

Muszynska, Magdalena

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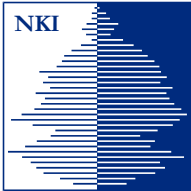
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Central Statistical Office
Demographic Research Institute
H-1119 Budapest Andor utca 47-49.
Telefon: (36-1) 229-8413 • Fax: (36-1) 229-8552
www.demografia.hu

**WORKING PAPERS ON POPULATION,
FAMILY AND WELFARE**

No. 6.

**FAMILY MODELS IN EUROPE IN THE
CONTEXT OF WOMEN'S STATUS**

By
Magdalena Muszyńska

2004

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Introduction

In the middle of the 1990s when the majority of European countries had already experienced or were experiencing changes of the second demographic transition, diverse models of family defined by selected demographic characteristics related to marriage and childbearing, existed. The opinion of demographers regarding the reasons of this phenomenon and its future development was diversified. According to Roussel, differentiation in reproductive behaviour in Europe was an outcome of different socio-economic conditions. It was those conditions that defined status of women in a society, that is their position in private and the public sphere. It was argued that the differences between European societies regarding this phenomenon, that are still very significant today, most probably would decrease and this would lead to the homogenisation of the family models in Europe (Roussel 1992; Kuijsten 1995). A different opinion has been presented by Kuijsten who suggests that trends of demographic processes observed during recent years would lead to further differentiation of the models (Kuijsten 1996). According to Coleman, however, the reasons of the discussed differentiation are cultural. Cultural factors change slowly therefore homogenisation of the models of family cannot be expected in the nearest future (Coleman 1996; Hantrais 1997).

This paper¹ attempts to identify relations between family models existing in Europe with the status of woman in the respective societies. It discusses not only the actual roles played by women in the society but also public opinion regarding which of them are appropriate. Utilising the theory of Becker (Becker 1981) and a set of contingency hypotheses (Liefbroer–Corijn 1999), the paper shows that different models of family are associated with different degrees of intensity in cultural and structural tensions.

The paper has been divided into four parts. In the first part different family models existing in Europe in the middle of 1990s are presented using the typology proposed by Roussel at the end of the 1980s (Roussel 1992; Kuijsten 1995). The basis of the analysis is the economic theory of family by Becker (1981) that is presented in the next part of the paper together with the contingency hypotheses discussing the impact of socio-economic and cultural factors on marital and reproductive decisions of individuals. In the following sections of the article an analysis of a study focusing on the social roles of women is presented. First cultural factors, or more specifically the definition of gender roles in the analysed societies are explored. Finally, conditions related to possibilities to reconcile paid employment and family responsibilities of women, in other words social policy issues and the flexibility of labour markets are analysed.

The data used in the analysis of the cultural incompatibility comes from the International Social Research Survey Programme. Results of the survey initially presented in a book by Siemińska (1997) entitled “Values and attitudes determining labour force participation of women” and in a book by Domański (1999) titled “Happy slave goes to work” have been adapted for the purpose of the study. The first of the publications contains selected

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the German-Hungarian-Polish Demographic Seminar, 22–23 November 2002, Budapest.

results of the research undertaken during the years 1989–1990, while the second includes data gathered in 1994.

Analysis of the structural incompatibility has been based on a literature related to the topic and relevant data on the labour market participation of women and the institutional childcare has been derived from various sources, but predominantly from a book by Leira “Working Parents and the Welfare State” (Leira 2002).

Family Models in European Countries in the mid 1990s

At the end of the 1980s Roussel (Roussel 1992) proposed a division of European countries according to the variation of family models. This classification was based on demographic characteristics and the combination of family formation, total fertility rate, rate of first marriages for women, ratio of divorces to new marriages and rate of extramarital births. This classification remained valid in the mid 1990s. A radical change took place only in the countries undergoing economical transformation, where fertility dropped from the highest levels in Europe in 1989 to the lowest ones in 1995, the propensity to marry declined and the rate of extramarital births increased. Despite the fact that family models continued their transformation in the middle of the 1990s, there were still differences in the characteristics with regard to other groups (Table 1).

Table 1
Typology of European Families around 1995

Countries	Total Fertility Rate (TFR)		Total First Marriage Rate for Women (TFMR)		Divorces per 100 Marriages		Ratio of Extra Marital Births (EMB)	
	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max
Group A	1.73	2.08	440	650	37	67	33	61
	Sweden	Island	Sweden	Denmark	Denmark	Sweden	Finland	Island
Group B	1.53	1.87	490	540	42	53	15	48
	Netherlands	Norway	France	Norway	Netherlands	UK	Netherlands	Norway
Group C	1.34	1.69	550	640	35	68	7	27
	FRG	Luxembourg	Austria	Switzerland	Luxembourg	Belgium	Switzerland	Austria
Group D	1.18	1.46	600	770	8	19	3	19
	Spain	Portugal	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Portugal	Greece	Portugal
Group E	1.23	1.62	500	730	Forbid.	46	9	26
	Bulgaria	Poland	Czech Rep.	Romania	Ireland	Hungary	Poland	Bulgaria

Group A consists of: Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Ireland

Group B consists of: France, Norway, Netherlands, UK,

Group C consists of: Austria, Belgium, former West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland

Group D consists of: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain

Group E consists of: Ireland, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania

Source: classification of countries based on Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1,s.55; data from: Recent Demographic Developments in Europe, Council of Europe, 1990.

Scandinavian countries constituting the first group (Group A) in the typology of Roussel, are characterised by the lowest intensity of first marriages, but also by the greatest fragility of marriage. In those countries procreation is weakly related to formal marriage, which is illustrated by the

high rate of extramarital births. Traditionally family decisions are seen as a private concern. Forms of relationship alternative to marriage are popular and socially accepted (Kuijsten 1995). Simultaneously, the group A is characterised by relatively high level of fertility. According to Jensen in this group a “modern” form of marriage coexists with a “traditional” model of fertility² (Jensen 2003).

The group named “western countries” (Group B) is characterised by the instability of marriage coexisting with relatively high percentage of extramarital births. Cohabitation, however, is mainly pre-marital. But at the same time fertility is maintained on a relatively high level.

In the group defined as “centre” (Group C), marriage is relatively unstable, however informal relationships are not as popular as in the first two groups. Percentages of extramarital births and levels of fertility are also lower.

The next group consists of Southern European countries (Group D), in which changes related to the second demographic transition mainly impacted fertility, while marriage remains a strong institution. A low percentage of extramarital births shows a strong connection between marriage and procreation. At the same time fertility remains low. Therefore these countries are characterised by “traditional” model of marriage and “modern” model of fertility (Jensen 2003)³.

In Roussel’s typology Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), together with Iceland and Ireland constitute another quite inhomogeneous group of countries (Group E). Until 1989 in the CEE countries fertility rate was high. As a consequence of dramatic changes in the middle of the 1990s total fertility rate became the second lowest in Europe after Southern Europe. In CEE countries cohabitation is not seen as an alternative to marriage and the rate of extramarital births is relatively low. Similar processes are taking place in Ireland.

In 1995 family forms in Iceland were clearly different from the model characterising CEE countries. In Iceland procreation is not strongly connected to marriage, which is illustrated by a high percentage of extramarital births. The rate of first marriages is low but fertility is high. Process of family formation and disintegration indicates a model similar to the first group of countries.

Becker’s Economic Theory of Family

In Becker’s theory marriage is treated as a contract entered only when benefits exceed costs for both parts. On the basis of this contract woman receives economic support from a man, while man gains the right to have children and domestic services (Becker 1981; after Liefbroer–Corijn 1999). In this theory children are treated as commodities. Parents make a decision on childbearing similarly to deciding about acquiring other permanent goods. Children, however, are commodities of higher order: they bring their

² According to Jensen (2003) a *modern model of marriage* means diverse forms of formation and dissolving of relationships and instability of those; a *traditional model of fertility* is characterized by low percentage of childless women, relatively high number of births of higher order, relatively high fertility.

³ According to Jensen (2003) *traditional model of marriage* means formal, stable relationships; *modern model of fertility* is characterized by high percentage of childless women, relatively low number of births of higher order, relatively low fertility.

parents exclusively emotional benefits and similarly to marriage they are valuable but expensive.

Becker's theory of family and *New Home Economics* in general makes a link between family formation and educational attainment. It assumes that the impact of education on the procreative behaviour takes place in connection to the labour market and through two mechanisms of behaviour. These mechanisms are called: income effect and price effect (see. Liefbroer–Corijn 1999; Jóźwiak–Kotowska–Kowalska 2000).

The income effect increases with the educational level of people. Those better educated who usually have higher incomes, can afford expensive commodities much sooner than less educated with lower income. In this case the commodities are marriage and children. It means that better educated people potentially earning higher income are perceived more attractive on the marriage market. The income effect therefore leads to a positive impact of educational level on family formation.

The price effect means the existence of an alternative cost, which is related to the opportunities lost as a consequence of making a certain decision. In the process of family formation it includes marriage and the decision about having children. Time that an individual invests into the family could be dedicated to paid work. The higher the education attained by a person the higher are her/his (potential) earnings. The higher are the (potential) earnings, the higher the alternative cost of marriage and children. The price effect therefore means a negative impact of education on family formation.

As Becker's theory assumes a traditional division of tasks within the family, man is expected to provide financial resources and therefore play an active role in the labour market. Due to the fact that events associated with family formation do not disturb this role the price effect does not impact men to a large extent. Better-educated men have higher income that makes them attractive on the marriage market. Therefore as far as men are concerned education has a positive income on family formation through the income effect. In the case of traditional gender division of tasks within the family women are expected to perform the housework and take care of their children. This creates a conflict between their professional and family roles. Together with an increase of education and therefore increase of (potential) income, women loose more leaving the labour market, or cutting down working-hours to take care of domestic tasks. Women are therefore predominantly affected by the price effect.

Despite the fact that it is commonly used as an explanation of the family formation processes the theory of Becker has been extensively criticised on the basis of empirical studies. Results of the studies were inconclusive, some of them supported the theory, others spoke against it. Liefbroer and Corijn (1999) considered Becker's theory too general to explain all of the changes in family formation that took place in Europe. One of the reasons is that the negative impact of education level and labour force participation of women on the propensity to marry and have children occurs mostly when the reconciliation of family duties and paid work may be difficult for women.

Liefbroer and Corijn proposed several contingency hypotheses, which provide additional assumptions to Becker's theory and discuss conditions on the basis of which the theory proves to be accurate. According to these hypotheses the impact of education on family formation depends on a

family event (event contingency hypothesis), the course of life of an individual (life-course contingency hypothesis), socio-cultural context (societal contingency hypothesis) and the cohort a person belongs to (cohort contingency hypothesis).

According to the event contingency hypothesis not all of the events in family formation are equally receptive to the increase in education and labour market participation of women. The lowest alternative costs are associated with cohabitation, which usually requires less investment than marriage. However the highest investment is associated with childbearing. While any relationship – formal or informal – can be dissolved, the birth of a child is irreversible. It can be assumed therefore that the impact of education and paid employment of women on the decision about having a child is the greatest.

The negative impact of education on the process of family formation decreases within the life course, that means, in general, it decreases with age (life-course contingency hypothesis). This is a result of a relatively strong relation between the beginning of a professional career and its further development. A high position at the beginning of a professional career determines its later development. For a young woman, starting her professional career, motherhood and to a lesser degree marriage can be an obstacle, limiting her flexibility on the labour market that is considered important nowadays. This obstacle may hinder future development of her professional career. In this case the alternative cost is high, related to the development of the entire career and it increases with the level of education. Hence, for older women, who have already gained certain position in the labour market the alternative cost is lower.

The impact of education and employment of women on family formation depends also on some social and cultural factors (societal contingency hypothesis). In some societies this influence may be negative, in others- insignificant or non-existent. According to Blossfeld (Blossfeld 1995; Liefbroer–Corijn 1999) the impact is differentiated due to the diversity of family systems operating in societies. Family systems are a reflection not only of cultural values dominant in a given society, family and religious traditions, but also of family policies. The negative impact is therefore particularly strong in societies where a significant conflict between paid employment and family roles of women exists. According to Liefbroer and Corijn in any society there are two causes of this incompatibility- cultural and structural. Cultural conflict refers to functioning stereotypes about the role of woman in society. Structural conflict refers to opportunities and obstacles to reconcile family and paid work. Intensity of both conflicts is usually similar, since the way gender roles are defined has an impact on women's participation in the labour market and possibilities of reconciling family and work. In some countries, however, as far as employment of women is concerned, relatively good conditions co-exist with traditional attitudes towards gender roles. The authors call this phenomenon a “cultural delay” and illustrate it by an example of Italy and Belgium. In other countries, characterised by relatively “liberal” views regarding the social role of woman, labour force participation of women is nevertheless hindered by factors other than cultural. According to the authors, such a “structural delay” exists in the Netherlands.

Together with the improvement of the status of woman and introduction of conditions facilitating reconciliation of family and employment, the

negative impact of education and employment on familial decisions should decrease. In countries where partnership is the dominant form men are expected to participate in household chores. In those countries together with an increase of education the alternative costs of marriage and fatherhood increases and hence the cost effect is relevant for men too.

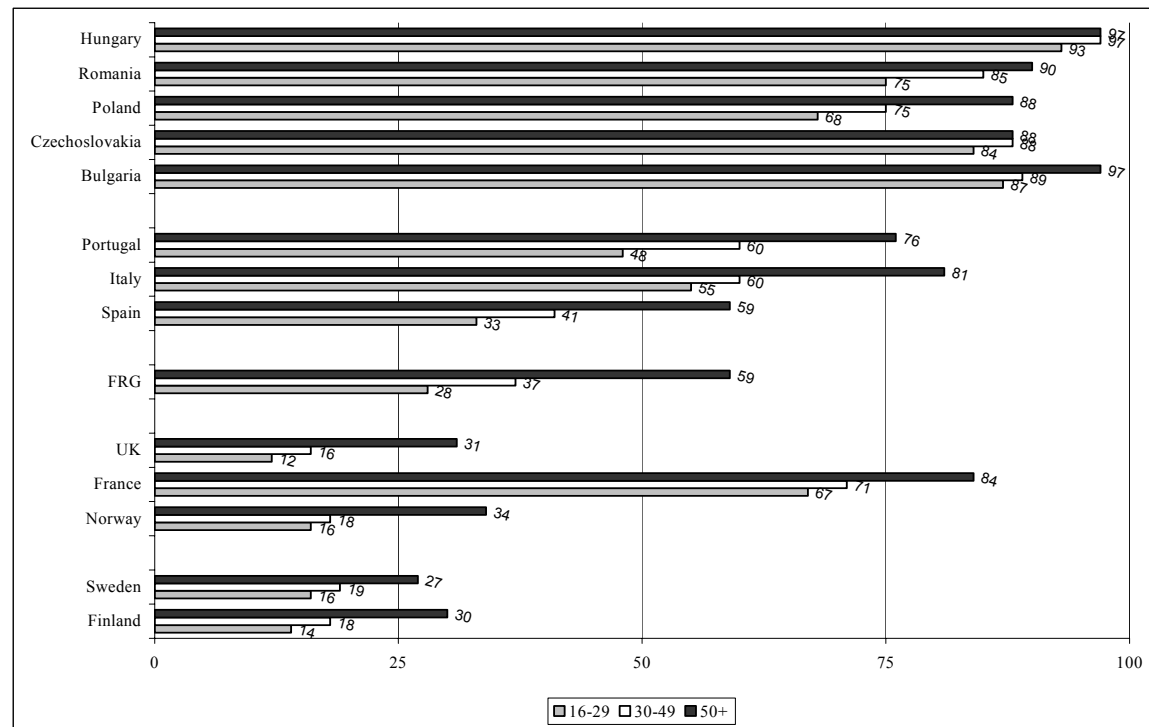
Alongside socio-economic changes family systems are also transforming. During the last decades the conflict between paid employment and family duties has decreased. Of course, different countries were impacted to a different extent (Gauither 1996; Liefbroer–Corijn 1999). It can be expected that as a consequence of the observed changes the negative impact should be weaker for younger cohorts than for the older ones (cohort contingency hypothesis) (Manting 1994; Liefbroer–Corijn 1999).

Cultural Incompatibility – Roles of Women in European Societies

The strength of the cultural conflict in European societies has been analysed on the basis of a survey on the roles of women. Distribution of responses to questions on the “natural role of women” and the spectrum of public and private roles of women have been interpreted. Variables have been derived from a survey under International Social Survey Program. The data have been presented in a book by Siemieńska “Values and attitudes determining labour force participation of women” (Siemieńska, 1997) and in a book by Domański “Happy slave goes to work” (Domański 1999). The first publication includes selected results of the survey conducted in 1989–1990, while the second contains data from 1994.

The position of women both in the public and the private sphere is strongly related to the stereotype of the “natural role of woman”. According to this stereotype woman is naturally predisposed to perform specific social roles. Answers gathered during the research indicate that significant percentage of people living in Europe believe that “a woman should have a child to be fully satisfied” (Figure 1). In the beginning of the 1990s people had particularly strong beliefs on this issue in Eastern and Central European countries (90% or more respondents stated that a woman should have a child to be a fully valuable person, with an exception of Poland where the figure was 74%). In the same period in Western European countries the percentage of those agreeing with this statement was lower. The highest percentage was noted in Southern Europe, the lowest in the Scandinavia countries where less than 20% of respondents agreed. It has to be pointed out that in post-communist countries the age of respondents has a slight impact on the variation of responses. On the other hand, huge differences between specific age groups were evident in Western European countries where elderly women were more in favour of a traditional role of women.

Figure 1
Percentage of Persons Agreeing with the Statement “A Woman Should Have a Child to Be Fully Satisfied”
in Selected European Countries, by Age Groups around 1990



Source: Siemińska: Values and attitudes determining labour force participation of women, 1997, pp. 70–71.

Perception of female social roles is not limited to the stereotypes associated with their “natural” predisposition. The cultural norms dominant in a given country also define a spectrum of roles. On the basis of a set of composite variables proposed by Domański (1999) an analysis of the opinion on gender roles was conducted. Composite variables included answers to four questions which, according to the author, most accurately expressed the level of approval of traditional or modern division of responsibilities between the two sexes. The questions were the following: “Women work outside home but most of them would prefer to run a house and take care of their children” and “Running a household gives a woman as much satisfaction as paid employment”; “Paid employment is the best way to guarantee the independence of a woman”; “A man should earn money and a woman should take care of home and children”. In the analyses a variable with a working name “attitude towards paid employment and family responsibilities” was created. The value of this variable in specific countries constitutes is the ratio of persons who approved paid employment of women (respondents “professionally oriented”) and those who believed that women’s place is home (“pro-family oriented”).

Paid employment of women is a source of additional income for a household and also gives women an opportunity for self-fulfilment by having a feeling of being a socially useful individual. Two groups of respondents can be described from those supporting labour force participation of women. There are those who consider it important because of pragmatic reasons, and those who believe that women derive personal satisfaction from paid employment. This division is important because the acceptance of women’s employment due to the economic necessity does not necessarily indicate modern opinions on gender roles. Therefore, in the next step we performed an analysis of the percentage of respondents who support employment of women due to pragmatic reasons. This people believe that “today the majority of women have to work to support the family” and “both men and women should support the family”. The next group of people, which cannot be strictly separated from the first one, consists of respondents of “professional orientation” (‘non-pragmatists’). They believe employment of women is important not only due to the financial aspect, but that activity outside home gives women an opportunity for self-fulfilment and “to become an independent person” (Domański 1999).

The way the conflict between women’s employment and family roles is perceived in Europe was also analysed through the following questions: “In your opinion should women work on full-time basis: (i) after they get married but before the birth of first child, (ii) when children are not yet in school or kindergarten, (iii) when children are already adults”.

Table 2
“Family Systems” (Cultural Aspect Based on the Opinion of Women) in Selected European Countries in 1995

Country	Attitude towards paid employment and family responsibilities ^a		Pragmatists ^b		Non-pragmatists ^c		Opponents of female employment before the birth of children		Opponents of female employment when children are small		Opponents of female employment when children are adults	
	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max
Group A	2.58 Sweden		74.9 Sweden		43.8 Sweden		0.3 Sweden		65.9 Sweden		0.4 Sweden	
Group B	2.21 Netherlands	2.51 Norway	12.8 Netherlands	49.8 UK	33.4 Norway	36.9 Netherlands	0.7 Netherl./ Norway	0.8 UK	37.1 Netherlands	57.4 UK	0.7 Norway	1.0 Netherl./ UK
Group C	1.28 Austria	3.18 FRG	55.9 FRG	62.9 Austria	33.4 Austria	42.0 FRG	2.4 Austria	2.5 FRG	57.3 Austria	65.3 FRG	3.0 FRG	5.5 Austria
Group D	1.56 Spain	3.27 Italy	58.8 Italy	66.0 Spain	43.6 Spain	44.2 Italy	3.5 Italy	11.8 Spain	33.1 Italy	45.1 Spain	11.0 Italy	15.3 Spain
Group E	0.16 Hungary Ireland: 1.13	0.79 Czech Rep.	54.8 Poland Ireland: 71.8	86.7 Bulgaria	7.4 Hungary Ireland: 40.1	19.5 Bulgaria	5.1 Hungary Ireland: 2.1	14.9 Poland	50.6 Czech Rep. Ireland: 57.4	70.4 Poland	1.2 Czech Rep. Ireland: 0.8	7.2 Hungary

Group A consists of: Denmark, Sweden, Finland (variables analysed for Sweden)

Group B consists of: France, Norway, Netherlands, UK (variables analysed for Norway, Netherlands, UK)

Group C consists of: Austria, Belgium, former West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland (variables analysed for Austria and former West Germany (FRG))

Group D consists of: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, (variables analysed for Spain and Italy)

Group E consists of: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Island, Poland and Romania (variables analysed for Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland and separately for Ireland).

- a. attitude towards paid employment and home duties in selected European countries. Percentage represents number of women with pro-employment orientation related to the number of women with pro-family orientation
- b. percentage of supporters of paid employment of women referring to pragmatic reasons
- c. percentage of supporters of employment of women referring to non pragmatic reasons

Source: own calculations based on: Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1, p.55; data derived from Domański, Happy slave goes to work, 1999, p. 85, 98, 150.

Table 3
“Family Systems” (Cultural Aspect Based on the Opinion of Men) in Selected European Countries in 1995

Country	Attitude towards paid employment and family responsibilities ^a		Pragmatists ^b		Non-pragmatists ^c		Opponents of female employment before the birth of children		Opponents of female employment when children are small		Opponents of female employment when children are adults	
	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max	min	max
Group A	3.73 Sweden		75.3 Sweden		41.0 Sweden		0.3 Sweden		30.9 Sweden		0.2 Sweden	
Group B	1.68 Norway	1.81 Netherlands	11.7 Netherlands	48.6 UK	24.7 Norway	33.7 UK	1.4 Netherlands	4.4 UK	43.8 Netherlands	67.0 UK	1.5 Netherlands	2.6 UK
Group C	0.97 Austria	1.41 FRG	50.2 FRG	58.1 Austria	27.0 Austria	31.0 FRG	1.3 Austria	4.4 FRG	64.3 Austria	71.4 FRG	3.5 Austria	5.9 FRG
Group D	1.26 Spain	1.37 Italy	43.5 Italy	53.5 Spain	27.5 Italy	37.8 Spain	12.5 Italy	17.9 Spain	45.8 Italy	48.6 Spain	19.7 Italy	20.5 Spain
Group E	0.10 Hungary Ireland: 0.91	0.63 Czech Rep.	46.3 Poland Ireland: 64.4	79.7 Bulgaria	4.2 Hungary Ireland: 32.1	10.7 Czech Rep.	7.2 Czech Rep. Ireland: 3.4	27.4 Poland	57.3 Czech Rep. Ireland: 57.8	78.8 Poland	2.7 Czech Rep. Ireland: 3.6	12.6 Hungary

Group A consists of: Denmark, Sweden, Finland (variables analysed for Sweden)

Group B consists of: France, Norway, Netherlands, UK (variables analysed for Norway, Netherlands, UK)

Group C consists of: Austria, Belgium, former West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland (variables analysed for Austria and former West Germany (FRG))

Group D consists of: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, (variables analysed for Spain and Italy)

Group E consists of: Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Ireland, Island, Poland and Romania (variables analysed for Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland and separately for Ireland).

- a. attitude towards paid employment and home duties in selected European countries. Percentage represents number of men with pro-employment orientation related to the number of men with pro-family orientation
- b. percentage of supporters of paid employment of women referring to pragmatic reasons
- c. percentage of supporters of employment of women referring to non pragmatic reasons

Source: Own calculations base on: Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1, p.55; data derived from Domański, Happy slave goes to work, 1999, p. 85, 98, 150.

Results of the study of the cultural aspect of family systems in Europe are presented in Tables 2 and 3. Grouping of the countries was conducted in a manner consistent with the typology of Roussel. Due to the significant differences in the perception of gender roles, group E is divided and Central and Eastern European countries are separated from Ireland. For each of the analysed variables, both for women and men, quartiles of a distribution were calculated to define the level of the phenomenon. If in a given group of countries a variable had a value close to a first quartile the level of the phenomenon was considered to be low. When the value of the variable was close to a third quartile or higher the level of the phenomenon was considered to be high. The remaining values represent a moderated level of the phenomenon. Values of each quartile can be found in Tables 4 and 5 directly under the name of a variable.

Table 4
Intensity of Cultural Conflict in the Opinion of Women in Selected European Countries in 1995

Country	Attitude towards paid employment and family responsibilities ^a Q ₁ = 0,6 me = 1,4 Q ₃ = 2,5	Pragmatists ^b Q ₁ = 55,3 me = 66,0 Q ₃ = 42,8	Non-pragmatists ^c Q ₁ = 18,9 me = 35,0 Q ₃ = 42,8	Opponents of female employment before birth of children Q ₁ = 0,8 me = 3,0 Q ₃ = 6,6	Opponents of female employment when children are small Q ₁ = 41,1 me = 56,6 Q ₃ = 62,7	Opponents of female employment when children are adults Q ₁ = 0,8 me = 4,25 Q ₃ = 7,4
Group A	high	high	high	low	low	low
Group B	high	low	moderate	low	diverse: low and moderate	low
Group C	diverse: moderate and high	moderate	moderate	moderate	high	moderate
Group D	diverse: moderate and high	moderate	high	diverse: moderate and high	low	high
CEE countries	low	diverse	low	high	diverse: moderate and high	diverse: moderate and high
Ireland	moderate	low	high	moderate	moderate	low

Group A consists of: Denmark, Sweden, Finland (variables analysed for Sweden)

Group B consists of: France, Norway, Netherlands, UK (variables analysed for Norway, Netherlands, UK)

Group C consists of: Austria, Belgium, former West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland (variables analysed for Austria and former West Germany (FRG))

Group D consists of: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, (variables analysed for Spain and Italy)

Group E consists of: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Ireland, Island, Poland and Romania (variables analysed for Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland and separately for Ireland).

- d. attitude towards paid employment and home duties in selected European countries. Percentage represents number of women with pro-employment orientation related to the number of women with pro-family orientation
- e. percentage of supporters of paid employment of women referring to pragmatic reasons
- f. percentage of supporters of employment of women referring to non pragmatic reasons

Source: own calculations based on: Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1, p. 55; data derived from Domański, Happy slave goes to work, 1999, p. 85, 98, 150.

Table 5
Intensity of Cultural Conflict in the Opinion of Men in Selected European Countries in 1995

Country	Attitude towards paid employment and family responsibilities ^a Q ₁ = 0,3 me = 1,1 Q ₃ = 1,7	Pragmatists ^b Q ₁ = 46,3 me = 60,6 Q ₃ = 69,5	Non-pragmatists ^c Q ₁ = 10,3 me = 27,2 Q ₃ = 32,9	Opponents of female employment before birth of children Q ₁ = 1,4 me = 5,8 Q ₃ = 13,4	Opponents of female employment when children are small Q ₁ = 45,8 me = 57,8 Q ₃ = 66,5	Opponents of female employment when children are adults Q ₁ = 2,0 me = 4,3 Q ₃ = 12,7
Group A	high	high	high	low	low	low
Group B	high	low	diverse: moderate and high	moderate	diverse	low
Group C	moderate	moderate	moderate	moderate	high	moderate
Group D	moderate	moderate	diverse: moderate and high	high	moderate	high
CEE countries	low	diverse: moderate and high	low	diverse: moderate and high	high	diverse: moderate and high
Ireland	moderate	low	high	moderate	moderate	low

Group A consists of: Denmark, Sweden, Finland (variables analysed for Sweden)

Group B consists of: France, Norway, Netherlands, UK (variables analysed for Norway, Netherlands, UK)

Group C consists of: Austria, Belgium, former West Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland (variables analysed for Austria and former West Germany (FRG))

Group D consists of: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, (variables analysed for Spain and Italy)

Group E consists of: Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary, Ireland, Island, Poland and Romania (variables analysed for Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland and separately for Ireland).

- a. attitude towards paid employment and home duties in selected European countries. Percentage represents number of men with pro-employment orientation related to the number of men with pro-family orientation
- b. percentage of supporters of paid employment of women referring to pragmatic reasons
- c. percentage of supporters of employment of women referring to non pragmatic reasons

Source: Own calculations base on: Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1, p. 55; data derived from Domański, Happy slave goes to work, 1999, p. 85, 98, 150.

In Scandinavian countries constituting the first group in Roussel's classification, roles performed by women are perceived in a modern way. In 1990 less than 20% of respondents believed that a woman is naturally predisposed for motherhood, which is the smallest percentage throughout Europe. At the same time the rate of female respondents who believed that women should work outside their home was more than twice as high as those identifying home as a main sphere of activity for women. Although men less often expressed definite opinion regarding roles appropriate for women, the percentage of respondents who shared the first opinion was almost four times higher than the percentage of men with "pro-family orientation". There were no differences between genders in stressing the importance of economic reasons for the professional activity of women. The percentage of supporters of paid employment of women referring to pragmatic reasons was one of the highest in Europe. However, a high percentage of people expressed an opinion that "employment is the best way

for women to become independent". In 1995 the lowest percentage of male and female opponents of female employment was found in the Scandinavian countries when people were asked about full-time jobs for women after the birth of the first child or after the maturation of children. Simultaneously relatively often women were against the paid employment of women on the full-time basis when children are small. It is worth emphasising that the opinions of men were different. The percentage of Swedish males who were against full-time job of women with small children was the lowest at this time in Europe.

Therefore it can be concluded that in Scandinavian countries the dominant view about the social role of woman was in favour of emancipation. The cultural conflict in those countries was the lowest in Europe. Both sexes agreed that women can and should work. Marriage was not seen as a barrier for their full-time jobs. In the opinion of men the duties associated with taking care of small children do also make a barrier. However, relatively high percentage of women was against full-time employment when a child is small.

The group of countries defined as "Western countries" is also characterised by a low level of cultural conflict. Opinions of the respondents regarding the role of woman in society can be perceived as pro-emancipation. In certain respects, however, they proved to be more traditional than the first group. The percentage of persons who believed that the "natural role of women" is decisive for their happiness was close to that in the Scandinavian countries. The exception here was France. According to Siemieńska, in France attitudes toward women continue to be influenced by the catholic religion (Siemieńska 1997). Due to the lack of data regarding answers to other questions in France the analysis was conducted only for Netherlands, UK and Norway, so the countries where the support for the traditional role of woman is low. It is possible therefore that the results may change when France is included in the analyses.

In "Western countries" respondents were twice more often in support of women being active on the labour market, than in support of women's activities being limited to the domestic sphere. Men, however, were less likely to hold a view that women should have paid employment. At the same time women rarely supported work out of home due to financial reasons. As compared to other countries relatively few men preferred this solution. The percentage of female supporters of employment due to reasons other than pragmatic was higher than the percentage of male supporters, both of those percentages, however, were smaller than in Scandinavia. Small rate of respondents, most often men, believed that marriage was a barrier for employment of women on full-time basis, both before the birth of a child and at the time when children were already adults. There were definitely less female opponents of employment of women on full-time basis when children are small than in Sweden, while the relative number of male opponents of this arrangement was much bigger.

Altogether, in the group of "Western" countries, a relatively weak cultural conflict is observed. Respondents of both sexes are definitely more frequently in favour of paid employment of women than of limiting their activities to the household. However, often behind this belief there is an economic reasoning. Marriage is not considered a barrier for paid employment of women on full-time basis. Further, infrequently, as compared to other countries, the respondents believed that such a barrier

was necessary due to the care for a small child. Opinions of men on this issue were varied.

In the group of countries defined as “centre” the percentage of women supporting emancipation as compared to those supporting the traditional division of roles – was much more diverse than in the first two groups. Men clearly less often supported women’s employment. Furthermore in Austria the majority of men wanted to see women performing their traditional roles. In this group of countries women supported professional activities often because of economic reasons. The percentage of “pragmatists” is clearly higher both for men and women than in the first two groups and the relative number of “non-pragmatists”- similar. The opponents of female employment before the birth of first child and after the maturation of children were more numerous than in the first two groups of countries, especially in the second case. Employment of mothers with small children was even less popular.

The cultural conflict in these countries was relatively moderate but stronger than in the first two groups. Despite the fact that male respondents supported employment of women more often than the statement that women’s place is at home, the level of this phenomenon was classified as moderate, and in the case of female respondents- moderate and high. This kind of cross-gender support was found regarding the employment of women motivated by economic and other reasons. Marriage was considered as a barrier for paid employment of women on full-time basis. In the opinion of the majority of respondents a woman should not work when children are small.

Countries of Southern Europe are characterised by high percentages of respondents convinced about a natural need of women to have children. At the same time, however, both women and men support women’s involvement in paid employment rather than limiting them to the domestic sphere. Values of the variable “attitudes towards paid employment and domestic responsibilities” both for women and men were close to the values for the “centre” countries. It needs to be highlighted, however, that the value was higher in 1995 for women than men; for Italy even 2.5 times higher. In Southern European countries respondents, both women and men, supported employment of women motivated by economic reasons much more often than due to other reasons. The percentage of male and female “pragmatists” as well as men who supported emancipated role of woman due to other reasons was close to the respective percentage for the “centre” countries. But the relative number of “non-pragmatists” among female respondents was similar to the figure found in Northern Europe. As far as both sexes are concerned marriage is relatively often perceived as a barrier to women’s employment on full-time basis, more often when children are already adults than when they are no children yet. However in this group there was a relatively high support for professional activities of mothers of small children.

Concluding, in Southern Europe attitudes of men and women toward gender roles are different. The value of the variable “attitude to paid employment and domestic duties” is higher for women. In the sample of women it is moderate and high, in the sample of men – moderate. Both men and women were moderately in favour of the paid female employment motivated by economic reasons, while we could observe a moderate support of women, and a moderate and strong support of men, when reasons other

than the economic ones were specified. Regarding full-time employment of married women or mothers with small children the attitudes of respondents were evidently different. The opinion of men that marriage before and after the birth of children is a barrier to women's employment is proportional to the opinions expressed in other countries. Probably for economic reasons, relatively infrequently as compared to other countries, respondents oppose full-time paid professional activities of mother when a child is small. However marriage is relatively often perceived as a barrier.

The specificity of CEE countries can be explained by the unique nature of the process which led to the involvement of women in the labour market. R. Siemieńska (1997) called it "externally directed" in contrast to "internally directed" process that took place in Western Europe. In the communist countries involvement of women in the labour market was an outcome of political pressure which has not lead to changes of gender roles. In fact women had to work full-time both at work and at home (double burden). In this situation significant part of the population believed that such an excessive burden on women can be eliminated through a return to the traditional division of tasks within the family. "Internally directed" process characteristic for Western European countries was an outcome of progressive change of social attitude towards women's roles, which lead to women seeking work outside home. Simultaneously to the changes in attitudes a demand for women's labour also increased due to the development of the service sector.

In the countries undergoing transformation stereotypes regarding the "natural role of woman" still persist. Having a child is perceived as a condition for women being satisfied with her life. What is more, both women and men are dominantly family-oriented. In the opinion of respondents of both sexes women should work for economic reasons. Very infrequently people from this part of Europe, and extremely infrequently men, were in favour of employment of women for other than economic reasons. Despite high level of activity of women in paid employment marriage is perceived as a barrier to the full-time employment of women by the highest percentage of the respondents in the entire Europe. Respondents were more often against active involvement of women in the labour market before the birth of a child than with regard to the life-cycle phase after the maturation of children. Approval of professional work of women when children are small was very low, *e.g.* in Poland almost 80% of men believed that mothers should not work on full-time basis at that period.

In CEE a very strong cultural conflict exists. Support for female employment is persistently low. Men believe that women should work to supplement family income, but the opinion of women was divided in this matter. Both marriage and domestic responsibilities associated with childcare were perceived a barrier to full-time work. Those results prove Siemieńska's theory on the specificity of the model of women's professional activity in CEE countries. Despite the fact that the activity rate of women is high, the support for their involvement outside the household is low.

In Ireland respondents of both sexes were in favour of emancipated role of woman as often as of traditional one. The variable was maintained on a relatively moderate level. High support was given for other than economic reasons of employment. Economic aspect was highlighted by a small number of respondents. The percentage of respondents who believed that

marriage was a barrier for the paid employment of women was moderate or low among both women and men and in the case of the need to care for small children.

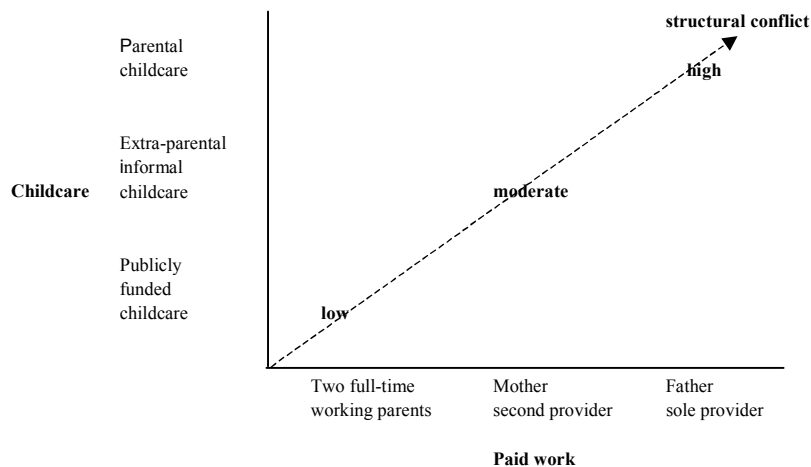
Structural Incompatibility – Possibilities to Reconcile Work and Family

Structural incompatibility relates to “actual societal opportunities and constraints on the roles of women” (Liefbroer–Corijn 1999. 52). In other words structural conflict means existing conditions facilitating or limiting access of women to paid employment. The level of incompatibility between domestic and professional roles of women depends on the division of duties associated with running the house and with childcare and the extent to which those tasks are performed by other members of the household or outside the household. The development of the service sector containing most of the tasks previously performed by members of households, makes it easier for women to combine their domestic and professional activities. Modern appliances also reduce the time necessary to complete household tasks. Simultaneously, the development of institutional childcare allows women to be away from home for longer periods. Gradually the model regarding the division of domestic tasks between partners is also undergoing a transformation.

However, in some countries access to services substituting household duties is limited. This is due to the insufficient development of the service sector and the high prices in this sphere. In many countries the costs of childcare are very high. Additionally the gender division of labour within the households is still traditional. Despite growing economic activity of women, roles of men are transforming very slowly and are very much similar from those defined by the “bread-winner” model. It is worth mentioning that men on average perform only 20% of domestic tasks associated with running the household and with childcare (Brousse 1999–2000; after Pailhe 2003).

In this section social policies and flexibility of labour markets are analysed to examine possibilities to reconcile family and work of women. The analysis was conducted according to a scheme proposed by Leira (2002) (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Possible Ways of Combining Paid Employment and Childcare



Source: own adaptation of a scheme proposed by Leira, Working Parents and Welfare State, 2002, 49.

For every group of countries dominant models of combining paid employment and childcare have been identified. In addition solutions offered by social policy in a given country and flexibility of labour market have been analysed. However, in some countries modes of reconciliation of family and work chosen by parents are different to those offered by the state (for example in France). Therefore if state supports professional activity of mothers, but women decide to stay at home and to take care of their children, the level of structural conflict is low and the choice is affected by an intense cultural conflict.

In accordance to the analysis and available data, the following variables regarding the reconciliation of employment and childcare have been defined:

1. Paid employment:
 - **Two full-time working parents:** in a given country there is a relatively high professional activity of mothers, with most of them working on full-time basis;
 - **Mother- secondary provider:** in a given country there is a relatively high level of professional activity among mothers, with relatively high percentage of women working part-time;
 - **Father- sole provider:** in a given country there is a relatively low employment of mothers.
2. Child care
 - **Publicly funded childcare:** high percentage of children stay in state-run childcare facilities;

- **Other arrangements (extra-parental informal childcare, parental childcare):** indicated mainly by a low rate of children in state-run childcare. To assess the popularity of this form of care is very difficult due to the lack of sufficient data. It can be assumed however that with a high level of activity among women and low rate of children in state-run childcare, the care is provided by people other than parents or private institutions. However, when the level of activity among women is low, probably it is them who take care of children.

Intensity of structural conflict will be defined by the ratio of institutional childcare and the level of access to full-time employment (flexibility of the labour market). Predominantly information about the professional activity/employment of mothers with small children and their employment on part-time basis will be used, in relation to activity rates for all women (Table 6, 7). Comments will refer also to the body of literature focusing on the link between the economic activity of women and domestic responsibilities.

For the CEE countries the beginning of the 1990s was a period of the introduction of economic reforms which changed significantly conditions of participation in the labour market. Despite the decrease, the indices of economic activity of women for 1993 still reflect the level of activity resulting from the previous economic system. The next years brought further drop in the level of economic activity and employment of women. Additionally part-time work was not treated as an element increasing flexibility on the labour market as its availability is still very limited. Structural conflict in the countries undergoing the transformation requires separate studies. Comments formulated in this paper refer to the situation at the beginning of 1990s caused mainly by the combination of paid employment and family responsibilities in centrally planned economy.

Table 6
Economic Activity of Mothers in Selected European Countries around 1993

Country	Rate of employment of mothers with children under 2 years of age	Rate of employment of mothers with children under 10 years of age	% of mothers employed on full-time basis (married or cohabiting)	Rate of employment of mothers (married or cohabiting)	% of women employed on part-time basis	Rate of economic activity of women aged 25–54
	(1993)	(1993)	(around 1993)	(around 1993)	(1991)	(1993)
Group A						
Finland	49 (1997)	77	89	70	13.6	84.0
Denmark	70	84	76	84	37.8	86.7
Sweden		83		80	42.8	88.2
Group B						
France	52	70	72	68	23.9	76.0
Norway			52	77		79.3
Netherlands	45	51	25	52	60.9	78.0
UK	49	59	34	34	43.5	73.8
Group C						
Austria		64	61	46	26.5	71.7 (1994)
Belgium	62	71	59	61	31.0	66.4
Former West Germany		50				
Group D						
Italy	42	49	71	41	11.8	48.5 (25–29)
Greece	40	51			7.4	53.1
Portugal	69	75	87	55	13.0	73.2
Spain	33	49			11.2	52.2
Group E						
Czech Rep.					10.3	88.6
Hungary					4.4	74.0
Poland					13.5	78.6
Romania					18.3	
Slovakia					3.2	
Ireland	38	43		32	24.8	51.6

Source: R. Palomba, Reconciliation of work and family, 2002, p. 24; Leira, Working Parents and Welfare State, 2002, p. 52, 54, 57; OECD, Labour Force Statistics 1978 – 1998, pp. 313–351.

Table 7
Publicly Funded Childcare in Selected European Countries

Group	Countries	Children in state-run nurseries as % of children aged 0–2	Children in state-run kindergartens as % of children aged 3–6
A	Finland	18	55
	Denmark	48	83
	Sweden	37	74
B	France	23	99
	Norway	22	61
	Netherlands	8	71
	UK	2	60
C	Austria	3	75
	Belgium	30	97
	Former West Germany	2	78
D	Italy	6	91
	Greece	3	70
	Portugal	12	48
	Spain	2	84
E	Czech Rep. (1997)		83
	Hungary	11	86
	Former East Germany	50	100
	Poland	2	44
	Bulgaria		60
	Romania		57
	Ireland	2	52

Source: Palomba, Reconciliation of work and family, 2002, p. 13; Leira, Working Parents and Welfare State, 2002, p. 62; Stropnik, Impact of transition on family policy, 2003, p 588.

Childcare in the Scandinavian countries is understood as a joint responsibility of the family and the state (Leira 2002). In this group of countries in 1993 the highest rate of activity of women between 25–54 and the highest employment rate of women with children below 10 years of age was noted together with full-time employment being relatively the most popular form of activity. Part-time employment among women was also popular in Denmark and Sweden, and relatively less in Finland.

In 1993 in Denmark and Sweden participation of children below 2 years of age in institutional childcare was the highest in Western European countries. Also a relatively large number of children were taken care of in state-run kindergartens. It is also to be noted that a relatively egalitarian division of duties associated with childcare within the family exist along several incentives for men to take advantage of parental leave. For example in Denmark childcare is a joint responsibility of both parents in 66% of families, and the exclusive duty of women only in 30% of families (Knudsen 1997). In Sweden in 1995 fathers took up 10% of their entire paid period of parental leave (Leira 2002). In Sweden the system of non-state, civil childcare is also very well developed, *e.g.* persons employed to take care of children coming from two or three other families at home (Miesaaari-Polsa 1997).

In Finland at the beginning of the 1990s a law guaranteeing a place for every child in a state-run nursery or a kindergarten was introduced. In case parents decided not to place a child into this kind of facilities they were entitled to receive a financial assistance from the state for childcare provided by one parent or for other forms of non-public childcare. In 1994

80% of mothers with children below 3 years of age took the advantage of this opportunity staying at home with their children (Leira 2002), which is reflected by the low level of employment of mothers with children below 2 years of age. However, the analysis of the activity rate of mothers probably means that in the case of older children financial provision is used to pay for a private childcare.

The situation regarding childcare and employment in individual countries in the next group is quite diverse, and this is why it has to be analysed for each country separately.

According to Muller-Escoda and Vogt (1997) France has a well-developed childcare system, where places for all children under 3 are guaranteed (43% in publicly funded institutions). Full day childcare for children above 3 years of age is free of charge. Therefore if only 23% of children are in nurseries and only 52% of mothers of children of this age are employed it can be ascertained that women stay out of the labour market in order to take care of their small children and that this decision is due to cultural factors and not to structural restrictions. After this period women return to gainful employment, and most work on a full-time basis, while 99% of children between 3 and 6 years of age are in state-run kindergartens.

In Norway, similarly to Finland, parents receive a specific amount of money for childcare performed by a parent or some civil non-public institutions. However, the number of places in publicly funded institutions is limited (Leira 2002). It can be assumed that the non-public childcare sector is relatively well developed. The policy of financial benefits for childcare therefore allows a high level of economic activity of women. Mothers keep their jobs, but 50% of them reduce their working hours in order to take care of their children.

Netherlands is a country in which the most popular form of employment is a full-time job. Mothers of small children often stay at home for a period of time in order to take care of children (see Kuijsten–Schulze 1997). As it can be assumed this is a result of an insufficient provision of state-run childcare facilities for children below 3 years of age. A better kindergarten service allows women to return to work. As a result, many women decide to work full-time once their children reach kindergarten age.

In the UK institutional childcare is not very popular. The preferred mode of care is the family (Clarke–Henwood 1997). Mothers rarely work, especially in a situation when they live together with a partner. If they have paid employment, it is mostly part-time. If 43.5% of women work part-time and 66% of mothers chose this form of employment, it can be assumed that this is the most popular form of reconciling work and childcare.

In the next group of countries there is no dominant mode of childcare and paid employment of parents and hence these countries should also be analysed individually.

In Austria the percentage of children in state-run nurseries is very low, but children attend public kindergartens in greater numbers. At the same time, however, a moderate percentage of mothers work outside their home. Among mothers living with a partner the percentage of those employed is relatively low, with around 40% working part-time. Pinnelli compares difficulties in reconciling family and employment roles in Austria to the situation in the Netherlands with a large percentage of women getting out of paid employment in order to take care of children, or continuing to work usually on a part-time basis (Pinnelli 2001).

In the former West Germany few children are taken care of in nurseries. Despite the fact that a relatively large number of children in the appropriate age-groups are enrolled in a state-run facilities, kindergarten care is limited to the morning hours. Simultaneously childcare is almost exclusively the responsibility of the mother who rarely utilise the assistance of grandparents (Federkeil 1997). Consequently the ratio of employed mothers is one of the lowest in Europe

The manner of combining professional career with familial responsibilities in Belgium was compared by Pinelli to the situation in Scandinavian countries. (Pinelli 2001). The state helps parents to combine paid employment and childcare. Relatively large number of children is in state-run nurseries and almost all children attend kindergartens. Childcare services are also provided in the afternoon and evenings (Balcerzak-Paradowska 2001). After the birth of a child women do not drop out from the labour market and 60% continues to work full-time. It needs to be highlighted, however, that in Belgium the level of economic activity of women 25–34 years old is relatively low.

The Southern European countries are characterised by an undeveloped system of public childcare for children below 2 years of age, and particularly of state-run nurseries. Nonetheless in Italy, Spain and Greece a high percentage of children in the relevant age group attend public kindergartens (from 70% in Greece to 91% in Italy). It needs to be stressed, however that for example in Italy institutional childcare is limited to a few hours per day (Del Boca 2002). In Portugal only 48% of children between 3 and 6 years of age attend state-run kindergartens, and this constitutes one of the lowest rates in the entire Europe.

Low percentage of women working part-time indicates lack of popularity of this type of employment in the analysed group of countries. According to Del Boca (2002) low flexibility of the labour market is associated with a relatively undeveloped service sector which normally offers a large number of alternative forms of employment. Simultaneously fiscal regulations of the labour market make part-time employment non-profitable for the employer.

In Spain, Greece and Italy small flexibility of the labour market and limited access to externally provided childcare services force mothers with children below two years of age out of the labour market. In 1993 only 33% and 42% of mothers of small children worked in Spain and Italy respectively.

In Portugal, despite the fact that the number of places in state-run nurseries and kindergartens is relatively low, the popularity of part-time employment is also low, while the economic activity of mothers including mothers of children below two years of age was one of the highest in Europe. According to Daly the high activity rate of women in Portugal is produced by economic necessity (Daly 2000; after Orloff 2002). In this situation small children are taken care of by persons other than parents, most commonly by grandparents (Hantrais 1997).

In Spain, Greece and Italy, despite the well-developed system of state-run kindergartens the activity rate of women remains low. High unemployment, difficulties in finding the first job and re-entering the labour market keep women out of the labour market (Cantero–Gordillo 2000; Del Boca 2002). This is illustrated by the low activity rate of mothers with children younger than 10, and, in general, of women in the age group of 25–54. Simultaneously a traditional division of tasks persists. In Italy 65% of all

activities associated with childcare is performed by women (Menniti-Palomba-Sabbadini 1997).

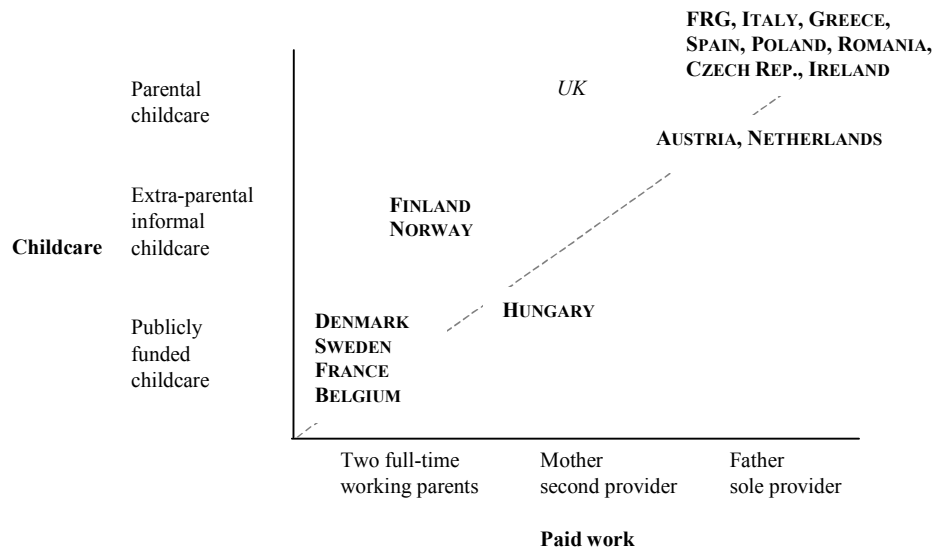
The group of CEE countries is not homogenous either. In the countries of this group, with the exception of former East Germany, together with the fall of the communist system the state limited the scope and the extent of the services provided to families (Kotowska 2002; Stropnik 2003). This change included not only a decrease in financial benefits but also budget cuts as far as childcare institutions were concerned. Altogether the costs of childcare were mostly transferred to the family.

In the analysed countries state policy had a different impact on the employment of mothers. Despite the fact that in all countries provision of care for children younger than 3 is very limited the percentage of children of the relevant age groups in state-run kindergartens is very diversified from 44% in Poland to 86% in Hungary. Additionally the inflexibility of the labour market makes it more difficult to combine the roles of a mother and an employee. Employment other than full-time is not very popular. Children younger than 3 are mostly taken care of by mothers, while in the analysed countries different forms of paternal leaves exist (Fodor *et al.* 2002). In Hungary paid maternity leave is provided to all mothers and a woman on such a leave is allowed to work part-time after the first birthday of a child. In the remaining countries mothers are forced to stay out of the labour market in order to take care of their children which is also a consequence of some restrictions of eligibility for the leave. Childcare provided by private institutions is not very popular.

The lowest activity rate of women is found in Ireland (51.6%). Paid employment is particularly unpopular among mothers of small children, where only 43% of mothers of children below 10 years of age are active. Married or cohabiting mothers work particularly rarely. Part-time employment is moderately popular. Only 3% of children in the appropriate age group attend nurseries, while 55% attend kindergartens. Care for small children is usually undertaken by mothers, who leave the labour market for this period, or decide not to be involved in the labour market at all.

A summary of the results is provided in Figure 3 where countries are grouped according to the dominant model of combining paid employment with childcare. It needs to be highlighted that in some countries division of responsibilities associated with childcare is very much related to the age of a child, and therefore it is difficult to establish a dominant model. Often it was defined in relation to the models existing in other countries. Simultaneously in some cases, *e.g.* France and Norway, the model of childcare supported by existing family policies was presented, and not the one most commonly chosen by parents. This is due to the fact that the goal of this classification was the analysis of the existing structural incompatibility, and not the preferences which are most probably outcomes of cultural factors.

Figure 3
Classification of European Countries according to the Combination of Work and Childcare



Source: own calculations; data from Table 6 and 7, and Leira, Working Parents and the Welfare State, 2002, p. 49.

- Mothers are considered as secondary providers mainly in the UK. In contrast in Hungary state regulations encourage employment of mothers of small children on part-time basis. In the UK childcare is predominantly performed by a mother, while in Hungary most of children between 3 and 6 are in state provided childcare.
- In former West Germany, Italy, Greece, Spain, Ireland as well as Poland, Romania and Czech Republic state policy and inflexibility of the labour market force the situation in which only the father works, while the mother takes care of the children. In CEE countries, however, this refers mainly to the case of small children.
- Situation when state policy facilitates employment of both parents on full-time basis is dominant in Finland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, France and Belgium. Childcare is in most of the cases conducted in state-run facilities. Children are widely taken care of by persons other than parents or in private institutions only in Finland and Norway. Despite the fact that in Portugal both parents are likely to work full-time and their children are taken care of by other members of the family, Portugal cannot be put into this group. If it is economic necessity that forces women to work on full-time basis, while the number of childcare places is limited, the conflict between the role of the mother and a worker is very strong.
- In contrast in Austria and Netherlands women often leave labour market in order to take care of children, but many of them work part-time. In both cases woman do the bulk of childcare.

The intensity of the structural conflict in selected groups of countries, in line with the adopted definitions was provided in Table 8.

Table 8
Intensity of Structural Conflict in Selected European Countries

Group of countries	Countries	Level of structural conflict
A	Finland Denmark Sweden	low
B	France Norway Netherlands UK	low low moderate/high moderate
C	Austria Belgium Former West Germany	moderate/high low high
D	Italy Greece Portugal Spain	high
E	Czech Republic Hungary Poland Romania Ireland	high moderate/high high high high

Source: own calculations based on Kuijsten (1995), Table 3.1, p. 55; data derived from Palomba, Reconciliation of work and family, 2002, p. 24; Leira, Working Parents and the Welfare State, 2002, p. 52, 54, 57; OECD, Labour Force Statistics 1978–1998, p. 313–351.

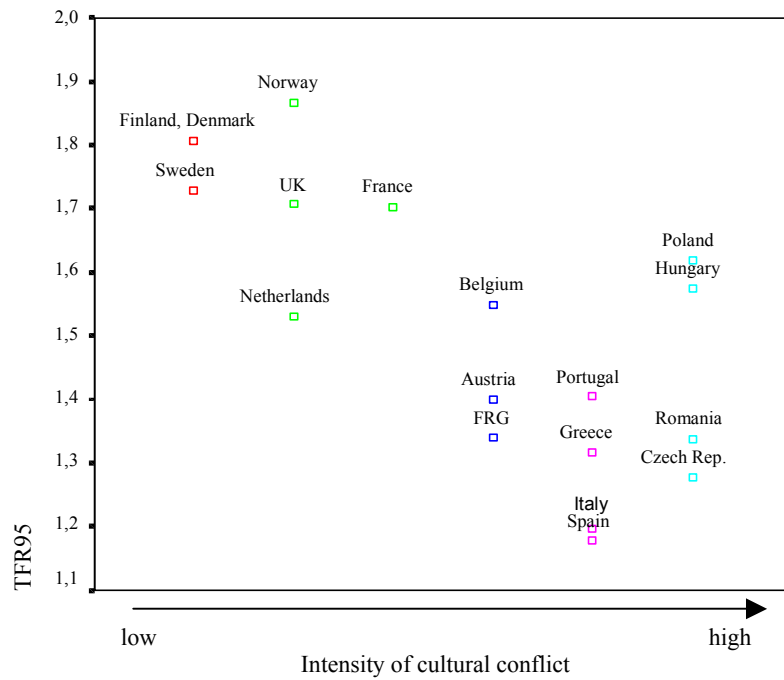
Summing up the results, the intensity of the structural conflict in Scandinavian countries is very weak. State policy and the flexibility of the labour market give women an opportunity to combine family and work. In the next group of countries the intensity of structural conflict is diverse: from a weak level in France and Norway to moderate/high in the Netherlands. Countries defined in the typology as ‘centre’ are also characterised by diverse levels of structural conflict: from a low level in Belgium to a high one in former West Germany. In next two groups of countries: Southern Europe and CEE the intensity of conflict can be defined as high.

Conclusions

If, according to Jensen (2003), the level of fertility in general is related to forms of family formation in a given country, then it is appropriate to use Total Fertility Rate (TFR) as an indicator of existing family models. When correlated with the results of the study, *i.e.* variables describing the intensity of cultural (Figure 4) and structural (Figure 5) conflicts, surprising conclusions can be reached. These variables are discrete, with their values corresponding to each stage of the intensity of the conflict: value ‘0’ signifies the lowest intensity; the highest intensity is ‘5’ in the case of cultural conflict and ‘4’ in the case of structural conflict.

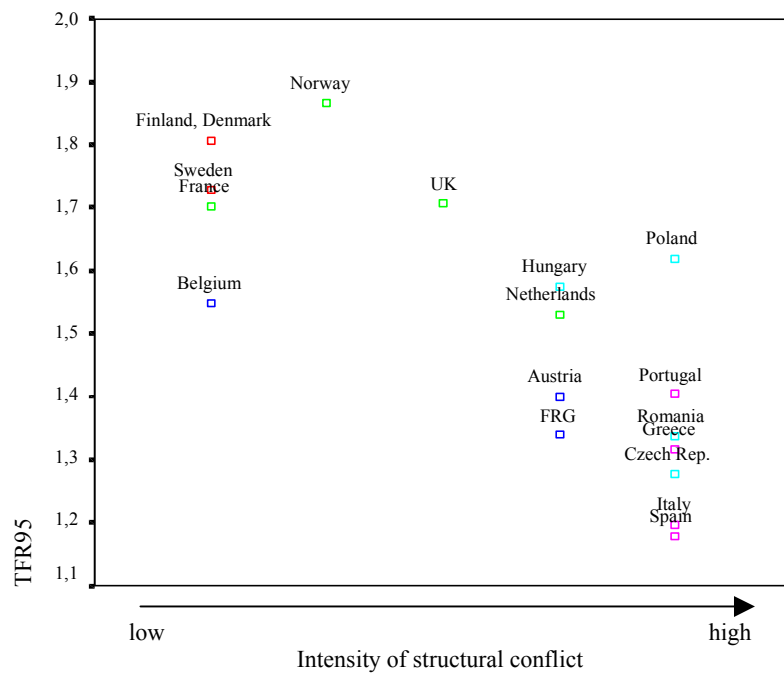
In both cases negative correlation exists between the level of fertility and the variables reflecting intensity of the discussed conflicts. Correlation rate between TFR in 18 European countries and the intensity of cultural conflict is $r = -0.736$ and between TFR and structural conflict – $r = -0.804$.

Figure 4
TFR and the Intensity of Cultural Conflict in Selected European Countries around 1995



Source: own calculations; data on TFR from: Recent demographic developments in Europe, Council of Europe, 1999.

Figure 5
TFR and the Intensity of Structural Conflict in Selected European Countries around 1995



Source: own calculations; data on TFR from: Recent demographic developments in Europe, Council of Europe, 1999.

The analysis presented above support the hypothesis on the impact of cultural and structural factors associated with the social status of woman on the demographic processes which leads to different family models.

In most of the countries there was a strong relationship between the level of the intensity of structural and cultural conflicts.

- When the social role of women is seen as emancipated, state policy related to childcare, flexibility of the labour market, and the division of duties in the household enable women to combine family responsibilities with paid employment. This scenario clearly appears in Scandinavian countries.
- However, traditionalist attitudes toward the social roles of woman are associated with the lack of state initiatives aimed at decreasing the conflict between childcare and employment of mothers, an inflexible labour market and a traditional division of familial asks. This situation is evident in Southern European countries and in post-socialist countries.
- Where the intensity of the cultural conflict is moderate, when opinions regarding role of woman are not in favour of emancipation or traditional structures, state policy has a diverse impact on the economic activity of mothers. It needs to be highlighted however that in these groups of countries very important differences appear in the attitudes of men and women regarding women's social role. In France, Norway, and Belgium the intensity of structural conflict is relatively weak, in the UK it is moderate, and it is relatively strong in the Netherlands, Austria and former West Germany. The situation in the last three countries, indicates structural adjustment lagging behind changes in gender roles.

Due to the fact that cultural differences, in this case opinions on the roles of woman, as well as conditions of reconciling work and family change very slowly (Coleman 1996), it can be assumed that the family models existing in European countries will persist in the near future.

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