistance, to keep women in the work market.
- Women are far more likely to use parental leave than men in Spain (only 5 of every 100 users are men), and particularly, women with a more secure position in the labour market (female full-time workers with stable contracts), and high human capital (those having higher levels of education and higher levels of income). These women also tend to take shorter parental leaves than women with unstable labour market careers (e.g. part-time workers).

- The European Social Survey (ESS) from 2004, which provides data on 26 countries, reveals the existence of large gender inequalities across-countries in the couple's participation in domestic and caring activities: North-European countries display more egalitarian arrangements, followed closely by most East-European countries, while Central Europe and Southern Europe are the most traditional countries. The same study based on bi-active couples (i.e. both partners in the labour market), however, challenges this international classification.
- The empirical analysis based on the European Social Survey (ESS) confirms again some of the most well-established sociological explanations to understand men's participation in caring activities. Men tend to participate in more equitable terms if they have more labour-free time and their partners have less time, when their income resources are more equal compared to their female partner's, and when the couple has less traditional family values.
- The household typology based on 'two-earners' is gradually gaining more popularity in Western Societies. However, this trend has not been equally followed by higher rates of child care facilities. Central and Southern European countries face the larger deficits in child care services in both public and private basis. The lack of these services aggravates gender inequalities in the access to paid employment. The empirical analysis conducted in Spain (now being extended to the Italian case) proves that high coverage of childcare increases the likelihood that women return to paid work after childbirth.
- A comparative study conducted with data from the BHPS and ILFI used event history data to explicitly analyse changes across four subsequent birth cohorts in the incidence and correlates of transitions between paid market work and unpaid family-care (since women left full-time education to their forties). Women from younger cohorts in Italy and Great Britain are far more attached to the labour market than previous cohorts, but the type and causes of such increasing attachment differ importantly. In Great Britain, discontinuous careers were and still are typical also among high-educated women: participation responds much more to motherhood than to education, although the impact of motherhood is stronger among the low-educated, especially in younger cohorts. Indeed in Great Britain polarisation between highly and poorly educated women has increased and it has moved to an earlier stage of their life course: from whether and when re-entering paid work after marriage and childbirths to whether and when interrupting it in the first place. In Italy a high share of women never start working, also among the highly educated, especially in the South. Once starting to work, nearly all highly educated Italian women have continuous careers, while one out of two of the low-educated. Compared to Great Britain, changes across cohorts have been small. Indeed women's employment has grown but "compositionally": *ceteris paribus*, the influence of education, marriage and children has remained fairly constant across cohorts. Women still appear polarised in a "opt-in opt-out" participation pattern: if low-educated, they often remain lifelong housewives, never entering paid work or interrupting it without never re-entering; if highly-educated, they remain lifelong work-

ers, although discontinuous careers and polarisation have generally increased in the last decade.

- The study on “The Changing South European Family” shows a strong tension in Southern countries between family changes and very slow development of more encompassing and generous family policies. A scrutiny of the long period of family changes in southern countries (Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal), based on demographic statistics and institutional data, shows that most of the demographic trends (fertility decline, increasing divorce rates, and so on), family changes (gender and intergenerational relationships) and institutional changes in Southern Europe since the 60’s have been different not only in their timing but also in the pattern and in the trajectories of family changes observed in the region. Despite of many social policy and family changes in the South during the last 40 years, there is no convergence of Southern family patterns and Welfare States to northern European standards. This Southern trajectory may be explained by the peculiarities of southern paths to democratic political systems, by specific southern economic problems and by the different division of responsibilities between the state and the family in the South.

Policy recommendations

- The Spanish parental leave system is not efficient in terms of keeping women in the job market nor in terms of allowing for the harmonisation of work and family responsibilities, and even less still in terms of reducing the existing gender gap in childcare. On the contrary, it aggravates gender inequalities by reaffirming the role of women in the field of childcare and perpetuates social inequalities by promoting family-working life balance only for those who already had an advantageous position in the job market. As a consequence, the current parental leave rights does not make it easier for the majority of Spanish families to devote attention to the under three years old. A situation that is, moreover, made worse by the lack of childcare services. Therefore, time resources for parents shall be accompanied by economic support in order to equalise parents’ participation in childcare. This is well illustrated by extended use of parental leave schemes among fathers and mothers in Nordic countries.
- Domestic and caring activities play a major role guaranteeing individuals’ well-being and the socialization of the future generations. However, these tasks also represent an important barrier to increase substantive gender equality. The European Council set targets for Member States to provide childcare by 2010 to at least 33% of children under-3 years of age. These targets are by far inadequate to cover current demand. Universal high quality childcare provision should be considered as a social right for children and as a political priority to guaranty gender equal opportunities.
- Nowadays Southern Welfare States are being challenged to respond to the unintended consequences of the new southern family strategies. These consequences are a persistent fertility decline, population ageing and a lower future capacity for family-based social care. In this context, South European policies on Family and Gender Equal Opportunities demand urgent reforms.

Papers presented to workshops and conferences

a) EQUALSOC Midterm Conference in Berlin (11-12 April 2008)

Who benefits from parental leave in Spain? A life course analysis, Session IV: Women's employment, fertility and social care arrangements: European diversities (Chair: Jonathan Gershuny), Lapuerta, I., Baizán, P. and Gonzalez, M. J. (2008)

Men's involvement in childcare and fertility decisions: a European comparison, Session IV Women's employment, fertility and social care arrangements: European diversities (Chair: Jonathan Gershuny), Baizán, Pau (2008)

Towards the golden age of gender equality? A cross-national analysis on couples' allocation of homework in Post-industrial societies, Session IV: Women's employment, fertility and social care arrangements: European diversities (Chair: Bea Cantillon), Naldini, Manuela, Jurado-Guerrero, Teresa & González, M. José (2008)

Combining marriage and children with paid work: changes across cohorts in Italy and Great Britain” Session IV: Women's employment, fertility and social care arrangements: European diversities (Chair: Bea Cantillon), Cristina, Solera (2008)

During the Famnet Research Meeting of the Conference the following paper was presented:

The Changing South European Family (forthcoming), Manuela Naldini and Teresa Jurado (2008)

During the Conference the group research participants had their specific “group session” for discussing their current work and the future publications. They discuss the opportunity to apply for research assistant to elaborate and to compare Italian and Spanish LFS (Labour Force Survey) in order to conclude the paper “Childcare and women's employment decisions in Spain and Italy: A multilevel perspective” (with Italian and Spanish LFS).

b) Other conferences

The heterogeneity of the impact of labour market flexibilization on the transition to adult life in Italy, Bertolini S., Budapest, 26-30 luglio 2008, 38th World Congress of the International Institute of Sociology.

Who benefits from parental leaves in Spain? A life course analysis of the baby-boom cohort, Lapuerta, I., Baizán, P. and Gonzalez, M. J. (2008), Paper presented at the European Population Conference (EPC), 9-12 July Barcelona. Session: Work-Family Balance in Europe.

Men's reluctance to change: factors explaining new gender divisions of labour in Western Europe, Naldini, Manuela; Jurado-Guerrero, Teresa & González, M. José (2008)

Paper presented at the European Population Conference (EPC), 9-12 July Barcelona. Session: The Gender Division of Domestic Work.

Regional daycare availability and fertility decisions in Spain, Baizán, P. (2008), Paper presented at the IUSSP Seminar on Fertility and Public Policies in Low Fertility Countries Barcelona, Spain, 7-8 July 2008. Organized by the IUSSP Scientific Panel on Policies in the Context of Low Fertility.

Transforming elderly care at local, national and transnational levels, Naldini, M. (2008),

Copenhagen, 26-28 June 2008. The Conference was held at the Danish National Centre for Social Research (SFI). During the conference she presented a paper (with Barbara da Roit) titled “Migrant care workers as means to reconcile work and family”

Visitorship:

1. **Manuela Naldini** (University of Turin) was visiting UPF (Barcelona) in September 2007. She worked at the UPF with Maria José Gonzalez to the paper “Childcare and women’s employment decisions in Spain and Italy. A multilevel perspective” and for working to the paper presented at the Berlin Conference 11,12 April 2008 (see above).

2. **Irene Lapuerta**, PhD student at Pompeu Fabra University, participated in the EQUALSOC Visitorship Programme. She moved to the *Swedish Institute for Social Research* (SOFI) for three months (between April and June 2008). This was an opportunity for her to make connections with other researchers working in related areas, and obtain valuable feedback for her ongoing research project on parental leave policies. She is currently analysing mothers and fathers’ probabilities of using a parental leave, the duration of the leave, and how those chances and duration vary across socio-demographic characteristics (i.e. occupation, educational attainment, job contract, family structure and birth order). She is also analysing the consequences of using a parental leave on occupational mobility and social security rights.

Publications:

Baizán P. & González M.J., (2007), *Las escuelas infantiles son la solución? El efecto de la disponibilidad de escuelas infantiles (0-3 años) en el comportamiento laboral femenino?*, en *La Situación Social en España* (vol. 2), pp. 411-444. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.

Baizán, P., (2007), *The impact of labour market status on second and higher-order births. A comparative analysis based on the European Community Household Panel*”. In Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed), *Family Formation and Family Dilemmas in Contemporary Europe*. Pp. 93-127. Madrid: Fundación BBVA.

Baizán, P., and Camps E., (2007), *The impact of women’s educational and economic resources on fertility. Spanish female birth-cohorts 1901-1950*, in Janssens A. (ed), *Gendering the Fertility Decline in the Western World*, pp. 25-58, Bern: Peter Lang.

Baizán, P., and Martín-García, T. (2007), *Joint Determinants of Educational Enrollment and First Birth Timing in France and West Germany*. *Genus* LXI (No.2): 89-117.

Bertolini, S., Luciano, A and Manuela Naldini (2007), *Quando la flessibilità è donna*, in: Piccone Stella, S. (a cura di), *Tra un lavoro e l’altro. Vita di coppia nell’Italia postfordista*, Roma, Carocci. pp. 109-129.

Muehlberger U. and Bertolini S., *The organizational governance of work relationships between employment and self-employment*, *Socio-Economic Review*, n. 6, 2008, p.449-472.

- Castro-Martín, T., Domínguez-Folgueras, M., and Martín-García, T (2008), *Not Truly Partners: Non-Residential Partnerships and Retreat from Marriage in Spain*. Demographic Research, Vol.18, Art.16, pp. 443-468.
<http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol18/16>
- González, M.J. & Jurado-Guerrero, T. (2007), *Is There a Minimum Set of Conditions for Having a Baby? The Experience of the 1955–1982 Female Cohort in West Germany, France, Italy and Spain*. In Gøsta Esping-Andersen (ed), *Family Formation and Family Dilemmas in Contemporary Europe*. Pp. 33-92. Madrid: Fundación BBVA.
- Lapuerta, I., Baizán P. & González M.J., (2008), *Tiempo para cuidar, tiempo para trabajar. Análisis del uso y duración de las licencias parentales en España?*, en Navarro, V. (Ed.) *La Situación Social en España* (vol. 3). Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Lapuerta, I., Baizán, P. & González, M.J. (2008). *Who benefits from parental leave in Spain? Life Course Analysis*, DemoSoc Working Paper, 26
 (available on-line: <http://sociodemo.upf.edu/papers/DEMOSOC26.pdf>)
- Martín-García, T. (2008), *The Impact of Occupational Sex-Composition and Women's Fertility in Spain*. European Societies Vol.11 (forthcoming).
- Martín-García, T. (April 2009), *'Bring Men Back in': A Re-examination of the Impact of Type of Education and Educational Enrolment on First Births in Spain*. European Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (2) [forthcoming]. The online version is already available in:
<http://esr.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/jcn041?ijkey=u1MZSIZYjWgyHa7&keytype=ref>
- Naldini, Manuela and Jurado, T. (forthcoming), *The Changing South European Family*, in: Puhle, H-G., Gunther, R. and Diamondouros, N. *Democracy and Cultural Change in the New Southern Europe*, NSE Volume 5, OUP
- Naldini, Manuela and Saraceno, C. (2008), *Social and Family Policies in Italy: Not Totally Frozen But Far From Structured Reforms*, in *Social Policy & Administration*, 42.7, November
- Solera, C. (2008), *Combining marriage and children with paid work: Changes across cohorts in Italy and Great Britain*, ISER wp: 2008-22, Institute for Social and Economic Research.

1. Submitted and accepted papers:

How much childcare matters and Why? The effects of regional provision of formal childcare on women's employment decisions in Spain, Baizán P. & González M.J. (currently under revision; 2008) *Population, Space & Place*.

El efecto de las políticas autonómicas en la utilización de la excedencia por cuidado de hijos, Lapuerta, I. (currently under revision, 2008) *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS)*.

Do time resources for working parents promote gender equality and work-family life balance? An analysis of the use and duration of parental leave in Spain, Lapuerta, I., Baizán P. & González M.J., (currently under revision; 2008), *Journal of European Social Policy*.

Research assistance:

Hande Inanç, PhD student at Pompeu Fabra University, is currently assisting the research group with a comparative paper on regional inequalities on childcare provision in Italy and Spain. She has been collecting data across time and regions for both countries.

**EQUALSOC Research group EMPLOY / FAMNET:
Child care responsibilities and continuing training participation in Europe:
A cross-national comparative study**

Coordinators: Martina Dieckhoff and Nadia Steiber

Participants: Martina Dieckhoff (The Danish National Center for Social Research/Nuffield), Martin Hällsten (Swedish Institute for Social Research), Nadia Steiber (Vienna University of Economics/Nuffield), Frances McGinnity (Economic and Social Research Institute)

General aims of the research project:

The project addresses gender differences in the participation in continuing education and training in Europe (comparative analysis of 23 countries). The dominant model for explaining gender differences in training derives from human capital theory, which predicts that due to family responsibilities that lead to more discontinuous patterns of labour force participation, and therefore shorter periods during which the return to training can be recouped, among women than men, women avoid jobs requiring further training and employers prefer not to offer these jobs to female candidates. Yet, available empirical evidence suggests a lack of consensus on the presence and size of a gender gap in continuing training. Against this backdrop, this project aims at providing a better understanding of the mechanisms underlying continuing training participation and the gender differences in these mechanisms. The project sets out to examine the ways in which fertility plans and the presence of children of different ages in the household affect men's and women's odds of participating in continuing training. Looking at potential gender differences with regard to the ways in which the likelihood to train depends on the presence of care responsibilities, we aim to contribute to our understanding of the gender gap in continuing training participation and its origin. Moreover, we test predictions deriving from the gender socialisation and segregation literature. The question of whether the individual-level mechanism to explain the gender gap in access to training are shaped by different institutional contexts has to date not been investigated. The main source of data for the cross-country comparative analysis is the European Social Survey.

Project Duration: August 2007-August 2008

Group Activities

The participants are working on a co-authored research paper on the determinants of training among women and men in Europe. They had four groups meetings, one in Copenhagen, two in Vienna and one around the EQUALSOC Midterm Conference in Berlin (see below for details).

Results to Date

According to human capital theory from the worker's perspective, women invest, on average, less in on-the-job training than men as they will have shorter work lives and the gross return to on-the-job training depends upon the number of years over which this return is recouped. Applying this logic of the human capital model we made predictions about men's and women's training investment at different stages of the life-cycle. In particular, we expected that female employees with plans to have children in the next three years will invest less time in on-the-job training than women without fertility plans as they know they will leave the labour market in

the near future for a baby pause. Yet, our findings run counter to the predictions based on human capital theory. Fertility plans are found to increase rather than decrease women's and men's propensity to train, as such plans tend to be more prevalent among more career-oriented people. Once controlled for education and career orientation, no effects of fertility plans on training participation can be discerned.

Our findings also contradict predictions from the perspective of 'taste discrimination' according to which employers are held to be reluctant to train women, irrespective of their individual characteristics and family status (statistical discrimination). All else equal, no gender gap in continuing training participation is found.

Moreover, our findings also run counter to predictions from a gender socialisation perspective, based upon which we expected women with small children to be less likely to train than those with older children or the childless. Due to sample selection effects (the focus is on the active work force; hence women with small children who are employed are a select, career-oriented sample), no negative effects of care duties on women's propensity to train can be discerned.

We find rather interesting effects of the sex composition of firms and occupations. While one would expect both men and women to be less likely to train if they are in a female-typed occupation as continuous on-the-job training is less frequent in such jobs (Baron, Davis-Blake and Bielby 1986), our results suggest non-linear effects with strongly male dominated jobs/occupations being least favourable in terms of training for both women and men, followed by strongly female dominated job/occupations. Hence, we find 'integrated' occupations with a good gender balance to provide the best training opportunities.

We do not find support for the taste discrimination perspective, which posits that the sex of the respondent's boss or supervisor should matter in the allocation of training opportunities. It appears that having a male supervisor has no negative effects on female workers' training odds, while it has a negative effect on men.

Results to Date/Presentations

Presentation of 1st draft of paper at the 'Life-Long-Learning' workshop (coinciding with the EDUC Workshop at the IREDU-DNRS) in Dijon, 22-24 November 2007.

Presentation of 2nd draft of paper at the EQUALSOC Midterm Conference (at the Life-Long Learning Research Group meeting) in Berlin, 10-12 April 2008

Publication Plans/Submissions

Final revisions of paper in September 2008 and submission of paper to peer-reviewed journal in October 2008

Minutes of meetings

Copenhagen 02.08.07-03.08.07

Participants: Martina Dieckhoff, Martin Hällsten, Nadia Steiber

Venue: SFI – The Danish National Center for Social Research

Agenda

1. Review of feasible datasets addressing continuing training participation
2. Practical matters of the collaboration
3. Explanatory framework: institutional contexts and theoretical models
4. Discussion of factors at the micro- and macro-level that might mediate child-effect on CTP
5. Division of tasks to be done until next meeting

Vienna 03.11.07-04.11.07

Participants: Martina Dieckhoff, Martin Hällsten, Nadia Steiber

Venue: WU – Vienna University of Economics

Agenda

1. Discussions of theoretical predictions
2. Discussion of necessity of sensitivity analyses using EULFS data
3. Discussion of training measures, validation strategies
4. Discussions of preliminary results
5. Modelling in MLwiN
6. Modelling of selection models
7. Discussions of contradictory findings
8. Future plans and work programme

Berlin 11. 04. 2008, 14:00-15:30

Participants: Martina Dieckhoff, Martin Hällsten, Nadia Steiber

Venue: WZB – Wissenschaftszentrum, Berlin

Agenda:

1. Discussion of results of sensitivity analyses using EULFS data
2. Discussion of results from new model and data limitations
3. Evaluation of segregation literature
4. Future plans

Vienna 04.08.08-05.08.08

Participants: Martina Dieckhoff, Martin Hällsten, Nadia Steiber

Venue: WU – Vienna University of Economics

Agenda

1. Discussions of the present draft (theoretical predictions)
2. Discussion of the coding of the 2006 ESS data, and implications for the study
3. Modelling in STATA, discussion of the model specifications
4. Discussions of the findings, especially cross country/regime differences
5. Discussion of publications strategy, time frame for final draft and submission

Decisions: Some final coding issues were revealed and handled. The increased sample size when using pooled data from the 2nd and 3rd Rounds of the European Social Survey is beneficial. But given the lack of key variables (e.g. fertility plans) in the 3rd Round, it was decided to use the pooled data mainly for sensitivity analyses. The final model specification was decided upon. We aim for a final draft in autumn, sending it off for review in October 2008.

Future Plans

The coordinators have applied for a new project in the next funding period of EQUALSOC. In this project the EULFS shall be used for a set of research projects ('Varieties of Life Course Patters: The Role of Institutions in Shaping Labour Market Careers in Europe'). One of the activities planned in this project are robustness checks of our results from this project with micro-data from the EULFS (higher sample sizes). This will potentially result in another paper on the topic.

Measuring social networks

This project replaces and significantly extends the previous project: *Social Capital in Europe* (SOCCULT, cross-listed with FAMNET)

Coordinators: Meredith Rolfe (Nuffield), Jeroen Bruggeman (AIAS)

Participants: Michel Forse (CRNS), Ferry Koster (AIAS), Natalia Letki (Collegium), Lotta Stern (SOFI), Petra Böhnke (WZB), Ott Toomet (Tartu), Christofer Edling (SOFI), Jens Rydgren (SOFI), Sandra Gonzalez Bailon (Nuffield) (and a fair number of external participants, see below)

Overview

The social network approach address a wide range of substantive research topics, including variations in personal health (Berkman and Breslaw 1983), job search outcomes (Granovetter 1995), poverty and social exclusion (Portes 1998), social mobility (Lin 2001; Podolny and Barron 1997), political participation (Putnam 2000, Huckfeldt), crime rates (Sampson 1991), civic life (Putnam 1993), social conflict (Gould 1993), social movements (Diani and McAdam, 2003) and the diffusion of innovations (Coleman et al 1966). Research in all of these areas, and in sociology in general, stresses the importance of social interactions for outcomes, but there is less agreement on exactly how and why networks - as representations of interaction patterns - matter (e.g., is formal or informal socializing more conducive to establishing social trust; what is the relationship between social interaction and material deprivation.) It is difficult to assess the relationship between social interactions and social outcomes because of the range of available measures of social interactions, in particular because the validity and reliability of most of these measures is not well-established. In this project, we will draw on the different substantive perspectives of research team members to assess and improve the validity and reliability of widely used social network measures. Ultimately, we will make substantive recommendations of network indicators for use in single nation and cross-national surveys.

Research activities within the group will be arranged around four general threats to the validity and reliability of indicators of network based mechanisms. Research activities—including a thorough literature review across multiple substantive literatures, re-analysis of existing data, and potentially the collection of new data through in depth interviewing or survey experiments—will be designed to assess how well existing measures stand up to these four general issues related to validity and reliability: respondent errors, sampling reliability and bias, concept validity, and reliability across cultures, classes and countries. Below we briefly review each of these areas of concern, and then indicate some of the approaches we will take to address these problems in our research project.

Progress

In 2007, we started organizing a European project on the validity and reliability of network measurement instruments in different countries, of social cohesion, social capital, and other important concepts, in order to learn from each others' experiences (often published in country specific languages), and to improve European surveys and cross-country comparison. Meanwhile we found collaborators in Hungary, the Netherlands, France, Germany, and Italy, who are now working on the surveys of their research literatures. Bruggeman prepares a laboratory

experiment (with Douglas White and an economist) on the effect of social cohesion on cooperation, and works on a new measurement instrument for social cohesion that is applicable to large networks with incomplete data, while current instruments hinge on complete data and are very sensitive to missing data. On the basis of the meeting at Nuffield (see below), the group at large (including external members) develops a cross-national pilot to test new network measurement instruments.

Meeting

23 – 24 June 2008 at Nuffield (<http://www.equalsoc.org/106>). Organizing assistant: Tamar Yogev.

Theme: Social networks and social capital, with most participants either focusing on cross-national measurement issues or identifying analytical links between social networks and related outcomes (e.g., income, jobs, health, political behavior). Presentations were arranged along the following sub-themes:

1. **Theory:** how do networks affect substantive outcomes
2. **Measuring** social networks and network-based social capital
3. **Cross-national** research and measurement of social networks

Presentations at the meeting:

Network measurement in Italy. Gianluca Carnabuci,
Network measurement in Hungary. Ágnes Utasi and Zoltán Csizmadia,
Social cohesion in the lab and in the wild. Jeroen Bruggeman,
Detecting spillover in social networks. Betsy Sinclair,
Ties that bind too tight. Meredith Rolfe,
Otto Toomet and Marco van der Leij

Other papers in progress not presented at Nuffield:

Network measurement in France. Michel Forse et al. (2008),
Network measurement in the Netherlands. Beate Volker and Ferry Koster (2008),
Network measurement in Germany. Beate Volker (2008)

Publications and papers in progress:

Koster, F. and Bruggeman, J. (2008) *The institutional embeddedness of social capital: A multilevel investigation across 24 countries.* Policy and Politics 36: 397-412.

Bruggeman, J. (2008) *Social Networks* (textbook). Routledge; it has a substantial section on social cohesion and cooperation, which was developed partly under SOCCULT by consulting advice and feedback from various EQUALSOC partners.

Rolfe, M. and D. Barron (in progress) *Ties that bind too tight: social capital and individual outcomes.*

Rolfe, M. (in progress) *Measuring and Modeling Social Capital*, to be presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting in August 2008.

Rolfe, Toomet and van der Leij (in progress) *Social context and the ethnic wage gap.*

Traag, V. and Bruggeman, J. (2008) *Community detection with positive and negative ties*. Submitted to the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.

Rolfe, M. (2009) *Voting Together: a social theory of voter turnout*. (forthcoming with University of Chicago Press.)

Klofstad, C., S. McClurg and M. Rolfe (2009) *Family members, friends and neighbors: differences in personal and political networks*. (forthcoming in Public Opinion Quarterly)